

THE SOCIETY OF SEPARATISTS

OF ZOAR

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State University.

By

EDGAR BERNHARDT NIXON

A.B., M.A.

The Ohio State University

1933.

Approved:

Carl Wittke

Adviser.

Accepted by the
Ohio State Museum
with permission of the
Ohio State University.
October, 1935.

34549

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I.....	2
II.....	20
III.....	41
IV.....	61
V.....	93
VI.....	119
VII.....	150
VIII.....	166
IX.....	188
X.....	201
Bibliography.....	231
Appendices.....	238

PREFACE

The most interesting aspect of the history of the Society of Separatists of Zoar was its communistic character. In this study I have described the workings of the Zoar communism, and have tried to account for its ultimate collapse. However, the history of the Society is essentially the history of the Separatist religious ideal. The Communism of the Zoar Separatists was part of their religious belief and method. Aside from its peculiar religious and social institutions, I believe that the story of Zoar deserves preservation as being an example of the persistence of a European culture in American soil. Zoar is a German village today although it was founded over a hundred years ago.

My materials have been drawn largely from the Zoar records in possession of the Zoar Historical Society, and from the collection of Zoar MSS. owned by Dr. H.A. Coleman of New Philadelphia, Ohio. These have been supplemented with certain materials in my possession, notably the Tag-Buch of my great-grandfather, Simon Beuter. Much was gained from personal interviews with former members of the Society, and I am very grateful for the help given me by my Zoar friends.

I owe especial obligations to Professor Carl Wittke of the Ohio State University, who directed the course of my researches. Professor Wittke first suggested the possibilities of the history of Zoar as the subject for a doctoral dissertation, and his advice and suggestions have been most helpful.

Edgar B. Nixon,
Ohio State University
May, 1933.

The Society of Separatists
of Zion

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Require-
ments for the Degree of Doctor of Philoso-
phy in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State Uni-
versity

By

Edgar Burkhardt Nixon

A.B., M.A.

The Ohio State University

1933

Recopied by the
Ohio State Museum
with permission of the
Ohio State University
Oct. 1925

Approved:

Carl Wittko
Advisor

34549

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

I, Edgar Burkhardt Nixon, was born December 13, 1902, in Canton, Ohio. I received my elementary and high school education in New Philadelphia, Ohio. In 1927 I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, having done my major work in the German language and literature. From 1927 to 1929 I taught General Science in the New Philadelphia Junior High School. I attended the Graduate School of The Ohio State University in 1929-1930, and received the degree of Master of Arts in history in the Summer Quarter of 1930. Since that time I have held the position of assistant in the Department of History of the Ohio State University.

CHAPTER I.

"The time of the confusion, which then existed among men, and which seized upon and shattered our hearts, so that well-nigh everyone realized that something strange and marvelous was imminent in the history of the world." Die Wahre Separation, I, v.

The people who founded the Separatist Society of Zoar, came, with a few exceptions, from Württemberg. Most of them were natives of the area around Stuttgart, between Neuenburg and Hochdorf in the north, and Tübingen in the south. In 1817 these Germans emigrated to Ohio, and two years later formed a communistic society which existed until 1898. An explanation of their emigration makes necessary some account of the religious situation as it existed in Württemberg in the eighteenth century.

About 1670, a minister by the name of Spener introduced Pietism into the German Lutheran church, a movement which was essentially a reaction from the cold, dry-as-dust dogmatism which had come to characterize Lutheranism. Pietism demanded a purer moral life, to be attained through a conscious new birth, or an inward regeneration through the grace of God. Its methods were those later advocated by Wesley, prayer meetings, Bible study, and the discussion of Sunday sermons. It possessed a definite ascetic character in that dancing, card-playing, and

1. One of the original party was a Swiss, and at least two came from Bavaria. In addition to the places named, it is known that some came from GÜppingen, Ludwigsburg, Rothenacker, Hochdorf, and Oberhausen. Such information as is possessed on this score is derived from the correspondence of the members of the Society in America with their friends and relatives in Germany.

2. Kurtz, J.H., Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, II, 310.

The people of Württemberg had suffered severely during the period of the French invasions of 1688-1707. The tyranny and maladministration of their duke, Charles Eugene (1737-1793), prevented any real recovery from these earlier disturbances, and kept the mass of the population in a state of abject poverty. Their misery increased during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. It is true that Frederick II gained both territory and population as a result of his alliances, first with and then against France, but for the masses these meant only increased taxation and enforced military service. When Frederick became king in 1806, he immediately abrogated the old constitution, which, to some extent at least, had placed a check upon the arbitrary power of the prince with regard to the person of the subject and the levying of taxes. Stein said:

".....one needs only to trace the history of the public administration in Bavaria, Württemberg, and Westphalia to convince oneself that the rage for innovation, insane arrogance, unrestrained prodigality, and brutal lust have succeeded in destroying in every way the happiness of the unfortunate inhabitants of countries once so prosperous." 5.

Throughout all this the National Church remained static, with little or nothing to offer a bewildered people. It is small wonder that many turned in despair to the mysticism of the time, and that they listened believingly to prophets who declared the imminence of the return of Christ, and the extension of his kingdom to those who believed. Separatism continued to gain adherents. It received added impetus when, in 1791, the church adopted a new hymn book. The Pietists generally

5. Quoted by Seeley, J.R., in Life and Times of Stein, II, 274.

6.
8
their affirmation. They addressed everyone as du, that is, thou.

Some of the Separatists went to even greater lengths, and in some instances their mysticism became nothing less than fanaticism. Some renounced all union of the sexes and adopted celibacy. Others found vegetarianism salutary in attaining salvation, dressed in a peculiar manner, "And considered Bonaparte the messenger and son of God." 9
Still others became virtual anarchists and denied the temporal state all prerogatives whatsoever. But the majority of the Separatists were not fanatics. Their unorthodoxy and their pacifism would doubtless have occasioned them trouble even today, but at the time all they wanted was permission to be left alone in the practice of their faith. But as almost everyone of their Principles involved an infraction of either church or state law, the Separatists found themselves involved in a bitter quarrel with the governmental and ecclesiastical authorities. Since the state stood back of the church, their situation was well-nigh hopeless, the more so because of the bigoted and tyrannical character of the Württemberg government.

All that has been said thus far can, of course, be said of the particular group which later became the Zoar Society. As indicated at the outset, these Separatists came from the vicinity of Stuttgart. Just when they formed themselves into their particular Gesellachaft is difficult to say, but it was probably about 1800. Most of them were farmers and artisans, but as later events proved, they had among them

their maintenance there. When the excessive fines were beyond their ability to pay, their homes and goods were confiscated. Johannes Breymaier was imprisoned for fourteen years but was released before the emigration, and lived to become one of the leaders of the colony in America.¹² Johannes Goesele lay in Aschberg, one of the state prisons, for nine years. But he, too, lived to accompany his fellow Separatists to Ohio. Women as well as men suffered imprisonment:

"Men and women were imprisoned, and the only hope of release offered them was through the renunciation of their principles. This alternative was always left open to them...but most of the imprisoned ones remained faithful. The men were sentenced to arduous and difficult labor. The overseers, however, believed them deserving of much worse than the greatest criminals under their charge, and they therefore put them at such work and in such places where the circumstances were at their worst, and this with wretched, frequently rotten food. At night, they were placed in a stinking dungeon, which swarmed with vermin, where they were not once enabled to get a restful night's sleep. During the bitterest of cold and heat, during the heaviest rain storms, during the worst snows, they were obliged to remain at their work, and this with frequent floggings. Holidays and Sundays were denied them; the only day of release from work was the birthday of the tyrant. 13"

The women were placed in houses of correction where they were forced to live with and work beside the most depraved of the female criminals. Communication with their relatives and friends out-

12. Of Breymaier, this story is told. Napoleon visited Duke Frederick while Breymaier was in prison. The Duke had Breymaier brought before Napoleon so the latter might see what manner of men the Separatists were. The Emperor is said to have asked Breymaier: "Who do you believe me to be?" The latter replied: "Ein Engel des Abgrunds." The Duke laughed hugely; Napoleon's reaction is not recorded. Said the Duke, "Had you removed your hat for the Emperor, after refusing to do so for me, I would have had you shot forthwith." Mrs. Salomo Beiter, July 7, 1932.

13. Die Wahre Separation, I, xi.

"My aunt, Barbara Grubermann, has asked me, in light of the circumstances in which she has been placed, to write a letter of recommendation. She is minded to find a place in Zogenburg where she may reside permanently, and where she may earn her bread by the work of her own hands, preferably by weaving. To this end, I can assure you that she is an honest and upright person, and no one will endanger himself through her. The reason why she can no longer remain here is briefly and truthfully this: For almost eight years she has been subject to transports or ecstasies in which she has seen the impending judgment, and has made this known, besides many other things. This has created a great commotion, so that it has come to the attention of the courts, because the peasant folk, being unversed in spiritual matters, have resented these things as innovations.

Besides this, she has had to endure a temporal affliction, in that she has been deceived by a worthless man, a foreigner, whom she has been forced to leave for the peace of her soul. She has thus been forced to go into exile. This, however, cannot make me cease acting as her friend. Therefore, I ask, for my sake and hers, that she be received in a Christian fashion, and that without compunction, for she wishes no one any harm, as will be soon discovered. I would like a quiet, God-fearing place for her, since her situation requires this. And for those who take her in, I wish that reward which all those receive, who receive the righteous.

Johannes Grubermann
M. Practicus 16
Treffon zur Blatte."

Barbara's hope of finding a quiet place, where she might "earn her bread by the work of her hands," were never fulfilled. For once having taken up her spiritual labors with the Separatists, she was forced to move from place to place, conducting her meetings secretly, always on guard against arrest. The apparently miraculous character of some of her escapes from the authorities did not detract from the belief of her disciples that she was divinely inspired, and a communicant with the spirit world. For she continued to experience those visitations which

17

16. MSS. in possession of the writer.

17. One story which has come down to the present is to the effect that she once had to hide in an attic behind a large barrel. The soldiers in hunting her thrust their pikes on either side of the barrel without discovering her. Other stories of like character could be quoted, but as they have been transmitted by word of mouth for over a hundred years, they have value only as legend.

Dante, she discovered that the deepest levels were reserved for the most heinous offenses. The peculiarly Pietistic sins of idleness, dancing, gambling, and general worldliness were punished in the first and second abysses; the lowest depths were reserved for the devil and the blasphemers. Her own account of the seventh abyss may prove interesting:

In the sixth abyss I found Judas Iscariot and Smith of Hartwell in Switzerland. In the seventh abyss were the spirits of blasphemers and the Devil himself. There was no wailing here, only awful cursing, swearing and blasphemy. This abyss contains an active volcano, and when the cursing and swearing becomes too awful and too great, the volcano erupts and subdues the spirits. I talked with the Devil. He commanded me to leave his kingdom as I was only disturbing it. I said, 'If you would have the Lord accept you in grace, you must learn to bear your condemnation patiently.' Then the Devil said, 'If I knew that the Lord would pardon me, I would cease to do evil!'

These experiences recurred at intervals. They were not all as unpleasant as those just described. At one time she was permitted to pass through "a door which was like white glass," on the other side of which she met Isaiah and the other angels, who gave her encouragement, saying, "And when temptation is greatest, and when your enemies are strongest put your thought on the Lord, and remember that in this quarrel He is with you."

Her greatest experience was reserved for the last. In this she was brought before God and Jesus, "whose glory was so great that no human being can describe it." And in triumphant and exulting conclusion she declared that God Himself had given to her and her followers this title:

"We, by the grace of God, children of the Most High, enlightened by the Holy Writ, admirers of Jehovah and of the everlasting majesty of God, warriors under the flag of Jesus, who is and remains the Prince of our souls, Wonderful, Counsellor, Power, Grace, Holy Father, and Prince of Peace"

7. We separate ourselves from all ecclesiastical constitutions and ties, because the life of a Christian never requires sectarianism, while set forms create sectarian divisions.
8. Our marriages are contracted by mutual consent before witnesses. They are then notified to the civil authorities; therefore, entirely without priestly union or ceremony.
9. All intercourse of the sexes, except that which is necessary for the perpetuation of the race, we hold to be sinful and contrary to the command of God; entire abstinence, or complete chastity, is however, still better.
10. Therefore, we cannot send our children into our schools of Babylon, because these oppose our principles. Lacking in morality and religion, the village schools breed crowds of idlers, who, given good opportunity in their meetings, teach their fellow students wickedness and debauchery.
11. We cannot serve the state as soldiers, because a Christian cannot murder enemy, much less his friend.
12. We recognize the temporal authority as absolutely necessary to maintain order, to protect the good and honest and to punish the wrongdoers; no one can prove us to be unfaithful to the state, but rather the contrary.

"These, therefore, are the principles which for ten years have brought upon us so many and varied persecutions. We have, indeed, called out loudly for justice, but our situation has been little bettered, because our powerful enemies still possess those decrees which were issued against us, and by means of which they have deprived many families of their property and liberty because of the hatred and envy they bear toward us.

No one can imagine the nature of the situation in which the Separatist is placed. How can a man who has for his goal merely the salvation of his soul, and the welfare of his fellow believers, how can he be so cruelly misunderstood, so barbarously handled--and this his only crime, that he has followed the dictates of his conscience. It is not murder, thievery, adultery, whoring or like vices which have set the Separatists apart; neither the civil nor the criminal courts have proofs of the things of which our enemies accuse us. Our enemies made it difficult for us, and raised obstacles to prevent us from appealing to the higher courts, and when we did, our Low German dialect was pronounced too strange, and therefore the court costs were so great that we can hardly afford to risk a similar experience. But we now complain of the injuries we have endured; they have tormented us because we have clung to the truth in speech and act. Are subjects not of greater service to the state, when they, for the sake of God and their conscience, serve the state faithfully and honestly, rendering to Caesar's what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's, rather than when they are false,

22. "unsere Plattdeutsche Sprache zu auffallend erklärt." Possibly their dialect caused delay in the court procedure.

Their pleas that immediate evacuation was impossible were answered by an extension of but a few days. A petition to the King himself asking for leniency proved fruitless; Frederick refused to hear the petitioners, tore their document in two, and returned it unread.²⁵ The Separatists then asked permission to emigrate to Brandenburg. This request was addressed to the Royal Minister of the Interior, and bore the date, May 20, 1816:

"The undersigned feel constrained, through both their earlier and immediate circumstances, to submit the following expression to the highest authority of Württemberg, in the pleasant anticipation that the government may not deny the real worth of this petition, and thus leave unsatisfied the universal demands of the age. Not only Württemberg or Europe, but the whole civilized world, feels the necessity of a thorough-going reform befitting the immediate and future times, and the opponents of this spirit of progress have had to pay dearly for their statements during the last thirty years. The undersigned would in no way give the impression that they wish to reform any one country, or, as was the intent of the Napoleonic system, the whole world. No! They simply do not wish to oppose the spirit of the age; they do not wish to retard that great clockwork which the power of God has put in motion since the creation of the world."²⁶

The petition then proceeded to review the Separatist controversy with the clergy. Evidently objections had already been raised to their proposed removal to Brandenburg, for the petitioners continued:

"Also are we astonished that our future neighbors in Brandenburg have entered protests against us to the highest authorities in the land. As to whether they have basis for their complaints, we submit ourselves to the Royal Ministry for examination and judgment. And since the complaints of our enemies are unknown to us, it would please us if we were permitted to defend ourselves against these complaints either orally or in writing. The only complaint that has reached us is that our neighbors fear the spreading of our doctrines or proselytizing. To this we reply that our aim is by no means to increase our membership, and the

25. Die Wahre Separation, I, xii.

26. Zoar Historical Society MSS. Hereafter cited as Zoar MSS.

pacifism, although all other military prisoners had been set free at the time of his father's death. According to the emigration statutes of the time, those Separatists imprisoned for other offenses were released.

Several of the Separatists went to Antwerp and engaged a ship to transport the party to America. Other matters were attended to; the property tax demanded of all emigrants had to be paid, and citizenship renounced. Barbara Gruberman had died some time before this. John Blumeler now acted as their spiritual leader. He had once been a school teacher in Munich, but had been with the Separatists for over ten years. He was not overly prepossessing in appearance. He limped a bit, and one eye was larger than the other. His very appearance in Würtemberg had an element of mystery about it. It is said that Barbara Grubermann, after one of her transports, had foretold that Blumeler would come from Munich to lead them. "In München sei ein Schulmeister." Be that as it may, there was no doubt as to his capabilities. Somewhere he had acquired a knowledge of homeopathy. He had been a weaver, and was somewhat of a musician. His knowledge of the Scriptures was profound, and there was no questioning his powers of leadership. And, what was to prove most valuable in the new country, he was a "business man" of the first order.

The Separatists were hard put to secure their passage money. Two women members, Katharina and Christina Zeller, had more means than

28. The Separatists had no formal clergy, and they sedulously avoided the use of such terms as minister, or pastor. Their conventions were led by such members of their faith who were especially versed in the Bible and the mystical writings.

29. Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 18, 1932.

CHAPTER II.

The Separatists were hospitably received in Philadelphia by the Quakers to whom they had letters of introduction from the London Society of Friends. The latter also forwarded over \$5,000.00 for their use, a sum which amounted to about eighteen dollars for each member.

This was used to cover the cost of their transportation from Pennsylvania to Ohio.¹ The money must have come as a veritable God-send, for practically all their funds had been exhausted in making the trip from Europe. The Philadelphia Quakers provided the Separatists with a large house for their use, found temporary homes for those who were sick or infirm, and aided the others in securing employment.²

Apparently the Separatists had left Germany with no definite plans as to their ultimate place of settlement, believing that God would guide them to their new home.³ Through the Quakers, they made the acquaintance of Godfrey Haga, a merchant of Philadelphia, who sold them 5,500 acres of land in north-eastern Ohio. This land lay in Lawrence Township, Tuscarawas County, described in the deed as being "tracts of

1. Randall, E. O., History of the Zoar Society, 5. Evidently a balance remained after the costs of the journey were paid for the following declaration was signed by the members of the Society, March 20, 1819: "The undersigned declare through this document that the transportation money of \$18.00 per person received from the Quakers in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, shall be transferred to the common needs of the Society. And in no case may an individual demand his share."

2. Die Wahre Separation, I, xii.

3. Ibid., I, vii.

work in the city. Such as had trades worked at them, and some bound themselves out. Most of the women, through the assistance of the Quakers, were enabled to find places as domestic servants.

Blumeler contracted with three wagoners of Philadelphia, Samuel Lincoln, and Christian and Jacob Mast, to transport the effects of the party to Pittsburgh. This place was reached October 16, 1817. The wagoners were paid here, so it is probable that others were engaged to complete the journey. Only a little more than a hundred miles remained, but progress was slow because all who could possibly do so walked behind the wagons. It was not until some time in November that the Separatists arrived at Sandyville, Ohio, the town nearest their lands.

The Separatists found the land they had bought heavily wooded with oak, hickory, chestnut and maple. With the exception of the plains along the river, the land was hilly, and not especially fertile. The entire tract lay in the highest portion of the state. The Tuscarawas River crossed their lands diagonally, from the north-west to the south-east. One of the pioneers of Tuscarawas County thus described the locality:

"The bottom, plains and hillsides along the river were covered in early times with weeds, nettles, wild rye and grass as high as a man's head. This mass of vegetation was set on fire by the Indians and by early hunters, for the purpose of encircling the game, enveloping the surface in a sea of flame and effectually killing every twig of timber. No timber was thus permitted to grow upon the plains until after these annual burnings ceased." 8

7. Freights and Bills of Lading, October 16, 1817, Coleman MSS.

8. David Yant, In The History of Tuscarawas County, J.B. Mansfield, ed., 565. The river and county derived their names from the chief town of the Delaware Indians, who lived in the valley in early times.

probably influenced in their selection of a site by the presence of several large springs which flowed from a hill in what is now the north-eastern part of the village. Moreover, the place they chose was near the center of their lands. The Separatists decided to name their town Zoar, since, like the town of Zoar to which Lot fled, it was at once a little place, and place of refuge.

December and January were mild, and the settlers were able to work every day. But in February the weather changed, heavy snows fell, which lay on the ground as late as April. Food supplies ran low, but the neighbors were kind, and furnished them with flour and potatoes. There was an abundance of venison:

"During February the snow lay four feet thick; the top, a frozen crust, made it easy to capture the deer. The hunters brained them with tomahawks, flayed them, and gave the carcasses away; this was a great relief to the new settlers. Wolves were very thick and troublesome; the south side of the river was avoided, owing to the multitude of wolves, whose howlings at night filled the new-comers with terror." 11

More houses were built in the spring, and a few crops were planted. Those who had remained in Philadelphia now came out, singly and in groups, except those who had bound themselves out to learn trades. During the summer, Blümelor and twenty-five of the men walked to the county seat, New Philadelphia, located ten miles to the south, and declared their intentions to become American citizens. All declared themselves former citizens of Württemberg except Jacob Harr, who was from Canton Tirgau, Switzerland, and John Myer, from Bavaria. This was on

11. Gunn, Note-Book, 37. A hill on that side of the river is still called Der Wolfberg, and a spring which flows from it, Der Wolfbrunnen.

Greet Mr. Huber, and Margaret Maier, and say to the latter, that her brother was not board the newly arrived 4 German ships. My Jacob inquired diligently after him. Mr. Heckewelder, who is now in Bethlehem, shall be informed on your behalf.

Your old Friend, 14
Godfrey Haga."

There is nothing that would indicate the character of the "Declaration" referred to in these two letters. Since Haga was brought into the matter, it probably concerned the nature of the tenure by which the Zoar lands were held. The deed, which did not pass to Bäumel-
or until May 7, 1818, was made out to him alone. Apparently the agree-
ment, whereby he held the land in trust for the others, was a mere ver-
bal understanding. This might have caused the less trusting members to
entertain doubts as to the ultimate disposition of the land. The
events of the ensuing winter and spring support this assumption, for it
was during this period that community of goods was established.

The winter of 1818-19 was a difficult time. The scanty crops
the Separatists had been able to plant in the previous spring did not
furnish enough food to maintain the colony during the winter, and in
consequence, many of the men, as well as some of the women, were obliged
to work for neighboring farmers. The presence among them of many
old and helpless people further complicated their situation. As yet,
there had been no talk of adopting a communistic mode of living. The
plan originally devised was that each family should cultivate as much
land as possible, and what remained above their absolute needs was to

14 Zoar MSS.

15 See page 194

16 Die Wahre Separation, I, xiii.

furnished the Separatists with a precedent. Whether or not the community was established by the followers of ^{George} (John) Rapp is not known. The Separatists adopted communism in 1805, and it is, of course, possible that the Separatists of Zoar were aware of the character of the former colony.

One of the first of the Separatists to propose a community was Johannes Breymaier, who had endured fourteen years of imprisonment in Germany. It is probable that Joseph Ackermann and August Huber likewise led the movement, for these three were chosen the first directors of the community. Blumeler at first opposed the idea, not because he thought it wrong, but because he feared the members would not submit to the close union which communism would demand. But after the plan was adopted, he gave it his whole-hearted support.

After several weeks of discussion, articles of association were drawn up, and submitted to the members for their approval. The articles were signed by fifty-three men and one hundred and four women on April 15, 1819. All signed except a few who had sufficient capital to purchase land in the neighborhood. This first constitution of the Society of Separatists of Zoar read as follows:

"The undersigned members of the Society of Separatists have, from a true Christian love toward God and their fellow-men, found themselves convinced and induced to unite themselves, according to the Christian apostolic sense, under the following rules, through a communion of property, and they do hereby determine and declare that from the day of this date the following rules shall be valid and in effect:

1. Each and every member does hereby renounce all and every right of ownership of his present and future, movable and immovable, property, and leaves the same to the free disposition of the directors of the Society, elected by themselves.

Whatever may have been Bäumeler's opinion of the practicability of the communal life, he now gave it all his energy and administrative skill toward making it a success. In later years, he referred to the misgivings he felt when the community was first proposed, but he also said:

"Nevertheless, affairs progressed, and those who have lived according to these principles have profited thereby, for they are the principles of justice, and, in truth, Godly principles." 22

Although the preamble to the Articles of 1819 asserted that the motive which impelled the Separatists to the communal life was religious, "a true Christian love toward God and their fellow-men," it is significant that the Articles themselves were entirely concerned with the temporal problems of such a union. There was no attempt to legalize the principles of their Separatist faith, no attempt to insure the continued observance of those principles by the members. There was nothing in the Articles which suggested the erection of a theocracy.

There was no apparent interest in communism for its own sake

- 21. See Chapter III for a discussion of the government of the Society.
- 22. Johannes Breymaier's Leichenworte, August 17, 1834. Zoar MSS.
- 23. The word communism in its present sense is, of course, of later origin than 1819. The Separatists used the term Gutergemeinschaft, community of goods.

turned with the finished boards and planks. Blacksmith, carpenter, and wagon shops were built. These supplied the community's needs, and at the same time gave the Society an income from work done for the neighboring farmers.

The grist mill evidently fulfilled a need in the surrounding country, for during the first year of its operation, some thirty farmers brought their wheat to Zoar. At the same time, the Society began buying wheat for re-sale to the larger mills in Canton, fifteen miles to the north. Flour from the mill and maple sugar from the trees in the Zoar woods enabled the Society to buy such articles as could not be manufactured in its own shops. One of the few records extant of this early period is an account rendered by John George Petermann of his trip to Pittsburg and return. He left Zoar with a wagon load of flour and maple sugar on December fourteenth, 1822. He returned twelve days later, and his itemized list of purchases indicates the character of the articles most in demand in the community at that time:

*I received for Seven Barrels Flour	\$22.75
Received for Sugar	18.70
Money received from home	15.00
Amounting to	<u>\$56.45</u>

25. Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 7, 1952.

26. Society Accounts, 1821, Coleman MSS.

that year, how many is not known. But evidently the increase in population was of such proportions as to interfere seriously with the work of the community.²⁹ As has already been suggested, the women shared in all but the most arduous of the community tasks. Side by side with their husbands and brothers, the women sowed in the spring, and harvested in the fall. They tended sheep and sheared them, raised flax and spun it, and in the intervals cooked and sewed. The women of Zoar outnumbered the men two to one; it might almost be said that they were the community.

Child-bearing thus deprived the Society of the labor of indispensable hands. Moreover there was grave doubt as to whether the community could support any great increase in population for some years to come. The Separatists met the problem in a manner that was as simple as it was effective. In about the year 1822, the Society forbade all marriages, and ordered all married couples to live apart from each other.³⁰

The adoption of the drastic measure was possible only because the Separatists faith exalted celibacy. It will be remembered that the Principles declared that while a measure of sexual commerce was necessary for the perpetuation of the race, complete abstinence was much more pleasing in the eyes of the Lord. Some of the Separatists had gone farther in this direction than the Principles suggested. They insisted

29. The roll of membership of 1821 indicates that many of the families had from four to six children. Zoar MSS.

30. Cf. Noyes, J. H., History of American Socialisms, 140.

The building of the Ohio Canal between the years 1825 and 1833 proved a most fortunate circumstance for the new colony. As the route of the canal paralleled the Tuscarawas River, it crossed the Zoar lands diagonally for a distance of about seven miles. The Zoarites contracted to build that portion which crossed their property, and received \$21,000.00 for their work. They also supplied the other contractors with food and supplies. The building of the canal thus enabled them to free their land from debt, but the ultimate benefit the Society derived was of even greater importance. When the canal was completed, Zoar was placed in direct communication with Cleveland in the north, and Portsmouth, on the Ohio River, in the south. Thus the products of the community reached markets which otherwise would have been inaccessible. Furthermore, the canal made possible the development of an iron and iron ore industry which dependence on wagon or even railroad transportation would have made unprofitable.

All the members of the Society that could be spared from the other community occupations worked at the building of the canal. The men dug; the women carried the earth to the banks in baskets on their heads. Thus the celibate rule of the Society apparently vindicated itself, or at least proved a most fortuitous circumstance. For without the aid of the women it is doubtful if the work could have been undertaken. The Society completed its portion of the canal in 1828, and nav-

34 The term Zoarites was early applied to the Separatists by the people of the vicinity.

35 Mrs. August Burkhart, June 30, 1932.

said to contain some excellent medicinal qualities, for the better use and improvement of which, a house is erected over it. The face of the country is generally rolling, interspersed with some flat plains; water good. The chief products of the soil are wheat, rye, corn, barley, oats, flax, and hemp, wheat is the staple article. Horses, cattle, and sheep are improving. The more hilly part of the country in the vicinity of the village contains considerable deposits of iron ore, which is being mined and which is daily hauled to the banks of the Ohio Canal, from thence shipped on board of canal boats to the several blast furnaces north and south, a distance of from 18 to 150 miles. Stone coal is also found among the hills, yet not in such quantities as the iron-ore.

Cheerfully would I submit other information in answer to your request, if at present recollected, but deeming the foregoing to be the most important, I conclude, remaining yours,....." 37

A few weeks after the above letter was written the cholera broke out in Zoar. When the epidemic was over, the population of the town had been reduced a third. The disease was introduced by a traveler from a passing canal boat. He had been taken ill a short distance near Zoar, and the crew, probably suspecting the nature of his illness, had forced him to leave the boat. The Zoarites took him to the tavern they had established on the banks of the canal, and took care of him. He died within a few days, and was buried by the Society.

Shortly after his burial, a woman appeared in Zoar who said that the dead man was her husband, and that she wished to recover the money he had on his person. She was informed that it would be necessary to disinter the body as his belongings had not been touched. The woman hired a stranger to open the grave, and recovered several hundred dollars from the dead man's clothes. That night the cholera appeared
38
in Zoar.

Bäumeler ministered to the members of the community both as pastor and physician. He went about the sick, making the utmost use of his stock of medical knowledge.

⁴² See pages 93, 109.

of some six thousand words, and it described with considerable detail the mutual responsibilities of the officers and members of the Society.

The introduction stated the motives of association:

"In order...to secure our consciences that satisfaction proceeding from the faithful execution of the duties which the Christian religion demands, and to plant and establish the spirit of love as the bond of peace and unity for a permanent foundation of social order for ourselves and our posterity forever, we therefore seek and desire in accordance with pure Christian principles to unite our various individual interests into one common stock; and, conformable with the example of the primitive Christians, all inequalities and distinctions of rank and fortune shall be abolished from among us, and we shall live as brothers and sisters of one common family."

The government of the Society was placed in the hands of an agent general, a cashier or treasurer, a board of three trustees, and a standing committee of five. A majority was required for the election of all these officers; in the event of a tie, the balloting was continued until a majority was secured. An incumbent could be re-elected any number of times, but the Society reserved the right to recall any officer before the expiration of his term. This right of recall, however, was never exercised during the lifetime of the Society.

The constitution further provided for regular elections, the admittance and ejection of members, and for an "Education Institute" for the children of the community. The constitution could be amended by the concurrence of two-thirds of the voting members, provided that "such alteration shall always be founded upon the principles of unity and conservation of the Society." Finally, it was expressly stated that nothing in the new constitution could be regarded as abrogating

⁵ Constitution, Article 12.

office and community opinion was probably fairly well crystallized before the voting took place.

The elections were conducted by a committee of four members appointed by the Society. This committee counted the ballots, and informed the successful candidates of their selection in writing. During the meeting, the constitution was read to the assembled members. The women of Zoar enjoyed equal political rights with the men. They took an active interest in the Society elections, and most of them exercised their right of franchise. It is said that the women usually supported the older members in preference to younger candidates. While there was no legal bar to prevent a woman from holding office, this never occurred.

The 1824 constitution had created the office of arbitrator, and Bäumeler had been elected to fill it. This office was abolished in 1833, and was replaced by that of agent general. The latter exercised a general managerial function, supervised the conduct of the Society enterprises, and acted as the community's intermediary with the outside world. Bäumeler filled this office until his death in 1853, and also served as cashier and as a member of the Standing Committee. The office of agent general was never filled after his death, and the duties were taken over by the cashier and the trustees.

The trustees were elected for three years, and the elections were so arranged that it was never necessary to elect more than one trustee at each election. The trustees were almost always re-elected to office. Thus, between the years 1833 and 1898 the trusteeships were held

8. Mr. Levi Bimeler, July 19, 1932.

10

binding in all cases." This committee passes on all important resolutions adopted by the trustees, and the latter were responsible to it for all their acts. The constitution clearly intended that a check be thus created on the wide powers of the trustees, for they were not permitted to serve on the Standing Committee. When it was necessary to choose a new trustee, a member of the Committee was almost invariably selected. In fact, there were but two exceptions to this practice from 1833 to 1899.¹¹ The Committee thus served as a kind of training school for the elder statesmen.

The 1819 articles had not prescribed the method by which new members should be taken into the Society, merely stating that the Society could increase or diminish its membership. Evidently it was at once found necessary to make certain stipulations regarding the mutual obligations of community and member. As early as 1820, applicants were required to sign a contract with the directors. The following was a typical contract of that early period:

"The undersigned hereby make known that they have concluded a contract with the authorized Directors of the Separatist Society of Year, according to which they promise to perform faithfully and industriously the work they are directed to do. However, no demands for wages or other payment may be made aside from the customary food and clothing."¹²

¹⁰ Constitution, Article 4. One of the former members said that this appellate function of the Committee was not generally known to the members, and added, "How much could they be expected to know of a constitution which was read to them but once a year?"

¹¹ Roll Book of the Society, See Appendix III for a list of the Society officers.

¹² Contract of Anna Maria, Anna Katherina, and Magdalena Luzin with the Society, February 15, 1820, Year 1822.

sibility for such debts. Concealment of any obligations was sufficient cause for ejection from the Society. Children of the community did not automatically become members. After attaining legal age, children were required to spend a year as novitiates, and then to make formal application for admittance into the second class.

The contract signed by the first class members was made longer and more specific in 1833. It consisted of ten articles, and its language, full of legal redundancies, was in marked contrast with the simple agreement of 1820 quoted above. The new members now promised to obey all the orders of the trustees, "as long as strength and health would permit." The members agreed to place their minor children under the control of the trustees, "in the same manner as if they had been bound by indentures to serve and dwell with them." The trustees bound themselves to furnish the members with dwelling, board, and clothing, "the clothing to consist at any time of not less than two suits," and proper care in the event of sickness.

Article four concerned the conduct of the members:

"Good and moral behavior, such as is enjoined by strict observance of the principles of Holy writ, are by both parties to be observed; hence it is clearly understood that all profane language, immoral words or acts, which may cause offence among the other members of this community, are not only wholly to be avoided, but, on the contrary, all are to endeavor to set good examples and to cherish general and mutual love."

The fifth article declared that the object of the agreement was the preservation of peace and unity in the Society. Since this could be secured only through the maintenance of equality among the

It appears that during the later period of the Society's history, applicants were not always permitted to enter the probationary class at once, but worked for the Society at regular wages for a year or more. This gave the Society and the applicant an opportunity for mutual acquaintance. If the acquaintance proved satisfactory, the applicant was received as a probationary member.¹⁸

Probationers became full members by signing the constitution of the Society. They were thus made subject to the provisions of the sixth article, whereby they renounced all claim to whatever property they might have brought with them into the Society, and to all property they might receive in the future through inheritance or gift. This latter provision effectively barred such claims as were brought against the Society by non-members whose relatives had died in the Society.

Typical of these claims was that made by a sister of Anna Maria Baumeler, Sophia Weiler, of Abershausen, Württemberg. In 1855, the latter wrote to Zoar asking for her share in her mother's property. Anna Maria replied, "According to our laws, this is impossible, since they specifically state that all property brought into the Society, whatever it may be, must remain the property of the Society."¹⁹

There are a number of letters of application extant, but as practically all of them are contemporaneous with the later history of the Society, they will be considered in a succeeding chapter. One letter is quoted here, however, because of its unusual interest. It is

18. Hinds, W. A. op. cit., 97

19. November 22, 1855, Coleman MSS.

of membership. Heim was given some compensation, however, and signed the following receipt:

"Received, Zoar, September 21, 1838, of Jacob Silvan, Jacob Aokerman and Lewis F. Birk, Trustees of the Separatists Society of Zoar, Twenty-five dollars, it being Considered as an Extra Compensation in full for all the Superior Services the said Friederich Heim Claims to have rendered to the Separatist Society, up to this present date, without any further Charge or Claim whatever." 21

The payment made to Heim was not a special dispensation, for the constitution of the Society provided that all seceding members could present their claims to the Standing Committee. Apparently some compensation was usually made, but the amounts were seldom larger than that given Heim. Women members who left the Society fared better, for they were frequently permitted to take with them clothing and household goods of considerable value. When Juliana Thiriet left Zoar in 1852, she was given this imposing list of personal effects:

"1 small Bedstead	\$3.00
1 small Chest	2.50
1 ditto smaller	1.00
1 small Trunk	.50
1 Bed	25.00
Calico from the Zoar Store	1.50
2 Dresses from the Zoar Store at 1.50	3.00
2 Dresses at 1.00	2.00
2 Woolen Dresses at 4.50	9.00
1 Woolen Dress at	3.25
1 Woolen Dress at	2.50
2 Woolen Shirts at 2.25	4.50
3 Linen Shirts	3.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 Aprons	2.00
2 Aprons of Linen Cloth at .75	1.50
2 Aprons of common Cloth at .25	.50
1 Bonnet	.50
1 Carpet	3.00
8 Pairs Stockings	3.00

Appeal to the conscience of the individual member was probably more effective during the early years of the Society. Then the moral force of the Separatist principles, and personal influence of Baumeler's spiritual leadership could be called upon to bring the erring brother back into the paths of grace. After Baumeler's death, and after the decline of the early religious fervor, appeal to community opinion was doubtless the most effective regulatory force. In the Nachtschule, or Sunday evening meetings, opportunity was given to admonish those members whose conduct during the preceding week had not been entirely exemplary. But it seems that such chastisement was rarely severe or unduly embarrassing to the recipients, and the practice lapsed during the later years of the Society.

Sometimes individuals were admonished privately in writing. Thus Ludwig Birk, a trustee of the Society from 1838 to 1851, found it necessary to take to task one Christian Bauer, a laborer employed by the community. The letter was dated July 21, 1848:

"I have recently learned that you are following certain habits of conduct which are somewhat offensive, or very annoying to various people, especially those in close proximity to you, and I regard it as my duty to forbid you this procedure, so that you may avoid it in the future, if you are so inclined. One of the matters to which I refer is this. It is said, that when you bathe, you frequently uncover your body, and this is embarrassing for women who happen to come into your vicinity. You should avoid this entirely, or bathe in a secluded place.

It is also said that at your customary work you are very negligently dressed. This, likewise, is offensive to people who come in, and sometimes irritating, and you should carefully avoid this at once. And finally I understand that you are over particular in your eating, and that you do not like many of the foods which we eat. In this matter, also I believe that you are going contrary to the regulations. When people live here, it is always expected that they live with

work as a carpenter, or at whatever I may be called, with all willingness, and to help with whatever talents given me by my Creator when it is demanded of me. Do not consider this as disobedience to the Society and the officers, but take it as coming from a sincere heart, and as from a son who would save his dear father from all accusations of partiality.

I would prefer that you keep this out of the hands of anyone other than yourself." 27

Sylvan's reference to his father was occasioned by the fact that the latter, Trustee Jacob Sylvan, had recently died. Apparently the son feared that his appointment to the postmastership would have led others to suspect his father of having arranged it before his death.

Evidently Sylvan's objections were considered valid, for Christian Wiebel was made postmaster.
28

The constitution did not specifically state the misdemeanors which rendered a member liable to expulsion from the Society. It merely and the trustees to maintain peace and order, and provided that the Standing Committee should act as a court of appeals. In actual practice, it seems that the Trustees and the Standing Committee united to form the tribunal of the Society. Cases of expulsion were surprisingly few. The first time this occurred was in 1838 when Bernhard Friederich Sieber and his wife were expelled. The findings of the Society court in this case are quoted at some length here because they throw considerable light on the subject discussed in the preceding pages, that is, the maintenance of authority within the Society.

Sieber became a member of the Society May 12, 1835, bringing

27. October 23, 1862, Coleman MSS.

28. The duties of the postmastership were combined with the management of the general store.

In the remainder of the report, the Society officers stated that at various times they had admonished Sieber "to fulfill the Duties involving upon him, and to improve his manner of Conduct." But Sieber had refused to mend his ways, and "had answered the Trustees with Reproach." His wife had declared herself of the same mind as her husband. The Society court therefore found it necessary to expel the recalcitrant ones from membership.

The Society kept complete records of the details incident to the trials of those members who were brought to account for their alleged misdemeanors. From these records it is apparent that nothing suggestive of Star Chamber procedure was ever employed by the officers of the Society. During the preliminary examination of the accused by the trustees, two other members were present as witnesses. The proceedings of the trial were open to all members who wished to be present, and the defendant was given full opportunity to testify in his own behalf. Before sentence was passed, the arraigned member was given an opportunity to recant. Trials were conducted with all the dignity and order of a regular court of justice, and all testimony was taken down verbatim. In one instance, at least, the trial court was supplemented by other members of the Society, in addition to the officers. This was true of the proceedings against Christian Weiszhaar, who was summoned to appear before the trustees on January 19, 1843.

31. Sieber filed suit against the Society after his expulsion, See page 188.

32. These records may be found in the Zoar MSS. and the Coleman MSS.

33. Proceedings against Christian Weiszhaar, Zoar MSS.

On January 23, 1843, the trustees, the Standing Committee, and seven other members reviewed the findings of the previous hearing. Weiszhaar's slanderous allegations regarding the officers and members were vigorously denied. The Society court declared that since Weiszhaar had consistently refused to make any amends for his derelictions, and had shown no remorse for his conduct, his name should be struck from the roll of membership. But with a leniency that strikes one as surprising in the light of the man's conduct, he was given permission to remain in Zoar, and to work for his maintenance, "but only with the express condition that he give bond for his peaceful behavior." However, the members were ordered to refrain from all association and acquaintance with Weiszhaar, and those who might have been in sympathy with him were warned of the unfortunate results of his own misconduct.

Evidently the practice of permitting expelled members to remain with the privilege of working for their board and lodging was followed in other instances than that of Weiszhaar. In 1848, the trustees ordered Conrad Breymaier, an expelled member, and his family, to leave Zoar unless they agreed to these conditions:

"Said Breymaier and family must submit themselves to the orders and regulations of the trustees as the present order of this Society requires generally. That is, they shall industriously and faithfully labor for said Society, and deport themselves to the full satisfaction of its officers, and such without any other remuneration for the same, than the usual clothing, boarding and dwelling. No other demands will be accepted nor paid by the Society." 36

35. Proceedings against Christian Weiszhaar, Zoar MSS.

36. Eviction Notice served on Conrad Breymaier, Coleman MSS.

projecting dormers frequently broke the expanse of tiled roofs. Most of the homes stood close to the walks, but the vine-covered lattices of the porches made for privacy. These porches were paved with brick and were furnished with long wooden benches. The side-walls of the houses were sometimes cross-barred, and invariably covered with lattices upon which grape vines were trained. A few of the homes had balconies projecting from their second stories, and on all of them green shutters swung back from the many-paned windows.

There were always porches in the rear of the homes. These porches looked upon paved courts, formed of the walls of the adjoining buildings, the wash-house, the wood-shed, and the carpenter shop. On the sides, and to the rear of the house and out-buildings, were the vegetable and flower gardens.

The rooms of the houses were built large and square, but with the exception of some of the later homes, the ceilings were low. The foundations and cellars were constructed of sandstone mined from the Society's own quarries. ² Some of these cellars were eleven feet deep, with vaulted stone ceilings, and tremendously thick walls. Always cool in the summer, they gave the Zoar housewife an excellent place in which to keep foods, although their dark, steep staircases were inconvenient. These cellars were also admirable places in which to store wine and cider.

The county roads from Belivar, Sandyville, Mineral City and

-
2. The first quarry was operated south-east of Zoar, east of what is now the home of Mr. Peter Bimeler. About 1880, another quarry was opened across the river, on the Wolfberg.

the roof of the portico and a balcony above. From the balcony other columns supported a wide gable which projected from the roof of the house itself. The roof was broken by dormers, and surmounted by a cupola. Iron railings of beautiful workmanship enclosed both portico and balcony. The windows, seven feet in height, and with massive sandstone sills and lintels, were protected with wooden shutters.

The house above described was designed by an outside architect, but the brick buildings erected later were planned by members of the Society. In all these later brick structures, the influence of the Georgian design of Bäumeler's house was evident. This was especially true of the Meeting House, which stood on a hill overlooking the town from the north.⁴ This building was rectangular in shape, with plain corner pilasters of sandstone and with a cupola instead of a tower. The small, square panes of the windows were surmounted by fan-shaped transoms. The two doorways which opened on the north side were baroque; the paneled doors were Georgian. The lintel design above the doors used the Separatist star with a combination of acanthus leaf and Grecian honeysuckle. The high, wooden ceiling of the Meeting House was curved and the plastered walls of the interior was undecorated.

The minor industries of the Society, such as the wagon shop,

-
4. This was built in 1853 to replace the original log structure located in the south-eastern part of Zoar.
 5. The significance of the Separatist star is obscure, but it was always associated with the plan of the New Jerusalem as described in Revelations. A star made of colored silk was worn by the Separatists in Germany as the badge of their faith. A large star was beautifully worked in colors on the ceiling above the landing of the staircase in Bäumeler's residence. CF. Betrachtung der Sieben Tagwerke, 2.

The early Separatists spoke the dialect of Württemberg that is Schwäbisch. But as time went on certain influences gave the Zoar dialect characteristics of its own. Blümeler encouraged the use of correct German, and his use of precise language in his Sunday discourses, and in his daily conversations, had considerable influence. The teachers in the community school used High German, and insisted on its use by the students. "Buchstabiere das!" was Simon Beuter's expression when one of his students used a Swabianism which defied orthography.⁸

But as most of those who joined the Society from time to time were peasants from southern Germany, the efforts to keep the Zoar diction pure, were not altogether successful. The laborers hired by the Society spoke the dialects of their respective places of origin, and this doubtless had some influence. Then, too, the Zoar dialect was constantly subjected to an influx of German-Americanisms which no vigilance on the part of the purists could exclude.⁹ The language spoken was thus the resultant of several south German dialects, leavened by the academic speech of the school. At its best, the Zoar speech was pleasant sounding and very expressive.

The dress of the early Separatists was similar to the costume characteristic of the Quakers, although no distinctive uniform was ever prescribed. The uniformity of the dress of the Zoar men and women

8. Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 12, 1932.

9. For example, Trubl for trouble, and Reber for river.

The women wore bonnets similar to those worn by the Quaker women, plain ones for week-days, and for Sundays, more elaborate ones of dark silk. For outdoor work in the summer, the women wore straw bonnets, with a fringe of cloth in the rear to protect the neck. Wide-brimmed straw hats were worn in the summer by both men and women. The rye straw from which the hats were made was split and braided by the children and the old people during the winter evenings. Jewelry and ornamental articles of dress were forbidden, although each male member was permitted a plain silver watch.

11

In their week-day working attire of overalls and jumpers, nothing distinguished the Zoar men from their American neighbors, except their peculiar beards. The face was kept clean-shaven, except for a fringe of hair down the side of the face and under the chin, as is the practice of certain of the Mennonite sects today. In the later years of the Society's existence, the young men wore mustaches instead of beards, although this innovation was deprecated as smacking too much of the military. But the Sunday attire of the male Separatist was for a time peculiar, consisting as it did of high-crowned hats, long-waisted, wide-flapped vests, and swallow-tailed coats. However, these peculiarities may be ascribed to the conservatism of the community tailors, rather than to anything else. The above description:

12

11 But in the Zoar Museum there have been preserved certain hand-carved bone hair ornaments and hair pins of beautiful workmanship which would indicate that the instinct for adornment was not entirely crushed by the restrictions of communal life.

12 Mr. Frank Kappel, July 29, 1932. A barbershop was maintained, and its services were available on certain days of the week. One of the tailors acted as barber.

be so as I have understood, I would yet mention, that it is our wish you should not sell any article out of the Store to any of our people here, that might be members of the Society...unless it should be for persons that are in our employ, working for wages....." 14

Before the abandonment of colibacy, the members were divided arbitrarily into about twenty households, with from three to fifteen individuals in each household. In some there were all women, in some all men, in others both men and women. This system was abandoned after marriage was resumed, but as many of the houses were large, they were occupied by two and sometimes three families. The houses were numbered, and the Zoarites used these numbers rather than the family names in referring to the various homes, a practice which is still followed in Zoar, to some extent, at the present time. Each house formed a unity in the distribution of supplies, in the preparation of food, and in the care of vegetable garden. The care of the garden was relegated to the women and children. Each household raised as much poultry as it chose, and the surplus eggs were sold.

The community bakery was located in the northern part of the village on Main Street. Until about 1840, two women operated the bakery but after that time the bakers were men. The bread was baked during the day on the hearths of the great ovens, and distributed in the evening. The housewives brought with them squares of white linen cloth in which the hot loaves were wrapped to be carried home. Much of the products of the bakery was used by the hotel in the later days

14. Coleman MSS.

15. Mitchener, C.H., op.cit., 324-325

16. The men who served as the community bakers during the last forty years of the Society's existence were Jacob Ackermann, John Kuecherer, Frank Sylvan, Benjamin Rieker, and Frank Ackermann.

illumination before the adoption of candles. Old butter was used for cooking instead of animal fat. Coffee was served in limited quantities, and was used only on Sundays and on special occasions. For ordinary use, a substitute was prepared from rye roasted in the bakery. Butter was likewise used but sparingly although large amounts were made for export. Milk was issued every morning from the dairy, but the members had to be content with skimmed milk as the cream was used in the making of butter. There was no attempt made to regulate the amount of food used, nor were any accounts kept of the quantities consumed by the various households. Each family asked for what it considered necessary, and when it was visited by outside friends, it was given additional supplies.

18

Beer was made in the great red-tiled brewery east of the village, and was served the men daily at their four o'clock lunch or

Wrotessen Zeit. The beer of Zoar was made from barley and hops grown on the community fields and its excellence has become legendary. Cider was served at the mid-morning lunch. Beer or cider was served also when there was an especially arduous task to be performed, such as harvesting, butchering, or ice cutting. Wine was made from grapes and currants, the latter being grown on the Weinberg, a hill immediately north of the brewery, but its use was ordinarily confined to special

19

18. Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 9, 1932.

19. Ice was harvested from the river, the canal, the fish pond, and from the bottoms west of Zoar which were flooded for this purpose. It was used chiefly by the hotel, although in later years some of the homes were furnished with refrigerators. These were huge affairs, made in the community carpenter shop. The ice was distributed by the Stadles Bauer, the community odd job man.

Grace was said in unison before and after each meal, while everyone stood. One of the familiar prayers was the following:

"Jesus, wir gehen zu dem Essen,
Lass uns deiner nicht vergessen,
Dank, Du bist des Himmels Brot,
Speis zugleich auch unsere Seele,
Die wie dir jetzt anbefehle.
Steh uns bei in aller Not,
Gib, dass wir nach dieser Erden,
Deine Gast im Himmel werden." 21

With the resumption of marriage, provision was made for the rearing of the children of the Society in a community nursery, or Kinder Anstalt. After reaching the age of three, the child was placed in the Anstalt, and remained there until he was fourteen. At that age children could be returned to their parents, although this was not always done. The girls' home was located in the upper story of the old Meeting House, although the girls took their meals in a nearby house. The boys' home was nearby. Except for the hours during the day when the children were in school, they were completely under the charge of the women supervisors of the institution. They were rarely permitted to visit their parents.

The principal object in the establishment of the community nursery appears to have been the same object which led the Zionites to

21. Mrs. Salome Reiter and Mrs. Lily Sturm. Some of the other graces said were these:

"Yom, Herr Jesu, sei unser Gast,
Und setze uns in uns Bettcher's Gast."
"Mir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ,
Dass u unser Gast gewesen bist."
"Wenn Du vergessen hast, und setz dich,
Sollst du den Herrn lieblich mit loben."

hang up their wet garments with no means of drying them, and in the
 winter these would be frozen stiff by morning. ²³ In about the year
 1840, Jacob Ackermann, one of the trustees, refused to place his
 daughter in the community home. ^From that time on, no attempt was
 made to remove children from their own homes, if the parents objected.
 The Anstalt continued to be used as an orphanage, however, until
²⁴
 about 1860.

The Society's attempt to institutionalize the care of the
 aged was even less successful. ^The plan to house the old people in
 the building later occupied by Baumeler was abandoned shortly after
 the completion of the structure. The character of the interior of
 the building suggests that it was intended for institutional, rather
 than for private, purposes. ^There are many bedrooms, but most of them
 are small, not at all in keeping with the scale on which the house was
 built. Moreover, the dining room is very large.

Some of the aged Separatists did live there for a time, and
 a Spinnatube, or Spinning Room was established in the southern wing.
 Here the old women came to spin. Exactly why the project was abandoned
 is not clear, but it was because of the objections of the older

²³ Mrs. Salome Beiter, Mrs. Elizabeth Beiter, and Mr. Levi Bimeler.
 Among the care-takers in the later period of the Kinder Anstalt
 were Christina Walder, known as Die Grosze Christie, an enor-
 mous woman, and Marguarite Bühringer, known as Die Alte Marguar-
ite.

²⁴ The exact date of the abandonment of the children's home is in
 doubt, but a Zoar visitor of 1859 described it. The Ohio States-
man, September 18, 1859.

After the boys were ten years old or thereabouts, they assisted their elders at various tasks. In the summer, many of them were employed in the community flower garden. Two or three boys were assigned to assist the cowherd in driving the herd of over a hundred cows to and from the pasture. Some helped at plowing by driving the teams for the men to plow. When other work was lacking, there was always an unlimited supply of willow withes to be made into baskets. As soon as the boys were strong enough they were given heavier tasks on the farms or in the shops.

The duties of the girls were not confined to household affairs. They worked in the harvest fields, raking behind the cradlers. With sickles, they cut that part of the grain left standing along the fence rows. They stowed away hay in the mows, and carried water and lunches to the men. In the early days, the girls herded the sheep:

"The sheep though not of the finest wool, are bred with a view to the profits arising from them, and divided into small droves, each of which has a shepherdess assigned it, who takes some light work in her hands, and with the assistance of a dog trained for that purpose, moves her flocks off to their hills in the morning, and gradually returns them to their fold again, by the time the sun is down and the men are returned from their work." 25

Dairying was one of the important community enterprises, and it was conducted for the most part by girls between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. The cows were stabled in a huge barn on the western edge of the village. A group of girls arose every morning before day-break, milked the cows, fed them, and cleaned the stalls. They then carried the milk in pails on their heads to the dairy, about two hun-

25 Jenkins, Warren; The Ohio Gazetteer and Traveller's Guide, 490.

occupied by the Zoar women in the life of the community is epitomized by a rhyme they coined about the last named occupations:

"Michele, und Ursula, und drei so starke Barbara,
Die schlagat d'Weize sauber' rau!"²⁷

In addition to the tasks just mentioned, there were the homes to care for, and the meals to prepare. Some of the houses were supplied by running water piped from the springs on the hill in the northern part of the village, but this was about the extent of what might be called convenience. Kitchen floors were scoured with sand daily, and the brick or stone-paved porches were scrubbed every morning.

"The women seem as if perpetually scrubbing, and in every house we passed, we heard the mop in motion. Floors, porches, benches, pavements, trees, stables, children, and animals, all things in short, undergo the same daily manipulation, as if the least speck of dirt was the enemy of every housewife in the village and must needs be simultaneously wiped out by combined effort. Cleanliness and order are everywhere manifest, and the most important business as well as the simplest household duties are performed with the regularity of the old fashioned clock which ticks with dignified stolidity in the barroom of the village tavern."²⁸

There was no particular uniformity about the interior arrangements of the Zoar homes, but this may be said of most of them. The front entrance usually opened upon a hall from which an open staircase ascended to another hall immediately above. The front door was rarely used, however, except on state occasions. There was usually a Wohnzimmer, or parlour. In conformity with the wide-spread custom of the last century, this room was seldom used but kept

27. "Michele, and Ursula, and three so sturdy Barbaras,
They flail the wheat out cleanly."

28. The Ohio Statesman, September 18, 1859.

with glass doors, in which were kept treasured pieces of china or lustre ware.

In a community life so filled with a multiplicity of occupations there was little time for organized or formal recreation, even had the desire for such diversion existed. ^But the communal character of much of the work performed in the evening allowed an element of recreation. This was true of sugar making in the spring, in the maple woods outside of Zoar. It was true of apple-butter making in the fall. Some of the seasonal occupations were entirely relegated to the boys and girls. To them was given the task of picking up the apples from beneath the many trees of the village in the summer and fall. They made a game of it. Large quantities of hops were grown for the brewery. They ripened in August and then had to be picked from the stems by hand. The vines were arranged in great piles on the floor of one of the larger buildings, and benches placed about these piles. The Hopfe-zopfe, or hop-pulling, occupied the boys and girls during many of the August evenings. They sang together as they worked, and afterwards walked home.

Singing accompanied all the tasks in which the children participated. When their elders were present hymns were sung, for the characteristic folk songs of southern Germany were forbidden until the later years of the Society's existence. But despite this prohibition, the children learned them from the hired laborers who had no religious

30 "Lass die September Sonne,
Nicht auf die Hopfe komme." Zoar Sprichwort.

restriction. However, the rule against marriage outside the community was rather successfully enforced, and most of the marriages were within the Society. Members who married outsiders were obliged to leave the Society. The weddings were not marked by any particular festivities. The ceremony was never performed as a religious rite, but was conducted by that member of the Society who served as justice of the peace.

The traditional holidays, with the exception of Christmas, were not observed in Zoar until the last years of the Society's
33
existence. Even Christmas was observed in but a perfunctory manner, with the exception of an appropriate discourse delivered in the Meeting House on the preceding Sunday. Large gingerbread hearts were made in the bakery, and distributed to the members, who supplemented these with Springlele, and other Christmas cakes of their own making. But the usual festival character of the day was absent. There were no Christmas trees, no gifts, and consequently, no Santa Claus legend for the children. On Palm Sunday, a local tradition was observed which may have been associated with that holy day. On that day the entire community went to the great sheep barn on the hill east of Zoar to
34
see the young lambs turned into the fields.

The Society established a community garden, or park, early in

33. "July 4, 1895: Our trustees ordered a holiday this year for the first time--what now mischief will be next? Everything for voluptuousness and mischief, but nothing for God." Simon Beuter's Tag- Buch.

34. Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 8, 1932.

filled with flowers. A row of bee hives lines the western side of the garden. A visitor of 1897 has left this enthusiastic description:

".....a veritable Dutch garden, aglow with old-fashioned flowers, brought by cultivation to a degree of perfection that is marvelous; the most beautiful zinnias, that run the gamut of the rainbow for color; rare roses with unpronounceable names; pomegranate and lemon trees (in boxes, to be sure,) full of fruit; glowing masses of salvia, purple beds of fragrant heliotrope, borders of sweet mignonette, stately lilies, great splashes of ragged pansies, gaily-nodding pinks and glorious dahlias; while cypress, morning-glories and honeysuckles run riot and bind the mass into one paradise of color and fragrance." 37

Until the middle of the century, the collection of flowers and plants possessed by the Zoar garden was probably the most complete in Ohio. Orders for plants and bulbs were received from all over the state and from other places as remote as Iowa. The garden was established primarily for the pleasure of the members, and it was much frequented by them. The hothouse furnished house plants to those who wanted them, and it supplies seeds and bulbs for the individual flower gardens about the homes. People from a distance sent their oleanders and other rare plants to Zoar to be kept in the greenhouse during the winter.

The Zoarites love of flowers was equaled by their fondness for music. Hymns formed an important part of their Sunday Meetings, and they were sung on many other occasions, whenever their work brought the Zoarites together in the evenings. Baumeler was a pianist, and at

37. Mrs. Wilson G. Smith, in The Peterson Magazine, August, 1897, quoted in Hinds, W. A., op. cit., 94-95.

38. "The house is considered a great public convenience, inasmuch as it enables all who wish to furnish themselves with choice house plants of every description, and to return them there for preservation against the frost in the fall. This is done by the inhabitants of Cleveland, and other points on the lake shore, and the line of the Ohio and Erie Canal." Jenkins, W., op. cit., 490

ing, with Zoar wine or beer to assuage the thirst aroused by the strenuous harmony.

40

The orchestra held its rehearsals on Monday and Thursday evenings in the school house, and these were also open to all. In the 1880's its personnel was composed of the following: violins, Edwin Weber and Joseph Bimeler; cornet, Louis Zimmermann; clarinet, David Harr; bass violin, August Kuecherer; trombone, Frank Sylvan; piano, David Sylvan and Levi Bimeler.

A men's chorus was organized in the last decade of the community's existence. It was first known as the Männerchor Eintracht, then as the Zoar Männerchor. Composed of about fifteen singers, it practiced every Wednesday evening under the direction of Levi Bimeler. Included in its repertoire were many of the familiar German folk songs, such as Die Lorelei, Mein Junges Leben, Was blickst du, armer Fischerknabe? and Verlassen. A singing school was also conducted about this time by Mr. Bimeler, who was one of the Society's school teachers, and a pianist and organist of real ability.

41

The first pianos owned by the Society were built by one of the members. About the year 1845, a German by the name of Fritz, who had been working in the Society's ore mines, asked admittance to membership. He was a pianist of some ability, and apparently a man of good education. Having no trade, he was assigned to the carpenter shop.

40. "After the entertainment, the singers and the band had their annual reunion, with oysters and bread and beer...The party did not break up until 2 o'clock. Some of the men were very much cheered." Gunn, Note-Book, 33.

41. Mr. Levi Bimeler, July 27, 1932, to whom I am indebted for the above account of the Society's musical organizations.

might not lack an organist for its religious services. This was in marked contrast to the policy of the Harmony Society which engaged capable teachers, and spent literally thousands of dollars for instruments, music and instruction for its members. In Zoar little or nothing was done to assist individuals who gave promise of real ability in music. The story of Jacob Albert Beuter is a case in point.

Albert Beuter (as he later called himself) was the son of Simon Beuter, the community gardener. The boy early showed a real passion for music, and taught himself to play on one of the little spinets which Fritz had built. He frequently neglected the tasks assigned him in the community garden to practice his music, and was just as frequently punished for his derelictions. The early bed time at the Gartenhaus made it impossible for him to use the late evening hours, so he sometimes managed to gain access to the school house where there was a piano. It is said that his music was often heard there at all hours of the night.

When Albert was eighteen years old, he realized that further progress in music was impossible in Zoar, and he decided to go to Economy, Pennsylvania, the home of the Harmony Society. The letter written by his father to Trustee R. L. Baker of the Harmony Society follows. The letter was dated May 20, 1862:

"Dear Friend: With tears in my eyes, I inform you that my son Jacob, 18 years of age, will apply to you for employment. Kindly give him an opportunity in this direction. If you can make a good Harmonite out of him, I shall bless you forever; bitter would it be for me, if he should fall among the world. He has had experience with garden, greenhouse and nursery work, binding of books, and has substituted for me, at times, in teaching school. He is talented partic-

Apparently he relented then, for one of his last compositions was given the name of the river that flowed past Zoar, Tuscarawas. His pieces were frequently played by the community band, and were very popular in Zoar. On June 26, 1892, Alexander Gunn made this entry in his Note-Books

"Now the band plays the "Tannhäuser March," and memories of old days come home. I have heard it in London and New York, in the midst of luxury and blazing jewels. Now in this remote village, its stately rhythm, like the tread of invisible hosts, lifts up my soul.... They now play the march Albert Beuter wrote before he died."

A sulphur spring east of Zoar on the Mineral City road was used for a time by the Society in the treatment of rheumatism and skin diseases. A house was built over the spring, and facilities provided for the heating of the water in which the patients bathed.³ The most prevalent diseases appear to have been malaria in the summer, and bronchitis in the winter. For some reason, the fall of the year was considered unhealthful, and prospective members from Germany were advised to come to Zoar in the spring so that they might be acclimated before the autumn season.⁴

Nordhoff says that the communistic life as practiced by the religious societies made for longevity.⁵ Whether true or not, his statement was apparently substantiated in the case of the Zoar Society, for many of the members lived to be seventy-five or eighty years old. In 1874, there were still about forty members who had come from Germany with the original company. More unusual was the number of aged members who continued to engage in active work. Gottfried Kappel was still superintending the operation of the woolen mill in 1876 at the age of eighty-six. Jacob Ackemann served as trustee from 1832 until his death in 1889 at the age of eighty-six, and performed the work of many a younger man until the last. John Sturm, trustee in charge of the farms, worked actively in the fields in his late seventies. Michael Miller, a member of the original company, taught the boys of Zoar basket weaving at the age of eighty-five.

3. The baths were discontinued in 1854.

4. Anna Maria Blumeler to Sophia Weiler, Abershausen, Württemberg, November 22, 1855, Coloman MSS.

5. Op.cit., 107.

curriculum of that time was confined to the traditional "Three R's."

Part of White's contract is quoted here:

".....witness, that the said Thomas White, for the Consideration hereinafter mentioned, hath agreed and doth hereby covenant and agree that he will keep a Common School for them at their School House in the town of Zoar, teaching reading, writing and arithmetic for the term of three months, Commencing on the 12th day of December, 1836. Continuing at the rate of keeping six hours each day in the day time & two hours at each evening, until the said term of three months is fulfilled, Calling sixty five days, three months,---And the said J. George Bähringer, Godfrey Kapple, & Henry Zeltman on their part do hereby covenant and agree, to pay the above Eighteen Dollars for each month, or fifty four Dollars for the whole term of sixty five days, at the Expiration of the said term....." 8

The tautological form of the teacher's contract of that early time was in marked contrast with the brevity with which his certificate to teach was worded. Ludwig Birk's certificate of 1838 consisted of one sentence:

"We the undersigned School Examiners of Tuscarawas County do hereby certify that we have examined Lewis F. Birk and find him qualified to teach reading writing and arithmetic----also that said Birk sustains a good moral character.

Joseph C. Hance
E. Greenwald." 9

By 1850, the school term had been lengthened to five months, and the teacher's salary to \$30.00 a month. A school was maintained for several weeks during the summer, but was attended by the Zoar children almost exclusively. Early in the history of the school, it was found necessary to employ two teachers, one for the "lower," and the other for the "upper," room. Students were promoted from the lower

8. January 17, 1837, Coleman MSS. The school directory named were all members of the Society, as was almost invariably the case.

9. Exact date is not given. Coleman MSS.

The solicitude of the Society for the moral welfare of its school children was further evidenced by the following excerpt from a letter written by Birk to a book dealer of Richmond, Ohio, in 1840:

"If You can not get all the foregoing books mentioned, You will have the kindness to supply their place with Books of an excellent Moral tendency, either for the use of common Schools or actual life, such as good & sound judgement would recommend for young people, who may wish to walk in the way that is good..."¹³

The English text books used included the McGuffey Eclectic Primers, Readers and Spellers, and Ray's Primary and Higher Arithmetics. By 1840, Smith's Productive Grammar had been added to the curriculum, and in 1855 McNally's Geography was being used. United States history was made a part of the course of study in the early seventies, and at this time text book innovations appeared in the form of Relter's Arithmetic, Mitchell's Geography, and Wilson's Intermediate Third Reader.

The German texts included Dix's Handfibel, Erstes Buch für deutsche Schulen, and Lesebuch für Oberklassen. Another German reader used was F. P. Wilmsen's Deutscher Kinderfreund für Schule und Haus, described on its frontspiece as being "especially for the use of the German Elementary Schools of North America." This book was really a combined reader, geography, history and physiology, all within the compass of some three hundred pages.¹⁴

There was never any dearth of applicants for the position of teacher in the Zoar school. In 1852, an application was received on

13. Birk to A. Linn, April 22, 1840, Coleman MSS.

14. Published by Wilhelm Rodde, New York, 1854.

homes, although some did find their way in. Probably the source of most of this forbidden literature was the hotel. A number of the girls of the Society worked there as waitresses and maids, and they were sometimes given books by the guests. ¹⁶ The Society subscribed to several German weekly newspapers, such as the Wöchentlich Weltboten, of Allentown, Pennsylvania, the Waechter und Anzeiger, of Cleveland, and the Germania. Others were Der Freiheits-Freund, published in Pittsburgh, and the New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung. These were passed from one household to the next.

Some periodicals of a fictional or semi-fictional character were subscribed for by the members themselves during the latter days of the Society's existence. By one means or another, a little money found its way into the homes, and it was possible to secure such magazines as the Gartenlaube, the Illustriertes Wochenblatt, and Daheim. A number of journals of a special or technical character were subscribed for by the trustees, such as the State Journal of Education, the Ohio Cultivator, the National Bank Note Reporter of Pittsburgh, the American Agriculturist of New York, and the Lumberman's Gazette, of Bay City, Michigan. The latter publications did not circulate among the members, but apparently were read only by the trustees and other officials of the Society.

-
16. Mrs. Salome Beiter had this to say in this regard: "Somehow or other I got hold of the Old Brewery, one of the typical thrillers of the seventies, and a similar novel, The Owl's Nest. The only chance I had to read these books was on Sunday afternoons, the only time I wasn't watched or had to work. So I hid them in the attic, and on Sunday afternoons would read them there. It was terrific hardship to have to wait a whole week before resuming the story."

This "pious, God-fearing, and virtuous youth," began taking notes on the Discourses in 1822:

"Through untiring effort, and with the aid of the good Spirit, he perfected himself to such an extent, that by 1832 he was able to duplicate verbatim almost an entire Discourse, and so conscientiously, that he completely excluded his own language." 20

Johannes Neef died in 1832, but after an interval of two years, another member of the Society took up the role of amanuensis. After Bäumeler's death, the absence of the Discourses was keenly felt. It was then discovered that the notes taken by Neef and his successor were sufficiently complete from the year 1830 on to permit of their being reproduced. In 1856, the Discourses were printed on a hand-press bought for the purpose, by a compositor and a printer hired by the Society. Some copies were also made of Terstegen's Blumen-Gürtlein, and of the Geistliche Lieder. The printed sermons formed three large octavo volumes totaling 2,574 pages. The frontispiece of the first volume bore the title:

Die Wahre Separation, oder die Wiedergeburt, Dargestellt in Geistreichen und erbaulichen Versammlungs-Reden und Betrachtungen. Besonders auf das gegenwärtige Zeitalter anwendbar. Gehalten in der Gemeinde in Zoar, im Jahr 1830. 21

The author of the preface to the Discourses, Jacob Sylvan, thus described them:

"The content of these published lectures differs completely from the erudition of the learned ones of the world, for it is not a knowledge learned or studied in great schools, which is clothed in

20. Die Wahre Separation, I, viii.

21. The True Separation, or the Rebirth, set forth in spiritual and edifying Meeting Discourses and Considerations, Pertaining especially to the present time. Hold in the Community in Zoar, in the year 1830.

It was this Vermischung, or mixture of good and evil, which was the heritage of every son of Adam, and it was this which made necessary the Rebirth. The Separation was at once a physical and a spiritual experience. It was spiritual in that the soul had to be separated from its inheritance of sin. It was physical in that the spiritual separation could only be attained by a separation from the world of the flesh. The physical separation was the method of the Separatist faith.

Bäumeler constantly re-emphasized the Separatist Principles, and his speeches reveal no retrogression from the faith as it was believed and practiced in Württemberg. He made no truce with priests and preachers. To him, they still derived their wisdom from schools rather than from God, and they still preached for pure gain. Men were all equal in the sight of God, and the outward forms of deference should be reserved for God alone. War was the work of the Devil, incited by him to increase his kingdom.

In one respect Bäumeler may be considered as deviating from, or rather, re-interpreting, an earlier Separatist belief. This was the belief in chiliasm, the doctrine that Christ would reappear to inaugurate His kingdom on earth. Bäumeler held that the scriptural passages on which the belief in the second advent were based referred, not to a physical re-creation of the world, but to a spiritual regeneration of man himself. In his Discourse for January 10, 1830, he said:

"You know, my friends, that in the beginning much was said

ious lives of the Separatists, and marriage was merely a civil ceremony.

With regard to chastity, Bäumeler supported the view set forth in the Principles, that while marriage was permissible, celibacy was more pleasing to God. He explained this by saying that although a holy life was possible in the marriage state, human weakness made purely pleasureable indulgence altogether too likely. And the marital relationship, except for the purposes of reproduction, was sinful. For this reason, the older Separatists never encouraged marriage, although Bäumeler himself married and had children.

The Separatists' abhorrence of ceremony was reflected in their attitude toward the usual holy days of the Christian churches. In Zoar, such days were given no further observance than an appropriate Discourse. Bäumeler considered one day as holy as another, Sunday included. If there was work to be done, it should be done, for nature made no distinction in this respect. Therefore, the Zoarites worked on Sunday whenever necessary.

Bäumeler's conviction that he was directly inspired by God in his Discourses derived, of course, from the essential mysticism of the Separatist faith. His hearers believed that they shared this inspira-

29. Die Wahre Separation, I, 16.

30. When Nordhoff visited Zoar in 1874, he asked the trustees if they favored marriage. "Marriage," they told him, "is on the whole unfavorable to community life. It is better to observe the celibate life. But it is not, in our experience, fatally adverse. It only makes more trouble; and, in either case, whether a community permit or prohibit marriage, it may lose members." Op.cit., 108. It may be observed, however, that the trustees were all married.

Separatists had no successor to her role, and the spiritualistic element had no place in the Separatist faith as practiced in Zoar. ³³

When Christian Metz, founder of the True Inspiration Society, visited Zoar in 1843, he experienced an inspiration. This was accompanied by the characteristic bodily tremors. The Zoarites were much impressed by this manifestation of the Holy Ghost, so much so that they talked about it thirty years after. When Hinds visited Zoar in 1876, they described the occurrence to him with some detail:

"The Separatists at Zoar gave me a most sensational account of the contortions and tremblings of Christian Metz while on a visit to their Society. They were not favorably impressed by the scene." ³⁴

If the Zoarites were not "favorably impressed" by the inspirational character of Metz's religion, neither was the latter particularly enthusiastic over Separatism as expounded by Blumeler. Metz recorded his impressions of the Meeting he attended in Zoar:

"On 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 their leading official, Blumeler." ³⁵

Blumeler did not confine himself to purely spiritual matters in his Sunday talks. He frequently reverted to his early role of school master, and instructed the members of the Society in all manner of subjects. Sylvan commented on this in the preface to the Discourses:

"It will, of course, not be offensive to the dear reader, when occasionally something appears in this book which does not entire-

33. Although some evidently retained their faith in the authenticity of Barbara's revelations. Cf. supra, 13.

34. Hinds, W. A., op. cit., 275.

35. Diary of Christian Metz, MSS. in possession of the Amana Society.

each day.

The Zoarites' dislike of formal services did not prevent the development of a precise routine in their Sunday meetings. The morning Meeting was given over to Bäumeler's Discourse. That of the afternoon was devoted to a study of the Scripture, and was comparable to a Sunday School service. In the evening, the members listened to readings from one or the other of the Pietistic writers, usually Terstegen:

"Jacob Boehme's writings are held in high regard by us. However, they are difficult to understand, and we prefer the writings of Gerhard Terstegen.....in the evenings we read from the book of some beloved writer." 39

In addition to the regular meetings, family prayers were held before breakfast and at bed time. Sometimes the evening prayers were supplemented by readings from the Bible, each member of the family taking part.

The interior of the Versammlungshaus was severe in its simplicity; it epitomized the Separatist faith. The white, plastered walls were not decorated, and the glass in the many-paned windows was unstained. But the absence of ornamentation was entirely in keeping with the simplicity of the interior lines of the building. Twenty tall windows with fan-shaped transoms met the lofty curved ceiling, and flooded the interior with light from four sides. The Meeting House had an air of quiet spaciousness.

38. Die Wahre Separation, I, 30-31.

39. Jacob Sylvan to Elizabeth Schermerhorn, East Limington, Maine, November, 1859. Coleman MSS.

The Psalterspiel was the original hymnal of the Community of True Inspiration. The Zoar Society secured its copies from the Inspirationist Society, in Ebenezer, New York, and later from Amana, Iowa, after the removal of the Inspirationists to that place. Most of the hymns in this collection were written by two founders of the Community of True Inspiration, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friederich Rock. Most of the songs in the Geistliche Lieder are unsigned, and their authorship is uncertain. Terstegen wrote some of them, and some are credited to Barbara Grubermann. Several were evidently composed by members of the Zoar Society for Zoar is mentioned in the text. As these are typical of many of the hymns in the collection, two are noted in part:

"Wir ziehen hin zur' Ruh'
Weil uns das Lamm regieret
Und mehr als Mutterlich
Sein Auge uns bewacht.
Dies Lamm hat uns nach Seel' und Leib
Höchst treu geführet,
Dass wir in Zoar sind
Erfreulichst herbracht.
Dort wird das Lamm uns recht erfrischen,
Und alle Thränen uns abwischen;
Da heisst's: Die Noth dient nur dazu
Dass desto herrlicher die Ruh!" 43

41. Gruber was a Lutheran preacher of Stuttgart who was banished from Württemberg in 1707 for his Pietistic innovations. Rock, a saddler of the same place, was also banished. It is highly probable that the Zoarites were familiar with the Psalterspiel in Württemberg.

42. The complete title was: Sammlung auserlesener Geistlicher Lieder von gemeinschaftlichen Gesang und eigenen Gebrauch in Christlichen Familien.

43. Ibid., 125

the Meeting House as well as the Sunday School. In their afternoon exercises, the boys and girls were questioned on the morning Discourse, and if they were unable to render a quotation, they were punished. To avoid this contingency, they sometimes took paper and pencil along to meeting, and took notes on what was said. Some of the children attended the other services even after the obligation to do so was removed. Parental suggestion doubtless had something to do with this, but a number went because they enjoyed the singing. ⁴⁵

After Baumeler's death in 1853, Jacob Sylvan was appointed to take his place as spiritual leader. Sylvan was a good writer, but a poor speaker, and Christin Wiebel read his discourses for him. Sylvan died in 1862, and his passing was sincerely mourned. He had been one of the original company, and his acceptance of the Separatist faith had been unquestioning and complete. Since 1837, he had served the Society as a trustee. Of him, Simon Beuter wrote:

"Once more has a light been extinguished in the horizon of the Separatists. He was a man of great fear, but as true and honest as gold, and always had the best interests of the Society in mind. Oh Lord! How our first ones disappear and are not replaced by those who come after." 46

After Sylvan's death, Baumeler's Discourses were read each Sunday by Christian Wiebel. The transcribers had carefully noted the hymns which had accompanied each lecture. It was thus possible to duplicate exactly the services as they had been conducted by Baumeler,

45. Mrs. August Burkhardt, June 30, 1932; Mrs. Elizabeth Beiter, July 8, 1932.

46. Tag-Buch, entry for October 13, 1862.

myrtle instead of flowers grow over the graves. Later, simple wooden tablets were used, bearing the name, dates of birth and death, and a few lines of Scripture or religious verse. Blumeler's grave was not marked until some years after the dissolution of the Society.

Separatism as practiced at Zoar was not a proselytizing faith, and the "carites" made no efforts to gain converts. Likewise, they took no part in religious controversies, and they had no interest in the spiritual affairs of others. "We concern ourselves with no religious dispute," said Jacob Sylvan, "but let others honor their God as they believe best." ⁴⁹ It was Blumeler's conviction that missionary endeavor usually resulted in merely nominal Christians. This attitude is understandable in light of the essential basis of the Separatist faith, the Rebirth. The Rebirth was purely a personal experience, and the individual could achieve it only through his own efforts aided by God. In Zoar there was no attempt to compel the members to attend the Sunday meetings.

The great majority of those who sought admission to the Society were attracted by the communal, rather than the religious aspect of Zoar life, and the applications of the former group will be considered in another connection. But a few were primarily interested in the spiritual element, and asked for membership for that reason. The following letter is quoted as being typical of this group of applicants. The writer was Mrs. Elizabeth Schermerhorn, of East Liming-

49. Letter to Mrs. Elizabeth Schermerhorn, East Limington, Maine, November, 1859, Coleman MSS.

".....What will happen now with regard to the southern states? At first everyone thought it would soon be over, but it now appears that the breach is becoming even greater and the bitterness worse and worse. In our opinion, it would be better for the secession to take place without a war, for the long established superiority in strength of the southern states will overcome the north anyhow, and Congress does nothing but scold and quarrel. But we will have to await what comes. Only not war." 52

But the pacifism of the older members had not been transmitted to their sons. Fourteen of the young men enlisted in the early days of the war. One of them, Gottfried Kappel, died in an army hospital in 1863. Another, Eugene Wright, contracted tuberculosis while in the service. He deserted, and came home to die. Anton Burkhardt and Leo Kern spent many months in Andersonville Prison. But all, except Kappel and Wright, survived the war.

Members of religious societies opposed to war were exempted from the draft laws on payment of two hundred dollars, and the Society took advantage of this provision in behalf of a number of its young men. Simon Beuter rejoiced when he learned that the government would recognize conscientious objections as valid:

"The government will respect freedom of religion and conscience. It has been announced that all those who have conscientious scruples against carrying deadly weapons can secure their release by payment of \$200.00 to the government. I still have hope now for the stability of our government. Had it acted to the contrary, then it would have succumbed, for it is just such people who are the salt of the earth. O beautiful Protector of the Union, Thou refuge of all oppressed, how many pious ones hast Thou offered an asylum, and although it may now appear that Hell itself will devour those who will not fight, yet Thou, Lord, wilt recognize them." 53

52. January 3, 1861, Zoar MSS.

53. Tag-buch, October, 1861. Although the Society, as an organization refused to condone the use of armed force, it nevertheless supported gene rously such agencies as the United States Soldiers' Aid Society.

furnished with chairs and tables, beds and chests of drawers, made in the community cabinet shop. Stoves and iron kitchen utensils were made in the Society's blast furnace and foundry. ¹ Tinware was fabricated in the local tinshop. Many of the tools used by the mechanics of the Society were made in the machine and blacksmith shops. Plows and wagons of home manufacture were used on the farms.

One reason why the Separatists had adopted communism was to insure themselves food, clothing and shelter. The production of these necessities for the use of the members continued to be the basic function of the Society. The community might therefore be likened to a medieval manor, in that production was primarily for use and not for profit. When a surplus existed, it was sold, but not until the needs of the members had been met first. The sale of surplus products provided a necessary money income which could be used for the payment of taxes, the hiring of additional labor, and the purchase of articles which could not be manufactured at home.

Agriculture was the most important activity of the Society, and the life of the community centered about it. Many of the festival occasions enjoyed by the Zoarites were associated with the harvest.

The letters written by them to their friends and relatives outside of Zoar were filled with references to the promise of the crops, the dam-

-
1. The tin shop stood opposite the north-east corner of the garden. Its architecture suggested definite German influences. The outside walls were covered with rough plaster, and supported by open cross-beams. The roof was of tile, and the single entrance opened on stone steps guarded by a single iron railing. The shop was small and stood close to the walk.

members of the Society recall most clearly those events connected with the agricultural processes of the community.

Only a portion of the Society's land was farmed. Additions were made to the original 5,500 acres bought in 1817, and in 1850 the Society owned 8,826 acres in Lawrence, Sandy, and Fairfield Townships. This marked the greatest extent of the Society's acreage for during the next sixteen years the land area was reduced by sale to 7,187 acres. The latter figure approximated the amount of land owned by the community at the time of the division.

Much of the land on either side of the Tuscarawas River south of Zoar remained uncleared. By 1850, 2,448 acres were being used for farming and pasturage; the remainder was still covered with the oak, ash and walnut trees of the original forest. The Zoar Woods, as they were known, extended for several miles west and south-west of Zoar toward Strasburg. Much of this land was too hilly to permit of profitable farming, and was more valuable as wood land. Gunn knew and loved the Zoar Woods, and has left a glimpse of them in this Note-Book:

"In the afternoon I persuade Christian Ruof, the landlord, to go with me through the great woods. I am afraid to go alone, for there are about 3000 acres, and so much broken that there is a chance of getting lost.....We go up the Strasburg road, and so in to the denser woods. All the ground is thickly covered with the fallen leaves rustling under our feet. The oaks, still covered with their robes of imperial purple, glow deeply in the faint sunshine. Deep in the ancient woods we take our way, steadily ascending, and finally reach the highest point, where the crest of a hill is reached. The prospect is strikingly beautiful in all directions; range after range of rolling hills fading away into a purple haze, some covered with woods, others with the intense green of winter wheat." 3

3. Note-Book, 9.

said J. M. Bimeler or his agents the One Third of all the grain they may raise in said premises." 5

With the exception of the time when the Society operated its blast furnaces, most of the laborers were employed on the farms. In 1850, sixty men were engaged in farm work, two were employed in the flour mill, four in the tannery, and ten in the woolen mill. In 1875, 171 individuals, including the families of the laborers, lived on wages paid by the Society. As the total membership at that time was only about three hundred, the proportion of non-members to members was very large.

The practice of hiring outside labor was regarded as highly undesirable by the older members, because of its effect on the young people of the Society. Hinds was told, "They tempt our young people into bad habits." 6 His informant was not specific, but reference was probably made to the general "worldly" character of the employed workers. Swearing, the use of tobacco, the eating of pork, and the singing of secular songs were regarded as sinful by the early Separatists, and it is true that these practices were introduced into the Society by the hired laborers. However, there was a less obvious evil, the introduction of a money economy into a non-competitive society. The Harmony Society encountered the same problem, and Mr. Duss' analysis of the situation in Economy is to some extent applicable to Zoar:

"the policy of engaging hired help, though innocent enough at the beginning when hirelings were few and of a type that had been

5. Contract with Michael Koes and Frederick Reisz, November 21, 1845. Coleman MSS.

6. Hinds, W. A., op. cit., 99.

Live stock inventory of 1843 may be of interest:

"100 cows valued from \$5.00 to \$15.00 apiece.....	\$696.00
28 horses " " \$15.00 to \$50.00.....	\$760.00
9 horses at the Furnace valued at.....	\$270.00
1157 sheep.....	\$766.00
31 steers.....	\$172.00
67 hogs.....	\$ 41.50" 9

In 1854, an inventory listed 1488 sheep, 300 cattle, 42 horses and 54 hogs, valued at \$7,227.50. Included with the cattle were a number of work oxen.¹⁰

The trustee in charge of farming shared in the actual labor, and was expected to set an example by his industry. During exceptionally heavy harvests, the shop workers assisted, and even Sundays were devoted to work. On such occasions, everyone went to the field after the morning meeting. By way of compensation for the extra labor involved, a more elaborate dinner than usual was served, with wine instead of the customary cider.¹¹

Modern methods of farming were introduced but slowly, and the flail and cradle were used for sometime after these tools had been abandoned on most of the neighboring farms. Some account of a now almost forgotten method of harvesting may be included here. During the two-week period beginning July 1, 1854, four hundred and sixty acres of wheat, rye, and barley were cut on the Zoar fields. The number of¹²

9. Note: In making the original copy of this manuscript the typist evidently over looked entering the proper data to cover this footnote. It was not possible to fill in such data while recopying the manuscript. 4/3/36.

10. Coleman MSS.

11. Mr. Charles Breymaier, June 30, 1932.

12. Simon Beuter's Tag-Buch, July, 1854.

canal in 1837. This was a huge structure, made entirely of hickory lumber, and it required two years to build. One wing extended across the canal and the mill race, thus permitting canal boats to be loaded directly from the mill itself. The Canal Mill was never as practicable as the Zoar Mill. The type of turbine used to operate it invariably froze during the winter, and much of the milling machinery was obsolete at the time of its installation. Nevertheless, the Canal Mill continued to be operated until about 1870.

14

Experienced millers from outside the community were hired under yearly contracts, although during the last decade of the Society's existence a member was in charge. The latter, Peter Bimeler, learned the trade by working in the Zoar Mill as a boy. One of the early contracts (1839) was made with Henry Usher, "late of New York." It provided that Usher operate the Canal Mill at a yearly salary of \$400.00. He was "to attend the grinding of flour, such as will pass inspection in the eastern cities, "and to grind day and night, if it be required of him." Furthermore, Usher agreed "to observe a sober, industrious and moral behaviour." Another flour mill was operated for a number of years on One Leg Creek, three miles south of Zoar. This was traded for land in Iowa in the early seventies.

15

Production of flour varied from year to year, depending on the size of the cereal crop on the Society's lands and on the neigh-

14. Mr. Peter Bimeler, August 31, 1932.

15. Coleman MSS.

the nurseries contained twenty-five varieties of cherries, thirty-
 18
 seven kinds of apples, and many other kinds of fruit.

Beer was sold in the two taverns but was never exported.

Wine was shipped occasionally in small quantities to nearby places.

Large quantities of cider were manufactured every year, both for home consumption and for sale. A cider mill was built in 1863 to replace an earlier and smaller one. The new mill stood one block east of the Zoar Hotel, on the outskirts of the town. Its completion was not regarded as an unqualified blessing by all the members. Simon Beuter was not a teetotaler, but he expressed his apprehensions in his Tag-Buch:

"May: Virtually nothing was built this year except an expensive cider house of great proportions. Yesterday, the 30th, the foundations were completed, and they will begin on the walls June first. If only there is not too much cider to harm our people further, already overly inclined to drink.....

September: the new cider mill was completed on the fifth. It is very large, and is too expensive if built for this one purpose." 19

The cattle and sheep owned by the Society furnished the members with all the meat needed. Beef cattle were sold occasionally, usually in the neighborhood of Zoar, but sometimes in New York, Pennsylvania, and Iowa. The beef hides were processed in the tannery and made into sole and harness leather. Originally only enough harness leather was made to supply the needs of the community, but it was discovered that a good market existed for this product. It was

18. Beuter to Blümeler, July 25, 1853. Coleman MSS.

19. Beuter frequently recorded his concern over the quantity of wine, beer, and cider consumed by the members. Gunn also expressed his amazement at the quantities of such drinks served the members.

The woolen mill was for many years under the charge of Gottfried Kappel, who made the dyes and executed the designs. Blue appears to have been the favorite color of the Zoarites for it was much used. This frequent use of Zoar Blue, as it was known in the vicinity, was probably due to the fact that this dye could be readily manufactured from woad, a small plant grown by the Society for this purpose. Before the introduction of chemical dyes, the Society sold a considerable amount of woad annually in various parts of Ohio. In 1853 the weaving machinery owned by the Society was valued at \$842.00, and included the following equipment:

"1 Set Carding Machines, 1 Spindle-jack, one pr. Satinet Looms, one pr. Broad Looms, one pr. Hand Looms, one pair Napping Machines, one Picker, 1 Washing & Brushing Machines, 1 Fulling Mill, 1 Cloth Press, 2 double Carding Machines." 22

During the Civil War numerous orders for yarn and cloth had to be refused because of the small productive capacity of the mill. After the war, some effort was evidently made to extend the market of the woolen products of the Society. The following announcement was apparently intended as copy for an advertisement:

"ZOAR WOOLEN FACTORY, JUNE 4, 1868.

We, the undersigned, do hereby inform all our old Friends & Customers, that we have got all our Machinery in complete and almost perfect Order, and we believe confidently that we can accommodate almost all our old friends & customers, to their best Satisfaction, to make them almost any Article they want to get, except broad Blankets....."23

22. Tax Inventories, 1853. Coleman MSS.

23. Coleman MSS.

for bed clothing, and even for the sacks in which some of the products of the Society were packed. The linen had a ready sale in the vicinity of Zoar, and some was sold in places as far removed as Cleveland. There was also some exportation of flax seed and the unfabricated flax. An English traveller who visited Zoar in 1837 described the linen industry as it existed then:

"The spinning of the linen yarn furnishes employment during the winter for the aged women and young children; being very fine, it is in much repute, and sells in the shops for one dollar (nearly 5ss.) a pound." 28

About the year 1850 the Society conducted some experiments in silk manufacture. Mulberry trees were planted, and a house in the eastern part of the village was given over to the spinning and weaving of silk with Salome Beuter in charge. The Harmony Society was called upon for technical assistance, and Trustee Sylvan asked that, "Katharina, most capable in this line, be again sent to Zoar." 29 The census report of 1850 indicates that thirty-five pounds of cocoons were raised. The silk industry was apparently short lived, however, for there are no references to it other than those mentioned. But it is said that scarfs and ribbons were woven for a time. 30

Beginning in 1854, the Society exhibited some of its products at the annual county fair. The following was Simon Beuter's

28. Penny Magazine, (London) VI, 411.

29. Duss, J.S., Memoirs (in preparation.)

30. Mrs. Salome Beiter, August 8, 1932.

operations, a kiln was built, and an outside brick maker was engaged
 to manufacture the quantity needed. ³² In 1855, negotiations were
 entered into with a Chicago capitalist for the sale of the clay bear-
 ing land, with \$18,600.00 as the price proposed by the Society.
 Wiebel's letter stated that fireclay was on the land, but to what
 extent he did not know. ³³ Nothing came of these negotiations.

In 1891, during the period when the trustees were desperately
 trying to augment the Society's decreasing revenues, some efforts were
 made to interest outside capital. At that time it was proposed that
 the Canal Mill building, unused since the seventies, be adapted to
 purposes of clay manufacture. But this project also proved abortive,
 and the development of the clay deposits was left for private initia-
 tive after the dissolution of the Society. In 1911, the Zoar Fire
Clay Company was formed, and a brick plant built on the site indicated
 above.

The most ambitious industrial project ever undertaken by the
 Society was the manufacture of pig iron and castings from the ore
 found on its lands. The Ohio Canal was opened for navigation in its northern
 length in 1828. The appearance of a mode of transportation suitable to the
 iron industry made possible the development of a number of blast
 furnaces along the canal between Zanesville and Cleveland.
 Sometime between 1828 and 1834, three Canton, Ohio, industrialists,

32. Contract with L. Wear of Stark, County, April 23, 1856. Coleman
 MSS.

33. Weibel to J. B. Salisbury, Chicago, September 1, 1855. Coleman MSS.

nity was rather remarkable. It will be recalled that the cholera epidemic of 1834 had seriously weakened the community. Nevertheless, the Society proceeded to double its investment in the iron industry the following year by purchasing the "Tuscarawas Steam Furnace" mentioned above. This property was sold to the Society for \$20,000.00, the terms being an immediate payment of \$4,000.00, and annual payments of \$4,000.00 plus interest. Evidently these terms were extended for the deed was not transferred to the Society until May 7, 1845.

35

The Fairfield Furnace, as it was known following its acquisition by the Society was located on the west bank of the Tuscarawas River a short distance above its confluence with One Leg Creek. A spur connected the furnace with the Pittsburgh and Cleveland Railroad which operated between New Philadelphia and Cleveland by way of Bayard. The canal offered additional transportation facilities. The property purchased by the Society included 1716 acres of land in the vicinity of the furnace, together with twenty horses and considerable farming equipment.

The ore used in both furnaces was dug from shallow pits of varying size in the neighboring hillsides. The ore was of the kidney variety, described at the time as mountain, slate and shell ore, with the average iron content between 28 and 34%. The deposits were richer near the Fairfield Furnace, where the Upper Freeport horizon appeared. Here the ore veins averaged about six feet in thickness. Coal veins, of an average thickness of three feet, occurred below the ore.

a number of years, and his estimate of operating expenses for 1846

is extant:

"A statement of the Expenses of Fairfield Furnace per Day supposing She makes 3 Tons of Iron, This is running her 36 Charges —

1.	It will take 10 Tons of Ore, cost \$1.50 per ton	\$15.00
2.	" " " 360 Bus. charcoal " @ 5¢ per bus.	31.50
3.	" " " 80 " Stone Coal @ 4	3.20
4.	" " " 2 Engineers	1.30
5.	" " " 2 Fillers	1.33
6.	" " " 2 2 Keepers	1.36
7.	" " " 1 Gutterman	.57
8.	" " " 2 Bankmen	1.47
9.	" " " 1 Founderer	2.00
	Other Expenses for Lard & Oil etc.	1.50
	Boarding of Hands Included	Total \$ 59.23

Suppose 3 Tons of Iron worth \$22.50 pr Ton which will make	\$ 67.50
Take	59.23
	\$ 8.27

June 20/46

M. Miller."

The pig iron manufactured in the Society's furnaces was described by Wieble as being of a "soft, grey texture, a quality much sought for in market." Zoar pig iron and castings were shipped all over the state, and to places as far removed as Buffalo, Detroit, Pittsburgh and New York City. During the thirties the iron was transported to Pittsburgh by wagon in amounts of about four thousand pounds where it was sold for \$40.00 a ton. According to Miller's account quoted above the price dropped to \$22.50 in 1846. ³⁹ But in 1848 a shipment was sold in New York at \$30.00 a ton.

38. Coleman MSS.

39. Furnace Accounts, 1836-1848. Coleman MSS.

No estimate can be made of the financial profit or loss to the Society from the operation of its iron industries as the existing accounts are fragmentary. It is probable that the furnaces were operated at a loss during the last four or five years of their existence. But the real service performed by the Zoar iron industry was in furnishing employment to the people of the vicinity, thus creating a market for the food and other products of the Society. When both furnaces were in operation about three hundred men were employed, and most of these were paid in part with orders on the Society's stores. It is highly probable that the gain to the community from this source was greater than that derived from the actual sale of iron and castings.

Until the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroad connected Zoar with Massillon in 1882, the canal remained the chief means of transportation. Boats with romantic names, the War Eagle, Lily Bell, and Hazel Dell carried butter and eggs, flour and stoves from Zoar to the various towns along the canal. Much of the business was transacted by the canal boat captains themselves. The following letter, typical of many received by the Society, describes the manner by which boat cargoes were secured. It was written by Captain George B. Gordon of Portsmouth, and dated December fourth, 1864:

"Dear Friends: The Propellor "Whale" is on her way for Akron and on her way back wants all the butter you can make from this time and will take it at the market price. Have the butter put up in firkins or stone jars in good shipping order, also wish you would buy in all the eggs you can for me, have them put up in good packages. Measure the oats you use in packing the eggs so I will know how much to pay for. I will also take all the green apples you can get for me,

hired by the Society, but in later years John George Petermann acted as captain of the Industry. His wife usually accompanied him, and it is said that she became as proficient in navigation as her husband, and frequently took charge of the boat. The cost of operating the Industry in 1838 was \$170.00 per month, according to Birk's estimate, distributed as follows:

"To two Steer'smen @ \$15	\$30.00	
" one Bowsman	14.00	
" Two Drivers @ \$10	20.00	
" One Cook	4.00	
" Board 7 Hands @ \$5.00	35.00	
" Four horses @ .25 per day	30.00	
" Lamp Oil	3.00	
" Tow & Bowlines	6.00	
" Shoing Horses pr. Mo.	3.00	
" Captain's Wages pr. Mo.	25.00	44
	<u>\$170.00</u> "	

Sometimes the boat captain contracted to assume all the expenses of operating the boat. Thus James Rutter, "late of Pennsylvania, agreed to operate the Industry for the season of 1839, engage all hands, and assume all expenses at a salary of \$218.00 a month. He promised to "Keep such orderly and well behaving hands, against whose behaviour & deportment no reasonable objections can be raised." The Society reserved the right to discharge any of the crew in the event this provision was disregarded. Rutter further agreed:

".....not to keep any spiritous liquors on board of said Boat, nor shall he suffer any of his hands to keep any, but on the contrary use his best diligence to keep them sober and not to allow any blasphemous Cursing or swearing on the same, as that kind of deportment can have no other but an evil tendency and lead to no

lines settled their accounts with the hotel at the end of the navigation season, and their bills frequently amounted to \$800.00 to \$1,000.00.

It appears that the Zoar Hotel was established originally for the accomodation of occasional visitors, and those whose business brought them to the community. Zoar's attractions as a summering place became known early in the Society's history, and people came in greater numbers every year. The beautiful walks and drives in the vicinity of Zoar, boating on the river, and the charm and interest of the community itself made the place a natural summer resort. But it was not until the later part of the Society's existence that any particular attempt was made to capitalize on these natural attractions. For many years permanent guests were discouraged from coming, and the resort business was regarded as extraneous, and even harmful, to the best interests of the community. The fact that for many years the Zoar children were forbidden to talk with the hotel guests is significant.

Nevertheless, visitors continued to come each summer from places as far removed as Cleveland and Pittsburgh. The old hotel had twenty rooms, but it was frequently necessary to lodge guests in some of the homes. The Gartenhaus, and Number Twenty-two, across the street from the hotel, and north of it, were usually utilized for this purpose. In 1892, the need for additional revenue overcame the old prej-

47. Packet Line Accounts, 1838. Coleman MSS.

on week days as on Sunday, and who always appeared attired in a
48
frock coat and carrying a stick. He never married.

The Society attained its greatest prosperity in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. In 1852, the value of the Zoar property was estimated to be in the neighborhood of a million dollars. In material possessions, at least, the Separatists had come far since the year they emigrated from Wurttemberg. In delivering his verdict in the suit of Goesele vs. ^BGimeler in 1853, Justice McLean of the United States Supreme Court said:

"It appears that by great industry, economy, good management, and energy, the settlement at Zoar has prospered more than any part of the surrounding country. It surpasses, probably, all other neighborhoods in the state, in the neatness and productiveness of its agriculture, in the mechanic arts, and in manufacturing by machinery. The value of the property is now estimated, by complainants counsel, to be more than a million of dollars. This is an extraordinary advance by the labor of that community, about two-thirds of which consists of females." 49

The scattered character of the existing records of the Society makes impossible any exact estimate of its financial standing at any particular time. The Society never published estimates of its wealth, for reasons largely religious. The letter quoted below, from Sylvan to Trustee Baker of the Harmony Society, was in reply to a request from the latter regarding the wealth of the Zoar:

"We are still inclined to refrain from making any estimate for publication, although our enemies have vigorously demanded such a reckoning. Moreover, we have certain religious objections to making a mere superficial valuation. This much is certain, that we can by no means compare ourselves with you. However, we may say that the

48. Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 6, 1932.

49. 14 Howard (U. S. 55) 609.

CHAPTER VII.

Several references have been made in the preceding chapters to the relations which existed between Zoar and two other communities, the Harmony Society and the Community of True Inspiration of Ebenezer and Amana.^{1.} The Harmonists came from Württemberg, where they had constituted one of the many sects which composed the Separatist movement. Their leader was George Rapp, a farmer of Iptingen, Württemberg. He led a group of his followers to America in 1803, and established a colony in Butler County, Pennsylvania. The Harmonists moved westward into Indiana, in 1814, but after a period of eleven years, they sold their property to Robert Owen, and returned to Pennsylvania. Here a permanent settlement was made in Beaver County, on the east bank of the Ohio River, about twenty miles north-west of Pittsburgh. The new town was called Economy.^{2.}

The Community of True Inspiration likewise had its inception in Württemberg. Its members were Separatists, although they did not refer to themselves as such during their American period. During the early eighteenth century, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock withdrew from the Lutheran Church, and established a number of congregations, called "Communities of True Inspiration." The name

-
1. In the light of the relationships which existed between Zoar and the other two Societies, some discussion of their history has been considered advisable.
 2. Hinds, W. A. op. cit., 65 - 71; Lockwood, Geo. B., The New Harmony Communities, 20 - 25

holier than the married, although the Harmonists, like the Zoarites, did not adopt celibacy until after their settlement in America. But the Harmony Society retained its ban on marriage throughout its existence, and it appears that the celibate rule was adopted entirely from religious motives. The Inspirationists did not forbid marriage, but regarded celibacy as a much holier estate. Accordingly they discouraged all unnecessary intermingling of the sexes, and placed definite restrictions on marriage.⁴

Barbara Grubermann of the Zoar Separatists had her counterpart in Barbara Heinemann of the Inspirationists, and the "revelations" of these two mystics were not appreciably different in character. Curiously enough, neither of the two was originally a member of the group in which she later gained so much influence. Barbara Heinemann was ejected from the congregation of which she was the "Instrument,"⁵ "because she had too friendly an eye upon the young men." However, she was later forgiven, and permitted to join the Society after its emigration to the United States.

But whereas the Inspirationists continued to place great faith in the inspired utterances of their "Instruments," this spiritualistic element was completely lacking in the religious life of the

⁴ The men were forbidden to marry until they reached the age of twenty-four. "The newly married couple are still reduced temporarily to the lowest spiritual Versammlung; and with the birth of each child in the family the parents suffer the same spiritual reduction and must win their way slowly back to grace by deepening piety." Shambaugh, B.M.H., op. cit., 134.

⁵ Nordhoff, Chas., op. cit., 27.

community regarding various types of machinery and methods of manufacture. The Zoar cider mill was built on plans suggested by the one used in Economy and Jonathan Lenz was sent to Zoar to superintend its erection. As already related, a woman member of the Harmony Society supervised the institution of the Zoar silk industry. When Gottfried Kappel encountered difficulties with his fulling machine, he unburdened his troubles in a letter to Harmony. Letters from Zoar requested information regarding corn shellers, root cutters, saw mill boilers and plows.

The correspondence indicates that the two Societies enjoyed a mutual cooperation in business matters. When Zoar was unable to fill an order for hides or bullocks, the Harmony trustees were informed where these might be secured to the best advantage. The Harmonists frequently performed business errands for the Zoarites in Pittsburgh.

The advice rendered by the Harmonists was not confined to prosaic details of corn shellers and engine boilers. A letter of August 4, 1863, written by the Zoar trustees to Harmony, expressed thanks for Trustee Henrici's assistance in the selection of a Steinway piano. The mutual interest of these two communities in music strengthened their friendly relations. Simon Beuter was deeply grateful to the end of his life for the kindly reception given his son by the Harmonists. On one occasion a number of musical instruments were

-
8. Duss, J. S., Memoirs (in preparation.)
 9. Kappel to Baker, May 16, 1866. Zoar MSS.
 10. Zoar-Harmony correspondence, 1841-1882. Coleman and Zoar MSS.
 11. Zoar MSS.

Frequent visits were exchanged by the members of the two Societies, although it appears that such pleasures were usually reserved to the officers. The business representatives of the Zoar Society very often terminated their eastern trips with a visit to Economy. In a letter from Sylvan to Baker, of October 31, 1856, the former expressed the regret of the Society over the fact that an expected visit from Economy had not taken place:

"We have awaited a visit from you all summer, which, however, has not yet taken place. It was, of course, our wish to receive a visit from you in the spring or summer, when nature shows herself in her fullest activity and effect. This would have greatly heightened your enjoyment. I would inform you at this time that Jacob Ackermann and a couple of our officers have decided to make you a visit which will take place in a week, or November 7, if no special cause intervenes." 14

The genial relations which had existed between the two communities were somewhat strained for a time after 1859 as the result of an incident which occurred in that year. During the course of a visit of the Zoarites to Economy, pork was served at dinner. The Zoarites declined the dish without comment, but Trustee Henrici of the Harmony Society could not refrain from calling attention to their foible:

"You will not touch pork, but you are not so careful about other flesh!" 15

This reference to the fact that the Zoarites condoned the marital state was resented, and it is said that the visitors left in some indignation. A letter was written to Economy on the return to

14 Zoar MSS.

15 Quoted by Mr. Duss in his Memoirs.

Christian Metz occurred in 1843. An incident of that visit deserves mention. One of the members of the Zoar Society at that time, who appeared to have been one of the sub-trustees, was Charles L. Mayer. He was then thirty-seven years old, unmarried, and a native of Württemberg. Metz described him as having travelled much, and as one who "had a good command of the English language and who knew the laws of the country." In his Diary, Metz told how he and his companion, Ackermann, made Mayer's acquaintance:

"As long as we were in Zoar we ate with a young man who personally managed the outside industries, by the name of C. L. Mayer. During the first few days we spoke of practically nothing except what was necessary and customary. However, he paid more attention to us than we supposed. On Sunday afternoon, he invited us to visit him in his room, which we did. Here we talked about Zoar from a spiritual point of view. He then told us how he had gone to Zoar for the sake of his faith, but that he had not been able to accept Bäumeler's beliefs, for which reason he did not attend their meetings. At the same time, he told us how he had been awakened by God, but how he had again lost this path of grace. During the days when he had been eating with us, he had experienced an inner emotion which had drawn him to us. So it happened that we were gradually enabled to speak intimately and cordially to each other. We took our leave on the following day on the Zoar canal boat which went to Cleveland, and our present Brother C. L. Mayer accompanied us to the boat; however, he first rode his horse to his work, and met us again in a village below and parted from us with heartfelt love, in the hope that he might see us again soon, which hope has been fulfilled." 21

This visit took place at Easter time, 1843. Mayer left Zoar, and joined the Ebenezer Society in the latter part of August. He soon

19. Supra, 108.

20. Diary of Christian Metz, 1843.

21. Ibid., 1843.