THE SOCIETY OF SEPARATISTS OF ZOAR

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DISSEMINATION

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

By

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OHIO STATE

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THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

1933

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Adviser
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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-Fuch 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.
CHAPTER I.

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

The people who founded the Separatist Society of Zoor, 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 Göppingen, 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.

the theater were held to be sinful, and it demanded a strict observance of the Sabbath. Pietism had gained considerable influence within the church, when, during the eighteenth century, rationalism began to exert its influence.

The rationalistic theology, with its attack on the traditional exegesis, and its rejection of all symbolism, was highly obnoxious to the Pietists, and resulted in the secession from the church of a number of the more radical groups. These called themselves "Separatists". They denounced the Church as Babylon, her means of grace as impure, and her preaching as empty and hypocritical babbling. Opposition to the rationalist influence, however, is but a partial explanation of the appearance of these numerous sects of varying degrees of religious fanaticism and extremism.

There had been a definite element of mysticism in the Pietistic movement from the time of its inception. Spener himself was very tolerant of Jakob Böhme, the great Saxon mystic of the sixteenth century. Böhme's writings, and those of his disciple, Friederich Christoph Oetinger, had always exercised a certain influence in Pietistic circles. But the florescence of mysticism in Württemberg in the eighteenth century cannot be wholly ascribed to these earlier tendencies. The abnormality of the times doubtless had much to do with it.


4 "And because the Spenerians judged the elder mystics mildly, and respected them for their Christian spirit, although admitting their errors, they were placed in the same category with them." Gieseler, Dr. J.C.L., A Text-Book of Church History, V, 290.
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."

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 believably 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.
objected to the hymnal as being altogether too worldly in character, and many left the church at this time. Others withdrew in 1808 when a new liturgy was adopted. The group which was to become the Separatist Society of Zoar had its inception during this period. Likewise, it was at this time (1803) that George Rapp led his followers to Pennsylvania to found the Harmony Society.

The mysticism of the Separatists derived from the theosophical writings of Böhme, and from the Swabians, Bengel and Oetinger. Although the various groups which comprised the Separatist movement differed in their degree of mysticism, and in the practical application of their beliefs, this can be said of all of them. Their mysticism had a marked apocalyptic character. That is, they were chiliasts, and believed in the imminence of the second coming of Christ. The Separatists of Württemberg placed the date for this event in 1836. They believed profoundly in the revelation of religious truth through inspiration. They discarded entirely all the orthodox forms and ceremonies, baptism, confirmation, and marriage. For the latter they substituted mere agreement before witnesses. Because the sanctity of these hated forms was taught in the state schools, which were under the control of the clergy, they refused to send their children to the public schools. They refused to serve the state as soldiers, and some even refused to pay taxes. They would not take oath, but offered instead

6 Gieseler, Dr. J. C. L., op. cit., V, 508.

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."

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 Gesellschaft 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

8 Separatisten Grundsätze, infra, 13.

9 Gieseler, Dr. J. C. L., op. cit., V, 507.
some men of considerable education and professional ability. They have left but few records of their beginnings, but one of them had this to say of that early time:

"Even at the time when the horrible powers of the Kingdom of Darkness were at their greatest, that is, during the time of the French Revolution, the terrible wars, and the complete depravity of mankind, .... God was preparing an instrument to oppose those evils. And he set his light among the people ...and this light showed them, plainly and convincingly, what God had in mind to do with mankind, and how he was now resolved to extend his kingdom. This light worked a marvellous unity among those that received it, so that people, even though they lived at great distances from each other, and had never seen or talked to each other before, found an astonishing harmony together ...and they called each other brothers and sisters. It was in this way that our community had its beginning, although scattered in all parts of the land, and when we wished to see each other we could only do so by visits. During this time however, that is, in the first years of this century, came the explicit command from God ...that his people should go out from Babylon, separate themselves from the world and the depraved church and her ceremonies, and at the same time make known to the world the terrible punishment that confronted it."

From the beginning of the movement, the Separatist practice of holding meetings, or conventicles, in their own homes had incurred the wrath of the authorities. This practice, and their refusal to send their children to the parochial schools, were punished with especial severity. Some attempts were made to take the recalcitrants to church by force, but apparently with small success. There was no leniency shown because of the youth or sex of the offender. For refusing to send their children to the schools, they were fined, their children placed in orphanages, and the parents compelled to pay the cost of

10 Die Wahre Separation, I, x. From the preface by Jacob Sylvan.

11 "A young man of about sixteen years was placed in a prison, bound with chains, during the severest cold, without food or fire for several days, so that he froze his limbs, and both feet and his left hand had to be amputated, and a few days after died." Ibid., I, 16-17.
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. Johannes Goesele lay in the 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."

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. Salome Beiter, July 7, 1932.

13 Die Wahre Separation, I, xi.
side was denied them; for a time they were even forbidden to talk to the other prisoners. It was only toward the last, when their steadfastness and strength of character made some impression on even the hardened jailors of that time, that they were granted some amelioration of their condition. Those who escaped punishment, had to endure the hatred and bigotry of their fellow Germans.

"No one concerned himself over these matters, for the general public would have liked to have seen the punishments made even more severe, even to the extent of inflicting the death penalty. Thus, a certain farmer by the name of Schulze declared them to be outlawed, that is, anyone could kill them who would. Thereupon, he proceeded to make a beginning himself, in that he clubbed two innocent women, a mother and her daughter, almost to death, and would certainly have killed them had it not been for the intervention of God's providence."

Their spiritual leaders were especially sought out by the authorities, and these found safety only in frequent changes of residence, and in the utmost secrecy of movement. John Bäumeler, who was to head the Society in America, was one of these. For ten years he wandered from place to place, always in fear of seizure. Another was Barbara Grubermann. This strange woman came from Switzerland, was received by the Separatists as being divinely inspired, was accepted as their leader, and came to be known as "The Mother of the Separatists." When she appeared in Württemberg is not known but a copy of a letter is extant which describes the circumstances of her coming. This letter was written by her nephew, a physician of Treußen zur Blatte, in Switzerland, and addressed to "Worthy Friends, whoever they may be:"

14 Die Wahre Separation, I, x.
15 Ibid., I, x.
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 herself 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 judgement, 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 me 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.

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, 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

16 MSB. 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.
which had been the occasion of her banishment from Switzerland. But to the Separatists, reared on the mysticism Böhme and Jung-Stilling, these transports were regarded as manifestations of the Holy Ghost, and her revelations were accepted as messages from above. Her own record of these revelations has been preserved. There is little to distinguish these "revelations" from those of Ann Lee of the Shakers, Barbara Heinemann of the Inspirationists, or from those of many other mediums of that time or since. Barbara's utterances were all couched in the apocalyptic imagery of St. John, and of Bengal's interpretation of the Book of Revelations. She began the story of her mystical experiences thus:

"This writing is undertaken in the name of Jesus Christ. I am constrained to reveal a portion of my marvellous history, although it will doubtless appear strange and incomprehensible to my beloved contemporaries. This story is not offered to the world, but let him who reads it lay it upon his heart and conscience, so that he may repent."

Some time during the course of her life, she continued, she was "seized with a grievous sickness, so that I believed that I was nigh unto death." While in this state, a spirit dressed in white appeared before her. This spirit told her not to fear, took her by the hand, and led her "through a very dark and unpleasant way." By this guide, Barbara was conducted through the seven stages, or, as she called them, "abysses," of hell. In each abyss she beheld the anguish of the damned, and heard their wailing and lamenting. Like Dante, she inquired of the denizens of each place the reasons for their being there. Like

18 A copy is in possession of the writer.
19 See page 152.
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 Wartweil 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 Jahovah and of the everlasting majesty of God, warriors under the flag of Jesus, who is and remains the Prince of our souls, Wonderful, Councillor, Power, Grace, Holy Father, and Prince of Peace!"
Three-quarters of a century later, Simon Beuter of the Zoar Society prefaced his manuscript copy of the revelations with these words:

"Whoever may happen to read these writings, let him take heed that he does not do so with wantonness and levity, or that he even reject or slander them. For with the utmost conviction I would warn him that he thereby incur eternal damnation. Who cannot at once believe, had best not concern himself with them." 20

In the face of the conviction that they were the "Children of the Most High," and that God had given them a special mission to perform, floggings, imprisonment, and the hatred of their neighbors, were but ephemeral matters. With Paul they believed, "Alle, die gottselig leben wollen, die müssen Verfolgungen leiden." 21 They did make one attempt to vindicate their position before the world at large. Sometime before 1816, they published a statement of their principles and of the injustices they had endured. The document is reproduced here in its entirety:

"SEPARATIST PRINCIPLES"

(1.) We believe and confess the Trinity of God, in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
(2.) The fall of Adam and of all mankind, with the loss thereby of the likeness of God in them.
(3.) The return through Christ to God, our proper and lawful Father.
(4.) The Holy Scriptures as the rule of our lives, and the touchstone of truth and falsehood. All our other principles derive from these, and govern our conduct in the religious, spiritual and natural life.
(5.) All ceremonies are banished from among us, and are declared to be useless and harmful, and this is the chief cause of our separation.
(6.) We render to no mortal honors due only to God, such as uncovering the head, bending the knee, and the like. We address everyone as thou.

20 MSS in possession of the writer.
21 Die Wahre Separation, I, xii.
(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 the 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 his 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.
adulterous, and untrue, and when they honor their superiors slavishly like the heathen? We can testify before God and conscience, that our purposes were never other than these; to forsake the godless life of the world, to fulfill faithfully our duties toward God and men, to live in an inner circle of love and friendship, and in so doing, find compensation for the tribulations of the pilgrim life.

The priests, as the creators of the ceremonies, were the first to sound the alarm because we recognized their spurious wares, and we, therefore, no longer permitted them to give us absolution, thus exposing their tottering reputation. They invented the most ridiculous and absurd tales to make us suspect before the orthodox, and in this they were successful, for not only the masses, but also the authorities, were won over by them, to the end that our liberty, women and children, homes and possessions, for the greater part have been taken from us.

We can testify to this and to many other things as the most holy truth by our affirmation, which in every case is as valid as an oath. 23

There is nothing to indicate that this published protest resulted in any amelioration of their condition. But their efforts to find some place where they might live together unmolested were apparently successful. The opportunity presented itself in the latter part of the year 1815. Through the intercession of a friend at court, who was in the favor of King Frederick, they were given permission to settle near the southern boundary of Württemberg. What property they had remaining was sold, and the proceeds used to buy a piece of land. The Separatists began to build themselves homes here, believing that now they could follow their principles unmolested. But their hopes were ill-founded. After several months in their new home, they were suddenly ordered to abandon it. This was early in the year 1816.

23 This is in the form of a two page leaflet, several copies of which are extant. It is probable that these are reprints of the original made at the time of the printing of Die Wahre Separation. See page

24 Die Wahre Separation, I, xii.
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. 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, 1616:

"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 if 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."

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

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25 Die Wahre Separation, I, xii.

26 Zoar Historical Society MBS. Hereafter cited as Zoar MBS.
protests which have been entered indicate what little inclination our neighbors have toward Separatism."

The petitioners then enumerated the Principles of Separatism, in the hope that an examination of their tenets of belief would result in a favorable answer to their request. The petition concluded:

"The undersigned entertain the best and just hopes that the Royal Ministry will grant our eager and long sought for petition, to acknowledge and approve the plan to establish a new community in Brandenburg. We make assurance that the Royal Government shall never find cause for regret to have made happy a true-minded, peaceable class of people, and as a seal in the hands of the Almighty God to have coincided with His Will and aims. In this sweet and pleasant expectation we remain forever, not only in word but in deed, the Royal Government's true and loyal subjects.

The united Society as purchaser of the property in Brandenburg reserves the right to add to or to deduct from the number of its members which now includes twenty families or one hundred and fifty souls."

This petition was denied them. Most of theSeparatists had lost their homes, and it seemed as though the state were following a deliberate policy of extermination. No other alternative remaining, they asked permission to emigrate to America, and received it. The winter of 1816-1817 was spent in making preparations. The death of King Frederick in February, 1817, and the accession of his son William, impelled the Separatists to petition again for permission to settle somewhere in Wurttemberg, "for it was only with the greatest reluctance that we had decided to leave the old fatherland." But the new king was cast in the same mold as his father. He not only rejected this last request, but refused to release those Separatists who were in prison because of their

pacificism, 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 offences 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 Grubermann had died some time before this. John
28 Bäumeler 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 Bäumeler would come from Munich
29 to lead them. "In München sei ein Schulmeister." Be that as it may, the
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 avoid-
ed the use of such terms as minister, or pastor. Their conven-
ticles were led by such members of their faith who were especi-
ally versed in the Bible and the mystical writings.

29 Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 18, 1932.
the others. They collected what money they had, all in coins, and brought it to Bäumeler in their aprons. This was used to help the less fortunate. The company set sail from Antwerp in April, 1817. There were about three hundred people, a good many more women than men, and many old people and children. It was not until the evening of August 14 that the made Philadelphia after a stormy crossing of ninety-three days. It had been a bad time; many of them had been sick with scrofula.

30 Mrs. Salome Reiter, July 15, 1932.

31 At least one of the party was not a Separatist. Christina Fröhlin's passage was paid by the Separatists, a debt which she acknowledged by a note signed in Philadelphia, April 11, 1819. She promised to repay the cost of her passage ($71.00) "through personal services or by other means." Coleman MSS.
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. 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.

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. 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."
Zoar MSS.

2 Die Wahre Separation, I, xii.

3 Ibid., I, vii.
the tenth township in the first and second ranges of the tract appro-
propriated for satisfying warrants for military services." Haga sold the
land for three dollars an acre, the terms being a down payment of
$1,500.00, the remainder to be paid in three installments of $5,000.00
each. Payments were distributed over a period of fifteen years, with
the first payment due October 25, 1828, the second in 1829, and the
last in 1830, secured by a mortgage on the land. No interest was asked
for the first three years.

The Quakers in Philadelphia loaned the Separatists the amount
required for the first payment, and Bäumer gave his individual notes
for the remainder. The deed was also made out to Bäumer, to simplify
the transaction, with the understanding, however, that each member of
the party "should have an interest therein proportionate to the amount
he might contribute to the payment of the land."

In the fall of 1817, Bäumer, with a few of the more able-
bodied men and their families, went on ahead to provide homes for those
who were to follow. Those left behind remained in Philadelphia, where
the Quakers continued to care for the old and the sick. The men found

4 Dead Records, Tuscarawas County, III, 63. Haga bought the land
from Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey in 1804. Dayton's patent from
President Jefferson was dated January 25, 1803. Rapp of the Har-
mony Society had considered buying this same tract when he came
to America in 1803 to select a site for his colony, and had gone
with Haga to Ohio to examine the land.


6 Die Wahrse Separation, I, xiii. All the published accounts state
that the first party consisted only of men. But the list of names
included in the bills of lading contains the names of some women.
Cf. Miller's story, infra, 23.
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.

Bäumeler contracted with three wagoners of Philadelphia, Samuel Lincoln, and Christian and Jacob Häst, 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 wagon. 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.
The Indians had used these level places along the river for the raising of corn, so a certain amount of land was immediately available for cultivation without the necessity of clearing it. Gunn, in his Note-Book, has preserved the story of one of the Separatist families who came from Philadelphia at this time:

"Old Mike told me today of the time when he came to Zoar, among the first. His father was left behind sick, and his mother, with her two children—Mike, aged 12, and a younger sister—came on through the woods alone. The wagoner who had carried them from Pittsburg left them, as agreed, at Sandvile, three miles from here, then a wretched settlement of log huts in the woods. It was a few days before Christmas, 1618. Mike tells how his mother sat down on a log and burst into tears. Far from home, in a strange land, a trackless wilderness, and no place to shelter her children. No wonder Mike says, 'Men were kinder in those days!' for a man with a bushy beard and butternut-colored clothes came up and asked her what troubled her. She told him. And then he asked, 'Can you spin?' and she said 'Yes,' and he offered her a home until she could get settled with her own people." 9

The Separatists slept in the open the first night, under a large oak tree. The next day they made a tent-like hut of poles, covered with leaves and earth." This they used until their first house was built, about December first. Other houses were erected as rapidly as their limited numbers and inadequate tools would permit. They were simple log cabins, roofed with thatch or rough shingles, but so strongly built that some were still standing a hundred years later.

The site the Separatists selected for their town lay on the east side of the river, which was about half a mile distant. More level ground could have been had up the river toward Bolivar, but they were


10 Ibid., 65. This is also based on Miller's account as is the succeeding quotation, infra, 24.
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 a 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."

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, Bäumeler and twenty-five of the men walked to the
county seat, New Philadelphia, located ten miles to the south, and de-
clared their intentions to become American citizens. All declared them-
selves former citizens of Württemberg except Jacob Harr, who was from
Canton Tirgau, Switzerland, and John Myer, from Bavaria. This was on

11 Guma, Note-Book, 57. A hill on that side of the river is still
called: Der-Jedikberg, and a spring which flows from it: Der Wolf-
bruunen.
August 15, 1818.

There are but few written records of the first year of the community’s existence. However, there are two letters extant which indicate that the happy, patriarchal relationship which had existed between Bäumeler and his followers were becoming strained. The first of these, dated July 14, 1818, was addressed to Bäumeler from C. Espich of New Philadelphia, apparently a lawyer in that place:

“My dear Bäumeler: I have received your esteemed letter through Ackermann, Breymaier and Schacher, and through it learned of your situation and the discontent of the Society. Beyond reassuring you, I have nothing to say except this: your declaration is still in my hands, and I have done nothing further toward ratifying it legally, and it shall remain without effect in my hands until you and the Society decide on something else; and thus the whole matter may be regarded as never having occurred. Moreover, you will soon receive an answer from Godfrey Haga of Philadelphia as regards the proper proceeding.”

The other letter was from Haga to Bäumeler, dated October 9, 1818:

"Your letter of the 9th ult. is at hand, from which I perceive with great pleasure, that you in general are getting along well. C. Espich has informed me that your people formally protest against the declaration signed by you. Let it be so, as they wish to have it; I shall not meddle further with it. My original intention was to cherish the friendly intercourse of the Quakers with you all whilst at this place, considering their counsellings to you reasonable and wise, as they are known as a people thus to treat all temporal matters of the kind; knowing that, whosoever does not follow in the path of the law, suffers himself to become a prey to attorneys. But I would say, that you should make a testament without delay, and place such in the hands of some upright friend, in case yr. calculations of the length of your life should fail, being aware that a wink of God may call us off.

12 Certificates of Declaration, August 15, 1818, Coleman MSS.

13 Zoar MSS.
Greet Mr Huber, and Margareth Maier, and say to the latter, that her brother was not on 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,

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 Baumer until May 7, 1818, was made out to him alone. Apparently the agreement, whereby he held the land in trust for the others, was a mere verbal 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 the 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.
be sold. Each member would thus pay for his own share of the land.

But the necessity of providing for their immediate needs forced many of the Separatists to work for others, rather than at the development of their own land. The old members, and those who were infirm, were faced with the prospect of living on the charity of the more able. The less capable, and possibly the less energetic, found it difficult to save money for the purchase of their tracts. Moreover, their enforced separation militated against the attainment of that for which they had left Europe, that is, the maintenance of their own particular faith.

During the winter, some of the members proposed a community of goods, eine Gütter Gemeinschaft, as the only practicable solution of their difficulties. At this juncture, it should be noted that nothing in the previous history of the Separatists would indicate that the desire to form a communistic society played a part in their emigration from Germany. It is true that another group of Württemberg Pietists established a semi-communistic colony at Kornthal, Württemberg, under the leadership of Gottlieb Hoffmann. But this was not until 1829, and could hardly have

17 "Among the settlers were many who were not able to earn a living. Since they left Germany for the purpose of religious freedom, the able-bodied were in honor bound to aid the feeble. After a time, the old, infirm, feeble and others who were too lazy to work saw that this could not last forever, and that as soon as the religious scruples exerted less influence, they would be neglected and fare badly. They were the ones who began to agitate the Communistic idea." The Nugitna, January 27, 1896. This was the opinion of Levi Bimeler, one of the leaders in the move for the dissolution of Society in 1896. It should be remembered that he was arguing a case. See page 222.

18 Gisseler, Dr. J.C.L., op. cit., V, 7.
furnished the Separatists with a precedent. Whether or not the com-
munity established by the followers of John Rapp is not known. The Rapp-
pists adopted communism in 1805, and it is, of course, possible that
the Separatists of Zoar were aware of the character of the former col-
ey.

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 like-
wise led the movement, for these three were chosen the first directors
of the community. Bäumeler 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 them-
selves convinced and induced to unite themselves, according to the
Christian apostolic sense, under the following rules, through a commu-
nion 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.

19 See page 30.
(2.) The Society elects out of its own members its directors and managers, who shall conduct the general business transactions, and exercise the general duties of the Society. They, therefore, take possession of all the active and passive property of all the members, and at the same time assume the obligation of the support of the latter; and said directors are further bound to give an account to the Society of all their business transactions.

(3.) All the members of the Society do hereby promise to render due and faithful obedience to the orders and regulations of their directors, and to support them as much as possible in all the common business transactions of the Society.

(4.) Casual contentions or disputes shall be decided by the aforementioned directors by majority vote in case they themselves are not accused or implicated in the same. Should this be the case, the Society shall elect one or more persons in the stead of those who may be partial, until the number of three, five, or seven is filled.

(5.) Withdrawing members cannot demand any compensation or restitution, either for property brought in or for their labors in the Society, unless a majority of the Society shall be willing to allow such withdrawing members a reasonable compensation.

(6.) The Society may increase or reduce the number of its members according to its own best judgment, but such action must always be based on the unity and the maintenance of the Society.

(7.) Elections shall be held annually and according to the laws of the state of Ohio.

Attested by the Directors,
Zoar, State of Ohio,
April 15, 1819.

Johannes Breymaier
Joseph Georg Ackermann
August Huber.

Bäumeler's name did not appear as one of the officers of the Society as it was first organized. But apparently he continued to act as its general manager, for all the business and legal transactions of the Society were conducted in his name from the first. When the articles were revised in 1824, he was elected to the position of "arbitrator."

The Articles of 1824 provided for a board of from one to three arbitra-
trators to act as the executive agents of the Society. Apparently Bäumeler was the only arbitrator ever elected. The office was not pro-
vided for by the 1833 constitution, but the positions of cashier and agent general were created instead. Bäumeler was elected to fill both these offices, and continued to hold them until his death in 1853.

Whatever may have been Bäumeler's opinion of the practicabil-
ity of the communal life, he now gave it all his energy and administra-
tive skill toward making it a success. In later years, he referred to th
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 ensure the continued observance of those principles by the members. There was nothing in the Articles which suggested the erection of a theocracy. 25

There was no apparent interest in communism for its own sake

22 Johannes Breymaier's Leichenwörter, August 17, 1834. Zoar MSS.
25 The word communism in its present sense is, of course, of later origin than 1819. The Separatists used the term Göttergemeinschaft, community of goods.
in the Articles. Aside from the general desire to ensure the continued life of the colony as a religious entity, the great need was the attainment of some degree of security. Security to the Separatists meant full possession of their land, free of the mortgage which encumbered it. A community, by making possible a division of labor, offered a reasonable chance of attaining this end. At the same time, the basic purpose of their emigration would be achieved, the perpetuation of their religious congregation.

The political organization provided for by the Articles was of the simplest. All the functions of government were placed in the hands of three men, to whom the members of the Society promised to render "due and faithful obedience." Women were given equal political rights with men. This is, of course, characteristic of almost all the religious communities, including the Ephrastans, the Shakers, and the Inspirationists, and doubtless springs from the democratic principles of their faiths. There will be occasion at a later point to analyze the government of the Society in greater detail, and in the light of subsequent changes. It is sufficient here to suggest that the extreme simplicity of the Society's first constitution probably contributed much to its initial success.

Although most of the Separatists had been farm workers in Germany, a number of the crafts were represented, and they were able to proceed with the erection of the necessary shops and machinery. A grist mill was built in 1821, and a saw-mill shortly after. Before the

24 Nordhoff, Chas., The Communist Societies of the United States, 101.
grist mill was built, women carried the grain in baskets on their heads to Sandyville, three miles away, where it was ground. The same expedient was used at first to supply the Society with lumber. Men shouldered the logs they had hewed, carried them to Sandyville, and returned 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 resale 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 Georg Petermann of his trip to Pittsburgh 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 56.45"


26. Society Accounts, 1821, Coleman MSS.
I spent for Salt 19.14
Also for Steel 1.20
Also for Fish-Oil 5.06
Also for Wire 3.09
Also for Lead 8.40
Also for Knives 2.25
Also for a Curry-Comb .75
Also for Cow Medicine .25
Amounting to 44.14

I had the following expenses on this journey:
For the keeping of the team 1.08
For Hay 2.00
For shoeing and smithy work 2.37
Over water and land 2.26
For Bread 10.55
Amounting to 10.85
Total expenditures amount to 54.99

The ties which linked the Separatists with their old homes in Germany were not yet entirely severed. In 1819 it was found necessary to send a representative of the Society to Württemberg with powers of attorney to collect certain sums accruing to the members from the sale of property and the bequests of relatives. Caspar Fetter was chosen. He returned in 1820, but found it necessary to make another trip to Europe in 1823 to complete the various transactions. His total collections amounted to over $7,000.00, doubtless a welcome addition to the treasury of the Society.

No children were born into the community until 1819. Christina Petermann was the first, the daughter of the Petermann mentioned above. She was born July 24, 1819, in a log house in the center of what later became the community garden. Other children were born in

27 John Georg Petermann's Account, December 26, 1822, Coleman MSS.
28 Caspar Fetter's Accounts, 1820-1823, 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. 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 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.

The adoption of this drastic measure was possible only because the Separatist 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

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

that the true Separatist should completely eschew that particular pleasure of the flesh, whether he be married or no. Even before the emigration to America, certain of the married Separatists lived apart because of this belief. Other couples separated because only one of the union was willing to so completely exalt the spirit, and because of this, several families were divided at the time of the emigration, either the husband or wife remaining behind.

It is true, of course, that all the Pietistic faiths exalted celibacy, and some of the American Pietistic communities went to extreme lengths in this connection. Thus the Mennonites forbade marriage throughout their entire history. The True Inspirationists placed definite restrictions on the institution. As far as the Zoar Separatists were concerned, both religious and economic motives played a part, and it is difficult to say which predominated. The fact that marriage was resumed among them in 1850, or about the time their lands were paid for, suggests that the economic reason had considerable weight. Moreover, from the year 1830, the Society received yearly additions to its membership from Germany. Many of these new arrivals were Separatists who had found it impossible to emigrate in 1817. Even had it been possible to have enjoined the celibate rule on the newcomers, there was now no economic necessity for it. The Society had paid for its lands, and the labor of its women was no longer a matter of prime importance.

51 Mrs. Salome Beiler, July 7, 1952.
52 The Harmony Society admitted married people to membership but they were required to observe the rule of chastity.
53 Membership Records, Zoar MBS.
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, 1952.
migration was opened to Cleveland shortly thereafter.

A post office was established in Zoar in 1826, and Bäumeler was appointed postmaster. The first mail route placed the village in direct communication with New Philadelphia and Coshocton to the south, and Canton to the north. By 1833 mail service with the south-eastern part of the state was provided by a mail route which was opened from New Magerstown, about eighteen miles south-east of Zoar. This connected Zoar with the routes to Pittsburgh, Wheeling and Steubenville. Communication with the outside world was further facilitated by the opening of the canal.

One of the earliest descriptions of Zoar was contained in a letter of June 12, 1834, from Bäumeler to William T. Barry, Postmaster General at that time:

"In the postscript of your letter dated Washington, May 9, 1834, you request information relative to the improvements, chief productions, minerals, etc., of this place and its vicinity. It would, certainly, give me much pleasure in giving you all the information required, but want of leisure time and even believing myself inadequate to the task forbid, therefore hope, that in the following sketch should not altogether prove satisfactory, you will kindly receive this preliminary remark as an apology for the same. The Village of Zoar is situated about 9 miles directly north of New Philadelphia, the seat of justice of the county of Tuscarawas, and about 4 mile east of the Union Canal and the Tuscarawas River; it is principally inhabited by Germans, and contains at present about 300 souls. The improvements in and near the village consist chiefly in: 1 flouring-mill, 2 saw-mills, 1 oil-mill, 1 woolen and linen manufacturing establishment; 1 warehouse; 1 new and commodious hotel; 1 store, and various other places of industry and mechanical business. There is also a blast furnace building at this time by the society of Zoar, situated about 2 miles north of the village on the Union Canal. The north-west square of the centre of the village presents to view a delightful garden and a middle-size green or summer-house, comprising a choice selection of fruits, plants, shrubs, flowers, etc. A mineral spring about ½ miles east of this place is

36 Zoar Post Office Records, 1826-1852, Coleman MSS.
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, distant 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,...........

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 traveller 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 in Zoar. 37

37 Zoar MBS.
38 Mitchener, U.S., Ohio Annals, 326-327.
The virulence of the disease is attested by the record of 39 deaths from August 5 to September 23, 1834. During this period fifty-six people died. Deaths occurred too rapidly to permit the preparation of the conventional coffins, so rough, wooden boxes were hastily nailed together by the community carpenters. The bodies of the victims were buried at once.

"Michael's wife died miserably of the cholera, and he, with one other only, buried her, without ceremony, as soon as life had departed. He attributes his immunity from the disease to an injection administered by a woman seven years older than he, whom he afterward married. One Notter he saw driving a four-horse team, at 3:00 o'clock one afternoon. Early next morning, at the cemetery, burying the dead, he asked: 'Who is this?' and it was Notter. He died during the night. When one was taken with the deadly symptoms, a box was sent straightway to the house, and when breath left him he was hurried to the grave.

Despite the highly contagious character of the disease, the Sunday services at the Meeting House were continued. Johannes Breymaier was one of those who died of the disease. Hahmeler delivered the funeral discourse on the Sunday following Breymaier's death, which had occurred August 14, 1834. He took his text from the unhappy events of the preceding week, during which twelve members of the Society had died:

"You, my friends, may well be excused from asking what our text for today should be, since the frequent deaths of the past week remia us daily, that the object of our considerations during the last two discourses was this: that we should examine the state of our souls. And this may well be the most important and the most necessary today also.... since no man is sure what day or hour he may be called from this earthly life."

39 Death Records, 1834, Coleman MSS.
40 Gunn, Note-Book, 51-52.
41 Johannes Breymaier Leichenwörter, August 17, 1834, Zoar MSS.
Blumeler 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.
CHAPTER III.

The Articles of 1819 were greatly revised and enlarged in 1824. The constitution of the Society was again changed in 1833, following its incorporation under the name of "The Society of Separatists of Zoar." Incorporation was decided upon in order that the community might better carry on its rapidly growing business activities, and in order to safeguard its legal rights. The act of incorporation, dated February 6, 1832, gave the Society the usual privileges of corporations, and the usual obligations. The net annual income was limited to $1,000.00 until 1846, when an amendment to the original act permitted an income of $10,000.00. An official seal was adopted, a replica of the design of the community garden, enclosed within a circular wreath.

The new constitution was adopted May 14, 1833, and proved adequate to the needs of the Society for the duration of its existence, or until 1890. With a few exceptions, all the provisions of the 1824 document were included in that of 1833, and the former need not, therefore, be discussed here. The constitution of 1833 was a lengthy document.

1 See Appendix I for the Articles of 1824.

2 See Appendix II for the Constitution of 1833.

3 Laws of Ohio, XXX, 92; XLIV, 155.

4 The corporate character of the Society was not dissolved until 1900. See page 228.
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 pro-
ceeding 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 indi-
vidual 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 contin-
ued until a majority was secured. An incumbent could be re-elected any
number of times, but the Society reserved the right to recall any offi-
cer 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.
any of the provisions of the two earlier ones.

Elections were held on the second Tuesday of each May. Twenty days before the election, notices were posted informing the members of the time and place of election, and the offices which were to be filled. The following was a typical election notice: 6

"NOTIIZI"

The members of the second class of the Separatists' Society of Zoar, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, are hereby informed, that in accordance with the act of incorporation, they are to assemble in the Meeting House on the second Tuesday of next month, that is, on the thirteenth of May, at seven o'clock in the evening, to elect the following directors of the Society for the ensuing year, namely:

One trustee, in the place of Jacob Ackermann, whose term expires this year, and one member of the Standing Committee, in the place of J.F. Bäumeler, whose term of office ends this year.

Zoar, O., April 10, 1866.  
J.W. v. Ztzingaer  
Jacob Sylvan  Trustees  
Jacob Ackermann"

There were no nominations from the floor, although there was nothing in the constitution to bar such procedure. Members simply indicated their preferences on ballots provided for them, which were then deposited in the ballot box, a small wooden chest made for this purpose, and used at each election. Despite the absence of the usual nominating procedure, the records indicate a surprising unanimity among the electors, for the majorities received by the successful candidates were almost always large. However, there was ample opportunity for the members to exchange views as to the merits of those available for the positions. 7

6 Coleman MSS.

7 Full book of the Society.
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 magisterial 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 1855, 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.
by only thirteen men, with the average term of office being about fourteen years. A trustee rarely resigned, and usually served until death. When a vacancy occurred because of death, a member was immediately elected to fill the unexpired term.

The trustees had extensive powers. They had charge of all the property owned by the Society. They had immediate supervision of the community enterprises. Thus, one trustee superintended the farm work, another the shops, the third, the cattle. The trustees acted as a board of arbitrators when controversies arose among the members. They were charged with the responsibility of maintaining peace and order in the Society. They decided what labor should be performed by each member, whether he should work in the fields or in the shops. Finally, it was the duty of the trustees "carefully to furnish each member, without respect to person, with board, clothing and dwelling, and other necessaries alike in days of sickness and of health as good as circumstances will allow." 9

There was but one way by which a member could protest an act of the trustees. That was by appeal to the Standing Committee. This committee was composed of five men who served for five years. It acted as a court of appeals for such controversies as the trustees were unable to settle, or in such cases where a trustee was one of the contestants. From the decisions of the Standing Committee there was no escape; in the words of the constitution, "the judgment thereof shall be final and

9 Constitution, Article 2.
binding in all cases. This committee passed 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 1835 to 1896. 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 Zoar, 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."

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?" Mr. Levi Bimeler, July 19, 1932.

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

12 Contract of Anna Maria, Anna Katharina, and Magdalena Luzin with the Society, February 15, 1820, Zoar MSS.
To the above was added this notation: "Received into the Society, April 15, 1821." This would indicate that the three women were not immediately taken into full membership, but were obliged to spend a year as probationers. In November, 1823, Anna Katnarina Luzin, signed a zugabê, or appendix to her original contract, whereby she renounced all claim to whatever goods or money she had brought with her into the community.

The practice of requiring applicants to submit to a probationary period was evidently followed from the first, but the 1824 constitution was silent regarding it. The Constitution of 1835, however, recognized the existence of two classes of members, a first or probationary class, and a second class. Applicants for admission first signed a Probe-Kontrakt, or trial contract. Except for the right to vote, and to hold office, members of the first class enjoyed the same privileges as full members. Likewise, they assumed similar obligations. At the conclusion of the one year period of trial, the probationers could make application for full membership to the trustees.

The trustees then questioned the applicant as to his motives, and if no cause for rejection appeared, gave notice to the Society. After an interval of thirty days, to allow the presentation of protests from the members, the applicant was taken into the second class. New members were expected to make known any debts which were outstanding against them, and were obliged to absolve the Society from all respons-

13 Zear M S S.

14 Except that they were not obliged to surrender their property.
sirility for such debts. Concealment of any obligations was suffi-
cient cause for ejection from the Society. Children of the community
did not automatically become members. After attaining legal age, chil-
dren were required to spend a year as novitiates, and then to make for-
mal application for admittance into the second class.

The contract signed by the first class members was made
longer and more specific in 1853. 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 cloth-
ing, "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 ob-
servance 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 offense among the other members
of this community, are not only wholly to be avoided, but, on the con-
trary, 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

15 Appendix IV.
members, no extra demands could be made in respect to "meat, drink, clothing, dwelling, etc.," cases of sickness excepted. Article six obliged the members to deposit all money in their possession with the Society treasurer. They were, however, permitted to draw upon this account to supply themselves with "extra necessaries." If they withdrew from the Society while still members of the first class, the balance of the account was returned. The proportion of probationers to the total membership was always large, especially during the later period of the Society's history. In 1850 there were ninety-four in the first class, and seventy-two in the second. Many members never attempted to enter the second class, and the chief reason they did not so was because they could withdraw the money they had deposited at any time.

The character of the "extra necessaries" referred to above, is indicated by the "Statement of Sundry Accounts of Members of the First Order, Dec. 9, 1847;"

"Frederick Heid, in acc. with J.M.Bimeler.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Balance of his Individual account, before he became a Member.</td>
<td>$217.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Extra Charges, Cash, postages, Books &amp; Clocks, etc.</td>
<td>$26.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.M.Bimeler's Note and demand for Balance</td>
<td>$190.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ehlers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Balance of his Credits when he became first Class Member.</td>
<td>$518.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Extra Charges, Postages, Books, Newspapers, Watchrepair.</td>
<td>$507.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Köcherer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Balance of his credits, when he became 1st Class Member</td>
<td>$206.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Postage &amp; Watchrepair</td>
<td>$204.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 Hinde, W.A., American Communities, 97.

17 Coleman MSS.
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.

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 Bäumel-er, 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."

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

19 November 22, 1855, Coleman MSS.
not the letter of an applicant for admission to the Society, but the complaint of a probationer who had encountered unexpected difficulties in his efforts to live the communal life. T. Friederich Heim addressed the following to Bäumeler on May 1, 1837:

"Circumstances make it imperative that I write you this. Three years ago I wrote you from Reading, Pennsylvania, relative to my honorable desire to live with you in your religious society. You invited me to come to you, and in accordance with your invitation, I undertook my long journey, in full trust and faith, to unite myself with you. This done, you required me to enter upon a contract with you, according to which you promised to receive me into the second class of the Society, one year after I should announce my intention. This first year passed and I gave notice, and you did nothing, but put me off to wait one year longer. This I did, and waited until it was three and a quarter years, and again gave notice. I was told I had not done so at the proper time. It was not this that excluded me, but rather your politics. You wished to punish me for certain wrong-doings; see that you punish these wrong-doings in the proper quarters. You put me at various tasks; these I did with all faithfulness and with all my strength. I brought to you a very healthy body; now, it is injured.... Where do you find in Scripture that honorable, faithful people should be sent away without wages or compensation, and where do the laws of men say this? Both say that the laborer is worthy of his hire. Therefore, I demand that you square your account with me by next Wednesday, and compensate me. If this is not done, I shall know enough to turn to the laws of our country.... Then we shall see who is in the right." 20

To what extent T. Friederich Heim's spirited indictment of Separatist maladministration was justified will probably never be known, for the Society left no record of any defense it might have made. But his threat to invoke the law in his behalf availed him little, for it was not until a year and a half later that a settlement of his differences with the Society was effected. On September 21, 1838, he signed the formal Auflösungs-Kontrakt, or quit-claim. This was signed by all withdrawing members, and it declared null and void the contract

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

"Received, Zoar, September 21, 1858, of Jacob Silvan, Jacob Ackerman 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 $5.00
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 7.00
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 3.12½
4 Aprons 2.00
2 Aprons of Linen Cloath at .75 1.50
2 Aprons of common Cloth at .25 .50
1 Bonnet .50
1 Carpet 3.50
1 Pair Stockings 3.00

21 Coleman MSS.
1 pair new Shoes 1.50
2 pairs old Shoes 2.00
1 pair knitted Winter Shoes trimmed with leather 1.00
1 pair Boots—old .50
1 Umbrella
$17.00

To the above was added this note: "J. Silvan's Statement of Effects granted to Juliana Thirst on leaving Zoar, O., March 13, 1852, $77 worth." But Trustee Sylvan was not yet done with Juliana. At the foot of the page on which he had so laboriously tabulated the details of feminine attire and household equipment, appears this laconcic statement: "She has returned March 16, say three days after she had left."

The constitution provided a method by which disputed between members, or between members and the officers, could be settled, but the only punishment prescribed for violation of the Society laws was the drastic one of expulsion. When Hinds visited Zoar in 1866, he asked what rules or discipline the Society had. He was told:

"We appeal to the conscience. What else can we do? We can't punish anybody. Formerly, if a member disobeyed the regulations of the Society, he was not allowed to attend the meetings, and that was punishment enough." 24

22 Coleman MSS.

23 Many of the Zoarites Anglicized their names but they were frequently inconsistent in their spelling. Säumeler spelled his name Säumler to conform with the pronunciation given it by his American neighbors who were unequal to the pronunciation of the German umlaut ä. Sylvan was originally Seifang. It is said that his wife objected to the literal meaning of the name, i.e., catcher of sons, so he changed the spelling to Silvan, and later to Sylvan. In most cases, the original spelling or the Zoar name has been used except where quotations make this impossible.

24 Up. s. 102. His informant was Simon Neuter of the Society.
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 the 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 Kastenmile, 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 unauly embarrassing to the recipients, and the practice lapsed during the later years of the Society.

Sometimes individuals were admonished privately in writing. Thus Ludwig Kirk, a trustee of the Society from 1858 to 1891, made 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 or 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
on the same footing, and I believe that everyone can eat what we eat without burdening his conscience. There may be one single exception to this—if you do not wish to eat meat. No one will force you to do that, but I do not believe you have any grounds for your other objections, which are only an added burden for the cook. I hope you will correct these matters as quickly as possible.”

But there only a few such instances necessitating action in writing by an officer of the Society. Usually, where correction was called for, a word from the trustees was all that was necessary.

The matter of allocating the various occupations might have furnished a fruitful source of dissension. The constitution promised equality of labor, but absolute equality in a society largely agricultural was obviously impossible. In a purely industrial community, a measure of equality could have been secured through an adjustment of the hours of labor. But apparently there was little difficulty encountered by the Society officials on this score. The explanation is to be found in the character of the contract made by the Society with the members. Mr. Joseph Breymaier, the only surviving trustee of the Zoar Society, was questioned on this matter. He said, "Under the contract with the Society, the members had agreed to obey the orders of the trustees. That ended it."

However, sometimes members did protest their appointments to certain duties. David Sylvan addressed the following letter to Christian Wiebel, treasurer of the Society:

"You will pardon me if I approach you this time in writing, in order to inform you, that under the present circumstances, I will in no case take over the postmastership. However, I am always willing

25 Holm oak MS.
26 June 30, 1852.
to 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.

The constitution did not specifically state the misdemeanors which rendered a member liable to expulsion from the Society. It merely bound 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.
with him little save a few clothes, "bundled up in a handkerchief," a few books, and thirteen dollars in money. In 1837 Sieber married a woman of the community. Sometime thereafter he was accused by certain of the other members of violating the Society regulations. On December 20, 1838, the trustees and the Committee "made an investigation of the grounds & reasons of such accusation, in pursuance of which investigation they have found themselves fully & satisfactorily Convinced, that such accusations are only too well-founded." The report of the Society court then continued as follows:

"They have found namely in the first instance, that said Bernhard F. Sieber had transgressed the 6th Article of the Constitution of said Society, which requires Explicitly of every Member thereof the Delivery of all Legal & Personal property, and he, said Sieber, had never delivered any of his property to said Society.

And secondly they have found themselves well convinced that said Sieber was far from fulfilling of and Complying with the requisition laid down in the same 6th Article of said Constitution respecting the application of his strength, good will & Industry to the general Benefit of the Society, and the satisfaction of its Trustees, but much more, that he demeaned himself in an arbitrary, Contradictory and murmuring manner at different times and at sundry occasions.

Third. That he, said Sieber, took the Privilege to Convert Certain days into Holy days to leave and abandon the Business & labour of the Society to which he was appointed, and go where he was led to by his own Conveniences & pleasures, whilst other Members were busily engaged at their labour.

Fourth. That said Sieber for some time past strived & labored to impose upon other members his own Contradictory & Arbitrary Views in Religious matters, and to sow the seed of Disunion and discord among the Society in general, whereby he became Offensive and Burdensome to many or the Members, and above all this, he Openly declared before the Trustees of the Society, that in Religious Matters he had no kind of Union with the Views of this Society whatever, Neither did he intend or Expect any such Union into all Eternity...."

29 Sieber v. Separatist Society of Zoro, Tuscarawas County Court Records, IV, 100. A transcript of the answer of the Society to Sieber's petition may be found in the Coleman MSS.

30 Proceedings of the Society against Bernhard F. Sieber, Coleman MSS. The translation was made by Birk in connection with the case cited above.
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, 1845.

31 Sieber filed suit against the Society after his expulsion, See page 168.
32 These records may be found in the Zoar MSS. and the Coleman MSS.
33 Proceedings against Christian Weiszhaar, Zoar MSS.
The trustees, in the presence of two witnesses, presented Weiszhaar with the charges which had been made against him, questioned him concerning them, and submitted their findings to the Standing Committee. The report of the trustees cited the defendant on four counts. He was charged with "irritable and rebellious conduct" in his customary association with the other members, and with accompanying his insubordination with "detestable blasphemies and cursings." He was given to using words of slander and abuse "of the most horrible character" against the Society, "and to utter against himself curses fitting to no worldly thinking creature, much less to one of Christian beliefs, almost too awful to repeat." Finally, he was charged with sending certain slanderous letters to the officers and other members of the Society. The report concluded:

"Because of the above mentioned charges, which are only a part of those which could be brought, the undersigned Trustees of this Society have found themselves obliged to lay the following questions before the said Weiszhaar, to guide their future action in his case."

Weiszhaar was then asked if he wished to retract the statements he had made in his letters to the trustees, and the slanders he had uttered against the Society. He declared that he had no desire to withdraw a single statement, but, on the contrary, would reaffirm all that he had said and written. He was asked if he would promise to refrain from cursing in the future. He again refused. The trustees then ordered his case before the Standing Committee, "and other members of the Society."

34 ". . . . namely, that if he was not in the right, the Almighty Himself should judge him, and the earth should open and swallow him up, and if the wrong was on the side of the Society, then the same judgment should be visited upon the Society."
On January 25, 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, board and dwelling. No other demands will be accepted nor paid by the Society."

35 Proceedings against Christian Weiszhaar. Zoar MSS.
36 Eviction Notice served on Conrad Breymaier, Coleman MSS.
CHAPTER IV.

The streets of Zoar were unpaved, and the walks were of ashes or gravel. The ditches between the walks and the streets were covered with grass, always kept closely trimmed. Oil lamps, placed high on wooden posts, furnished a meager illumination at night. There were trees everywhere, in the yards and between the walks and the streets.

On Main Street, which extended through the center of the village from north to south, there were a few maples. But most of the trees were apple trees, with an occasional peach or cherry. Zoar was virtually a town buried in an apple orchard.

As the community grew, the original log houses were gradually replaced by larger and more comfortable homes of brick or frame, although some of the log structures continued to be used throughout the life of the Society. The simply-built, white, frame houses, with their wide weather-boards and green shutters, were somewhat suggestive of the colonial home, but there were frequent indications of the German origins of their builders.

The Zoar homes, as well as the shops and farm buildings, were originally roofed with the large, red tiles which the Society made in its own kilns. The use of these heavy tiles made necessary steeply pitched roofs, which projected over the porches close to the ground.

The streets in Zoar, were not named until the dissolution of the Society in 1898. The present day residents of Zoar rarely use the street names, but for the sake of convenient they will used in designating locations.
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 flour 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. 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 Bolivar, 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 1860, another quarry was opened across the river, on the Wolfberg.
Dover converged near the center of Zoar on Main Street, and here stood the hotel and the general store. The latter was a large, white frame building with a long, stone-paved porch. Across the street from the store, and east of it, was the hotel. During the last decade of the Society's existence, a modern addition more than doubled the size of the hotel, but even in its original form it was larger than similar buildings in towns of several times the population of Zoar. The store did a large business with the surrounding community, and formed an important source of the Society's revenue. The hotel was maintained for the visitors who very early found Zoar a pleasant summering place.

The most pretentious house in the village was that occupied by Bäumeler following its completion in 1835. This stood one block north of the general store, and on the same side of the street. It has generally been assumed that this house was built for Bäumeler in recognition of his services to the Society. But it now appears that it was originally intended for a home for the aged members of the community, and that it came to be regarded as Bäumeler's especial home only after the abandonment of the institutional idea.

This building was a veritable mansion, of excellent Georgian Colonial architecture, and the equal of the best manorial homes of its day. It was built of red brick and sandstone, and stood two and a half stories high. A stone-paved portico extended the entire width of the front. Colonial columns of sandstone twenty feet high supported
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. 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 bays, the panelled doors were Georgian. The lintel above the doors used the Separatist star with a combination of acanthus leaf and Greek honeysuckle. The high, wooden ceiling of the Meeting House was curved, and the plastered walls of the interior were 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 Zear.

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.
and the cooper and wagon shops, were housed in buildings within the
town itself. South of Zoar stood the flour mill, the woolen mill, and
the planing mill, all powered by water led by a race from the river.
The saw-mill was located on the river’s edge at the foot of Water
Street, about half a mile from the village. Here a dam had been built.
In 1857, another flour mill was built across the river on the banks of
the canal. A tavern on the hill overlooking the canal and the river
bridge catered to the crews and passengers of the canal boat traffic.
The two blast furnaces operated by the Society were located north and
south of Zoar on the canal.

The day’s work began early in Zoar; in summer, shortly after
daybreak. In the early years of the Society’s existence, a bugle was
used to announce the time for the beginning and the end of the day’s
labors. The huge horn, made of clay by the community potter, required
a terrific blast to sound it. When the house diagonally across from
Bäumeler’s was built, a bell was mounted on its roof, and this was
thereafter used to signal the hours of work. The men unassigned to reg-
ular occupations met before this house in the morning and at noon, and
were then directed by the trustees to their respective places of work.

6 See Chap. VI for a further description of the Society’s industries.

7 This horn is now in the Zoar Museum. Its bell is broken, and a
Zoar tradition has it, that Bäumeler, wishing Christmas to be em-
ployed in work as any other day, ordered the horn sounded on
Christmas morning. The horn was sounded, but the bell broke into
fragments. The bugle call was of four notes, to which the Zearites
put words, thus: Auf-da-ar-beit! Auf-da-ar-beit!
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. Bäumeler 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. "Buchstaben das!" was Simon Beiter's expression when one of his students used a Swabianism which defied orthography.

But as most of those who joined the Society from time to time were peasants from southern Germany, the efforts to keep the Zoar dialect 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. The language spoken was thus the resultant of several southern 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. Salema Beiter, July 12, 1952.

9 For example, Trubl for trouble, and Reber, for river.
arose from the fact that most of the clothing was made in the community sewing house and in the tailor shop, where reasons of economy dictated the use of only a few patterns and types of materials.

The women's dresses were invariably of dark colors, and were usually made of calico or wool. They were all made on one pattern a tightly fitting bodice, long sleeves, and with a row of small, white buttons down the front of the high cut waist. When a girl reached the age of eighteen, she was given a plain blue dress of alpaca for Sunday wear, made on the same pattern as the week-day dresses. A large, triangular handkerchief was worn about the neck. This was crossed over the breast and tied at the waist.

An apron was worn on all occasions, a dark one during the week, and a light one on Sundays. The women's under garments were made of linen woven in the Weaving House from the flax grown by the Society. When the women helped with the harvesting, they were a linen chemise with long loose sleeves for the sake of comfort. When a Zöar woman needed a dress, she went to the Näh-haus, or Sewing House, and selected the material from the limited varieties of cloth available. She was then fitted by the seamstresses. "One fitting was all a Zöar woman ever received; the clothes were made big enough the first time." At the Sewing House, dresses and aprons were made in one room, and in the other, bed-clothing, men's shirts and women's underwear. The seamstresses lived in the rooms in the upper story of the building.

10 Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 7, 1952, to whom I am indebted for the above account. The Sewing House was located on the north-west corner of Third and Park Streets. The seamstresses (during the last thirty years of the Society's existence) were: Barbara Fetter, Rosa Roth, Minna Strobel, Jacobina Sylvan, and Mary Petermann.
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.

In their week-day working attire of overalls and jumpers, nothing distinguished the Zöar 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 moustaches 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 descrip-

11 Put in the Zöar 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.
ion was true only of the early period, although Zoar fashions in both men and women's clothing remained decidedly conservative throughout the life of the Society.

The men were allowed two suits at any one time, which were made in the community tailor shop, located south of the store. Five or six men and boys were kept busy making clothes from the cloth woven in the Society's woollen mill. Overalls and jumpers were made by the boys who were learning the tailoring trade. Shoes were made in the community shoe shop, which also did a large business with the neighboring farmers. No account was kept by the Society of the clothing it dispensed. But it is said that if the head tailor or shoemaker gained the impression that a member was making too frequent calls for apparel, the fact was made known to the trustees, who then investigated.

But the trustees did take precautions to prevent any inequality in dress, as the following letter indicates. The letter was written by Trustee Ludwig Birk to the manager of the store maintained by the Society at Zoar Furnace, about two miles north of Zoar, and was dated April 4, 1839:

"Through the medium of these lines I wish to inquire of you about a Circumstance, which I have heard repeatedly of several persons, and about which I wish you to state (at) your first Opportunity, how it is. The Circumstance, that a short time ago there should have been a handkerchief or shawl bought of you, as I understand, by Sebastian Effert, and that said Shawl was presented to a Young Woman living in this place. Now I should like to know, whether this is the case, and who bought the Shawl, and who it is charged to, and at what price, as I have heard different stories about it. Should it

13 Mr. Charles Breymier, June 30, 1952.
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 celibacy, 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 Zearites 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 the 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 product of the bakery was used by the hotel in the later days

14 Holman MSS.
15 Mitchener, O.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.
of the Society's history, and some was sold to people of the vicinity. Large amounts of wood were used for fuel in the ovens. When the supply needed replenishing, all the men of Zoar turned out to cut and split the logs which had been piled back of the bakery. The work frequently lasted until far into the night, and at its conclusion the men were rewarded by a huge dinner served in the bakery building.

Fresh meat was supplied from the butcher shop on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The first butcher shop, or slaughter house, was located in the south-western part of the village; the one last in use stood in the lane which extended west of Zoar past the brewery. The meat eaten was usually beef. Pork was not used until about 1890 because of a religious prejudice against it. But as pork was served to the hired laborers, who boarded in the various homes, the members gradually became habituated to its use. In the early eighties, a meadow east of Zoar was enclosed by dikes to form a fish pond, and experiments were conducted with German carp with the idea of supplementing the food supply. But the fish proved unpalatable, and the project was abandoned.

Other foods and supplies were issued from a storehouse maintained in Baumeier's residence, or Number One, as the house was called. Tea, coffee and candles were issued on one Friday, butter the following Friday. The former day was known as "Gross-fass Tag," the latter day, "Klein-fass Tag." Lard was obtainable, but as long as the ban against pork was operative, it was used only for shining shoes. In the early days, lard was used in the fat lamps which served as the means of

17 Mrs. R. K. Nixon, March 24, 1933.
illumination before the adoption of candles. Old butter was used
for cooking instead of animal fat. Coffee was served in limited quan-
tities; 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.

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
Brotessen Zeit. The beer of Zoor 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

18 Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 9, 1952.

19 Ice was harvested from the river, the canal, the fish pond, and
from the bottoms west of Zoor which were flooded for this pur-
pose. 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 Stadler Bauer, the community odd job man.
occasions. However, this was true only of wine as dispensed from
the community cellars. Each family made wine for its own use from
grapes, currants, elderberries, and blackberries. Sour wines were
most popular. The women rarely drank anything other than coffee; this
was consumed by them at all hours of the day. The use of tobacco was
originally forbidden, but in the later years this restriction was
more honored in the breach than in the observance.

The breakfast hour in Zear was contingent upon the season,
in the winter at seven, in the summer earlier. Dinner was at noon and
supper at six. In addition to the mid-morning and mid-afternoon
lunches already mentioned, something was usually had to eat and drink
at bedtime. The Zear diet retained its German character, and with the
exception of the breakfast menu, American dishes were adopted but
slowly. Soup was a staple dish, and appeared in endless variety. Sauerkraut was much used in winter. Breakfast usually consisted of bread,
20 coffee, cornmeal mush, buckwheat cakes, and fried potatoes. Where
two women shared the same kitchen, the position of cook was determined
by priority. That is, the woman who first lived in the house supervised
the preparation of the meals. The other acted as helper, even though
she might have been the older, or possibly, the better cook.

Among the Zear dishes were these: sauerfleisch, chopped beef pre-
pared with a sour sauce; gebratene nudeln, noodles fried with
eggs; pfierim, composed largely of eggs; schmaier-kiisse; spätzle,
tiny dumplings, usually soaked with sauerkraut; geköhte nudeln,
bread and beef enclosed in squares of noodle dough and boiled in
beef broth; lëberknöpfe, liver dumplings; bret Knöpfe, bread
dumplings; holder suppe, a soup made from elder berries. Sour
milk curds eaten with bread was a popular combination.
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 Bröt,
Speise zugleich auch unsere Seele,
Die wie dir jetzt anfehle,
Steh uns bei in aller Not,
Gib, dass wir nach dieser Erden,
Deine Gast in 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 Zorrites to

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

"Kom', Herr Jesu, sei unser Gast,
Und segne was Du uns beschert hast."

"Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ,
Dass Du unser Gast gewesen bist."

"Wenn du gegessen hast, und satt bist,
Sollst du den Herrn deinen Gott loben."
adopt celibacy, that is, the release of the women for productive work. There does not appear to have been any desire to mold the children in the habits of community living. In the summer, the girls spent most of their time peeling the apples which were gathered in great quantities from the trees in the village and from the community orchards. These apples were then dried in the Drying House and sold. In the winter evenings the girls spun yarn. They were not permitted to stop working until they had finished a skein, which frequently kept them up until ten o'clock. Sometimes the girls acted as nursemaids to the smaller children in the various households, returning to their dormitory in the evening. The boys herded pigs in the summer, worked in the community garden, and during the winter evenings, braided straw for hats.

From all accounts, the life of the children in the Anstalt was not a particularly happy one. The women in charge appear to have been a hard lot, with none or few of the qualities which women in their position should have had. Some of the stories told of their harshness, and even cruelty, to the children are revolting in the extreme. They gave but little time to the preparation of food for their charges, because, it is said, they were more interested in spinning. As a result, the children lived on a diet which was monotonous and unappetizing. Moreover, their living quarters were ill-adapted to housing children. The boys slept in an improvised dormitory in the attic of their house, which was totally unheated. Sometimes they would be obliged to

22 Mrs. August Burkhart and Mrs. Elizabeth Beter, June 30, July 8, 1932.
hang up their wet garments with no means of drying them, and in the 23
winter these would be frozen stiff by morning. 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 Amstalt 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 Bäumeler was abandoned shortly after
the completion of the structure. The character of the interior of
this 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 Spinnstube, 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 probably because of the objections of the

23 Mrs. Salome Beitner, Mrs. Elizabeth Beitner, and Mr. Levi Bimler.
Among the care-takers in the later period of the Kinder Amstalt
were Christina Waldor, known as Die Grosse Christia, an enor-

mous woman, and Margarita Bähringer, known as Die Achte Margar-

24 The exact date of the abandonment of the children's home is in
doubt, but a Zorn visitor of 1859 described it. The Ohio States-
man, September 18, 1859.
older folk themselves, who preferred the comforts of their own homes. It is likely that the motives which led to the establishment of the Kinder Anstalt were also those which suggested the institution of a home for the aged. But the latter were articulate in their protests; the children, unfortunately, were not.

The Society did make special provision for the comfort of its old men and women. Once a member reached the age of sixty, he was no longer obliged to work at any other than light tasks. But those who were physically able to continue their customary occupations usually did so. The less vigorous did such work as lay within their strength. The men who were no longer able to work in the fields or in the shops made the willow baskets used in large numbers by the Society. The old women spun and knitted and plaited straw for hats. Every Wednesday, each person over sixty years of age was issued a loaf of white bread, of better quality than that ordinarily served, called the Mittwoche- leib, or Wednesday Leib, and every Saturday, a bottle of currant wine.

The attitude of the Zorites toward their children was puritanical in its severity. The older generation of Separatists did not even kiss their children. Kissing was a carnal impulse, a Fleischglotz. But aside from the regimentation to which the children were subjected in the community nursery, the discipline they endured was probably no more severe than that characteristic of most religious communities or families. The Zor child had definite tasks assigned him a very early age, and his time outside of school hours was largely occupied with work. But this, too, was the rule rather than the exception in the agrarian communities of the last century.
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 cown-near in driving the herd of over a hundred cows to and from pasture. Some helped at plowing by driving the teams for the men at the plows. 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—40 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 slowly 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."

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 daybreak, 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-

dred yards west of the barn. In the evening, the process was
repeated. Miss Woolson, who lived in Zoar for a number of summers in
the seventies, has left this description of the dairy work:

"Reaching the paved courtyard, each cow walked into her own
stall and the milking began. All the girls took part in this work,
sitting on little stools and singing together as the milk frothed up
in the tin pails; the pails were emptied into tubs, and when the
tubs were full the girls bore them on their heads to the dairy
where the milk was poured into a huge strainer....a constant pro-
cession of girls with tubs above and the old milk-mother ladling as
fast as she could below." 26

When the girls reached womanhood, there were few tasks from
which they were barred because of their sex. They sheared the sheep,
assisted only by the shepherd and a few boys. They worked in their
kitchen-gardens; spading, planting, and hoeing. There were always at
least two women in each household. In the morning, one prepared the
meals and did the housework; the other worked in the fields. In the
afternoon, both worked in the fields. When the hay was cut, women
used scythes side by side with the men. One woman made the tallow
 candles and the soap used in the homes and in the hotel.

Women performed all the operations connected with the commu-
nity's silk and linen industries. Until about 1870, a woman had
charge of the dairy. The sturdier among them worked on the threshing
floor, a task which even the men did not consider easy. The place

26 Woolson, Constance F., "Wilhelmina," in the Atlantic Monthly,
XXXV, 40. This short-story, based on Zoar life, is fictional as
to plot, but is entirely accurate in its descriptive passages.
26 The Ohio Statesman, September 18, 1859: "The heads of the
females appear to be made of sterner stuff than those of our
worldly women. We have seen one of them carrying in each hand
a basket and on their heads a bucket of water or milk nicely
balanced, from which not a drop was spilled, and with such a
burthen the Zoar girl walks along easy enough!"
occupied by the Zoar women in the life of the community is epitomized by a rhyme they coined about the last named occupation:

"Michel, und Ursula, und drei so sterke Barbara, Die schlagen d'Weiße sauber, traur!" 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 conveniences. Kitchen floors were scoured with sand daily, and the brick or stone-paved porches were scrubbed every mornings:

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

28 The Ohio Statesman, September 18, 1859.
closely shuttered from one cleaning day to the next. The real living
room was the kitchen or dining room. Sometimes a Kammerle opened from
from the kitchen. This was a small room which was used for the stor-
ing of infrequently used pieces of household equipment or tools. It
also served as a kind of pantry.

All the homes had spacious attics, called Behns in Zoar.
These were religiously scrubbed every spring despite the inevitable
and immediate recurrence of soot. The Behns served as a receptacle for
unused furniture, obsolete pieces of household equipment, discarded
clothing, and a hundred other things which had outlived their usefulness,
but which Zoar thrift had saved from destruction. In all the
attics were found the long, narrow wooden chests which had served the
early Separatists as trunks on their journey from Württemberg.

In the bedrooms, huge wardrobes took the place of closets.
All the furniture was Zoar made, usually of maple, cherry, or walnut.
The chests of drawers, tables, chairs and beds were beautifully fin-
ished, and the simple, dignified designs used by the community cabinet
workers testified to their taste and craftsmanship. Rocking chairs
were not found in the homes until late in the life of the community.
The rooms were severely plain in their decoration. A few pictures of
religious subjects were to be found, and an occasional framed sampler
with Gott Mit Uns embroidered into it. Home made rag carpets covered
the floors. Every home had its Glas-küste, a small wooden cabinet

29 There was no formal art in Zoar. A few crude paintings of religi-
ous subjects were executed by Thomas Maier, and these have
been preserved in the Zoar Museum. Little is known of Maier,
except that he lived during the early days of the community.
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 Zeer. 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 Hopfen-sopfe, or hop-pulling, occupied the boys and girls during many of the August evenings. They sang together as they worked, and afterwards walked home together.

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." Zeer Sprichwort.
prejudices against such songs as Lauterbach, and mass i damn. After the 1850's, there was more freedom permitted regarding such Lieder, but they were always barred on Sunday. "Keine Lumpestäckle an Samstag!" Dancing was, of course, forbidden, although in the later years the girls were permitted to dance on the walks before the Town Hall, while the band played on the portico.

When a Zear youth wished to pay court to the girl he had singled out as being worthy of his attention, he found certain obstacles placed in his way. For the boys were rarely permitted to call upon the girls in their homes. But this difficulty was not insurmountable. For, as has already been suggested, the character of the seasonal occupations gave frequent opportunity for the young people to be with each other. Nor was there any concerted effort made by the community to separate the boys and girls in their play, as did the Amana Society. The Zear young people went skating and coasting together in the winter. They went boating on the river in the summer, after the day's work was done. Moreover, the many secluded walks about the village offered additional privacy to such as desired it. The lane past the brewery to the cemetery, and the Sandweg, or Sandwalk, along the bluffe overlooking the bottoms west of Zear, were favorite walks.

When a couple wished to marry, they sought the permission of the trustees, although this was apparently more of a formality than a

31 "No good-for-nothing songs on Sunday!"

32 Mrs. August Burkhart, July 7, 1932. Another walk was from the village to Die Hölle, a picturesque gorge or ravine in the woods near the Zear Furnace.
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 the 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 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 Springerle, 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 see the young lambs turned out into the fields.

The Society established a community garden or park early in

33 "July 4, 1893: Our trustees ordered a holiday this year for the first time—what new mischief will be next? Everything for voluptuousness and mischief, but nothing for God." Simon Beuter's Tag-Bush.

34 Mrs. Salome Beiter, July 8, 1952.
its existence. What year the garden was first planted is not known, but it was in existence in 1854. In 1856, geraniums, roses, and hydrangeas were being shipped to Cleveland customers by way of the Society owned canal boat Industry. The garden occupied an entire village block in the northern part of Zoar, and its plan was symbolical of the restored Eden as described in Revelations. A tall Norway spruce in the center represented the tree of life. An arbor vitae hedge surrounded the tree, and was itself encircled by twelve slim junipers, one for each of the apostles. This was called the centrum, and within it benches were placed.

A circular walk enclosed the centrum, and from this twelve other walks extended to the four sides of the garden. These were in turn intersected by walks which divided the garden into a series of triangular and quadrilateral plots. A wider path about the whole symbolized the road which is forever tread by the unredeemed. This path was bordered by rows of apple trees, and enclosed by a tall fence supported at intervals by heavy pillars of sandstone. The garden's home, known to all the Zearites as the Gartenhaus, and the greenhouse, extended across the northern side of the garden.

A rose-walk led from the entrance of the centrum to the door of the greenhouse. The plots immediately before the Gartenhaus were used for the growing of vegetables and strawberries; the others were

35 See page 37.

36 Jacob Harr to George Atherton, Cleveland, July 4, 1856, Coleman MSS. Harr was the first gardener. He was followed by John Brunny, and in 1845, by Simon Beuter. Beuter remained in charge until the dissolution of the Society, assisted during the later years by his son-in-law, Jacob Burkhart.
filled with flowers. A row of bee hives lined 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
marvellous; the most beautiful binneas, that run the gamut of the
rainbow for color; rare roses with unpronounceable names; pomegran-
ate and lemon trees (in boxes, to be sure,) full of fruit; glowing
masses of salvia; purple beds of fragrant heliotrope, borders of
sweet nigellas, 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 para-
dise of color and fragrance."

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 estab-
lished primarily for the pleasure of the members, and it was much fre-
quentlyed by them. The hothouse furnished house plants to those who
wanted them, and it supplied seeds and bulbs for the individual flower
gardens about the homes. People from a distance sent their coleanders
and other rare plants to Zoar to be kept in the greenhouse during the
winter.

The Zoarites love of flowers was equalled 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. Bäumer was a pianist, and at

37 Mrs. Wilson G. Smith, in The Petersen Magazine, August, 1897,

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 pres-
ervation against the frost in the fall. This is done by the in-
habitants of Cleveland, and other points on the lake shore, and
the line of the Ohio and Erie Canal." Jenkins, W., op.cit., 490.
times accompanied the orchestra which played for the church services. An organ was installed in the New Meeting House in 1875, but the orchestra continued as an organization.

The Society maintained a brass band from an early time, probably as early as 1840, and this organization played an important part in the life of the community. Its membership ranged from twenty to thirty men. The band possessed an excellent repertoire, with Viennese waltzes and Wagnerian music strong favorites. The compositions most popular with the Zoarites included the Tannhäuser March, Auf Wiedersehen, Carnival of Venice, Donau Wellen, Chopin’s Military Polonaise, and the many marches of John Philip Sousa. Although virtually self-taught, the band maintained a high standard of performance. Practices were held Tuesday and Friday evenings in the Town Hall, and were open to the members of the community. During the summer, the band gave concerts in the picnic grounds in the western part of Zoar, and it was in frequent demand for concerts in neighboring localities.

On the last day of the wheat harvest, the band members took their instruments to the fields, and played as they rode in on the last load. During the later years, the band played on Christmas afternoons, and on New Year's Eve. This organization was really a social club. After the concert on New Year's Eve, the band members were feted with an oyster supper. When one of the musicians married, his fellow members serenaded him. Rehearsals usually terminated in a social meet-

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39 Tables were erected in an evergreen grove here for the accommodation of the visitors who came in increasingly greater numbers during the later years of the Society.
ing, with Zear wine or beer to assuage the thirst aroused by the
strenuous harmony.

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: violin, Edwin
Weber and Joseph Bimeler; cornet, Louis Zimmermann; clarinet, David
Harry; 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 commu-
nity's existence. It was first known as the Männerschor Eintracht, then
as the Zear Männerschor. Composed of about fifteen singers, it prac-
tised 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 blässt du, armer Fischer-
knabe? 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.

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

41 Mr. Levi Bimeler, July 27, 1932, to whom I am indebted for the
above account of the Society's musical organizations.
"Schreiner Fritz," as he came to be known, asked permission of Bäumeler to build a piano. The latter refused, believing the man unequal to the task. Nevertheless, Fritz proceeded to build a piano in the cabinet shop, using what materials that were available, and fashioning the keys of bone. When his instrument was entirely built except for the strings, he went to Bäumeler, who then procured strings for him. Fritz built several other instruments later, two grand pianos, and several smaller ones.

An example of similar ingenuity was the pipe organ built by Peter Bimeler, the community miller during the decade of the nineties. He was also the organist, played cornet in the band, and bass viol in the orchestra. Bimeler had no previous knowledge of organ construction, but gained practically all his information by examining the instrument used in the Meeting House. The organ built by him was a two manual of forty pipes, and competent critics have attested to the excellence of its construction. It was installed in one of the rooms of the flour mill, and operated by a small water turbine.

This wide interest in music appears to have developed despite the absence of formal musical instruction. There were but few instances where the Society paid for music lessons for its members. It did pay for organ lessons for Peter Bimeler, but only that the community

42 Mrs. Selome Beiter, July 15, 1952. One of the smaller pianos or spinets is now in the Zoar Museum. It is said that Fritz gave some instruction on the pianos he had built. After his death, a great mass of piano music in manuscript, written by him, was found among his effects. Its character is not known for it was unfortunately destroyed.
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-
ularly in music. Since his thirteenth year, he has played first violin in church and the first alto in the band. He has spent his evenings during three years at the piano, and thus becoming the butt of ridicule on the part of the boys and girls, so that already last winter, he complained about this, and has asked me to permit him to go to Economy, where he would be free from such like, and where there would be greater opportunity. It has come so far here, that young folks do not early pair themselves, the old give aid thereto, and I have often thought that even if members of the Society have children, the Elders should not have any, because just as the Elders have prerogatives, the children assume the same and you can imagine what is the result. Truly we are entering upon precarious times. If no miracle happens from above, which will presently bring us back to self-knowledge and repentance, we cannot last for long.... And so far as I know, he has always conducted himself in a proper and moral manner. He has no vices, and as to love affairs with the other sex, which is a troublesome cancer, his piano has been his all.\(^3\)

Albert Beuter did find greater opportunity in Economy. There he was made a teacher in the Harmony Society schools, and given opportunity to study piano and violin. He later held professorships of music in Beaver College, Pennsylvania, and in the Pennsylvania Female College in Pittsburgh. He spent his later years as a teacher and composer in Bloomington, Illinois.

He is said to have been a violinist and a pianist of very high ability. His compositions, marches, schottisches, and waltzes, we re of but ephemeral importance, but his name is still encountered as the arranger of certain editions of the classics. His late start in his musical education barred him from real greatness in his profession. He realized this keenly, and it was his resentment at his treatment in Zoar that kept him from returning there until many years later.

\(^3\) Quoted by Mr. J. S. Duss in his Memoirs. (In preparation.)
Apparently he relented then, for one of his last compositions was given the name of the river that flowed past Zoar, Tussarawas. 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-book:

"Now the band plays the "Tannhäuser March," and memories of old days come to me. 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."
CHAPTER V.

Bäumeler served as the physician of the community throughout his life. There is little known regarding his actual ability as a medical practitioner, but the members of the Society evidently had implicit confidence in his knowledge of homopathy. After his death, physicians from the neighboring villages were summoned as needed. Dr. G. Peter of Winesburg, Dr. L. S. Schweizer of Sandyville, and Dr. S. D. Hildt of Belivar attended the ailing ones of Zeer in the later period of the community's history. A stock of remedies was kept on hand for ordinary ailments, and the individual entrusted with their dispensing was given the honorary title of "Doctor." John Petersmann and Clements Breil were among those who fulfilled this duty.

One of the women of the community acted as midwife in cases of childbirth, and a physician was not called upon unless the circumstances were unusual. Anna Maria Beuter, wife of Simon Beuter, was the midwife of the Society from 1851 to 1882. She not only brought the Zeer children into the world, but gave her services to the people of the neighborhood. Sometimes she was paid for her services, more often she was not, but whatever she received was turned over to the Society's treasury.

1 See page 109.

2 During the years indicated, Anna Maria ministered at the birth of 205 Zeer children, and at the birth of 252 children of families living outside of Zeer. For the latter services she received $563.00, or about $1.50 for each delivery! Register of Births Attended by Anna Maria Beuter, M.B.S. in possession of the writer.
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. 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.

Nordhoff says that the communistic life as practised by the religious societies made for longevity. 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 Ackermann served as trustee from 1832 until his death in 1889 at the age of eighty-six, and performed the work of 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 Bäumeler to Sophia Wietler, Abershausen, Württemberg, November 22, 1855, Coleman MSS.
For a number of years, the children of Zoar received their formal education in a single-storied building of two rooms located in the eastern part of the village. In 1868, a new school house was built east of the Meeting House, on the hill on which the latter building stood. The new school was a square-built, two story structure of red brick, with a high, stone-paved portico. It was placed within a grove of fruit trees, and overlooked the town.

The Zoar school was part of the Tuscarawas County school system, being District No.1 of Lawrence Township. The Society maintained the building; the township paid the salaries of the teachers. The latter were appointed by school directors elected by citizens of the township, and were usually, but not always, members of the Society. When a teacher was a member of the Society, he was required to turn over his salary to the community treasury. This was true, of course, of all members who received any income from an outside source, such as the railroad station agent, notaries and justices of the peace.

The student body always contained a member of children from the surrounding neighborhood, although the proportion of Zoar children was always much larger.

The contract of Thomas White, of Carrell County, Ohio, to teach the Zoar school for the term of 1856-1857 indicates that the

6 On Third between Main and Folts Streets, opposite the present home of Mr. Charles Braymaier.

7 It is interesting to encounter such names as Baptiste Tabeau, Tabeau Tabeau, Julima Thirst, Gabriel Draime and Josephine Pierre among the typically German names of the Zoar children. The former were from the French Hills district west of Zoar, settled by French Canadians during the eighteenth century.
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 Bühringer, 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 1836 consisted of the 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 $50.00 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 directors named were all members of the Society, as was almost invariably the case.

9 Exact date is not given. Coleman MSS.
to the higher grade when they had completed a prescribed course of study.

The Zoar children were kept in school until the age of fifteen. Instruction was given in both the German and English languages. From about 1865 to 1884, German was taught on Tuesdays and Thursdays; thereafter, instruction in German was dropped entirely. Music was an important part of the curriculum, and both German and English songs were taught. When the ability of the teacher permitted, he accompanied the singing on the school piano. Evidently the religious training of the students was not neglected, for included in a bill of school materials bought by the Society in 1858 was an item of "½ doz. Testaments at $1.25 a dozen." Religious verses were substituted for the usual copy book maxims. Among these maxims or Verschriften were the following:

"Jesus Christus ging voran, Er, er brach die hohe Bahn,
Durch das Grabes Dunkelheit, dort hinauf zur Ewigkeit;
Liebe war des Meisters Lehren, Liebe war sein erst Gebot,
Liebe war sein schönstes Leben, und Liebe war sein treuer Tod."

"Dem kleinen Veilchen gleich,
Das im Verborgenleinblüht,
Sei immer fremm und gut,
Auch wenn dich niemand sieht."

"Der Sonnenschein und Regen
Dem kleinsten Grashalm gibt,
Der gibt auch seinen Segen
Dem Kinde das ihm liebt." 12

10 Mrs. Selma Beiter, July 16, 1952.
11 Bill of School Materials, October 27, 1858, Coleman MSS.
12 Mrs. Lily Sturm, July 7, 1952.
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 Felter's Arithmetic, Mitchell's Geography, and Wilson's Intermediate Third Reader.

The German texts included Fix's Handfibel, Erstes Buch für deutsche Schulen, and Lesebuch für Oberklassen. Another German reader used was F.P. Walder's Deutscher Kinderfreund für Schule und Haus, described on its frontispiece 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.

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 Radde, New York, 1854.
behalf of a native of North Carolina who had just returned from a period of service in Barbados as a missionary. In 1870, there were seventeen applicants. One of the first teachers was Heinrich Zeltmann, who had come from Germany with the original party. He was a little figure of a man, deaf and lame, but despite his disabilities is said to have been an excellent teacher. He taught until 1860. Between 1847 and 1865, Simon Beuter added teaching to his other duties as community gardener. The teachers during the last decade of the Society's existence were David Breymsier and Levi Bimeler.

Literature played but a small part in the lives of most of the members of the Zarah Society. The Bible was generally read, as were certain other books of a religious character, such as Arndt's Wahrer Christentum, and a German translation of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress. A few of the homes possessed collections of books that might be called libraries, but these dealt almost exclusively with religious subjects. The library of Simon Beuter, for example, contained several hundred volumes dealing, for the most part, with the mysticism of Jakob Böhme, Jung-Stillig, and Gerhard Terstegen. It also contained numerous works of a technical character in the field of Beuter's work as a gardener and nurseryman. Terstegen's Blumen-Gärtelein, a book of religious verse, was found in all the homes, as were two collections of hymns, the Psalter-Spiel and the Geistliche Lieder. After Bäumeler's death, his Discourses were printed, and copies given each family.

Novels were regarded as sinful, and were not permitted in the

15 Applications for Admission, 1852, Coleman MS.
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. The Society subscribed to several German weekly newspapers, such as the Wöchentlich Weltboten, of Allentown, Pennsylvania, the Naechter 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 later 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 Deheim.

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."

Baumeler's Reden or Discourses, to which reference has been made above, were preserved by an entirely fortuitous circumstance. As soon as the Separatists were established in Zoar, the question arose as to what disposition should be made of Sunday. It was decided that the members "should have something for the edification of their souls, especially for the sake of the young people." To this end, "it was considered most fitting that they should meet together, and have religious talks concerning our Principles, for which our ever-faithful friend and fellow-member was commissioned as being the only suitable and qualified person...."

It thus appears that despite Baumeler's unquestioned leadership in the period preceding the settlement in Zoar, his installation spiritual head of the Society was neither automatic nor self-assumed, Baumeler delivered his Sunday Discourses until his death in 1853. He spoke entirely extemporaneously, and the content of his talks would have been lost had it not been for a young man of the community, one Johannes Neef, who kept notes of them for the use of his deaf father.

17 These were never referred to as sermons, but as Reden or Betrachtungen. The word sermon was objectionable to the Separatists as having too close connection with the hated ceremonies of the orthodox church. The words preacher and church were rarely used for the same reason.


19 It may be noted here that while Baumeler's position as spiritual leader unquestionably lent prestige to his position as Agent General, the position of spiritual head was not provided for in the constitution of the Society, and carried with it no legal authority.
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 Tersteegen's Blumen-Gärten, and of the Geistliche Lieder. The printed sermons formed three large octavo volumes totalling 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. Held in the Community in Zoar, in the year 1830.
fixed forms, and which is practised but outwardly, but it is rather a knowledge founded on personal experience on the road of the Separation or Rebirth, and a pure teaching of a true Christianity as it was taught and followed in the time of the Apostles and the first Christians." 22

Bäumeler did not prepare his talks, but delivered them extemporaneously without the aid of notes. He believed his messages to be inspired, and so did his auditors. "They were received directly from the Holy Ghost, and delivered with great force, dignity and decorum, so that one might compare them to an inexhaustible, overflowing spring." Bäumeler's own words were quoted in this regard:

"When I come here, I usually come empty, not knowing whereof I am going to speak. Not until I am here is my soul informed of what I should speak, but as soon as I begin an infinite fields of ideas opens before me, so that I can choose what I wish, or what seems to me the most necessary." 24

The Discourses might be called a second Pilgrim's Progress, and indeed Bäumeler frequently used the figure of the Christian striving to find his way to the Rebirth. As described by Bäumeler, the Rebirth consisted of a purging of the soul of all worldly accretions, and a return to the pure Christianity of the apostolic fathers. Adam's sin consisted in his attempt to unite the Kingdom of God, into which he had been born, with the Kingdom of Evil, in the hope of thus creating a new, and far greater state.

22 Die Wahre Separation, I, iii.
23 Ibid., I, iii.
24 Ibid., I, iii.
25 Ibid., I, 18.
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 practised 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 *Discourses* for January 10, 1850, he said:

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

26 *Die Wahre Separation*, I, 16.
concerning a new Heaven and a new earth, wherein righteousness would dwell. This re-creation of Heaven and earth leads of necessity to the conclusion that we ourselves must become new, otherwise we would be unfit to live in a new Heaven and a new earth. Of course, many believed in an immediate transformation of heaven and earth (and possibly still do,) and believed that they, with their sinful bodies, would be admitted therein without any change, or if an inner change were necessary, it would take place suddenly....But the spirit of the Separation is plainly to be understood as a re-creation or a renewal of our own condition or our own souls, because from this depends the other; since when we ourselves become new, so will our Heaven and our earth certainly become new." 27

Separatist doctrine, as expounded by Bäumeler, thus placed the entire responsibility for salvation upon man himself. Even complete acceptance of the Principles was of no avail without the inner rebirth. This rebirth could be accomplished with the help of God, but even God's help was fruitless without the initial effort of the individual. Man was not projected into heaven. Therefore, no emphasis was placed upon good works; these would follow inevitably upon the regeneration.

The doctrine of the Separation explained the Separatist attitude toward the customary ceremonies of the orthodox churches. Prayer books were unnecessary and even harmful because they encouraged "babbling with the mouth." Prayers formed no part of the "service" as conducted by Bäumeler, to use a word he would have abhorred. He taught that prayers at stated intervals did not make for harmony with God, because, if the individual was not in the proper frame of mind, they might easily be regarded as mere onerous exercises. As already noted, the sacraments of baptism and confirmation had no part in the relig-

27 Die Wahre Separation, I, 16.

28 Ibid., I, 14.
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.
ation through him:

"And so it was, that all those, who were earnestly concerned and grieved for the salvation of their souls, and who had set their feet upon the road of the Separation or the Rebirth, and who took part in the meetings with heartfelt devotion, these found themselves each time satisfied, comforted, encouraged, strengthened and instructed, to continue their pilgrimage in the Rebirth, in order to be permitted to take part in the great supper of the Heavenly King." 31

But there was nothing in Bäumeler's talks which suggested the mysticism of Barbara Grubermann, whose inspirational utterances were always associated with the phenomenon of the trance. Indeed, the character of the Discourses themselves, and the fact that the "Mother of the Separatists" was never mentioned in them, leads one to the conclusion that Bäumeler probably gave little credence to the former's supernatural divinations. The only discoverable reference to anything of the sort occurred in Bäumeler's funeral discourse following the death of Johannes Breymaier. In the course of his talk, he said:

"Many people believe that they can discover the fate of the friends they have lost through death by means of certain dreams...., however, we know that they are nothing more than dreams." 32

Certain of the other religious communities, such as the Shakers and the Inspirationists accepted the miracle of divine inspiration as revealed through the medium of the trance, or by means of some other physical manifestation. This was true of the Separatists during their European period, and Barbara Grubermann's strange experiences were believed to have been divinely inspired. But the Mother of

31 Die Wahre Separation, I, iv.

32 Johannes Breymaier's Leichenwörter, Zoar MSS.
Separatists had no successor to her role, and the spiritualistic
element had no place in the Separatist faith as practised in Zoar.\(^3\)

When Christian Metz, founder of the True Inspiration Society,
visited Zoar in 1843, he experienced an inspiration. This was accom-
panied 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."\(^4\)

If the Zoarites were not "favorably impressed" by the inspir-
ation character of Metz's religion, neither was the latter particu-
larly enthusiastic over Separatism as expounded by Bäumeler. 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 lead-
ing official, Bäumeler."\(^5\)

Bäumeler 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-

3\(^3\) Although some evidently retained their faith in the authenticity of Barbera's revelations. Cf. supra, 13.

3\(^4\) Hinds, W.A., op.cit., 275.

3\(^5\) Diary of Christian Metz, MSB. in possession of the Amana Society.
ly belong in the realm of the spirit, when it treats also of outward morality, of good order in domestic life, of the maintenance of good health, cleanliness and the like; also of medical matters, such as the description of the inner parts of the human body, and how the latter may be brought to disorder through various circumstances, especially through intemperance, so that sickness, and often death results, for the immortal friend was an expert of human nature in its physical aspects, and had by his own efforts attained to a high grade in medical studies, and also served his community as a physician.\textsuperscript{36}

Sylvan added that Bäumeler's admonitions regarding the management of the various households were necessary because the members all lived together as one family, and it was important to maintain "a good order, and bring about an equalization in all things among the members."\textsuperscript{37}

Bäumeler's comments on the rearing of children were interesting. Parental leniency in the face of a child's misbehaviour is wrong, he said, for when the child becomes grown his habits will have become fixed, and nothing can then be done to correct them. At the same time, injudicious punishment may also spoil the child's character. Likewise, a too exacting regimentation in religious matters frequently results in the child developing an intense dislike for everything pertaining to religion. For this reason, family prayers should be as short as possible. Finally, the parents are the child's first teachers, and they continue to be his most influential instructors. The parents have far more opportunity to mold the child's character than has the teacher, who has the boy or girl under his charge but a few hours

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Die Wahre Separation}, I, ix.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., I, ix.
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 Tersteegen.

"Jacob Boehme's writings are held in high regard by us, however, they are difficult to understand, and we prefer the writings of Gerhard Tersteegen......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 bedtime. 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, 30-51.
39 Jacob Sylvan to Elizabeth Schermerhorn, East Limington, Maine, November, 1859, Coleman MS.
The long, straight-backed benches which served as pews faced the two entrances. An aisle divided the pews; the men occupied one side, the women the other. Some of the front benches were cushioned for the comfort of the aged members of the congregation. The speaker's desk stood midway between the doors. When an organ was installed, in 1875, it was placed in the east end of the building, and the blue and gold of its pipes gave some color to the interior.

The bell in the cupola was rung half an hour before the meeting began, and it was rung again immediately before the opening hymn. In the summer, the Zoarites stood outside the doors under the trees, and chatted for a time before they entered the Meeting House. In the winter, they paused for a few minutes before the huge Zoar-manufactured stove which heated the building. Frequently the men did not remove their hats until they took their seats.

The order of service was invariably the same. The speaker took his place at the desk, and announced the hymn. A group of about fifteen men and women occupying two of the front benches constituted the choir. But this choir sang no anthems; it merely led the singing of the other members, which was accompanied by the orchestra or the organ. After the opening hymn, came the Discourse. There were no prayers. The hymnals used, the Psaltery and the Geistliche Lieder, contained merely the words of the songs; the organist alone had a copy of the music.

This copy was lost during the time Levi Bimeler (grandson of J.J. Bumeler) was organist. Levi's wife, Salome, then sang the hymns for her husband from memory, and he reproduced the manuscript of the music.
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 quoted in part:

"Wir ziehen hin zur! Ruh!,
Weil uns das Lamm regiert
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 überbracht.
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 zum gemeinschaftlichen Gesang und eigenen Gebrauch in christlichen Familien.

43 Ibid., 123.
"Meine Seele sehnet sich nach der Stille,
Dass sie, Vater, ganz in Dich
Sich verhüllt;
Führ mich aus Gefahr und Pein
In dein stilles Zuar ein,
Ist's Dein Wille!

Oder soll Dein Angesicht
Mich nicht kommen?
Soll für mich die Gnade nicht
Sieg gewinnen?
O, so kann und darf ich doch
Dich bei allen Leiden noch---
Vater nennen.

Wie ein Töpfer seinen Thon
Weisz zu drehen:
So lasz Deine Weisheit nun
An mir sehen;
Lasz doch was die Sorgen nährt,
Und des Geistes Ruhe stört,
Bald vergehen.

Willst Du nicht zum Sündenlohn
An mir rächen?
Und wie den misrrath'nen Thon
Gar zerbrechen?
O, so lasz doch Deine Gnad'
Mit der Rache, vor der That
Sich besprechen.

Hast du nicht dem armen Mann
Der Niets hatte,
Großze Schulden ausgethan
Als er betet?
Großer König, schenk auch mir,
Da ich bittend lieg vor Dir,
Deine Gnadel" 44

A Sunday School for the children was conducted in the afternoon in the school house. Until the later days of the Society, the children were obliged to attend the morning and evening services in

44 Ibid., 124-125. This was one of the Lieder most frequently sung.
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 the 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.

After Bäumeler'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 Christian 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."

After Sylvan's death, Bäumeler'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 Bäumeler.

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

46 Tag-Bush, entry for October 13, 1862.
and this was always done. Wiebel was replaced by Jacob Ackermann in 1871, and after the latter's death in 1889, Simon Beuter read the Discourses during the remaining years of the Society's existence.

Services for the dead were marked by the same simplicity which characterized all the other religious observances in Zoar. There were no ceremonies at the home or at the burial. The body was placed in a simple coffin of oak or walnut made in the community cabinet shop. Interment took place not later than two days after death, and sometimes the day immediately following. At one o'clock in the afternoon the coffin was placed in an open wagon and carried to the cemetery, while the members of the community followed on foot. Some one always rode in the funeral wagon, seated on a chair beside the coffin, which was covered with a brown drapery. The following Sunday a funeral discourse was read at the meeting, and appropriate hymns were sung. The hymn quoted above, *Meine Seele sehnt sich nach der Stille*, was very frequently used on such occasions. Services for non-members, such as the hired laborers of the Society, were conducted in the school house by clergymen from neighboring towns.

The *Begräbnisplatz*, or cemetery, was located on the bluffs overlooking the river north-west of Zoar. It was approached by a darkly shaded lane, and was thickly grown with fir trees. The early Separatists did not mark the places where their dead were buried, and

47 "After Sylvan's death, Oct.13, 1862, Wiebel took the spiritual lead; but the majority of the members were not fully satisfied, and in 1871 Ackermann was appointed, he being the oldest trustee; and having labored hard for the Society we desired to honor him." Hinde, W.s., op. cit., 99.

48 Mrs. August Burkhart, June 30, 1932.
myrtle instead of flowers grew 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. Bäumeler's grave was not marked until some years after the dissolution of the Society.

Separatism as practised at Zoar was not a proselytizing faith, and the Zoarites 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." It was Bäumeler'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.
ton, Maine, and the letter was dated October 23, 1859:

"Sir: While looking over the 'New York Tribune' (of the 15th inst.) yesterday, I was surprised and delighted to find an article headed 'The Separatists of Ohio.' For many years I have been deeply interested in the sentiments of that dear departed saint, Jacob Boehme. I was not aware till yesterday that any person in this country but myself entertained the same sentiments......I should be glad to know your rules & regulations respecting public and private devotion. What are your laws respecting church membership? Can a person be a member of your church and still reside at a distance from you? If my situation was such that I could visit you and receive instruction I should do it; at present my situation is such that I cannot have that blessed privilege......I hope you will pardon me if I have intruded, but as this was the only way I had to obtain information which I trust will be for my advancement in the divine life I have ventured to write......" 50

Sylvan replied:

"This Society has lived for forty years as a community of goods modeled on the example of the first Christians, which we know from experience to be the happiest life possible. But it can be practised only by people who exercise real self-denial; with others it is virtually impossible. To be an actual as well as a spiritual member, it is necessary to be here, in order to fulfill the duties of membership. But we agree entirely with the Apostle Peter, that just as God has His 7000, so are these also our friends and brothers even though we do not personally know them, or they us......." 51

With that Mrs. Schmerhorn was obliged to be content.

A fundamental tenet of the Separatist faith, pacifism, was severely tested during the Civil War. The older members of the Society, true to the ideals for which they and their parents had endured so much in Germany, refused to give their approval to the war, and saw its coming with sorrow and horror. Sylvan's attitude, as expressed in the following letter to Trustee Baker of the Harmony Society, was shared by the others of his generation:

50 Zoar MSS.

51 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 ever 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 no 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 Burkhart 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 Zeit-Buch, October, 1861. Although the Society, as an organization refused to condone the use of armed force, it nevertheless supported generously such agencies as the United States Soldiers' Orphans Home, the Freedman's Aid Commission, and The Soldiers' Aid Society.
CHAPTER VI.

For the purposes of administration, the various activities the Society were divided into three departments, agriculture, manufacture, and animal husbandry. Each of the three trustees had general supervision over one of these departments, and appointed sub-trustees who were responsible to him. The trustee in charge of the cattle and other live stock also managed the hotel, and neither of these two branches of economy appeared to have suffered from this combination. The management of the several general stores which the Society operated was delegated to the treasurer, who also acted as the community's purchasing agent, and as the Society's representative with the outside world. His duties were comparable to the sales manager of a present day business organization. While Baumeler lived, he exercised general supervision over all the various enterprises in his capacity of agent general. As already noted, this office was permitted to lapse at his death.

By 1855 the Society was virtually self-sustaining as far as the necessities of life were concerned, and the unessentials played but a small part in the lives of the Zoarites. The food served in the homes was almost entirely of Zoar production; the only foreign articles in the diet were coffee, tea, rice and condiments. The clothing was of domestic manufacture, with the exception of the men's hats, and the cotton cloth used in making the women's dresses. The homes were built on foundations of Zoar sandstone and roofed with Zoar tile. They were
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. Tinware was fabrica-
ted 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
ensure themselves food, clothing and shelter. The production of these
necessities for the use of the members continued to be the basic func-
tion 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 pro-
vided 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 out-
side 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.
age done by too heavy rains, or too much drought. Letters written by
the trustees to their fellow communists in Amana and Economy spoke of
the prospects for a good wheat harvest or a good potato digging.
Simon Beuter’s Tag-Bush recorded the vagaries of the seasons for half
2 a century:

"Today we had a frost; however, it did little damage....This
month was more wet than dry—good weather for growing—there was no
frost but it was very cool...This entire month was very wet—-it was
always dark and damp, the sun never shone; no one remembers such
weather....This is the driest summer in twenty years; there will be
but little corn and few potatoes. In many places the cattle are with-
out pasturage."

Beuter noted when the wheat was harvested, and when the rye
and barley were cut. He noted the date when the potatoes began to be
dug, and when they had all been brought in from the fields. He fol-
lowed the progress of the corn husking. Winter was merely an inter-
lude, something to be endured until the business of growing could be
resumed again. The day in March when the first furrow was turned was
an event of importance, and was so recorded. Each year the cycle was
repeated, and for over fifty years Beuter followed the succession of
planting, growing, and harvesting with never slackening interest.

If Simon Beuter is quoted at length, it is because he was the
only one who left his impressions in writing. What he felt, was
felt by all his fellow Separatists, whether they were immediately
occupied with the work of the farms or not. All felt the same sense
of closeness to the earth. It may be significant that the surviving

2 The Tag-Bush covers the years 1844-1901.
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 southwest 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 his _Note-Book:_

"In the afternoon I persuade Christian Rufo, 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 into 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.
After the cholera epidemic of 1834, the Society found its depleted membership unequal to the task of clearing and farming its lands. It was necessary to rely on hired laborers for much of the farm work, and the Society became increasingly dependent on such workers in the later years of its existence. Much of the land was cleared by hired labor, leaving the members free for more productive work. The following contract was typical of many made by the Society in the years prior to 1840:

"...The said J. Wolfe is to grub the above described land in a workmanlike manner and pick off the brush clean, and rake the chips together and burn them; and cut all the timber off, excepting a few dead trees and several green trees—too large—in a word, make it ready and sufficiently clean for the plough; and make a fence around said ground in the manner agreed upon...That is to say, a fence 7 rails high, then stakes and riders, making it altogether 8 rails in height...And the said J.M. Bimeler is to pay to James Wolfe eight dollars per acre for as many acres as the above described lot shall be found to contain; and cleared in the manner above described. And the said J.M. Bimeler is to accept of Orders for flour, pork, etc. from the said J. Wolfe as the work progresses along, and when said job of clearing shall be finished, the said J.M. Bimeler is to pay one third of the whole amount in cash, and the remainder that may be due him in trade." 4

Partially cleared land was sometimes leased for periods of from one to three years to farmers at a low rent, usually about six dollars a year. The lessee agreed to clear a certain additional acreage in addition to the payment of the money rent. Other land was rented by the Society on shares. The tenant agreed:

"...to repair and put in good Order all the fences around said improvement, and keep them in such repair and Order, and to farm the said place well and in workmanlike manner, and to deliver unto

4 April 4, 1839, Coleman MSS.
said J.M. Bimeler or his agents the One Third of all the grain they may raise in said premises."

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." 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 Zoor:

"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 Kees and Frederick Reisz, November 21, 1845, Coleman MSS.

6 Hinds, W.A., op.cit., 99."
carefully selected, proved diametrically opposed to every sound economic principle. Worse still, since the establishment of a competitive element within a communistic regime is on the face of it pernicious and subversive—it needed but sufficient time and number to work its havoc in ever widening circles." 7

Practically all the hired laborers were Swabians, many of them recent immigrants from southern Germany. In 1850, the Society paid its farm workers $10.00 a month and furnished them board and lodging. Twenty-five years later wages were slightly higher, ranging from $10.00 to $15.00 a month. Women were hired for farm work during the harvest season at an average wage of $4.00 a month with board.

It is impossible to say what the average annual expenditure for wages amounted to over any considerable period. But in 1873 the amount disbursed for this purpose totalled $8490.00, and this figure probably approximates the annual average for the period 1860-1898. The laborers were sometimes housed in separate homes owned by the Society, but many of them lived in a large building in the eastern part of Zoar called the Bauershaus.

The barns and sheds which house the horses and farm machinery were located on the eastern outskirts of the village. The inventory of farm machinery submitted for taxation in 1850 listed twenty wagons of various types, ten plows, four harrows "with iron teeth," four harrows "with wooden teeth," two threshing machines, one roller, and one mowing machine. The value of this equipment was placed at $862.00. A

7 Duss, J. S., Memoir (in preparation.)
8 Society Accounts, 1860-1898, Coleman MSS.
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.............................................$415.50"9

In 1854, an inventory listed 1488 sheep, 500 cattle, 42 horses, and 54 hogs, valued at $7,227.50. Included with the cattle were a number of work oxen.

The trustees 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 fields 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.

Modern methods of farming were introduced but slowly, and the flail and cradle were used for some time 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 of

10 Coleman MSS.
11 Mr. Charles Breymaier, June 30, 1932.
12 Simon Beuter's Tag-Buch, July, 1854.
cradlers depended on the size of the field; on a plot of twenty acres about twelve cradlers would be used. They worked across the field in a single line, each man cutting about an eight foot swath. Each cradler was followed by a raker, in Zoar usually a woman or girl. The binders, one to every two cradlers, followed the rakers, tied the sheaves with straw, and built the shocks.

In Zoar, the grain was not always threshed immediately. Some of it was threshed during the winter, the object being to give employment to the members when other work was slack. The flail was used as late as the nineties in threshing rye. The straw obtained by this method was longer than that left by mechanical threshing, and could be used in making the hats worn by the Zoarites. All the grain crops ordinarily raised in Ohio were grown by the Society, although wheat and oats were the most important crops. Barley was grown for the brewery, and rye was manufactured into flour for the use of the bakery. Most of the oats, corn and buckwheat grown was used by the community itself, but when a surplus existed, it was sold in the nearby markets, or shipped to Cleveland and Pittsburgh.

The Society milled its own flour. The first grist mill was replaced by a more modern plant, located a short distance south of the former building. Another mill was erected on the banks of the

13 Production of farm crops for the year 1850 was as follows: (in bushels) wheat, 5776; rye, 654; corn, 2028; oats, 4721; barley, 414; buckwheat, 140; clover seed, 20; timothy seed, 18; potatoes, 2424; flax seed, 112; hay, 310 tons; hops, 400 pounds; hemp, 400 pounds. Census Report for 1850, Coleman MSS.
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.

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 & moral behavior." 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.

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, 1952.

15 Coleman MSS.
boring farms. While exact information is lacking, it is doubtful if the annual production ever exceeded 5,500 barrels. Wheat was never milled for export unless there was a prospect of a good harvest in the ensuing season, as the first consideration was the need of the community. When a surplus did exist, flour was shipped to Cleveland and the eastern markets of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore in lots of from 100 to 550 barrels.

Dairy products were an important export item. The Society shipped from four to six thousand pounds of butter annually. Much of this was disposed of in Cleveland, but shipments were made to places as far removed as Baltimore and Washington, D.C. Cheese was sold as far west as Chicago and as far east as New York. Dried apples were sold in large quantities. In a letter to an Iowa customer, Wiebel described this product as being "asked in all our neighborhood far & near, and the article is reliably good, wholesome & truly nourishing, our own raising." Other food products were occasionally sold beyond the immediate vicinity of Zoar, but in inconsequential amounts.

Some income was derived from the sale of fruit trees from the Society's nurseries. Fruit culture was a hobby of Simon Beuter, the community gardener. At least two new varieties were developed by him which received recognition in the fruit catalogs of the time. One was the Zoar Beauty pear; the other, the Zoar Sweating apple. In 1853,

16 Wiebel to W.L.Kiderlen, Philadelphia, Penna., October 15, 1857, Coleman MSS.

17 Accounts, 1860-1898, Coleman MSS.
the nurseries contained twenty-five varieties of cherries, thirty-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 near by 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 teetotaller, but he expressed his apprehensions in his Tage-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."

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 Bäumeler, 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.
sold all over the middle west, in Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, and also in Pennsylvania. Pigs were raised in sufficient numbers to supply the hired hands with meat, although pork was not eaten by the members until the last ten or fifteen years of the Society's existence. Gunn gives an interesting account of a butchering in Zoar in 1872:

"Dec. 9: The hog-killing has been active since yesterday morning. Today the process has reached the stage of bratwurst and sausages; raw and cooked liverwurst, and what—not are in active progress. The army and Burkhardt, Anton and Jacob, are serenely, though not helplessly elated. There was an air of inebriety pervading the entire working force, and much merriment and singing enlivened the not very enticing labor of sausage-making. In the evening we go down and eat liverwurst and bread, a most toothsome combination. The company was hilarious; I feared someone would fall into the open tubs of minced meat......After retiring I could still hear faint sounds of singing, and it was after midnight when the last of the sausage stuffers went home." 21

The Society raised from 1000 to 1500 head of sheep annually. Some of the wool was sold but most of it was used by the woolen mill. The woolen mill was built in 1850, and was located near the flour mill south of Zoar. Wool was manufactured into the various kinds of cloth used in the making of men and women's clothing in the community shops. Shawls, an important item in the Zoar woman's apparel, were made here. Blankets and coverlets found a ready market in the vicinity of Zoar from the time the mill began operation. The coverlets were beautifully designed and dyed, and so durably made that some of the earliest ones woven are still in use.

20 Tannery Accounts, 1860-1890, Coleman MSS.
21 Note-Book, 29.
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 Shearing- & Brushing Machines, 1 Fulling Mill, 1 Cloth Press, 2 double Carding Machines.

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....."

22 Tax Inventories, 1853, Coleman MSS.
23 Coleman MSS.
The advertisement listed the kinds of cloth the mill was prepared to make. These included cashmere at eighty cents a yard, satinet at fifty-five cents, flannels at forty-five cents, and blankets at forty-five cents a yard. Wool was carded and spun for sixteen to twenty cents a pound.

Linen was woven on two hand looms in the Weberhaus, or weaving house, situated opposite the church, on the east side of Main Street. Flax was grown in various places about the village. Practically all the work involved in processing the flax was done by the girls and women of the community, although this was regarded as one of the more arduous tasks. After being picked, the flax was dried over an open fire. It was then soaked in water and pounded to separate the flax fibers from the other vegetable matter. After being again dried, the fibers were separated in the Häckelhaus. The flax was spun in the homes by the women and girls, and finally subjected to a bleaching process which occupied two days. It was then woven into cloth in the Weberhaus by the head weaver and two or three assistants.

Benjamin Rieker was the Society's weaver for many years.

Linen was used for many articles of men and women's dress.

26 A Häckel consisted of a heavy block of wood in which numbers of long, pointed iron pins were fixed. The mass of flax was drawn over the Häckel again and again until the fibers were separated.

27 The yarn was placed in large kettles over which cloths containing wood ashes were placed. Hot water was then poured over the ashes, drawn off through a tap in the bottom of the kettle, and the process repeated. Mrs. Salome Seiter, July 8, 1932.
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 5s.) 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.

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 Beuter, August 8, 1932.
account of the articles sold at the fair held in Dover, October, 1854:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash recd. at Zoar</td>
<td>$17.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash received for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cheese sold</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5½ yds. Linen</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yds. Linen</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 lbs Soap @ 7</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pair Socks @ .44</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 yds Flannel @ .64</td>
<td>3.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thread</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calfskins and Upperleather</td>
<td>18.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bread etc.</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$51.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The manufacture of pottery and tile was an early Zoar industry but it was of short duration. The kilns were located in what was known as the Hefnerstâble, or the Little Valley of the Potter. All the early Zoar homes were roofed with tile, but it is not known when the kilns ceased to be operated. The name of the potter has also been forgotten, but the surviving specimens of his work are of admirable workmanship. Some pieces have been preserved in the Zoar Museum. The ware includes colanders, casseroles, and a variety of jars and vases of all sizes and shapes. Some of the ware is glazed, and some is not. The colors range from white to reddish tans and dark browns, and there are some examples of slip ware.

Large clay deposits existed on the lands of the Society, the largest lying in the hills on the south bank of the Tuscarawas River, about two miles west of Zoar. Only sporadic efforts were made to utilize these deposits, however. Whenever bricks were used in building

31 Coleman MS.
operations, a kiln was built, and an outside brick maker was engaged to manufacture the quantity needed. In 1855, negotiations were entered into with a Chicago capitalist for the sale of the clay bearing 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. 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 initiative after the dissolution of the Society. In 1911, the Zear 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. Weer of Stark County, April 25, 1856, Coleman MSS.

33 Wiebel to J.B. Salisbury, Chicago, September 1, 1855, Coleman MSS.
William Christmas, James Hazlett, and William Hogg, built a furnace and foundry near the southern limits of the Society's land, about three miles from Zoar. It was doubtless this venture which suggested the possibilities of iron manufacture to the Society.

In 1834, the Society built a blast furnace and foundry on the canal near the present site of the brick plant mentioned above. A spur was cut from the canal, which made possible the loading of pig iron and castings directly from the furnace to the canal boats. A manager was employed, and workmen hired from the surrounding country. It appears that few members of the Society were ever employed in the iron industry, and that practically all the work was done with hired labor. Boarding houses were built for the workmen and a store was opened to supply them with their needs. In addition to the blast furnace and foundry, the plant consisted of a ware house, horse barn, manager's office, a pattern shop, a blacksmith shop, and a saw mill. A number of small dwelling houses were built in the vicinity and rented to these workers who had families.

The Society's original investment amounted to $20,281.94, exclusive of the value of the land on which the buildings stood, most of the building materials, and the labor performed by the members themselves. The Society was able to finance the entire undertaking from its own resources with the exception of $2,650.13. Considering the fact that the last payment on the Society's land had been made but four years before, in 1830, the financial solidarity of the commu-

34 Zoar Furnace Accounts, 1834, Zoar 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.

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.

35 Zoar Furnace Records, 1834-1845, Zoar MBS.
Charcoal was used for fuel in the furnaces until 1838, and was furnished by colliers of the neighborhood who contracted to deliver definite amounts within specified periods of time.

After 1838 coal was used for fuel in addition to the charcoal, and this was supplied by the neighboring farmers who dug it from their lands. Ore was secured in the same way. All the contracts for the supplying of charcoal, ore and coal provided that part of the payment made by the Society should be in goods at the stores operated at the furnaces. Usually half the contract price was paid in cash, but sometimes the Society reserved the right to pay three-fourths in goods. When individuals contracted to devote their entire time to furnishing ore or fuel, the Society inserted the customary clause insisting upon the sobriety and good behavior of the contractor.

The furnaces were lined with ganister and fire brick and limestone was used as a flux. The latter could be obtained near at hand in unlimited quantities. Details of the structure of the furnaces are lacking, but in 1842 the Society contracted for the building of a new stack for the Fairfield Furnace. According to the specifications of the contract, the new furnace measured twenty-nine feet square at the base, nineteen feet square at the top, and stood twenty-seven feet high. Michael Miller of the Society managed the Fairfield Furnace for

36 The geological details are taken from an article by E.J. Bogner, "Blast Furnaces Operated by the Separatist Society of Zoar, Ohio," in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, XXXIX, 511.

37 *Fuel and Ore Contracts, 1838-1851*, Coleman MSS.
a number of years, and his estimate of operating expenses for 1846
is extant:

"A Statement of the Expences of Fairfield Furnace per Day
supposing She makes 5 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. " " 650 Bus. charcoal @ 5c per bus. 31.50
3. " " 80 " Stone Coal @ 4 3.20
4. " " 2 Engineers 1.30
5. " " 2 Fillers 1.35
6. " " 2 Keepers 1.36
7. " " 1 Gutterman .57
8. " " 2 Bankmen 1.47
9. " " 1 Founderer 2.00

Other Expences for Lard & Oil etc. 1.50
Boarding of Hands Included. Total 59.25

Suppose 5 Tons of Iron worth $22.50 pr Ton which will make $67.50
Take $59.25
which will leave a bal.of 8.27

June 20/46

M. Miller."

The pig iron manufactured in the Society's furnaces was
described by Wiebel 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 trans-
ported to Pittsburgh by wagon in amounts of about four thousand
pounds where it was sold for $40.00 a ton. According to Miller's ac-
count quoted above the price dropped to $22.50 in 1846. 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.
Foundry equipment was included in the Fairfield Furnace property when it was purchased by the Society, but apparently the Zoar Furnace foundry was the only one operated. A great variety of types of castings and iron were manufactured, ranging from tea kettles, 40 stew pots, and griddles to plowshares and cannon stoves. The Zoar Furnace ceased operations about 1852, when the gradual depletion of the ore deposits in its vicinity made further operation unprofitable. The ore deposits near the Fairfield Furnace were richer, and this furnace continued to be operated for a few years longer.

During the period 1850-1860 the much richer ores of the Lake Superior area began to be available to the blast furnaces of northern Ohio. The low grade ores of the Zoar lands could not compete with these although they might have been smelted at a profit for some years longer had modern blasting equipment been installed. The Society continued to sell ore from its lands as late as 1881. This was sold chiefly in the neighboring town of Massillon where low transportation costs made exportation profitable. The foundry was evidently operated as late as 1875, for in that year pig iron was purchased from a Massillon firm. Efforts were made to dispose of the Fairfield Furnace between 1854 and 1859 but without success. In 1864 the blast cylinder 41 and other iron was sold as scrap.

40 Other articles manufactured included spiders, dog irons, andirons, smoothing irons, New York Ovens, and Stowe Cook Stoves. Furnace Accounts, 1836-1848, Coleman MSS.

41 Furnace Accounts, 1848-1864, 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 Bell 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 Propeller "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,
want them in good shipping condition. Do the best you can for the Whale in Butter, Eggs and apples." 42

The Society owned and operated several boats. The first one owned was the Industry, launched in the early thirties. Another, the Friendship, was in use in 1838. A flat boat, called the Economy, was used to transport ore from various points along the canal to the furnaces. Another canal boat was built for the Society in 1849 by Jacob Barnhardt of Peninsula, Ohio, at a cost of $1100.00. Its name does not appear in the Society’s business correspondence, and it is possible that it was built to replace one of the earlier boats and given the same name. The boat was built in Barnhardt’s shipyard according to specifications furnished by Bäumeler:

"...Said Boat shall be built of such size, as to Carry at least Sixty Tons, it shall not be of the largest kind of Boats, but shall be large Enough to fill up the Locks so far, as not to leave a greater space in length than from twelve to Eighteen inches; To have One Bow Cabin of the full length of One Locker, with a Cabin next thereto attached, Calculated for State-rooms; Also One Stern-Cabin, large enough to have one Kitchen struck off from same, Commodious for Cooking, and have room for the Necessary Cupboards or Closets for Kitchen-furniture, and a Space under the Stern, sufficiently large enough for the Boat-hands to Sleep in.....said Barnhardt shall also have the Midships so arranged, that a Commodious Stable for two horses shall be placed about the middle of the Boat, and the Boat shall be furnished with Six Hatches, One on Each side for Each Midship, and One on Each side for the horse stable; Said Barnhardt further agrees to furnish the eaking frames, the windows, and to paint said Boat well and thoroughly, and fit it out Complete in Every respect, ready for Navigating the Ohio Canal...." 43

As the locks were ninety feet long, this boat may have been eighty-nine feet in length. At first the canal boat captains were

42 Coleman MSS.

43 November 10, 1848, Coleman MSS.
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 Steersmen @ $15  $30.00
- one Bowman  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
- Captains's Wages pr. Mo. 25.00  44

$170.00

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 spirituous 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

44 Coleman MSS."
other but bad and destructive results. But on the other hand he is to treat his hands kindly and with a due tendency to preserve peace and good order, and especially to conduct himself honorably and kindly towards his Employer in all matters and things between them."

Navigation began in the spring as soon as the canal was free from ice, and continued until late in the fall. Occasionally the boats would be caught in the ice on their way to the home port. Captain Rutter, mentioned above, found himself in such a predicament on December sixth, 1843, as his letter to Zoar indicated:

"We have got back as far as Bethlehem but cant get much farther as I expect the Ice is too hard to Brake with the boat in several places between this and Zoar and as we have broke considerable to get to this Place I think it best to stop her untill I heare from you and here your opinion. I think we can get the Boat home if the Zoar flat could brake the ice. If not I suppose it best to send a team to bring the 2 bbls Sugar, 1 Box Saleratus, 1 Box Caps, etc., also the Bed Cloathes out of the Boat and leave the Boat untill a thaw. If a wagon comes it had best come up tomorrow morning."

Yours Respectfully,
James Rutter.
You will Please to write a few lines wat you think best, probly it might thaw in a Day or two." 46

The Canal Hotel was opened soon after the building of the water way, and continued to be operated until about 1845. It was evidently well patronized by the passengers of the boats, for the hotel accounts indicate that it was frequently necessary to send the over-flow of guests to the other tavern in the village. A large barn south of the Canal Hotel provided accommodations for the teams. A blacksmith shop was maintained for shoeing horses and repairing boat equipment. Supplies were sold, such as oil, candles, lamps and wicks. The packet

45 February 12, 1838, Coleman MSS.
46 Coleman MSS.
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 accommodation 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, 1858, Coleman MSS.
udice against "summer boarders," and an addition of fifty rooms was made to the original building. The new part extended south on Main Street, and was surrounded by a wide veranda on its western and southern sides. It was built entirely of wood, and in the architecture of the nineties, with all that implies. Its flamboyancy was in marked contrast to the dignified simplicity of the original structure.

The general store was managed by the treasurer, and the clerks were members of the Society. All the manufactured products of the community were sold here, as well as in the stores maintained at the two furnaces. For a number of years, a general store was operated by the Society in Waynesburg, a village about twelve miles east of Zoar. The furnace stores were discontinued with the abandonment of the iron industry, and the Waynesburg business was sold in about 1854. As certain of the contracts already quoted indicate, these various stores furnished a means of disposing of the community's surplus goods, as persons engaged by the Society usually agreed to take part of their remuneration in trade.

The representatives of the Society, usually the treasurer and one of the trustees, made semi-annual trips to the eastern cities to replenish the stock of goods, and also to settle the Society's accounts with the purchasers of Zoar products. The store served as the business office of the Society, and also housed the post office. When Christian Wiebel succeeded Bäumeler as cashier in 1855, he made his home in the rooms on the second floor of the building. Wiebel is described as having been a "little fellow," who dressed as carefully
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 Württemberg. In delivering his verdict in
the suit of Goesela vs. Bimeler in 1852, 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 neigh-
borhoods 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 con-
sists 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 re-
qust 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 mak-
ing 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.
Society finds itself in considerable prosperity which has accrued through the almost unexampled blessing of God, and through the blessed hand of our dear friend and brother, J.M. Bimeler. We no longer have any debts, all of which J.M. Bimeler paid three years ago. I beg, therefore, that this brief intelligence be suitable and sufficient for you, because we would rather not say more, for the reasons stated. 50

The economic fortunes of the Society gradually declined in the years following the Civil War. In 1876, the property of the Society was estimated to be $751,000.00. At the time of the dissolution, in 1898, its property was appraised at $357,070. In so far as the causes of this economic retrogression are discoverable, they will be discussed in the chapter dealing with the dissolution of the Society.

50 October 30, 1854, Zoar Mess.
51 Hinds, W.A., op. cit., 93.
52 Randall, E.O., op. cit., 70.
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. 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 1805, 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.

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.

derived from the fact that the leaders of the movement were endowed
with the gift of revelation, or "Inspiration." After the deaths of the
founders, the sect languished for a number of years. But between 1816
and 1818 a revival occurred under the leadership of several "Instruments,"
the name given to those who possessed the power of revelation.
Among these "Instruments" were Barbara Heinemann and Christian Metz.
In 1842, Metz and some of his followers emigrated to the United States
where five thousand acres were purchased near Buffalo, New York.
During the next few years several hundred people followed from Germany,
and a prosperous settlement grew up which was called Ebenezer.

The history of the Harmony and Ebenezer Societies was similar
to that of Zorar in several respects. All three groups had their incep-
tion in the Pietistic movement, and the influence of the German mystics,
Böhme, Oetinger, and Bengel, was discernible in their religious
beliefs. Their fundamental tenets were similar, and all three groups
had endured civil and religious persecution in Germany because of
their convictions. All rejected the conventional ceremonies of the
orthodox churches, and all possessed a definite ascetic attitude to-
ward life. Their chief differences arose in the application of this
asceticism, and in their acceptance or rejection of revelation through
mediums.

Rapp believed with Bäumeler that the unmarried state was

3 Shambaugh, Bertha M.H., Amana: The Community of True Inspiration,
44-49, 60-61; Hinde, W.A., op. cit., 264-269. Ebenezer was some-
times spelled Eben-Ezer. Between the years 1855-65, the Society
removed to Iowa, where it was known as the Amana Society.
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.

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," 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.R., op. cit., 134.

5 Nordhoff, Chas., op. cit., 27.
Zoarites in their American period. The Rappists, being Pietists, accepted the fact of inspiration in its ordinary sense, but disclaimed all belief in spiritualism. The latter group retained its belief in the second advent longer than did the Zoarites, but chiliasm had apparently little part in Inspirationist doctrine. The Zoarites and the Inspirationists used the same hymnal, the Psalterspiel. The copies used by the Zoar Society were purchased from the Inspirationists who printed them in their community shop.

There were a number of parallels in the communist organization of the three Societies. The Inspirationists had evolved a semi-communistic organization in Europe, but had no intention of adopting a communal mode of life after their emigration. Their original plan was identical with that of the Zoarites, and was abandoned for largely the same reasons. In all three societies, the management of affairs was entrusted to trustees elected by the members.

Zoar and Harmony established relations not long after the latter society was permanently located in Economy. Zoar wool, flax, woad, grain and seeds were exchanged for cotton yarn, silk, cotton cloth, and hats fabricated in the Harmony shops. As a rule, Zoar exported raw materials and agricultural products to Economy in exchange for manufactured goods from the latter place. The Harmony Society appeared to have been somewhat in advance of Zoar in technical matters, for there were frequent requests for advice addressed to the former.

6 "They reject and detest what is commonly called 'Spiritualism.'" Nordhoff, Chas., op. cit., 66.
7 Shambaugh, B.M.H., op. cit., 64.
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 fourth, 1865, 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. 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.
sent to Zoar. The letter written to Economy acknowledging their receipt contained this interesting passage:

"....They are beautiful; were taken hold of by our people with extraordinary desire; the same evening there was plenty of music, in other words, noise. The violin cello will be less difficult than the horns."12

Whatever the content of the letters, whether they were primarily concerned with an order for silk handkerchiefs or beef hides, there was always a paragraph or two devoted to the status of the crops, and the recent weather conditions. Frequently individual greetings from the members of one Society to the other were included. News of the deaths or sickness of the members of one Society evoked replies of condolence from the members of the other. Intertwined with the gossipy discussions of crops and business and weather, ran a continuous thread of religious expression. Typical of many letters in this last respect was one written by Jacob Sylvan to R.L. Baker of the Harmony Society. After describing the lamentable state of the community's crops that summer, Sylvan continued:

"....I must say: that we cannot let such things pass unobserved, since they could not be otherwise. The presumption, the disregard, the misuse of God's blessings, and the ingratitude of mankind in these times, has been raised to the highest pitch, and the wrath of God so aroused, that it is inevitable that such judgement be passed, in order to restore the balance. Of course, we have to suffer with the others, for in these matters we also are not guiltless. At all events, everything comes back to this: God is righteous, and His judgements are also righteous; and when He permits chastisements to be visited on His people, it is with the intention of making them better, and of drawing them more closely to Him, and in this way we will make such punishments profitable."13

12 Quoted by Mr. Duss in his Memoirs.
13 June 24, 1859, 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 foibles:

"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.
Zoar, complaining of Henrici's pharisaical attitude. But Trustee Baker's reply offered scant comfort to the injured feelings of the Zoarites:

"Worthy Friend! Thou revealst too much self-love and weakness through the mentioned grievances; for it is not a sin, but a duty toward a friend, to give him a hint as to an error when such is against God's Word. We find in your Book of Sermons, many points, which according to our understanding of the Word, are not in harmony with the Bible. However, it is not our business to enter into a religious disputation. These two Societies are two kinds of flowers and will remain thus. Let each one be sure of his ground and loyal to his convictions."

Evidently the incident was soon forgotten for visits were frequent after 1859. The prospective appearance of the Harmonists was always the signal for a general cleaning up in Zoar, so that the visitors might be properly impressed. These visits usually lasted several days. Gunn mentioned one sojourn of 1892:

"January 5: The Economites will go home to Harmony today. There has been no lack of hospitality shown them; valient tipplers both, it has been their own fault if they have drawn a sober breath during their stay."

The last visit made by the Harmonists was in 1896. The occasion was a Schwabenfest, participated in particularly by Swabians from Cleveland and its vicinity. The Harmony Band came to Zoar en masse, and together with the Zoar Band, furnished music for the festival.

The Inspirationists made the acquaintance of the Zoarites shortly after their arrival in America in 1842, for the visit of

16 December 7, 1859, quoted by Mr. Duss in his Memoirs.
17 Note-Book, 39.
18 Mrs. Salome Beiter, August 8, 1932.
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 Blumeler'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.
became a prominent member of the community. To quote again from Metz's Diary:

"It was the hand of God which led this man to the Society at a time when such support was indispensable....He soon became one of the strongest supporters of the community, especially in the difficult affair with the Ogden Company and the Indians, which caused much, much sorrow and distress until complete victory was finally achieved."22

In November of the same year, the Inspirationists received a request from a disaffected group within the Zoar Society asking for aid in their controversy with Bäumeler and the trustees. Metz described the reception given this proposal:

"On the 24th, Dr. Caspari came to us from Zoar. He brought us a letter from several members of the Society, the content of which was that a small part of the Society wished to rebel against their leader Bäumeler, in which movement we were asked to render assistance. However, we refused to do this, although we knew from Bäumeler himself that he despised the Work and Word of God among us, and that he was an imperious and ambitious man. Rather we urged his members to obedience and to greater earnestness and prayer, since they had completely forsaken these, and like Bäumeler, had lost and forsaken the true purpose and way of God."

No other mention of Dr. Caspari and his rebellion has been discovered. The incident was doubtless one of a series of difficulties which the Zoar Society had with disaffected members during its existence. The impression of the Society gained by Metz may be contrasted with that of another Inspirationist a number of years later, as contained in a letter written to Zoar, March 10, 1858. Evidently the religious differences which had aroused Brother Metz to such vigorous language had not prevented the development of amicable relations, for the author mentioned a visit he had made to Zoar during the previous

22 August, 1843.
year. He also extended his thanks for a "large box of presents"
received from Zoar, which he had distributed among the sick and the
children. He continued:

"......What I now write I would rather say to you verbally,
because I had thought I might visit you once more from Cleveland,
while on the journey to our new home in Iowa, to observe more closely
some of your ways of doing things, which pleased me greatly because
of their simplicity. But because the sale of our land goes slowly
here, the building in Amana goes slowly also from a lack of money,
since the emigration costs very much and will therefore take many
years. And because the greater part of the community is still here,
present circumstances will not permit me to leave, since I am the
only mason here, and we have to make repairs on many of the buildings.
What pleased me especially concerning you, was that you had kept your
simplicity, and are not so proud and ambitious as many here are, who
would be addressed only as Sie; Brother Mayer agrees with me, that in
Zoar there is generally more humility than here. But that is just the
reason why we have to leave this place by God's command and go west,
and that with but little inclination, because the intimacy of our
young people with the world becomes greater and greater....Here with
let me inform Grötzinger, that if he wishes to visit me, that will
please me greatly; table and bed are prepared, he need only come and
make use of them."

Cotton and woolen yarn and various kinds of cloth were
purchased each year from the Inspirationists by the Society. Beyond
this, little need be said regarding their commercial relations. The
exchange of visits ceased after the Inspirationists moved to Iowa,
but a mutual correspondence continued until the 1860's. The tradition
of friendship survived the dissolution of the Zoar Society. In 1952,
a former Zoarite visited Amana, made his identity known, and was
received with gracious hospitality.

Zoar may have been the inspiration in the founding of the

23 Coleman MSS. The identity of the writer, as well as that of the
recipient, of this letter is not known.

24 Mr. Peter Bimeler.
short lived Ora Labora or Bet und Arbeit community of Huron County, Michigan, in 1865. The only discoverable information regarding this community is contained in a letter written by its founder, Emil Baur, to the Zoar Society, dated June 30, 1864. Baur was a German Methodist preacher who had been transferred from Pittsburgh to a charge in Canal Dover in 1861. He brought with him a letter introduction to the Zoar Society, written by his brother, Theodor Baur, who was connected with the German consulate in Cincinnati. He became acquainted with the members of the Zoar Society, and gained some knowledge of the workings of the community. During his Dover pastorate, he made plans for the establishment of the Michigan colony. This had been located at the base of the peninsula which projects into Saginaw Bay, at a place now known as Sand Point.

Baur’s description of his newly founded community was enthusiastic. Log houses had been built for the one hundred and sixty members, and a saw mill had been erected on the edge of the bay. A dock was in process of building which would permit the approach of lake vessels, and a salt works was to be started as soon as the necessary capital could be secured. Good farm land was available behind the pine forests which fringed the bay, and the growing towns of Saginaw City, Bay City, and Portsmouth, were not far distant.

Baur said that what progress the new community had made, had been made despite the opposition and attacks of the clergy of his own denomination. He thought it strange that the clergy should be so

25 November 18, 1861, Coleman MSS.
bitterly opposed to colonies such as Ora Labora, but he found a partial explanation of this attitude in the fact that such communities soon became independent of the spiritual rule and guidance of the preachers. He concluded his letter with a plea for assistance from the Zoarites:

"Since we are yet young and eager to learn, I should like to open a correspondence with you and the brethren, so that we may receive such advice and instruction in communal living as you have tested by experience. Also, two years ago I bought a pair of trousers from you, and discovered that your product is better than that which can be purchased in the shops. Since we are now in need of good, durable, trouserings for our men and women, I should like to ask you to send me price lists and patterns of the material you use for work trousers and women's dresses for wear in both winter and summer, and to know if you can send these goods to our colony. Remember, that although we have not had such great difficulties as you had, when you first came to Tuscarawas county, we still have great obstacles to overcome, and as you then needed the friendship and sympathy of the stronger, so do we now, and are thankful for advice and deed. God has richly blessed you, and He will be with us also. Write too, what plows you would recommend as the best, and whether you make them yourselves, and what your hours of work are in summer and winter.... One thing more. You make straw hats. We have many little hands that we would like to keep busy. Have the kindness to let us know what apparatus and what kind of straw is necessary. How do you sell your woolen yarn? Could you not establish some branch of industry that would keep our women employed? We could, of course, give you the usual profit." 26

Evidently Baur's eloquent appeal proved fruitless for there is nothing to indicate that his suggestions were acted upon by the Zoar Society. Aside from Amana and Harmony, the Zoarites had nor relations with any of the other communistic societies which existed contemporaneously with their own. The Society correspondence reveals no mention of the Shaker communities of south-western Ohio, or of the Oneida Community of New York, although Zoar had business interests in

26 Baur to Wiebel, June 30, 1864, Coleman MSS.
the vicinity of those places. The Fourieristic experiments of the
forties occasioned no interest in Zoar. The wave of interest in
socialism and communism which swept over the country in the seventies
and the eighties touched Zoar in one respect only. It increased the
number of applicants for admission and requests for information, and
thus added to the duties of the Society's secretary.

The manner in which Zoar established relations with Harmony
and Ebenezer has been described. The members of the latter groups were
akin to the Zoorites in nationality, language and religious tradition.
Their economic life was such that a mutually profitable business
relationship could be developed with Zoar. The friendships that grew
up between the members of the Zoar Society and the other two groups
kept the relationship alive after the factors of similar nationality
and religion declined in importance. The point to be made is this.
The intimate connections which developed owed little to the fact that
the three groups were communisms. In none of the three societies was
there any particular philosophical or sentimental interest in commu-
nism for its own sake.

This was especially true of Zoar where there was little in
the communal life to remind the members of the Society that their
life was essentially different from that of their neighbors in the
adjacent villages. With the exception of the period during which the
children's institution was maintained, there was little that was dif-

27 This statement is not applicable to the last ten or fifteen
years of the Society's existence, for reasons that will be dis-
cussed later.
erent about the family life of the community. In a number of respects, the communism practised in Zoar strengthened and stabilized the family. Once a member was assigned to a house, he usually lived in it until he died. When his children married they either lived with him or within a few minutes walk. A house continued to be occupied by the same family for years, and in many instances for generations. The physical attributes of the institution of the family were grounded more firmly in Zoar than in the world outside. And it is, of course, obvious that the Zoar family could not be disrupted by economic insecurity.

It is probable that the average Zoarite thought of his communism objectively about as often as the average individual thinks of his capitalism objectively. If there had been any discussion of communism, it would certainly have been by the trustees and other leaders of the Society who had to direct its practice. Moreover, any such discussion would certainly have appeared in the letters written by the leaders of the Society to their fellow communists in Harmony and Amana. But only one such reference has been discovered in the Society's correspondence. It was contained in a letter written by Simon Beuter to the Harmony trustees, April 22, 1878:

"A man's request leads me to write you this. He came here as a visitor in March from Columbus, O., and represented himself to be a communist—although as to the sort of principles on which his communism is based, I do not know—I only know this, that when I talked with him, and presented him with the true basis of communal life, he invariably agreed with me, which strikes me as a bit hypocritical. Later it became apparent what he was and what he wanted. This man, while on a visit here, pleaded so long that we finally promised to let him come. So about the first of April he arrived
here with a wife and five children. Of the five children, the eldest is a sturdy boy of sixteen years, who also works here, but who has small liking for any kind of labor. The man came to see me with reference to this boy, and requested that I write you to see if you would not take him in. He came with the pretext that he had heard that music was taught in Harmony, and that his young one was so very desirous of learning music. I cannot decide whether the man is sincere or not, but he does not strike my fancy. I don't like to be a pessimist, would much rather be an optimist, but the communistic revival of these times has given rise to so many marvellous theories, that one has to be especially careful...." 28

To Simon Beuter, communism was simply a part of his religious belief and method. There was but one communism in heaven; therefore men should prepare for it on earth. If men could get rid of their selfishness on earth, that was so much accomplished in preparation for the after life. The community existed for the salvation of one's soul; it made possible the separation. In so far as the Zoar Separatists thought about their communism, they thought of it as did Beuter, in religious terms.

The communism of the Zoar Society had no kinship to that of St. Simon or Fourier, and was even further removed from that of Marx and Engels. Zoar was a religious congregation before it became a communism, and the ideal of the Society was essentially a religious ideal.

28 Zoar MBS.

29 Tag-Buch, passim.
CHAPTER VIII.

From the formation of the Society in 1819 to its dissolution in 1896, a constant stream of applicants sought admission to membership. Some came in person to present their request; many more sent their applications in writing. These men and women represented almost all classes of American society, and all parts of the United States. Among them were recently arrived German immigrants, disillusioned by the unexpected difficulties they had encountered in the land of promise. Professional and business men, teachers, physicians and shopkeepers, who had caught the idealistic vision of Fourier and St. Simon, saw in Zoar a Brook Farm that had succeeded. Broken Civil War veterans sought a more congenial place to end their days than the ordered confines of the soldiers' homes. Many were working men, farmers, carpenters, and masons, who were not especially interested in communisms, but who were eager to find the economic security which the world had denied them.

The policy followed by the Society with regard to the admission of new members was described by Jacob Sylven in a letter to Charles Kielman of the Ebenezer Society. Kielman had evidently asked for admittance:

"Sincere applicants are usually not denied admittance. They must endure a probationary period, during which time we learn to know them, and they us, more intimately. After this, they can decide whether or not they wish to remain. The principle goal and purpose

Letters of application continued to be received by the Zoar Post Office for a number of years after the dissolution of the Society."
of our Society consists in this: living together as brothers and sisters, and to fulfill this mutual obligation, private ownership is not allowed, nor will previously acquired obligations be assumed. Those who would live with us must submit to the existing order and mode of life. The hours of labor are not less here than there; however, no more is demanded of anyone than what he is able to do. Small regard is had for wealth or poverty; much more for integrity and faithfulness. All those who assume membership with sincerity are satisfied with their daily subsistence, clothing, etc., and scorn all other reward save that found in God's religion. Your further question concerning marriage is regarded as most presumptuous, and is therefore unfavorable received. To be sure, marriage is not forbidden here, but he who remains single does better."

The letters of application were read and answered by the cashier of the Society. If an applicant seemed to possess the necessary qualifications, and if there was a need for his particular trade or craft, his request was submitted to the trustees. The trustees then decided whether or not the applicant should be admitted to probationary membership. However, very few ever gained admittance through written applications, and these few were all Germans. The great majority of new members were drawn from those who had worked for the Society as hired laborers, except in the period before 1834 when many of the friends and relatives of the original Zoarites came directly from Württemberg.

In 1841, Amasa Blodgett, a native of New Hampshire, left the Shaker community where he had been living for eleven years, and came to Zoar. He asked to be admitted to membership, and was accepted.

2 June 4, 1853, Coleman MSS.

3 An exact estimate of the number who became members by this means is impossible because only a portion of the correspondence relative to this question has been preserved. An estimate based on the existing correspondence would place the percentage of applicants who were accepted at four per cent.
With possibly two exceptions, Blodgett was the only non-German who ever became a member of the Society, and the only non-German who remained a member for more than a short time. David Wright entered the Society in May, 1831, but left in December of the same year. James Baldwin signed the contract of the first class November 10, 1832. Below his signature appears this notation:

"James Baldwin has run off in the Evening, Feb. 21, 1833, without giving Notice to the Trustees." 5

The Society never offered an explanation of its policy of excluding non-Germans, but it is doubtless obvious. Aside from the problem of language, other cultural and religious differences would have destroyed the family ideal described above by Sylvan.

The people who sought admission to the Society may be divided into four groups. First, there were the friends and relatives of the original members. Then there were those who were interested in communal life for its own sake, those inspired by religious motives, and finally, those who had no particular interest in communistic life, but who desired the economic security which Zoar offered. New members were received more freely in the period 1819-1834 than in any succeeding period. At least one hundred and seventy men, women and children were taken into the community from 1830 to 1835. Most of these new-comers

4 Blodgett was still living in Zoar in 1876 at the age of ninety-five. Hinds, W.A., op. cit., 101. The term German has been applied to both native Germans and German-Americans throughout this chapter.

5 Zoar MSS.

6 Membership Records, Zoar MSS.
were the friends and relatives of those who had emigrated from Württemberg in 1817. Additions from this source took a decided drop in the years following 1834, and it is possible that the news of the cholera epidemic of that year may have acted as a deterrent to those who remained of the original group of Separatists.

The correspondence between the Zoarites and their relatives in Germany continued until the late 1850's, and occasionally resulted in the addition of new members to the Society. The following passage from a letter written by Maria Ursula Birk to her friends Elisabetha and Eleonora Fauplin, of Neuburg, Württemberg, indicated that the ties which bound the Zoarites to their old acquaintances were still strong:

".....Whether or not these lines will find you yet alive, is, of course, unknown to me. Should you both still be living, as I hope, I want to assure you that you have never left my thoughts, and I have often wished that you might have the happiness to live with the Separatists while yet in this world, and to be united with them. If any invitation from me can prevail upon you to leave your old home and to come to us, know that the way here is not and will not be closed to you.....I have often thought, that if you should happen to be in needy circumstances.....you could have a very good home here, and as long as we live, you could share the blessings which God has granted us...."7

Some of the letters received by the Society in 1848, and in the years immediately thereafter, reflected the troubled times of that revolutionary period. George Beque, of Rothenacker, had written to his brother-in-law in Zoar, Ludwig Birk, asking for a hundred guilders to cover the cost of sending his son's family to America. Birk replied that it was inadvisable to send that amount, in view of the disturbed conditions in Germany, and suggested that the money be

7 December 25, 1843, Coleman MS8.
borrowed by his son from another emigrant. He advised that the jour-
ney be made in the spring, rather than in the fall, and that heavy and
non-essential articles be left behind. Bedding and good clothing
should be taken along, however. From New York he should go to Cleve-
land by way of Buffalo, and from thence to Zoar on the canal. In re-
ferring to the revolution in Germany, Birk said:

"...I am afraid that your troubles will not end so soon,
for from all indications the time of judgement is at hand, and happy
are those who can remain under the protection of the Highest. The mis-
fortunes to which you refer are, of course, not unknown to us here;
we read of them daily in the newspapers, and as I said, I am afraid a
great revolution is ahead of you, in which thousands will be killed.

One of the applicants for admission during this period was
T.L. Breimaier of Rothenacker, who had asked to be given work as a car-
penter. Wiebel's reply was not very encouraging:

"It is very easy to believe that the over-population of
Europe and the unrest in Germany has brought with it much distress,
and will bring more, and therefore the opportunity to find a free
country in America should not be denied anyone. But I can give you
no hope as to the kind of reception and employment you would find
here, first, because in these parts we are already supplied with a
sufficiency of laborers, and besides, we have learned from experience
not to advise anyone to come here. Therefore, the decision must
remain with you. Moreover, most of the trades here are conducted
differently than in Germany, and many German immigrants find it dif-
ficult to abandon their accustomed ways...."

Another letter, written to Jakob and Friederika Bauerle, also
of Rothenacker, was in similar vein:

"...However, no matter how reasonable your decision may
be, to emigrate to this land of peace and civil liberty, still it is
not for me to promise anyone naything, because the new-comer encoun-
ters many difficulties and often unexpected afflictions until he has

8 August 4, 1848, Coleman MSS.
9 September 15, 1851, Coleman MSS. Wiebel handled the correspond-
ence of the Society after Birk's death on February 6, 1851.
learned to accommodate himself to the manners and people, and becomes accustomed to the climate of this district. This applies especially to families of small means. Unmarried folk can usually make their way more easily, by going from one place to another as they please. But with families it is another story." 10

An applicant of the following year was evidently given more encouragement, for his reply, addressed to "Sir Bäumler of Zoar, Tuscarawas County of Nord Amerika," read:

"I have received your letter with much joy, and thank you heartily. I shall certainly come. The bearer of this is my brother, and if you can give him employment, it will please me greatly. He has an inheritance from his mother of 5000 florins, and his father has grievously mishandled him." 11

One of the more interesting of the letters in the Zoar-Württemberg correspondence was a letter received from Johann Georg App, March 11, 1852. The circumstances to which App made reference in his communication are not known, but apparently he had returned to Germany after having been a member of the Society:

"I am forced to turn to you, Michael Bäumeler, and sincerely ask your pardon. My daughter Anna Barbara and her three small children stand before you and your entire Society to ask for a place to rest for a time from here wearisome journey, so that she may regain her strength.... My daughter has promised me that she will do what given her to do obediently and willingly. Her husband has always been an industrious man and understands farm work thoroughly. But in case you already have enough workers, I beg of you all, do not let them go away at once, but keep them for a while, and stand by them in word and deed. It is heart-rending for me and my daughter to part from each other thus, innocent children and me an old many of seventy-one years. That hurts, but what hurts me worse is my mistake. For I went away from you, and now I must send my innocent one to you. Oh, do not repay it in kind, but receive my children with compassion. They have not left their old parents because of wantonness, or from a dislike of work. But who can work where there is no work to be found, and where the necessities of life become dearer and dearer

10 September 16, 1851, Coleman MSS.

11 Heinrich Gaiser, Teinach, Württemberg, December 5, 1852, Coleman MSS.
every day. But they will tell you everything themselves....I must close this letter, it is too much, I cannot put on paper what almost tears open my heart."12

Several instances occurred where recently arrived immigrants found Zoar a convenient place to rest for a few days before travelling on to their destinations. Thus, Samuel Webber, a resident of New York City who was evidently personally acquainted with the Zoarites, asked that his friend, a Swiss immigrant, be given assistance. Webber's letter added another page to the long history of the brutality to which the immigrants were subjected by the crews and ship companies. The immigrant, J.H. Mannri, had appealed to Webber after his trunk, containing all his money and belongings, had been stolen by two of the crew. Protest to the captain had proven futile, so Webber had given his friend three dollars, sufficient to pay his fare to Buffalo. From there he was directed to make his way on foot to Zoar. Webber asked that he be furnished with clothes and sufficient money to enable him to proceed to his friends in Portsmouth, Ohio.13

Many of the letters indicated that the writers belonged to that large group which the world uncharitably classifies as failures, and who were ready to settle down any place where they would be sure of board and lodging. Many of these men were well advanced in years, and some confessed to physical disabilities which had hindered their advancement in the world.

One applicant said that he was lame in both feet, and there-

12 Rothenacker, Württemberg, March 11, 1852, Coleman MSS.
13 September 28, 1859, Coleman MSS.
fore barred from most kinds of work, but hoped that he might be
found useful in some capacity. Another addressed his request to the
"Management of the Reppist, Colony, Zoar." He confessed to the age of
sixty-five, but insisted that he was "healthy, and considering his
age, very robust." A German from Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, de-
scribed himself as "a young fellow of 60 years," still capable of
enough work to cover the cost of his maintenance. An inmate of the
National Soldiers' Home, Washington, D.C., who had evidently visited
Zoar at one time, wrote in behalf of a friend:

"...I have a fellow-countryman here who would gladly become
a member of your Society. He is thirty-three years of age, has a
good character, can work, and has several hundred dollars in money,
but he is not clever enough to get along in the world. He has had no
education and is very shy, and he tells me that he would remain with
you all his life, if you would but take care of him, for he has no
one to look after him, and left to himself, he would soon go to the
dogs, though he had ten thousand dollars."

Among some the idea was evidently uppermost that the Society
was a kind of old folks' home. A resident of the National Soldiers'
Home in Dayton, Ohio, was doubtful whether he could meet the require-
ments for membership, although he believed them to be well-founded.
However, he wondered if it would not be possible for him to live in
Zoar for a month or two, while he awaited the issuance of his pension,
and while he prepared for a civil service examination.

14 Th. Hennings, Euclid, Ohio, January 30, 1856, Coleman MSS.
15 Carl Haspel, Baltimore, Maryland, August 28, 1856, Coleman MSS.
16 Andreas Lang, September 21, 1881, Coleman MSS.
17 Benjamin Roesele, March 12, 1873, Coleman MSS.
18 George Schmidt, October 19, 1880, Coleman MSS.
Other applicants were careful to specify the conditions on which they might be persuaded to lend their services to the Society. A native of Cairo, Illinois, was willing to become a member, on condition that he be given charge of the flour mill, and that he be furnished with an adequate staff of assistants. A man who described himself as a former architect for the Government of Württemberg asked for work of a similar character if he were accepted as a member. A German farmer from Wayne County, Ohio, had been accepted, and informed the Society that he was ready to come to Zoar. However, his brother’s widow insisted on accompanying him. He had tried to dissuade her, but she would have it no other way, and moreover, she insisted on being lodged near her brother-in-law in Zoar. He appealed for assistance in his dilemma, but unfortunately all record of the manner in which the trustees handled the problem has been lost.

Some of the applicants declared that religious conviction had led them to seek membership. A native of Calw, Württemberg, asked for admittance:

"I ask your kind indulgence when I take the liberty to ask for a favorable reply to this request, that if I should undertake the journey to unite with you good people, would I be received by you into your Christian fellowship....I am willing to undergo your probationary period, as a painter by profession, my birthplace is Calw, Württemberg, and am fifty-three years old. The wicked and uncharitable struggle of the cold world is abhorrent to me, because it is virtually dead, and

19 John Miller, January 16, 1860, Coleman MSS.
20 Friederich Vogel, Hope, Indiana, March 22, 1868, Coleman MSS.
21 Jakob Wolfangel, March 12, 1856, Coleman MSS.
I still feel life within me, and thirst for something higher. Christian unity is and shall be my motto. I ask God as the ruler of all creatures to lead me on the path of righteousness and to consecrate my earthly labors. I also possess several hundred dollars... 22

A merchant from Montgomery, Alabama, announced that he had embraced the Separatist faith, and was eager for an opportunity to practise it. A man and his wife from Monroe County, Illinois, asked for admittance. They wished to rear their children among devout people, but had discovered that their neighborhood gave little opportunity to associate with religious folk. The following letter, written in the German-American dialect of western Pennsylvania, was typical of this group of applicants:

"...I am a lost sheep looking for a harbor, and I think by calling at your Community I may find a place where a deeply improved man can find strength to continue the trial on this Earth. I am a draughtsman by trade but unfortunately my view got too weak to work any longer in this business, so I did once some other kind of work, specially Garden and Farm Work but couldn't find a place where really peace is at home, that fetches me to the decision to join a religious Community. I have a Small Capital on hand and I like to place it the way to secure me a home forever, where I could tend to the wellfare of the Soul by doing not to rough Work besides. My age is 35 years, unmarried, and I got no Notion to get married. I would like to live on a quiet place where the true principles of God are in use, by practising them I think men only can get the true spirit of God...I am a native German, and I dont feel happy till yet in this country. I am looking for peace and I am sure their is a place for me where I find some." 25

Equally sincere was the plea of this New England painter, K. Codman, of Turners Falls, Massachusetts:

22 Karl Andler, Centralia, Illinois, August 20, 1873, Coleman MSS.
23 W.P. Carter, September 1, 1876, Coleman MSS.
24 Johann Rossman, Hecker, Illinois, June 26, 1875, Coleman MSS.
25 Julius Ulmer, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March, 1877, Coleman MSS.
"Please inform me if you will not accept of a man thirty years old who is in good health and in good standing in the world and who has some knowledge of your faith and accepts it. I am by trade a painter but can do many kinds of work. I wrote to you one year ago and you said you had never admitted but Germans but won't you if the best of reference can be given. My faith is strong and I am willing to work. We all want to do what we think is right and I think if I could join your community I could be a benefit to you and myself." 26

Charles Nordhoff's book, The Communist Societies of the United States, which appeared in 1875, contained a chapter on Zoar, and was directly responsible for a number of applications for admission. Those individuals whose interest in Zoar was aroused through this means were interested in communism as an ideal, and many were evidently people of education and culture. The following letter was typical of others in this group of applicants:

"I have been reading an account of your community in Nordhoff's book and have been captured by it. I have always favored the Commune system based on morality and industry but did not know of the existence of Zoar. Had I known of you years ago I should have sought the privilege of uniting. Of all the Communes I have read about, yours meets my most unqualified approval. I am, have been a teacher most of my life and stand as such very high. I would be glad to be employed as a teacher by you and be also admitted to membership....I was born in Vermont—do not speak German—but I have always had a great respect for the honest German people....I have no means but long for just such a home as yours, away from the idle, swearing and wicked world. I am a regular graduate of a Medical College in Massachusetts but have never practised, as I always liked teaching better. You would find me a steady, quiet, industrious man with good moral habits—and a desire to be good and do good." 27

A request similar to that made by Emil Baur of the Ora Labora colony was received from Alfred Darrach, of Gunnison City, Colorado:

26 March 29, 1880, Coleman MSS.
27 T.H. Rose, Marietta, Ohio, July 14, 1877, Coleman MSS.
28 See pages 160-162.
"In conversation with a gentleman from your state and near your city he remarked that at an early date the association had been formed upon somewhat of a mutual plan. A plan upon which a few of us in Colo. are thinking about, in order to go into the North West of our country, taking up sections of Public Lands and establishing ourselves upon Ranches, and forming a community, working with each other for a common end and helping one another by our aid and counsel, forming into a company, with a chosen leader and board of advisors to be taken from our number.

I have been informed that the plan upon which your association commenced its work some years ago, is somewhat upon what we desire to get at. If such be the case and you can in any way help us on our way, you will be doing us an act of kindness.

Any account of the early plans upon which you worked, together with the errors of the same (if any) and the effect such plans have had towards the advancement of the conditions etc., together with your by-laws and any advice and instructions what best to do will be received with many thanks." 29

Sylvan's assertion that the Society cared nothing about the wealth or poverty of those it received is borne out by the correspondence. An applicant of Brookville, Indiana, was denied admittance although he was a native of Württemberg, and an experienced farmer, and owned property worth $5,000.00. Nor did the Society regard previous experience in communal life as a recommendation. There were several applications from members of other communities, but apparently Amasa Blodgett, mentioned above, was the only one ever accepted. Sylvester Brewer, of Lewisburgh, Kentucky, wrote:

"...We have lived with the Shakers for over 2 years and liked them well, the only reason we left them was I could not accept their doctrine of the "Second appearing of Christ" in the person of Ann Lee....I have been looking at the growing difficulties between Capital and Labor and I can see no way for Labor to successfully compete with Capital but by joining together in communities of joint interest, and I believe in this so firmly that I am willing to give my life and strength to the cause and in looking over all the different Communities of America I see no one where I could cast in my lot with so good as with you at Zoar." 31

29 October 22, 1882, Coleman MSS.

30 Christian Schaeuffler, May 16, 1882, Coleman MSS.

31 June 19, 1876, Coleman MSS.
Although there was little in the life of the Zoar community which should have offered any attraction to the adventurous temperament, a few of the letters of application were evidently written by restless individuals who were willing to add communism to their varied experiences. One of the most interesting of such letters was that received from Oscar Nixdorf, of Union Village, Ohio. Nixdorf declared that he had wandered about the world long enough, and now wished for a place of rest. Everything he had heard of Zoar led him to the belief that here he could find rest. Moreover, he was favorably inclined to the idea of communism, and he believed that the Society's social and religious arrangements might properly be termed patriarchal. Born in Prussia in 1834, he had been educated for the priesthood, and had emigrated to America in 1860. For three years he had pursued his religious studies in St. Vincents, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, but had left there after that time, "feeling that the Catholic cloister life was not his calling." For six years he had been "a yardman, keg-keeper, teacher of French and English in Montreal, soldier, and last but not least, attendant in a hospital." He had heard of the Shakers, but aside from their modus servi, they were an English society, and he preferred a German.

It is doubtless superfluous to add that Nixdorf was denied the opportunity to find a "place of rest" in Zoar. The mere thought of having such a swashbuckling soldier of fortune within the quiet

32 Union Village was a Shaker settlement, and it is possible that Nixdorf was a member, but feared that his admission of the fact would not have facilitated his acceptance by the Zoarites. September 21, 1869, Coleman MSS.
confines of the village probably horrified the dignified trustees.

Few women sought admission to the Society of their own initiative. In 1875, Mary Dotterer, a German woman who was a member of the Whitewater Shaker Community in Dayton, Ohio, asked to be received. Her only complaint against the Shakers was that her authority over her two daughters had been taken away from her:

","...Many a child have I saved from death, and now I am not permitted to nurse my children; even the little one is not allowed to sleep in my bedroom without permission.......I want to have them under my care during the night, at least. I have been in this country 22 years, am 45 years old. We speak English and German, but I would like to have my children better taught in German, and also, I would like to embrace your religion....Do you have your own mode of dress? Would our plain dresses do? Pardon my bad writing but it is now time for rest."\33

The applicants frequently made interesting comparisons of the several religious communities, and the opinion they voiced most frequently was that Zoar appeared to more liberal and more democratic than the Shakers, Harmonists or Inspirationists. Some of the letters, although written in halting, ungrammatical English or German, gave evidence that their authors had made serious study of the communistic society as a possible solution for their social and economic maladjustments. It is significant that many of these letters were written during the five or six years following 1873, the year of the panic. They reflect the unemployment, the poverty, and the bewilderment of the ordinary man who lived in the troubled period of strikes and class hatreds. During all this time the religious communities, Shakers, Har-

33 August 30, 1875, Coleman MSS.
34 H. Cadwallader, Wilmington, Delawere, Coleman MSS. Hinds said that Zoar was the most democratic of all the religious societies, and he visited them all. Op. cit., 118.
monists, and Inspirationists, continued their ordered existence, seemingly untouched by the economic difficulties of the outside world. It is not strange that many men should have regarded these communities as the vindication of the romantic idealism of Fourier and Ballou.

One writer, protesting the rejection of his application by the Society, unwittingly touched upon the factor which doubtless made his admission inadvisable. His letter indicated that he possessed a rather comprehensive knowledge of the communistic societies of the time, and also that he had definite ideas regarding their organization.

In commenting on the difficulties which confronted the recently established Friendship Community of Missouri, he said, "Worst of all is the raw material that such a Society will naturally draw to itself, coming as it does from a dissatisfied world." Riches or poverty did not bar an individual from admission to the Zoar Society, but possession of preconceived ideas regarding the operation of communistic societies did. Whether or not the trustees ever expressed their beliefs on the matter, they probably felt that the doctrinaire of the capitalistic world would remain the doctrinaire in Zoar. It was doubtless for this reason that the Society was willing to accept unknown German peasants of small learning and less wealth rather than idealistic school teachers and successful farmers with socialistic leanings.

Unsuccessful applicants were informed of their rejection in short, tersely written notes which offered little explanation of the

35 A.J. Randall, Dayton, Ohio, November 30, 1872, Coleman MSS.
Society's action. Wiebel usually replied to this effect, that

"...the undersigned cannot, under no conditions whatever, receive, for the time being, any further new-comers to membership of this society, and thus deem it superfluous to enter into a discussion of the present rules and regulations, religious or otherwise, of this establishment." 36

Americans were usually informed that the Society accepted none but Germans, and sometimes lack of housing facilities was offered as a reason. Germans, or German-Americans who applied merely for work, and not for membership, were more successful. The letters received by this group were suggestive of the difficulties encountered by the new arrival in America. The following letter, written by a member of the German settlement of New Braunfels, Texas, is typical:

"...I was impelled to go to Texas because I had always heard this state highly praised, and because conditions had become too bad in Germany. But it is certain that Texas does not suit me, because in summer, or in other words, the entire year, it is too hot, but let a north wind arise then it becomes so dreadfully cold that no one can work, and the worst of it is, people have no money. I am following the potters trade here, but am doing badly. In the last two years I have not made enough to send transportation money to my wife in Germany....I have always heard the state of Ohio highly praised, but everyone says it is over-populated." 37

Requests for work were received from places as far removed as New Jersey and Iowa. Farmers, wheelwrights, dyers and carpenters hoped to find in Zoar the employment they had failed to find elsewhere. They learned of the Society through various channels, from former members, chance acquaintances, and through the German newspapers and periodicals. In at least one instance, the German consul in Washington

36 Letter to J. Turner, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, June 10, 1859, Coleman MSS. Unless otherwise indicated, none of the applications mentioned in this chapter were accepted by the Society.

37 Roman Blaser, July 10, 1852, Coleman MSS.
recommended individuals for membership. The German Society of New York formed another channel of information.

Several requests were received from parents who wished to place their children with the Society for a time, usually for the purpose of learning German. A resident of Belle Centre, Ohio, asked that his seventeen year old son be permitted to work in the Zoar store long enough to become acquainted "with the German names of articles in the Dry Good business." A similar request was made by a banker in the neighboring town of New Philadelphia. He was sure that if his nephew were given a place as a clerk in the store, the boy would soon learn "to talk German, if not fluently, at least intelligibly." An Indiana girl wished to learn German, and also expressed a desire for instruction in vocal and instrumental music. She offered to do sewing, "or light work about the house," in exchange for her board and tuition. Somewhat different in character was the following proposal:

"I desire to know whether or not it is possible to make any arrangement with your Association, whereby a boy eleven years of age can be taken by you, and brought up to habits of morality and industry, provided he remain with you a definite term of years; so long that his labor may prove a remuneration for his expenses and tutelege."

All these requests were refused as was that of the man who

38 Wm. L. Kiderlen to the Society, December 15, 1850, Coleman MSS.
39 William Pollock, February 27, 1854, Coleman MSS.
40 Arthur Patrick, May 31, 1867, Coleman MSS.
41 Mary J. Roby, Pleasant Lake, Indiana, December 3, 1858, Coleman MSS.
42 Edward H. Allen, Chillicothe, Ohio, November 4, 1860, Coleman MSS.
wished to know if the Society would take a two year old child, "which
was wore on a man it did not belong to." The latter proposal might
have been accepted during the early period of the Society's history.
The following contract, of November 30, 1842, described the conditions
under which the Society agreed to receive children:

"Memorandum. Upon the request of William Dunbar of Canton
and William Childs of Wooster, to take a Certain Child into the Care
of the Zoar Society, on some Certain Conditions, whose Mother is now
residing in Wooster..."

first. One Dollar pr. week for attending & keeping the
Child.
second. The Mother, or Persons interested to find or pay for
Bedding & Clothing of the same &
third. Payments to be made three or four Months in advance.

If the Persons interested will accept of the above proposition, the
Trustees of the Society will Consider themselves bound to receive and
take Care of Said Child."44

It is not known how many children were received by the
Society under such terms, but the orphans of the non-members
who had been working for the Society were frequently adopted. In such
cases an officer of the Society was appointed guardian by the county
court. Children were indentured to the Society as late as 1847, and
between 1830 and 1847 at least twenty-five contracts of indenture were
signed by the trustees.

The ages of the indentured children ranged from eight months
to sixteen years. The girls who were bound as apprentices were
instructed in the "Art, Mystery, trade & Occupation of Housewifery."

43 William Jennings, Salem, Ohio, November 5, 1856, Coleman MSS.
44 Coleman MSS.
45 Coleman MSS.
In one instance, the trustees contracted to teach the indentured girl weaving. When the indentured boy was very young, the trade to be taught him was not specified, the contract merely stating that he was to be "instructed in such branch or branches of industry, as shall hereafter appear to said Board of Trustees best suited to his abilities and understanding." The older boys were apprenticed to the trades of millwright, carpenter, house joiner, or tailor. The apprentice promised that he would "faithfully and diligently serve in all such Lawfull Business as he shall be put to by his said Masters, according to the best of his abilities, and honestly and Orderly to deport himself towards his said Masters, and towards the Society in general."

The apprentice was to be provided with "Meat, drink, washing, Lodging and apparel, and all the other necessaries proper and suitable for an apprentice." The trustees further promised to teach the child to read and write, "and so much Arithmetic as will include the rule of three." The indenture expired when the girls reached the age of eighteen, and the boys twenty-one. The contracts provided that the apprentice should then receive "a new Bible, and at least two suits of Common wearing Apparel," if he had deported himself properly during the period of his indenture.

The problem of the seeding member confronted the Society from the day of its inception. Some of the original group withdrew in

46 Indenture Contracts, Coleman MSS. Indentures are still legal in Ohio. "If it be necessary, the guardian of a female under 12, or a male under 14, may bind such minor to a suitable person, until such minor reaches the age of 21 if a male or 18 if a female. Ohio General Code, Sec.10959."
1819 when the first articles were signed. Names in the membership lists for the year 1821 are frequently followed by the notation: "Has left the Society." The large accessions received in the period 1830-1833 were balanced by proportionately large withdrawals. From 1831 to 1834, about thirty individuals withdrew from the Society. There are few details available regarding the circumstances of these secessions, although sometimes notations similar to the following were added to the names on the roll of members:

"Sebastian Notter and Anna Maria Notter: Left Zoar wilfully July 7, 1835 on account of dissatisfaction." 47

Other notations read, "Left without notice," or "Left by mutual agreement of both parties." Sometimes the seceding member explained his action by letter, as did Solomon Sala, after he had gone to Canton, Ohio:

"...The precarious state of my health for the time that I had the honor of living in Zoar and the dissatisfaction of my wife are the principle causes....Eli, my brother, is sent to remove my family and the few remains of my household furniture and as much as the Trustees of the Society may please to bestow on me......... I should be very glad that Dorothea through the consent of the Trustees would bestow on me as much cloth as would make me a good winter suit as my winter clothes have become considerably worn." 48

Frederick Eckstein, who left Zoar in the spring of 1850, offered somewhat different reasons for his departure:

"Since my honor and my peace of mind make it necessary for me to leave you at once, I will tell you briefly that I am going away to put an end to certain gossipings....Thou must not think ill of me for this sudden step; my feelings are so aroused that I can do nothing else..." 49

47 Zoar MSS.
48 November 24, 1834, Zoar MSS. Original written in English.
49 Letter to Birk, May 8, 1850, Coleman MSS.
Some of those who left Zoar asked to be readmitted later, 50
some were never heard of again, and others attained prominence in
their new surroundings. Albert Beuter was one who found greater oppor-
tunity outside of Zoar. Another was Stephen Bührer, adopted by the
Society in 1832 after the death of his father. He was a sensitive boy,
and when ordered to kill a calf for the butcher shop, ran away to
Cleveland. Like the famous Dick Whittington, Bührer later became mayor
51
of the city he had first entered as a penniless boy.

One occasion, the good offices of the Society were called
upon to secure the readmittance of an ex-Harmonite to his former home,
after the latter had become weary of the trials of individualistic
enterprise. Simon Beuter interceded for the prodigal in a letter to
Trustee Henrici, June 20, 1868:

"...and now I wish to make a request on behalf of John
Mayer who left you in November of last year. He bought a small piece
of land in our neighborhood, but what can he do with the land by him-
sel. He now wants to sell it again, and says that his most ardent
wish is to return to Economy, which would be best for him in any event.
Further recommendation from me would be superfluous, since you know
him better than I do. However, I shall advise him to reunite himself
with you with all loyalty, and not to go away again, for he does not
belong in the world." 52

50 "On March 14(1888) David Breymeier forsook the Society, his wife,
and his children, to find elsewhere his happiness or his
unhappiness." Simon Beuter's Tag-Buch. Breymeier was one of the
Society's school teachers.

51 Bührer made a small fortune as a brewer and commission merchant.
One of the products he marketed was "Bührer's Wolf Mountain
Crystal Spring Water," bottled from the Wolfberg Brunnen near
Zoar.

52 Zoar MSS.

From the time of the Civil War on, the young men of Zoar left
From the time of the Civil War on, the young men of Zoar left the Society in steadily increasing numbers. The elder statesmen of the Society attributed these defections to innate human depravity, and absolved themselves from all responsibility in the matter. On April 11, 1862, Jacob Sylvan wrote to Trustee Baker of Harmony:

"...Our enterprises are going well, and thank God, we are enjoying good health; for over a year we have had no deaths. The spirit of worldliness has torn away several of our young men, but from a moral point of view, we have gained more than we have lost...."

53 Zoar MSS.

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CHAPTER IX.

The legality of the contractual relationship which existed between the Society and its members was not brought before the courts until 1859. On August ninth of that year, Friederich Sieber, who had been expelled from membership the previous winter, filed a suit in chancery against the Society in the county court of common pleas. His petition declared that he had contributed $1000.00 in money, and personal property of equal value on becoming a member. He insisted, therefore, that he was entitled to a joint and equal share with the other members to all property belonging to the Society, by virtue of its constitution and act of incorporation. Sieber also asked for damages for certain alleged injuries suffered by himself, his wife, and child at the hands of Bäumeler and other officers of the Society.

The legal status of the Society was not passed upon by the court for the suit was withdrawn shortly after it was instituted, "without prejudice at Complainants cost." However, the petition submitted by Sieber, and the answer of the Society, are worth examining, because they concern the character of the relations existing between the officers and the members of the community.

The major portion of Sieber's petition dealt with the impositions he declared he and his family had endured. He said that he had been treated in a "harsh, cruel, and oppressive manner...neglected in

1Sieber v. Separatist Society of Zoar, Tuscarawas County Court Records, Appearance Docket, IV, 100.
sickness or provided for in such a manner as to endanger his life, 
(that) he was supplied badly and scantily with provisions, and with 
those of a coarse and unwholesome kind." In addition, Bäumeler had 
tried to sow disaffection and discord" between him and his wife, and 
to seduce her affections," Bäumeler, the other officers, and certain 
of the members had carried their "unjust, improper, vindictive and 
arbitrary conduct to such an extent," that his wife had had a miscar-
riage of a child with which she was pregnant.

The Society entered a categorical denial to Sieber's charges. 
He had contributed but a few dollars upon being admitted as a member. 
As to the value of his labor, the Society said:

"...the labor of said Sieber was of a very inferior Nature, 
and of Very little Benefit to the Society, for he was neither Mechan-
ic, nor a Man of Business, but a Common hand at light and easy 
labour which our Women generally perform, and at which he would 
scarcely do as much as to be worth his Boarding, and still he would 
do that only with grumbling & dissatisfaction, and whenever it pleased 
him to leave his general Occupation, he would do so...."

The Society's petition exonerated Bäumeler from the alleged 
mistreatment on the grounds that Bäumeler had nothing to do with the 
common laboring hands, but that their work was under the supervision 
of the trustees. As to his being neglected while ill, the two women 
who had waited on him at the time could testify:

"...what Kind of treatment he had, and what kind of provisions 
he was supplied with, that they were of as delicate and Kind a Nature, 
as the Members of said Society are generally furnished with in Circum-
stances of the Kind, which is well known, that they are at least as 
good as Common. It can also be proven....that during the Sickness of 
said Sieber, said J.M.Bäumeler took a great deal of pains to do all for 
him that was in his power, Visiting him daily and frequently more than 
once a day, using all his Exertions to restore said Sieber's health,
which had been much despaired of for several months, but was again restored...."

With regard to Bäumeler's alleged misconduct with Mrs. Sieber, the Society declared that "it has never been the Character of said Bäumeler to seduce Women," and that the testimony of Mrs. Sieber herself would be accepted in the matter. The answer of the Society continued:

"As it regards a Miscarriage of a Child by the wife of said Sieber, if such took place, it cannot have originated from the usage she received from the Officers of the Society, as they have only once or twice Conversed with her about the time it should have taken place, which Conversations were not rough & harsh but as pleasant & mild, as it is becoming to speak to Women, which can be proven by Barbara Reif, who was present at the time. He must therefore look for the cause somewhere else, and no Doubt, he will find it in his own Bosom."

Sieber's suit was withdrawn, but the next action instituted against the Society was not disposed of as easily. In March, 1845, John Goezele and his wife, Anna Maria, were expelled from the Society on charges based on their mismanagement of the Canal Tavern. The examination of the charges conducted by the Standing Committee, on January 15, 1845, disclosed that the tavern had been operated in a manner contrary to the rules of the Society, that drunkenness had been permitted on the premises, and that the Society's funds had been misappropriated. The Society ordered the tavern closed, and provided a home for the Goezele's in the village. They refused to vacate the tavern, but continued to operate it on their own initiative. They were thereupon expelled from the Society.

2 The trustees usually conducted such examinations. Evidently the trustees had brought the charges against the Goezeles, and were therefore, under the constitution of the Society, barred from acting as judges in the matter.

3 Report of the Committee, Year 1845.
Goesele, together with several other dissatisfied members, then filed a suit in chancery against the Society. The complainants' petition to the county court of common pleas was signed by Goesele, John G. Böhringer, father of Anna Maria Goesele, Conrad and Margaret Breymser, and Mathew and Malinda Heilman. The petition was filed March 27, 1845. After a number of continuances, the suit was dismissed in the November term, 1847, "without prejudice, at complainants' cost."

The Goesele party then instituted proceedings in the United States Circuit Court, which heard their case in the April term, 1851.

The original petition, which was made the basis of the later suit, began by attacking Bäumeler's motives and character. Bäumeler had succeeded in acquiring the entire confidence of the members of the Society, "by assuming to be their spiritual as well as their temporal guide, and pretending to great sanctity." He had thus obtained great and unlimited influence over them, and had persuaded them to sign a constitution "such as he desired." The act of incorporation had been obtained by him for but one purpose, that of acquiring power to practise tyranny and oppression on the members "with more efficiency or with greater impunity."

Although the property of the Society was worth at least $500,000, and its annual income amounted to at least $30,000, the members were denied all but the barest necessities, and had been reduced by Bäumeler to a "condition of degradation, debasement and destitution, entirely unparalleled in this country, unless

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5 Tuscarawas County Court Records, Appearance Docket, VII, 208.
among the negro slaves of a southern plantation." But if the condition of the adult population was abject, that of the children was even more deplorable:

"The youths and children...are allowed no opportunity to acquire the necessary knowledge to fit them for any of the duties of life except the rudest labor, many of them not having been taught to read and write sufficiently to be of service to them in any business whatsoever....The morals of the youth...are very little if at all regarded, young girls of ten or twelve years old and upwards are frequently sent to work in the fields and cowstables, where they mingle with hired servants and others totally destitute of delicacy and refinement, besides being often of licentious character, and are thus exposed to the most corrupting influences and associations, of the baneful consequences of which said Society furnishes many examples...."

The petition charged further that Bäumeler lived in great magnificence and luxury, that his residence, compared with the other homes, was a veritable palace, and that his stable was furnished with the most costly horses and carriages, "which none are permitted to use but himself and perhaps a few of his special favorites." The members were studiously kept in ignorance of the laws and institutions of their country, and of their own political and civil rights. The only library in the community was owned by Bäumeler, and access to this was denied the other members. Although he received twelve or fifteen different newspapers, only two weekly papers were permitted to circulate among the members, "and these only after being examined by him, and found to contain no other information which might excite discontent or dissatisfaction.

As in the suit brought by Sieber, Bäumeler's qualifications as a physician were brought into question. It was alleged that the
members were never permitted the attendance of a physician, however
dangerous or severe their illness:

"It is true that the said Bäumeler assumes to act as a physi-
cian for the Society, and attends its members and their families
when sick, as his leisure, convenience or caprice may dictate, but
...he has never been educated as a Physician, and is totally unfit
to act as such. Even during the prevalence of the cholera in said
Society about 11 years since, no regular physician was employed to
treat or prescribe for the sick, although the epidemic raged fear-
fully among them and proved fatal to a large number. For want of
proper medical care, your petitioners believe that many persons have
died...who might otherwise be now living."

The complainants then asked that Bäumeler be compelled to
render an account of his past receipts and disbursements in reference
to all the business of the Society, that an account be taken of all
the property owned by the Society, and that they be paid the shares
rightfully theirs.

Before their case was filed in the Circuit Court, Goesele's
party attempted to gain their ends with the aid of the other members
of the Society. On May 8, 1849, the rebellious faction, accompanied
by their counsel, David Quinn, suddenly appeared in Zoar. After post-
ing circulators about the village, appealing to the loyal members to
come to their side, they took forcible possession of the Meeting
House, and awaited the result of their manifesto, which is quoted here
in part:

"Brethren and Sisters: We have now returned to take possess-
ton of our property, with intent of maintaining it, and if possible,
to raise the Society from its reproach. In this we desire nothing
more than what is strictly right, and justly due to our Society, and
to the fraternity of the self-same church.

For a considerable time past, we have not been with you,
having been banished by the tyranny of one man, who serpent-like, full
of deceit and cunning, wound himself around our Society, and even so
skilfully and sily stripped it or all its libertys. Yet, much as we have been wronged by this one man, our feelings have not yet grown quite cold to the rest of the members, but we are ever willing to tender you the right hand of fellowship, and to receive you as members of the self-same church, and as children of the same heavenly Father. If you reject this, the punishment must eventually fall on your own heads, and our names will be clear.

Our religion has taught us, that all men were equal; we know of no higher being than our Redeemer, and for this cause we stood with covered heads before kings. But what is now the situation of our Society? One man is all—the others are naught. He moves, undertakes and arranges everything, and at his command all the rest bend in zealous obedience. Was it for that, that we suffered oppression in Germany, left the land of our birth, and sought a home in the forests, far from the dwellings of civilized man? If it was that, you are unworthy of liberty.

We do not expect that all will draw benefits from this communication; on the contrary, we know that mankind by continued sufferings gets harrowed and blunted, so that we are at length reconciled to even slavery itself, incapable of understanding his real situation. Yet we also know, that many there are in the Society, and we confidently believe, many more or whom we do not know, who will now step forward to assert their liberty and opinion. Consider the example set by the American colonists in the year 1776, and behold the flame which grew out of a small fire.....

By virtue or the articles of the Society, no one owns any property but Häusler; no one's children shall have anything but his own, and they shall have all. This is not plainly obvious in the articles, but insomuch as all things are built up in his legal right, and all matters conducted in his name, this will hold the estates as gradually the members die; so that in the end the whole concern shall pass to his purely heirs, unless we immediately secure to all the members that right, either by a voluntary change in the Society, or by course of law.

To secure our rights by lawsuits, would not merely tend totally to break up the Society, but also create an opening for the heirs of deceased members, and then would take nearly half the property of the Society away, so that the actual members would have but the remaining half for partition, and even this half would soon be squandered by Häusler's schemes......Brethren and sisters! Take our advice, lay it on your hearts: break the fetters which now encompass you, and then you will have it in your power, either to have your friends and relatives come from Germany or to journey to them. Therefore, we propose to you a twofold way for the division of the estates. The one is a practical partition of the real estate and moveable property among the members; the other to estimate the value, both moveable and immovable, then to reduce it into parts, with claim upon the whole, or $50,000 each, and then to give each member as many of these $50,000 shares in just proportion to services rendered, and
as compensation may require. This latter plan would preserve the
consistence of the Society, and, at the same time, take the right
from one man, and give it to us all.

Is there anything wrong or base in this proposition? Or is
anything contained therein against which even Bimeler could complain?
Surely not, as it takes nothing from him that is really his own, and
that which does not belong to him, he ought not to have, and thus
your rights and the rights of your children would be secure against
the unforeseen changes which await you.

And lastly we say: Come and unite with us. You know that our
cause is a just one, and being just will prevail. That God, who led
us across the stormy ocean, has ever been the friend of the oppressed,
and an enemy to tyrants. In Him we trust, with Him we shall succeed."6

This appeal was signed by John and Anna Maria Goesels, Mathew
and Malinda Heilman, Christian Weiszhaar, John George Schande and
John George Bühringer. The trustees immediately called a meeting of
the Society in the school house, and called for a vote on the propos-
als submitted by the Widerwärtige, as the rebellious faction became
known. The proffered plans were discussed openly and freely, and a
secret ballot was then taken. The Society decided to reject the pro-
posed changes by unanimous vote. Resolutions were also adopted deny-
ing the charges made against Bümeler, and upholding the existing
constitution of the Society. It was further resolved to make no con-
cessions to the malcontents, but to leave the latter to seek what
redress they could in the courts. 7

The Widerwärtige then filed a bill in equity in the United
States Circuit Court, which heard the case in its April term, 1851.
David Quinn represented the plaintiffs, while the Society was
defended by Henry M. Stanbery and Thomas Ewing. Quinn based his

6 Zoar MSS.
7 Zoar MSS.
8 Goesels et al. v. Bimeler et al., 10 Federal Cases, 528.
plea on the contracts made by the ancestors of the plaintiffs before
the incorporation of 1832. He claimed that there was no grantee of the
lands, and if there was, the grant would be void as a perpetuity.

The court decided that the lands were purchased for the
Society by Bäumeler, were paid for by the Society, and that Bäumeler
merely held them in trust. The fee was in Bäumeler; the members were
the cestui que trusts. The court agreed with plaintiff's counsel that
an unincorporated community could not take lands in grant in its
aggregate capacity. Nor could the trustees or their successors take
them in grant. Under the circumstances, the law recognized no success-
ion. But the articles of association of 1819 constituted a declara-
tion of trust, which Bäumeler recognized as binding upon him.

This declaration of trust did not require the formalities of
a grant. Since it was in writing and since the application of the
trust was stated distinctly, it was not affected by the statute of
frauds and perjuries. The agreement entered into by the members in
1819 constituted a universal partnership, and as such, it was not in
violation of the common law. The agreement constituted a contract
that the property surrendered should belong only to the members of
the Society. Therefore, the heirs of the members could not claim an
interest in the property as heirs, but only as members. There could
be no attack on such a disposition of property, because any individ-
ual had the right to divest himself of his property for a valuable
consideration. The consideration in this case was the general benefit
received by the members from the Society.

9 10 Federal Cases, 552.
The court then considered the plea that the grant of the lands was void as a perpetuity:

"But it is said that this association contemplates an enjoyment of the property in perpetuity; that those who shall become members of it, through all time shall enjoy it, and that this the law will not permit...It must be observed that title (to the land) vested in the trustees from the date of the deed; and the common use, in the society, as fully when the articles were agreed to, as was contemplated at any future period. It is true that the association could only be perpetuated by the admission of new members. But such admission was not obligatory on the Society. An applicant to become a member must first apply to the directors...If admitted, it must be on the condition that he shall relinquish his individual property to the members of the association, and with them enjoy a common benefit of the whole. This is a matter of contract at the time, as it was at the formation of the society. The perpetuity then, is not created by the first contract, but depends upon subsequent contracts, which may or may not be entered into...No right is derived or can be claimed under the articles of association until the individual shall have complied with the conditions of his admission. He then becomes a partner in the association, and is subject to the original articles, not from any intrinsic force in them but because he has adopted them by contract. Here is the origin of his right end of his obligation, and the question may well be asked, is this a perpetuity? If it be a perpetuity, it is a perpetuity that can extend beyond lives in being, only by voluntary contracts...This association, in principle, does not differ from any other partnership, where the members create the capital by giving up their capital to the concern, living upon their profits, applying their surplus to an increase of capital, and receiving new members on the terms of the original association. This, if carried out, may endure for many generations, but it is not a perpetuity, which the law prohibits. The enjoyment of the right, on condition of continued membership, has no necessary connection with a perpetuity. If the condition be broken by a member, it depends upon the individuals and the Society whether he shall be restored or not!"

The court then dismissed the bill of the complainants. The latter appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court. It was tried in the December term, 1852, Roger B. Taney then presiding as Chief Justice. The interests of the Society, as before, were repre-

10 Goesele et al. v. Bimeler et al., 14 Howard(U.S.55) 589.
sented by Stanberry and Ewing, and Quinn presented the case for the
Goeseles. Justice John McLean delivered the opinion of the court,
which affirmed the decree of the lower tribunal. The Supreme Court's
discussion of the points at issue was not essentially different from
that of the Circuit Court:

"...But from the nature of the association and the object
to be attained, it is clear the individual members could have no
rights to the property, except its use, under the restrictions
imposed by the articles. The whole policy of the association was
founded upon a principle, which excluded private ownership. Such an
ownership would defeat the great object in view, by necessarily giving
to the association a temporary character. If the interests of its
members could be transferred or pass by descent, the maintenance of
the community would be impossible. In the natural course of things,
the ownership of the property in a few years, by transfer and descent,
would pass out of the community into the hands of strangers, and
thereby defeat the object in view. By disclaiming all individual
ownership, of the property acquired by their labor, for the benefits
secured by the articles, the members give durability to the fund
accumulated, and to the benevolent purposes to which it is applied.
No legal objection is perceived to such a partnership. If members sep-
parate themselves from the society their interest in the property
cesses....."11

McLean made some interesting comments on the charges
directed against Bämeler by the complainants. Even had the charges
been true, that Bämeler had attempted to convey the land of the
Society to his private ownership, it would not have helped the case
made in the bill:

"...But the charge has no foundation. Bämeler purchased the
land in his own name, and became responsible for the payment of the
consideration. And he retained the title until the purchase money
was paid, and an act of incorporation was obtained, when he signed
the articles and placed the property under the control of the

11 14 Howard (U.S. 55) 607.
society, he having no greater interest in it than any other individual. But before this, he openly declared that he held the land in
trust for the society. As an honest man, he could not change, if in
his power, the relation he bore to the vendor, until the consid-
eration was paid. In this matter the conduct of Bimeler was not only
not fraudulent, but it was above reproach. It was wise and most
judicious, to secure the best interests of the association...."12

Bimeler's character was sustained for integrity and moral-
ity:

"...And many facts are proved wholly inconsistent with the
charge of oppression. That Bimeler is a man of high energy and of
high capacity for business, cannot be doubted. The present prosper-
ity of Zoar is evidence of this. There are few men to be found any-
where who, under similar circumstances, would have been equally
successful. The people of his charge have proved to be moral and
religious. It is said that although the society has lived at Zoar
for more than 30 years, no criminal prosecution has been instituted
against any of its members. The most respectable men who live near
the village say, that the industry and enterprise of the people of
Zoar, have advanced property in the vicinity ten per cent. Bimeler
has a difficult part to act. As the head and leader of the society,
his conduct is narrowly watched, and often misconstrued. Narrow
minds in such an association, will be influenced by petty jealousies
and unjust surmises. To insure success these must be overcome or dis-
regarded. The most exemplary conduct and conscientious discharge of
duty may not protect an individual from censure. On a full view of
the evidence, we are convinced, by a part of the witnesses a great
injustice is done to the character of Bimeler...."13

Goesele and his wife instituted a separate suit some years
later in the county court of common pleas, where their plea was again
denied. On appeal, their suit was brought before the circuit court.
At this point, Anna Maria Goesele died, and her heirs made parties to
her husband's petition. This being rejected by the circuit court, a
demurrer was filed, and the questions arising therefrom were brought

12 14 Howard (U.S. 55) 606.
13 Ibid., 609.
before the Ohio Supreme Court for adjudication. The latter court again found for the Society, holding that Anna Maria Goesele had received all that her contract of membership entitled her to demand. This was in 1862, or seventeen years after she and her husband had been expelled from the Society. No other suits were brought against the Society until the time of its dissolution in 1898, when several former members sought to share in the distribution of property. These suits were all dismissed by the county courts.

Bäumeler died August 27, 1853, at the age of seventy-five. He had been ill all summer with the infirmities of old age, and his place in the Sunday meetings had been taken by Wiebel. Shortly before his death, on August 16, he made his will. In this, he acknowledged his trusteeship, declaring,

"...that all the property I ever held, real or personal, within the county of Tuscarawas, has been the property of said Society, and was held by me in trust for said Society, to which I now return it ......."

Bäumeler was buried three days after his death, at six o'clock in the morning. In conformity with Separatist custom, his grave was not marked.

14 John Gasely and Anna Maria Gasely's Heirs and Administrators v. The Separatists' Society of Zoar et al., 13 Ohio State, 144.

15 Original draft in the Zoar MSS.
"On a summer morning, the cackling of hens and the crowing of cocks blend in a certain harmony with the lowing of cows and the occasional trumpeting of geese, who stalk in a great flock, apart from the town, in a large field given up to them, through which flows a clear brook in the pools of which they dabble and swim. Shrivling cries from guineas-fowls and, sure herald of rain in summer, discordant notes of the peacocks, make a confused pleasant noise."¹

Zoar was incorporated as a village in 1884. All the functionaries considered indispensable to the administration of a municipality were duly elected: a mayor, six councilmen, a secretary-treasurer, and a marshall. The community now had two governments, for the Society continued to function as before. It is not clear why municipal organization should have been considered necessary. Certainly all the details of village administration had been adequately performed by the Society.

The Society had maintained a fire company for many years, at least as early as 1850. Twice each year, in May and in October, the members of the Society met to elect the officers of the fire company, president, vice-president, secretary, and numerous "engineers." There was considerable interest taken in these semi-annual elections, for the contests were frequently close, and the electors invariably turned out in full force. The engine which constituted the fire company's equipment was a small affair of local manufacture; fortunately, it was

¹ Gunn, Note-Book, 6.
² Fire Company Election Records, 1850-1860, Coleman MSS.
rarely needed.

All the other usual municipal services were furnished by the Society. The streets were lighted, and kept in repair, garbage was collected by the Städiesbauer, at night two watchmen made their regular rounds. The male members took their turns at the latter duty. One worked from 10:00 o'clock to midnight; another from mid-night until 2:00 in the morning. But the duties of the watchmen were not so much the protection of the population as they were to make sure all was well in the various horse and cattle barns. Doors were rarely locked in Zoar, but no crime of violence ever occurred within the town.

With the incorporation of the village, a jail was built, or, as the Zoarites called it, a "calaboose." This was a solidly built structure of one story, with a heavy, plank door, and small, iron-grated windows. To the credit of the Society, it was never necessary to use this dungeon for the incarceration of any of its members. But occasionally some visitor, celebrating his sojourn among the Separatists with undue enthusiasm, was left there over night until he regained some measure of sobriety. Sometimes the jail was used as a temporary home for tramps. Zoar had its share of such guests, for the hospitality of the village was never denied those who seemed in want of it. The entertainment of homeless wanderers constituted a problem for all the religious communities, and they all made provision for the non-paying guest.

The "divided sovereignty" created by the dual government of the community created no difficulties, for the officers of the Society were invariably elected to the municipal offices. What revenues accrued to the village treasury were turned over to the Society. Nothing has been said thus far concerning the part taken by politics in the lives of the Zoarites. There is little that need be said. The various township offices were frequently filled by members of the Society, and these offices were always competently administered. Apparently there was little interest taken in either state or national elections.

Before the appearance of the Republican party, the political allegiance of the Zoarites was divided between the Democrats and the Whigs. In 1852, the "German Sub-Committee" of the Whig members of Congress made inquiry regarding the number of German voters in Zoar. Wiebel replied that there were about seventy-five German voters in Zoar and in the immediate vicinity, of which about thirty were Whigs. He also said:

"The most candid Whigs here and in the neighborhood, from principle, would prefer a civilian to a military character for the Presidential chair."4

The Zoarites gave their support to the Republican party from the time of its inception. Their dislike of slavery derived naturally from the equalitarian principles of their faith. They remained loyal Republicans throughout the life of the Society. Indeed, there was but

4 September 16, 1852, Coleman MSS.
one member of the community who ever voted for any other than a
Republican candidate in the state and national elections. Jacob Kuem-
merle, one of the community shoemakers, displayed that political non-
conformity so frequently encountered among members of his craft, and
steadfastly cast his vote for the Democrats. But even he weakened
when Bryan threatened the sanctity of the gold standard, and in 1896
he voted for McKinley.

The business correspondence of the Society contained frequent
mention of matters not directly concerned with the affairs of the com-

The year 1880 is the most momentous since the Civil War.
The fight between the parties, the so-called Democrats and the Repub-
licans, was most bitter, and the Democrats neglected no expedient,
however despicable, to ensure the success of their candidate Hancock.
But honor, justice, and true patriotism on the side of the Republicans
conquered over lies and slander, and gave Garfield a very large major-
ity....As a result, we are once more secure with an honorable,
thrifty and order-loving government.
Cleveland's success in 1884 brought forth this comment:

"This time the presidential elections resulted in favor of the Democrats, and therefore we must accept Grover Cleveland for president. He is said to be a very immoral man. In contrast, Blaine is one of the greatest of statesmen, against whom one can say nothing, except the lies the Democrats have fabricated."

The elections of 1894 were dismissed with a sentence:

"It appears that the Democrats are not capable of governing the country; they are mostly demagogues, concerned only over spoils."

But it was the memorable election of 1896 which aroused Beuter to real eloquence. Even his handwriting betrayed his excitement:

"There has been no more important election since 1860. All the ignorant and vicious elements in all the parties united under the demagoguery, anarchistic leader Bryan in an attempt to reduce by half the value of money, so that all creditors would have been cheated out of half of what was owing them....But all right-thinking Republicans and Democrats joined themselves and voted for honor and McKinley, and Providence directed that Confusion be frustrated. But for how long?"

Simon Beuter had left Germany in the forties largely for political reasons. In 1860, he declared that Garibaldi was one of the greatest men of the century. In 1896, he believed that Providence had come to the aid of the Republican party! The man was growing old. But there was nothing surprising about the rock-ribbed character of Zoar republicanism. It was the slavery issue which made the Zoarites Republicans in the first instance. No other issue ever disturbed their political thinking. The depressions of the seventies and the nineties had no political significance in Zoar. The Society suffered as a whole in that its income declined. But the members were provided for just as well in the lean years as in the more prosperous times.
Zoar had always been popular as a summer resort. When the village was connected with the outside world by rail, in 1882, visitors came in greater numbers every year. Before the advent of the railroad, the summer guests were never very numerous, nor was there any particular effort made to encourage their visits. The following letter illustrates the Society's attitude toward permanent guests. It was written by Wiebel in reply to a request from Carolina Stone, wife of Governor Stone of Iowa. Carolina Stone had visited Zoar as a child, and had asked if she could be accommodated for a summer's visit.

"...It is no more than natural you at times think of Zoar, that quiet place where you spent a part of your juvenile school days, but in reference to the principle contents of said letter, after having submitted the same to some of the good people of this place, who remember your father and yourself, have, upon mature consideration thought proper to dissuade me from encouraging you coming hither for the sake of improving health, as in many respects, all things considered, a hazardous undertaking—youself of native American education & feelings; we a German people in language, different in habits, in mode of living and feeling, might render your sojourn here in the course of a few months hence rather irksome than pleasant, and having no private apartments to let for the purpose, and no other alter-native left but to take lodging at the Hotel, might not be so pleasant."

After the railroad was built, weekly excursions brought literally hundreds of people from Canton, Akron, and Cleveland. They went boating on the river, visited the garden, and, in between times, stared at the strange communists. An advertisement of the Valley Railroad Company of July 19, 1883, thus extolled the attractions of the town:

"The village of Zoar or the "Dominion of the Separatists," at the southern terminus of the line, is a spot which no one should fail to visit. A quaint town of about 300 quaint people, with quaint customs, sole possessors and tillers of nearly 7000 acres of the most

5 February 2, 1860, Coleman MSS.
fertile and productive land in the state, together with natural scenery rivaling the most beautiful that Ohio produces, forms one of the finest picnic grounds known to pleasure seekers..."6

Sunday school classes from New Philadelphia and Massillon, German societies from Cleveland and Akron, and factory workers from Canton, all found Zoar an admirable place for their picnics and reunions. In winter, sleighing parties made Zoar their terminus, and there enjoyed the good food and drink to be had at the hotel. The original hotel, with its limited accommodations, had long since proved inadequate. But the older generation of Separatists regarded the annual influx of visitors with scant approval, and refused to regard the summer resort business as an enterprise proper to the Society.

But by 1890, the steadily declining revenues of the Society made necessary some additional source of income, and the summer visitors offered this source. The old prejudice against contact with the outside world had largely disappeared. Jacob Ackermann, cashier of the Society since 1872, and a trustee since 1832, died in 1889. His successor, Louis Zimmermann, declared a new hotel would be a "gold mine." He was enthusiastic over the possibilities such a business presented. Zimmermann was very popular with the members, and his plan was adopted. On November 2, 1891, the trustees and the Standing Committee adopted the following resolution:

"That circumstances demand and make it necessary to build an addition to the present hotel. The building shall contain about 50 rooms, and shall not cost over $5,000.00. It is further resolved that an architect be engaged to draw up complete plans, and to supervise

6 Tuscarawas Advocate, June 21, 1883. See also issues of June 21, July 19, 1883, for accounts of excursions and picnics held in Zoar.
its erection."

By June of the following year, the building was almost completed:

"The new hotel is, between drenchings, approaching completion. There is much to criticize. The plumbing is ill placed and the carpentry scamp-B...There has been a series of pitched battles between the old and the new ideas of color, fitness, etc., in its finish and furnishings. Christian, the landlord, would not be considered an arbiter in matters of taste, but he has a pernicious which carries things generally his way." 8

The new hotel proved profitable. People who formerly came for a few days now remained for several weeks or all summer. But those who had learned to love the old Zoar, with its serenity and quiet, deprecated the new order. None lamented the changes commercialization had wrought more than Gunn:

"Now the summer boarder infests the village. I shun the hotel, with its mob of strange faces and childhood only in its most offensive form. The crowded kitchen is a bedlam of disorder. In its narrow space is confined the culinary work for over a hundred people. Poor Mrs. Ruof, thin as a ghost, from early to late, pervades the place. Calm and serene in the midst of unending toil, Salome moves like a Greek goddess who has condescended to kitchen work. A perpetual skinn-B of potatoes goes on. The kitchen-maids work ceaselessly, while the maids of Zoar serve the tables in fresh, white gowns."

Alexander Gunn's *Hermitage-Zoar Note-Book* has been freely quoted in the preceding chapters, and his story formed an integral part of the last years of the Society's existence. His first acquaintance with Zoar was made in the course of a walking trip from Canton in

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7 Minutes of the Meetings of the Trustees, Zoar MSS.

8 Gunn, Note-Book, 45, 49.

9 Ibid., 78-79. Mrs. Ruof was the wife of the landlord, Christian Ruof. Salome was her daughter, and is the Mrs. Salome Beiler who has been frequently quoted in the preceding chapters.
1879. He was then forty-two years old, and had amassed enough wealth to permit his retirement from business. He was intimately acquainted with many of the prominent political figures of his time, including William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy during Cleveland's first administration, Cleveland himself, Mark Hanna, and McKinley. Gunn fell in love with Zoar from the time of his first visit. His sojourns in the village became more and more protracted; his absences less and less frequent. During the last twenty years of his life, he left Zoar only for occasional trips to Europe.

For a time Gunn lodged at the hotel, but he finally prevailed upon the trustees to sell him a small log house in the north-western part of Zoar, a building dating from 1818. This stood on the high ground west of the school house, and looked out upon the fields west of Zoar. He called his house "The Hermitage," and furnished it with the books and pictures he had collected at home and abroad. The garden attached to the house was planted with roses, almost two hundred varieties of them. Along the lane which passed before the Hermitage, which he called the Via Sacra, he planted apple, pear and plum trees. Gunn took his meals in the hotel and slept there. His days were spent in his garden, or in long walks in the country about the village. Gunn gradually took root in Zoar, finding there the opportunity for reading and study which his business life had denied him. In 1893, President Cleveland offered him a consulate. He refused it, preferring

with others from among Gunn's Cleveland acquaintances, formed an
"amiable Junta" whose chief interests were good food and drink, music
and conversation. The following passage from the Note-Book describes
an evening which Gunn had arranged in honor of some of his German
friends from Cleveland:

"After supper they sing in the patio. Then to the Via Sacra,
where the orchestra is playing. The whole village assembles. The quartet
sing, alternating with the orchestra....After the concert we
bring a long table to the road in front of the Hermitage, and sit
about and drink Rhine wine and sing. The singers are in high feather
and sing with great delicacy and effect. The full moon floods the
place with radiance, and the wine and music, in the soft, cool air,
exalt us all."13

Gunn had a keen appreciation of what was good in food, in
drink, in books, and in music. His Note-Book is a chronicle of innum-
erable little gatherings of his "Junta," meetings enlivened by good
wine, good conversation, and frequently, music. Most of his intimate
friends from the Society were members of the orchestra, and their
mutual love of music was a strong bond.

The Hermitage-Zoar Note-Book consisted of entries made in
three small note-books during the years 1889-1901. Gunn recorded his
impressions of Zoar life with no thought of ever giving them to the
world, and not even his most intimate friends were aware of the exist-
ence of his writings. After his death, his note-books were discovered
by his friend William Whitney, who edited and published them in a
limited edition in 1902. There is evidence that Gunn made notes of his

13 Page 223.
14 "Tuesday evening Peter gave a musical party--organ and violin--
at the mill. The beer was eked out with the home-made wine I
shall in future beware of, dulcet to the taste and wildly
exhilarating." Note-Book, 54.
life in Zoar prior to 1889, but these have never been recovered. The edition published by Whitney consisted of two volumes, the first dealing with Zoar, the second, the Journal of Travel, with his visits to Europe.

The charm of Gunn's literary style has been sufficiently evidenced by the quotations already made. He had an exquisite sense of the nuances of the Zoar scene, and it is impossible to resist quoting one more passage:

"Faintly the organ is heard playing in the church. A clamorous cackling of hens fills the air with sound. An incomparable day, cool, with light, high-ceiling clouds; birds sing and the thin cry of crickets tells of summer. . . . My garden where I write, is prosperous. The cabbages, with rank, blue-green leaves, are beautiful, from the new-cut grass faint perfume comes." 15

The ideal of life which Gunn portrayed to his Zoar friends was delightful, but it was an ideal foreign to the fundamental purposes of the Society. Gunn's hedonism was an exotic growth in the Separatism of Zoar. The "Gunn Club" and the new hotel, in themselves widely divergent, nevertheless epitomized the Untergang of the Society. Either would have been unthinkable in the Zoar of Bäumeler and Jacob Sylvan. Gunn, while nominally an Episcopalian, was really an agnostic, and most of the members of his group adopted his agnosticism. His influence in spiritual matters was therefore unquestionably subversive.

The older members recognized the anachronism presented by the spectacle of the officers of the Society finding their pleasure in the company of a non-member, and moreover, a non-German. Those excluded

15 Note-Book, 47.
from the inner circle resented the presence of such a group within the Society. This resentment was aggravated by the fact that Gunn made no effort to cultivate the liking of those who had nothing to offer him socially. The result was a widening of the breach which had been gradually growing between the members of the Society, and those entrusted with its government.

Many things suggest a division of the history of Zoar into two periods. The years ending with the death of Bümeler and Sylvan offer an inescapable contrast with the years that follow. The Zoar of the earlier period differed from the later Zoar not only in its spiritual, but also in its physical, aspects. The first period was full of dramatic incident and curious practices. The settlement of the village was of itself an adventure, and the formation of the Society was a daring experiment. The years immediately following were full of the breathless activity of a frontier community. The vigor and enterprise which characterized the new America of the thirties and forties was duplicated in the achievements of these few hundred German peasants.

Beginning with nothing, a town was built, a canal was dug, an iron industry created. The Zoar women, carrying baskets of grain through three miles of forest, or working in the mud of the canal beside their husbands and brothers, were unconcerned with the dramatic attributes of their labors. To speak of the romanticism of hard, unremitting work, even though it be devoted to the creation of a new society, is to court charges of sentimentality. But if there ever was
such a thing as the "pioneer spirit," the Zor men and women certainly possessed it. They were part and parcel of the last Volkswanderung of their race.

From the time of the Civil War on, the Society seemed to move on the energy supplied by its founders. One by one, the men whose vigor and ability had created the community died. Ludwig Birk died in 1851, Bäzmeler in 1853, John Georg Grätzinger in 1859, Jacob Sylvan in 1862. A few of the old guard survived into the later years of the century. Wiebel lived until 1872, and Jacob Ackermann until 1889.

John Sturm, remembered in Zor today as ein wahrer Separatist, lived to see the Society dissolved.

Ackermann had come from Germany with the original party as a boy of fourteen. He was made a trustee at the age of twenty-eight, and served the Society in that capacity until his death. He was a quiet man, and unassuming, and his faith in the Separatist principles never wavered. Simon Beuter read the funeral discourse at Ackermann's death:

"Once more has a star been extinguished from the horizon of the Society, and indeed a very bright one, and it is doubtful whether another like it will ever appear again... His history and career in the Society was a most noteworthy one, since, according to my reckoning, he was called to a trusteeship in about the year 1832 at the age of 28. He was placed in charge of the farm work, to which he was eminently fitted, for he was by nature unusually strong and possessed of incomparable vitality. ...."With Paul, he could have said: 'I have labored, not more than all others, but more than many.' But he would

16 "January: On Tuesday, the 25th, at five o'clock in the morning, John Geo. Grätzinger crossed over from this life into eternity, at the age of 76½ years. He was one of the few old people who had founded Zoer, and who had endured much in Germany for the sake of Christ his King, and kept his faith until the end..." Simon Beuter's Tag-Buch, 1859.
never have attributed to himself such fame for he was very content to remain a sturdy pillar of the Society...His attachment to the Separatist principles was sincere and earnest, and he often expressed himself to me concerning them: He could not understand why so many of our young people had become so lukewarm and indifferent with regard to religion. He had often lain awake at night, he said, when he thought of the consequences that would inevitably ensue, if our young people would not return to the real fundamental, religion, unquestionably the protection against all temptation...."17

Simon Reuter took Ackermann's place as the spiritual leader of the community. He was one of the few who retained any belief in the validity of the Principles as a mode of life. When he came to Zöer from Hohenzollern Sigmaringen in 1840, he was a youth of twenty. At that time he had embraced the Separatist faith completely and wholeheartedly. His acceptance of the Principles was more than a mere emotional experience, for he studied their origins. The shelves of his book cases were lined with the mystical writings of Tersteegen and Eckhardtshausen and the heavy intricacies of Böhme. The result was a highly emotional temperament disciplined by long study in the dialectics of theosophy. In another age he would have followed Loyola.

Reuter was thus a Separatist who was born a generation too soon. His spiritual contemporaries were those who had suffered for their faith in the state prisons of Württemberg. This was most unfortunate, as far as his own happiness was concerned. For he saw the gradual and inexorable disappearance of the Separatist idealism more clearly than those who had been a part of the Society from its inception. That this idealism might have fulfilled its purpose, and that it might have vindicated its existence, was inconceivable to him. If the

17 MCS. in possession of Mrs. Lydie Sylvan.
Principles were valid in 1617, then they were equally so in 1890. The men who discarded them was depraved, and God was not in him.

Simon Beuter was too outspoken in his denunciation of the spiritual degeneracy he saw about him to be a popular, and therefore, an effective, leader. Elected to a trusteeship in 1885, he resigned in 1890. His reasons are not known, for he left no mention of his resignation in his diary. However, they may be surmised. Doubtless he felt his own inadequacy against the rising tide of worldliness he saw about him. Rather than be a party to the inevitable compromise, he preferred to occupy himself with his garden, his fruit trees, and his books. From the cool seclusion of his study in the Gartenhaus, he observed the mounting wickedness about him, and marked its progress with bitter and despairing sentences in his Tag-Buch. From the page marked August, 1894, we read:

"It has now come so far that the Meetings will soon have to cease entirely because more than two-thirds of the people no longer go where bread and water of life may still be received by these poor souls. This is an unmistakable sign of the times! What was once the chosen people is now become a Babylon that no longer wishes to hear of God. Oh Lord! Let thy light shine once again in these darkened hearts, so that they may be awakened before it is too late, and before it will be said, "And the door was locked. Amen."

The dissolution of the Society would have occurred even if the religious zeal of its founders could have been perpetuated. But the disappearance of this early spiritual force was unquestionably a contributing factor to the Society's demise. The first generation of Zoarites made great sacrifices. They made these sacrifices for the sake of a spiritual, not a social ideal. Most of the men and women
who came to Tuscarawas County in 1817 and 1818 could have established themselves under a private economy. Many of their fellow countrymen, no better situated than they, succeeded in doing so. But the first Separatists surrendered whatever hope of private gain they might have had to ensure the continued existence of their community as a religious congregation. When the Zoarites no longer felt their responsibility to their spiritual communion, the Society, in its real sense, ceased to exist.

Economic factors ultimately forced the dissolution of the Society. Against these forces, even the spiritual fervor of the generation of Birk and Sylvan would have proven unsavaging. But that generation would have postponed the inevitable. It would have made sacrifices of self-denial and labor which the generation of 1890 could not have made. The ideal of 1830 was meaningless sixty years later. And because it was meaningless, the earlier loyalty of the members to the Society became a weak and ineffectual thing. The consequences of this decline in loyalty were many and far-reaching. In the first place, it resulted in a lessened efficiency of the various Society enterprises.

Many examples of what amounted to virtual sabotage could be given, but the following was typical. The workers in the woolen mill enlivened their lunch periods with genial conversation. Sometimes the conversation reached its most interesting point when the time came for work to be resumed. Frequently the machinery would be started to give the impression of dutiful industry, and the talk would be resumed.

18 Levi Bimeler, July 19, 1932.
A former member of the Society had this to say of the manner in which the shops were conducted:

"The shops were little better than loafing places in the winter. The cabinet shop and the tailor shop were the worst offenders in this respect. Moreover, there was always a certain amount of petty graft. For example, if a member wanted a special piece of work done, or wanted some work done in a hurry, it always expedited matters if the shop boss were given a bottle of wine. At one time, I wanted a desk made. I could have swum in the wine I gave the foreman of the cabinet shop before that desk was finished." 19

However, much of the inefficiency which crept into the production methods of the Society must be charged to the officers. For example, the antiquated machinery of the woolen mill made its profitable operation impossible. But when the head weaver asked the trustees for new machinery he was told that it had served well enough before, and would have to serve now. Three shoemakers were employed in the shoe shop where one would have supplied the community's needs. No effort was made to take advantage of improved methods on the farms.

Under the Bäumeler regime, the profits of the Society were re-invested in the community enterprises. This practice was largely abandoned, and instead, the Society's surplus was invested in railroad and bank stocks, bonds, farm mortgages and personal loans. Many of these investments proved ill-advised, and thousands of dollars were lost in this manner. Too much emphasis can scarcely be placed on the loss suffered by the Society when Bäumeler died. He was an administrator of the first rank, and although his successors were well-

19 Levi Bimeler, June 30, 1932.
20 Frank Kappel, July 29, 1932.
meaning and conscientious men, they were unequal to the problems presented by a changing economic order.

Before the Civil War the techniques of production used in the Zoar shops and factories were at least as far advanced as those used elsewhere in the middle west. During that period it was possible for the Society's tannery, flour mill, woolen mill and iron furnaces to compete with similar industries in Cleveland, Pittsburgh or Cincinnati. But no attempt was made to modernize the Zoar technology in conformity with the advances made after the Civil War. Zoar products were known for their excellence as far east as New York, and as far west as St. Louis. It should have been possible to have retained these markets. The Amana and Oneida communities adopted their methods to the new conditions.

Among the surviving members of the Zoar Society the belief is widespread that the community incurred large losses annually because of the lax book-keeping methods in use. Those placed in charge of the various enterprises were entrusted with the auditing of their own accounts. This was certainly a generous display of confidence in the integrity of the various administrators, but it invited grave abuses. Whether or not any serious misappropriation of funds ever took place would be impossible to say from the very absence of a unified system of auditing. But the impression is prevalent among the surviving members that such mis appropriations did occur. It now appears that it would have been better if the office of Agent General had been contin-
ued. This office, discontinued at Bőmeler's death, placed the entire responsibility for the successful administration of the Society's affairs on one man.

It is evident that the Society was never free from a discontented element. This has been indicated from the nature of the complaints made by those who brought suit against the Society. The disaffected element grew steadily larger during the later years, and those members who suffered real or fancied impositions became more and more outspoken in their protests. There were numerous complaints against practices which negated the avowed equality of the community, and it cannot be denied that there was some ground for these protests.

A general complaint was that the community appeared to exist for the hotel. The first fruits of the season, the first vegetables, cream and butter, were sent to the hotel for the enjoyment of the guests, or were sold. It was admitted that this practice had served a valid purpose during the early days of the community when the Society was struggling to free itself from debt. But many of the members felt that the time was past for the frugal living and rigid self-denial of the earlier period. The fact that those members who managed and lived in the hotel enjoyed the same table delicacies as the guests did not make for greater harmony.

Another source of complaint arose from the fact that there was great disparity in the living accommodations furnished the members. Those who lived in houses which had been erected during the early
period of the Society's existence looked askance at their more fortunate fellows who occupied modern and more convenient homes. Sometimes a trustee would be rewarded for his services to the Society with a new house, and this always evoked charges of discrimination. Charges of nepotism were frequently made, and the trustees were accused of placing their friends in the more desirable positions.

As the old insularity of the community gradually disappeared, the members were constantly reminded of the contrast between their own situation and that enjoyed by those of the outside world. During the last two decades of the Society's existence, the younger members left in steadily increasing numbers. A few returned, having found the charms of individualistic enterprise more illusory than real. But most of those who left had little difficulty in establishing themselves in the neighboring towns. Their success served as an ever-present reminder to the discontented ones at home.

The annual influx of visitors was unquestionably a disintegrating factor. The young men and women of the Society envied these "outsiders" their fashionable clothes, their familiarity with the world outside, and above all, their freedom to come and go. The hotel guests were largely responsible for the introduction of an extra-legal money economy into the Society. The girls who served as waitresses and maids in the hotel received gratuities with which they purchased articles of dress unknown to the aged seamstresses of the Nähheiz, and which would have been forbidden in an earlier day. The boys rented boats to the visitors, and carried canvases for the artists. The indi-
individual households gradually developed the practice of selling the
surplus eggs and garden produce. Former members sent money to their
relatives in Zoar. The trustees frowned upon these practices, but
found themselves powerless to stop them.

There had always been those who advocated the dissolution of
the Society. But the Society's success in defending itself in the
courts confined the activity of the discontented ones to mere discus-
sion of the desirability of a division. After the defeat of the Gossela
suit, overt action was regarded as futile. It was not until 1895 that
another effort was made to force the dissolution of the Gütergemein-
schaft. This last attempt was initiated by one of the younger members,
a man in good standing in the Society, and a great-grandson of Joseph
Bäumeler.

Levi Bimler was one of the school teachers of the community.
He became convinced that the inequalities which had crept into the
life of the Society could never be eradicated, and that the only logi-
cal solution of the problem was the abandonment of the communal idea.
He determined to urge this solution upon the members through the
medium of a regularly published newspaper, and on December 30, 1895,
the first number of the Nugitne appeared. It was the first and only
newspaper ever published in Zoar.

The Nugitna was printed in English by means of a letter dup-
llicator in the Sewing House where Bimler was living at the time. It
was a fourpage sheet about the size of a legal cap page, and in addi-
tion to an editorial, contained items of local interest. The name was
merely Anti-Gunn spelled in reverse, and suggested one source of the
editor's discontent. Three issues appeared between December 30, 1895,
and February 24, 1896. Only about one hundred copies of each edition
were printed. Ironically enough, these were sold to the members of
the Society for ten cents a copy.

The editorial quoted below appeared in the first issue, and
was typical of those which were printed in the succeeding numbers:

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary
for one person to dissolve the political bands which connect him with
a Communistic Society, and to assume among the citizens of a state
the equal and separate station to which the laws of nature and of
nature's God entitle him, a decent respect to the opinions of his
fellow Communists requires that he should declare the cause which
impels him to such separation. Whenever any form of government
becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted, it is
the right of the governed to abolish it.

Fellow Communists. I quote the above, with slight altera-
tions from the "Declaration of Independence." It fits our conditions
exactly. And, if we possess only half the "grit" and determination
of our ancestors, we will be successful in obtaining the coveted
liberty and Independence. This Society has for a long time back
become destructive of the ends for which it was instituted.

You know—or perhaps you don't—that this "Communistic
Society" was instituted for these five ends; viz: 1st. To secure that
satisfaction, proceeding from the faithful execution of those prin-
ciples and duties which the Christian religion demands; 2nd. To plant
and establish the Spirit of Love as the bond of peace and unity; 4th.
3rd. To unite our various individual interests into one common stock;
4th. To abolish all distinctions of rank and of fortune; 5th. To live
as brethren and sisters of one common family.

We believe that the faithful execution of those "Christian
duties" was an easy matter to our forefathers, but that it is not
possible for us to do likewise as Communists. We may form the best
resolves, and aim to live according to the rules laid down by the
founders of this Community, but all of these vanish like a light morn-
ing mist, when we see the total corruptness of our whole system. Some,
indeed, still believe that this is the system, and can not understand
why some have the audacity to condemn it, and to attempt to withdraw
therefrom with a proper share of the Society's property. But some day
they will have a revelation. Look about you, and show me: the men or
women who has secured the desired satisfaction as indicated in the
1st end. There is not one who can truly say it. Examine yourselves, go down into the depths of your conscience and ask yourself—Am I living up to this purpose—and the answer will surely be negative. To those who say that they have lived and are now living in accordance with the 1st end, I can only say they are the worst hypocrites existing, and that none but their like believe them."21

The manner with which the Nugitna was received was described by the editor himself in the second issue:

"The appearance of the first number of the "Nugitna" created quite an excitement. Various were the remarks and opinions expressed by different members of the Society. Some were made, others shook their heads, and still others were glad....Some went so far as to express themselves thus: This act is enough to expel the publisher from the Society; but when the cool, second thought came, the impracticability of such expulsion made itself manifest...."Expel him" is more easily said than done. The U.S. Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and press. We avail ourselves of this guarantee for a good purpose...."22

Following the publication of the third issue on February 24, 1896, the trustees ordered Bimeler to appear before them. Before the date appointed, he secured legal advice, and learned that his actions constituted grounds for expulsion under the constitution of the Society. Instead of appearing before the trustees, Bimeler sent a written statement through his brother, John Bimeler, a member of the board. In this statement, he said that on advice of his attorney, he had decided to abandon further publication of his paper. No further action was taken by the trustees, although Louis Zimmermann, the treasurer of the Society, demanded an apology. This Bimeler refused, and Zimmermann did not press the matter.

But a declining income was to accomplish what law suits and

21 December 30, 1895.
22 January 27, 1896.
23 Mr. Levi Bimeler, July 7, 1932.
seditious pamphlets had failed to do. The annual deficit of the Society continued to grow larger every year. For a number of years this deficit had been met by selling securities owned by the Society, which merely tended to reduce the community's capital. From 1884 to 1897, the value of the securities sold amounted to $33,500.00. Each meeting of the members showed an increase in the number of those who desired a peaceable division of the community property. The majority of the officers themselves were finally convinced that a continuance of the Society organization would eventually result in bankruptcy. One of the trustees, Christian Ruof, opposed the movement for division to the end, and he was vigorously supported in his stand by John Sturm and Simon Beuter.

Formal decision to dissolve the Society was made at a meeting of the members held March 10, 1898. The resolutions then adopted adequately reviewed the reasons which made a dissolution imperative:

".....Among the causes for this conclusion are the following:
(1) For a period of forty years past the financial condition of the Society has been and is such that its annual income has not and does not now pay its annual expenses, by large sums each year, and is becoming worse in that respect each year under the best and most economical management which the Society could bring into requisition.
(2) The union by religious sentiment and faith among the members of the Society has become abandoned, each member having his or her own religious faith, and a great majority of them decline and refuse to be bound thereby either in theory or in practice.
(3) The industrial and economic habits of a great majority of the members of the Society have become greatly changed, so as no longer to conform to the articles of the Constitution which they respectively subscribed when they became members, to the great financial detriment of the Society.
(4) Many of the members have become and are progressive in sentiment, opposed to a community of property in theory, and believe and advocate individual ownership of property, self-control, and all the per-

24 Minutes of the Meetings of the Trustees, 1884-1897, Zoar MSS.
25 Mr. Jacob Sturm to the writer, April 30, 1933.
sonal and property rights of American citizens, and are not content with less. For these reasons, and others which might be truthfully enumerated, we...being members and the only members of the second class...believing and being thoroughly convinced, that the objects and purposes for which said Society was originally founded and afterward incorporated have proved a failure, and that the interest of each of us can no longer be promoted or protected by the continuance of a community of property, but to the contrary thereof, require a dissolution of said corporation and a division of its net property and assets among us, to hold absolutely in our own respective rights, to ourselves and to our respective heirs and assigns forever...excepting the following tracts and parcels:...."26

The property which was exempted from distribution included the cemetery, the Meeting House, and the Town Hall. The Canal Mill with forty-seven acres of land was reserved "for the purpose of donating the same to induce the construction, maintaining and operating at that place a Manufactory or Manufactories, if such can be done within two years from this date." It was further decided that each member should retain his own personal clothing and effects without appraisement or division, and that each family be permitted to retain its household goods and furniture, "except pianos and organs now in their possession and uses." In cases where two families used the same kitchen furniture and utensils, a division was to be made by the commissioners to be appointed, "except in cases in which two families make such division amicably."

Three commissioners were appointed to make the division, and a surveyor was engaged to plot the allotments of land to be received by each member. At the time, the land owned by the Society amounted to 7,300 acres, and was assessed at $340,820.00. The personal property

26 Zoar MSS.

27 The commissioners were Samuel Foltz, Henry Fisher and William Becker. George E. Hayward was the surveyor.
was listed at $16,250.00. When the commissioners began their work, May 12, 1898, the Society numbered two hundred and twenty-two men, women and children. Of the adults, one hundred and thirty-three were members of the second class, and eleven were members of the first class.

The difficult work of division was completed with surprisingly few protests from the members. The opinion was virtually unanimous that the distribution made was as just as it was possible under the circumstances. Each second class member received a full share; the probationers a half share. The value of the individual shares of the full members amounted to approximately $2,000.00. Children of the Society who had contributed their labor for a year or two before the division received $40.00.

Each family received its home in the village, some farm land, and a cash dividend of about $200.00. The plots of farm land allotted varied in size because of the different degrees of fertility, but averaged about fifty acres. Whenever possible, each member was given his share in the property which he had occupied or had employed in his vocation. Some complaints arose on this score. It has been said that those enterprises which could be immediately adapted to profitable operation under private ownership, such as the hotel, the store, and the flour mill, should have been sold and the proceeds divided. This was not done, however, and the later history of Zoor indicated that those who received their shares in the "production units" of the

28 Mr. Jacob Sturm to the writer, April 30, 1933.
Society fared rather better under capitalism than the other members.

The deed which transferred the Zoar property from the Society to the individual members was recorded October 13, 1893. The Corporation was not dissolved until all the details incident to the division had been disposed of, or on December 7, 1900. At that time Louis Zimmermann was made custodian of the Society records. Several suits were filed against the Society in the county courts at the time of the division by former members who sought a share in the property. These suits were all dismissed on the ground that the Society's contract with the complainants had been fulfilled.

Some difficulty arose over the disposition of the Meeting House. This building, together with the lot on which it stood, had been exempted from the general division, and "The Meeting House Association of Zoar" had been formed to administer the property as "a place of worship, for Sunday School, and for literary and scientific lectures." But no provision had been made as to what congregation should succeed the Separatist communion. A militant minority, led by the irrepressible Bimeler, insisted that a Lutheran minister be installed. The others, although somewhat doubtful as to what faith they should now adopt, were firmly opposed to Lutheranism. They doubtless felt that to return to a church their ancestors had so spiritedly renounced a hundred years before, would have been altogether too anticlimactitical.

The church remained vacant for a time, until Reverend Bitt-

29 Minutes of the meeting of the former members, Zoar MSS.
30 Zoar MSS.
ner, of St. John's Evangelical Church of Bolivar, offered to conduct services without payment. His offer was accepted, and a few years after the division the Zoar congregation was made a part of the Evangelical Church. The question of faith played but little part in the matter, although the Evangelical creed was liberal enough to make the transition a simple and easy one. But the new minister was able to conduct services in German, and that was the most important requisite. Services in the Zoar Church and Sunday School continued to be held in German until 1923.

A little group of the more devout Zoarites relinquished their old faith with real sorrow. It had persisted in an alien soil for almost a century, and it had possessed a fine tradition of tolerance and genuine piety. It was many years before some overcame their inherited objection to an ordained ministry. Simon Beuter refused to be reconciled. No entries appear in his Tag-Buch from April to September:

"I had no desire to write anything this entire summer because of the great event of the dissolution of the communistic Society of the Separatists of Zoar. This Society was founded in the name of the Trinity, and dissolved in a spirit other than godly.... The Geistliche Lieder are sung no more, and our harps hang on the willows of Babylon. When will they be taken up again? Most of the members are happy and laugh, and Satan laughs too, for he has conquered, he has succeeded in destroying the Nursery of the Lord. But the angels will weep, and I with them."31

From the point of view of longevity, the Zoar Society may be compared to the Ephrætans, the Shakers, the Inspirationists, and the Harmonists. It is doubtful if any of these may be considered object

31 Entry for September.
nner, of St. John's Evangelical Church of Belitzer, offered to conduct services without payment. His offer was accepted, and a few years after the division the Torq congregation was made a part of the Evangelical Church. The question of faith played but little part in the matter, although the Evangelical creed was liberal enough to make the transition a simple and easy one. But the new minister was able to conduct services in German, and that was the most important requisite. Services in the Torq Church and Sunday School continued to be held in German until 1923.

A little group of the more devout Torqites relinquished their old faith with real sorrow. It had persisted in an alien soil for almost a century, and it had possessed a fine tradition of tolerance and genuine piety. It was many years before some overcame their inherited objection to an ordained ministry. Simon Rauter refused to be reconciled. No entries appear in his Tag-Buch from April to September:

"I had no desire to write anything this entire summer because of the great event of the dissolution of the communistic Society of the Separatists of Zoer. This Society was founded in the name of the Trinity, and dissolved in a spirit other than godly... The Geistliche Lieder are sung no more, and our harps hang on the willows of Babylon. Then will they be taken up again? Most of the members are happy and laugh, and Satan laughs too, for he has conquered, he has succeeded in destroying the Nursery of the Lord. But the angels will weep, and I with them." 31

From the point of view of longevity, the Zoer Society may be compared to the Zphrites, the Shekers, the Inspirationists, and the Harmonists. It is doubtful if any of these may be considered object

31 Entry for September.
lessons in communal living. All of these societies made the communis-
tic features of their life a matter of secondary importance. Their
success or failure is not to be measured in economic values, but in
their approximation of the ideals of their founders. The essential
ideal of the Separatists of 1817 was religious liberty. They achieved
that in Zoar.
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Poll Book of the Separatist Society of Zoar, 1844-1898.


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Appendix I.

The Articles of Association of the Society of Separatists of Zoar, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, adopted by its members March 18, 1824.

In the name of God the Father, and Jesus Christ the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen.

We, the undersigned inhabitants of Zoar and its vicinity, in Tuscarawas County and State of Ohio, being fully persuaded and intending to give more full satisfaction to our consciences in the fulfillment of the duties of Christianity and to plant, establish, and confirm the spirit of love as the bond of peace and union for ourselves and our posterity forever as a safe foundation of social order, do seek and desire, out of pure Christian love and persuasion, to unite our several personal interests into one common interest, and if possible to avoid and prevent lawsuits and contentions, or otherwise to settle and arbitrate them under the following rules, in order to avoid the disagreeable and costly course of the law as much as possible.

Therefore we unite and bind ourselves by and through this common and social contract, under the name and title of "The Separatist Society of Zoar," and we agree and bind ourselves and promise each other and all together that we will strictly hold to, observe and support all the following rules and regulations as faithfully as it ever may be possible.

In like manner, we promise to support and warrant any such new articles, amendments, or alterations, which may be in favor of the above expressed intentions, if such should be added to these articles, and obtain the consent of the several members and subscribers hereof.

Article 1.

We, the undersigned members of the second class of the Society of Separatists, declare through this first article the entire renunciation and resignation of all our property, of all and every dimension, form, and shape, present and future, moveable and immovable or both, for ourselves, our heirs and our posterity, with all and every right of ownership, title, claim, and privileges to the aforesaid Society of Separatists, with the express condition that from the date of the subscription of each member such property shall be forever, and also after the death of such member or members, remain the property of the said Separatist Society.

Article 2.

We hereby declare that each male member at the age of twenty-one, and each female person at the age of eighteen years, being possessed with the requisite qualities and signing these articles, may become members of this society. New members will be admitted through
end by the following form, but it will be necessary for them, as well as for the first members, to resign all their property, as well for themselves as for their posterity, honestly and faithfully, and to renounce all their rights, titles, and claims entirely, and to make over the same to the directors of the Society.

Article 3.

The Society elects its own directors and their successors in office, who do take and shall take all the property, as well that of the individual members as also that of the whole Society, together with all rights, titles, benefits and claims of all and every description, be the same present or future, movable and immovable, with all their authorities and powers, into their disposition, and who are hereby required to hold and manage for the general benefit of this Society and according to the prescriptions of these articles, and which they shall conscientiously apply as aforesaid to the best of their skill and understanding.

They, the said directors, shall be in duty bound to consult upon and to conduct the whole economy of the Society. They shall have power to trade, to purchase and to sell, to conclude contracts, and to dissolve them again, to allow and give orders, to which, however, they shall all have to agree and obtain the consent of the cashier thereto.

The said directors shall further conduct and regulate the laboring part of the business of the Society, and they shall have a right, whenever it may be necessary, to appoint agents or subagents for the purpose of doing or causing to be done such business as they may find suitable and necessary.

They, the said directors, shall also conduct the entire provision of all and every member in boarding, clothing, dwelling, and other necessaries of life, in such proportion as situation, time, and circumstances may require.

Article 4.

We, the undersigned, promise and bind ourselves, diligently and in the most faithful manner, to obey the orders and regulations of the directors and their agents without opposition, or murmuring; we further agree to apply all our strength, good will, diligence, and skill during life to the general benefit of the Society and satisfaction of said directors.

In like manner, we do promise and agree under the same expressions and determinations, that our children, during the time of their minority, be subjected to all the regulations and dispositions of the aforesaid directors, not only as it regards labor and their provisions, but also to any other kind of labor, employment, or engagement, in or out of the Society, as long as they are minors or as long as said directors may find it best to do so; and the directors shall have the same power to do so as soon as they may find it suitable and more beneficial to do so, as if the parents of such children had done this them-
selves; for the binding of children out of the Society, however, a majority of the votes of the members must first be obtained.

Article 5.

This article entitles and empowers the directors of the Society and their successors in office, in the name of the Society, to receive and take charge of all inheritances of deceased members, together with all the rights, titles and claims in and to the same, and to ask, demand, and hold the same; in short, they shall have full right and power, even as if such deceased person or persons were yet living and did themselves ask for, demand, and receipt for the same; consequently the children, friends, or relatives cannot become heirs of their parents, friends, or relatives, since all the property of the members is by them doomed to be and remain forever the property of the said Society.

The directors of said Society are further, by this fifth article, entitled and empowered to appoint other suitable persons under them, even out of the Society, and empower them to collect, or cause others to have collected, properties, goods, or moneys belonging to members who may yet be living, as well as such who may be deceased, and to receipt or cause them to be receipted for, the same even as if the person or persons for whom it was done had collected, taken charge of, and receipted for the same themselves.

Article 6.

Casual contentions or disputes between two or more members shall be made known to the directors of the Society, and shall be by them investigated and decided according to the majority of their votes. Should, however, the dispute of any member or members be against more than one of the directors themselves, then the parties shall have a right to appeal; or if any of the parties should not be satisfied with the decision of two disinterested directors, then such party may proceed to an appeal, which appeal shall be and consist in the following form:

Article 7.

There shall be a board of arbitration or court of appeal elected by the Society, who shall be empowered and established by this article; such board may consist in from one to three persons, and shall be elected by the Society, and through a majority of votes; said board shall be invested with the highest and concentrated power of the Society, whose organ or instrument it shall actually be.

Said board of arbitration—may it consist in one, two, or three persons—shall be bound to observe all the different branches of economy of the Society, and, whenever they may find it necessary, to give orders and instructions, to investigate accounts and plans which may have been made by the directors or their agents; in short, all transactions of importance and of the value of more than fifty dollars, shall
have to obtain the consent of said board of arbitration before they shall be considered binding and valid.

The decision of said board of directors, in all kinds of litigation, without any exception, shall be treated and considered as final and conclusive. Whoever acts contrary and will not be satisfied with their judgement shall forfeit and lose all the enjoyments and rights of a member; and such further binds himself, in case he or they shall apply to any court of justice for a decision out of the Society, to pay to said Society all the damages accruing by such application, besides the costs accruing to said Society by reason of such suit in law.

Said board of arbitration shall further have power in the name of the Society, according to circumstances and when sufficient complaints have been adduced by the directors, to cross out their names and signatures, and to deprive them of all future enjoyments of the Society.

In like manner shall such arbitrators determine upon the sum or sums which such excommunicated person or persons shall have to pay to said directors for damages caused by them to said Society, for which purpose the directors of the Society shall hereby be empowered in case of a refusal or nonfulfillment of this article to take legal measures against such excommunicated and refractory members and to force them to the fulfillment of this duty and to the payment of damages as above mentioned, through the existing form of the general laws of the land.

All the judgments given by said board of arbitration, under the form and circumstances above mentioned, shall be made out in writing and entered into a book prepared for that purpose, and shall in all courts of justice be considered valid, effective, and irrevocable.

Article 8.

Each person desiring to become a member of this Society must first be of full age; that is, each male person must be twenty-one and each female person must be eighteen years of age or more. Applications for admittance as members must be made to one or more of the directors, who shall investigate the reasons, grounds, and capability of such applying person or persons, and if they find no direct cause of objection against such person, they shall give notice of such application to the board of arbitration and shall invite such person to appear at a certain time and place, and if then no impediment shall be found, and at least two-thirds of the Society shall vote for the reception of such person, then the applicant shall be by said board of directors admitted to sign these articles of association.

Article 9.

The elections for arbitrators and directors shall be held as often as the Society may deem it suitable and necessary, and without having first determined upon any particular form for the same. There shall at all times, if possible, be three directors in office, yet, for the want of one, two shall be capable of transacting business, and each
candidate for said office must have been a good member of the Society for at least five years previous, and must have proven a good moral character.

A member of the board of arbitration must have been a member of the Society for at least ten years previous, and must have lived without blemish as much as possible, if he shall be considered eligible. This shall, however, not be counted from the date of the signatures to these articles, but from the time of the reception and free exercise of the general principles of the Separatists.

Members of the board of arbitration must be members, but they may be non-subscribers. Directors, however, must be both members and subscribers to these articles.

All subscribers, male and female, have a right to vote at elections, except if anyone by disorderly deportment, should have rendered himself for a time or even forever unfit for said purpose, on which the directors in office, or for want of them, the board of arbitration, shall have to decide. The officers shall be elected and established by a majority of the votes, consequently the highest power shall be and remain forever in the hands and disposition of the Society, which hereby reserves the right at pleasure to remove and establish officers or to place others in their stead; in short, to make any alterations which may be deemed best.

Article 10.

The Society keeps and elects its own cashier, whose duty it shall be to manage its receipts, moneys, and expenditures, and besides him, no one shall be entitled to keep any moneys without the order of the cashier. Even the directors shall, without delay, deliver all moneys, notes, bonds, and the like, as property belonging to the Society, into the hands of the cashier. Every transgressor of this provision may be accused by any member or other person before the board of arbitration, and shall be by them treated and dealt with according to the provisions of the seventh article. The cashier is further bound to apply all moneys which may come into his hands by the order of the directors and arbitrators to the benefit of the Society, to pay its debts, and to liquidate its general wants.

Article 11.

Individual demands, whether made by backsliding members or by such who, because of disorderly deportment, may have been excommunicated, may such demands consist in money, goods, or other effects, under whatever name, shall be by this article, for ourselves as well as for our posterity, forever abolished and abrogated; neither shall there ever be any demands made to the Society by anyone for any remuneration for services nor wages for any labor done for said Society. All attempts made with this intent shall be confined to the provisions of the seventh article. All deficiencies and equivocations in these by-laws shall never be explained in favor of the complainants or accusers,
but shall always be translated and explained to the benefit of the Society, and be treated in the same manner.

All decisions and judgments passed by the board of arbitrators shall in every case be binding, valid, and have their full force. Disputes between directors and members, or between both, shall also be decided by the board of arbitration.

**Article 12.**

These articles made, established and adopted on the fifteenth day of April, 1819, shall be treated and considered as the basis and foundation of these present articles; they shall be valid and in force until the signing of these present ones, and shall also be and remain the same to all those who signed them; and these present articles shall merely represent a more detailed explanation of the former, but in no wise shall these be considered or explained as a contradiction of the same.

This done in Zoar, Tuscawars County and State of Ohio, this eighteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four (1824).

The signatures of the members are hereby witnessed by the directors of the Society in office at the time.

Joseph Georg Ackermann
Jacob Schacker
Michael Sindlinger
Directors.
J.M.Bimler,
Arbitrator.

**Appendix II.**

**Constitution of the Society of Separatists of Zoar.**

Pursuant to an act of the legislature of the State of Ohio, passed A.D. 1832, No.126, entitled "An act to incorporate the Society of Separatists of Zoar, Tuscawars County, Ohio," we, the undersigned members of said Society of Separatists of Zoar and its vicinity, have found it expedient to renovate our hitherto existing constitution as contained in the following articles:

In the name of God the Father and Jesus Christ the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

In order furthermore 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 vari-
ous 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 consequently to live as brothers and sisters of one common family.

Pursuant to the foregoing principles and resolutions, we voluntarily unite and bind ourselves by this joint agreement under the name of "Society of Separatists of Zear," and we obligate ourselves each to the other, that we will hold to the following articles and rules; that we will observe and support the same to the best of our abilities, which from the day of the date hereof shall be in force and virtue in law.

Article 1.

All elections for the divers necessary officers of the Society shall, agreeable with the provisions of the act of incorporation, be held on the second Tuesday of May annually, and, in accordance with the statute of the State of Ohio, be decided by ballot and majority of votes. On said election day shall annually be elected one trustee (extraordinary circumstances excepted), annually one member of the standing committee, quadrennially one cashier and an agent-general, unlimited in term as long as he possesses the confidence of the Society. The time and place, when and where the elections shall be held, also the number and kind of officers to be elected shall be made known by the trustees of the Society at least twenty days previous to the election; for which purpose the Society or any ten members thereof shall at each election appoint a committee of four persons whose duty it shall be to conduct the election in conformity with the laws of this country. The Society shall elect all the officers from amongst the members thereof; whereby special reference shall be had to the necessary and requisite qualifications, integrity, and faithfulness of the candidates.

Article 2.

The Society shall elect from amongst its members three suitable directors as its directors or trustees and their successors in office, who shall take charge of all the joint property of all the undersigned members; said trustees shall, as stated in the first article, be elected by a majority and agreeably to the following regulations; The majority for three years, second majority for two years, and third majority for one year, and after the expiration of one year, annually one trustee. Should the case occur that one or more candidates of one and the same office receive an equal number of votes, then the balloting shall be repeated until a legal majority shall be obtained. Each trustee may remain in office for three years unless circumstances to the contrary, such as death, sickness, absence, refusing to serve, etc., render such impossible, or in any case the misconduct of any of the trustees cause the Society to discharge one or the other, and to fill such vacancy as said Society may choose; which right of discharging and replacing the said Society reserves to itself,
before the expiration of the ordinary term of three years, or even of
one year; yet each trustee shall remain so long in office until his
successor be chosen.

Said trustees are hereby empowered and in duty bound to take
charge of all the property, real and personal, which this Society
either now or in future may possess, including all property of newly
accepted members, movable and immovable, of whatever name and descrip-
tion it may be; likewise are they authorized to receive all kinds of
legacies, donations and personal claims; in fine, every species of
property to which any of the members may at any time have just claim,
to demand and collect the same by legal proceedings, and shall appro-
priate and apply the same conscientiously to the best of their know-
ledge and skill, in behalf and for the exclusive benefit, use, and ad-
vantage of said Society. And it shall also be the duty of said trus-
tee carefully to furnish each member, without respect to person, with
board, clothing, and dwelling and other necessities alike in days of
sickness and of health as good as circumstances will allow. Said trus-
tees shall furthermore take charge of the economical affairs of this
Society; consult over and direct all the business and consequently to
assign to each individual member his duty and work to be performed,
to which at least the majority of said trustees, if not all, shall be
agreed. Said trustees are hereby empowered to appoint subtrustees or
agents as many and to whatever purpose they may seem proper and neces-
sary; and all such subtrustees or agents shall be responsible to the
said trustees for all their transactions. Said trustees shall fill the
various branches of economy with suitable persons, who shall conduct
the same, subject to the control of said trustees and liable to like
responsibility for the conduct thereof as other subtrustees or agents.
But all resolutions in regard to important undertakings shall be sub-
mitted to and be subject to the approbation of the standing committee,
and said trustees shall at all times be responsible for all their
transactions to said standing committee. Casual discord, differences,
and misunderstandings shall throughout by way of arbitration be
settled amicably by the trustees of said Society; in case this cannot
be accomplished by and through said trustees, then the court of
appeals, cited in the subsequent articles, shall solely decide. And
the said trustees are by this article bound to maintain peace and order
in the Society; they are furthermore hereby authorized to propose to
the board of arbitration or standing committee such regulations and
improvements calculated to facilitate these purposes; and if a major-
ity of both bodies approve of the measures thus proposed as proper
and necessary, they shall thereupon be recommended to be observed as
such, provided that such amendment be in no way contradictory to these
articles.
Article 3.

In order partly to simplify, and likewise in many instances to ease the business and duties of the trustees, the Society shall elect an agent-general, who shall act for and in the name of said Society. He is hereby authorized to buy and sell, make and conclude contracts, and to discontinue and annul them again; to employ agents beyond the circle of the Society and to correspond with them; also to issue and again to accept orders; to direct and superintend, to the welfare of the Society, all its trading and commercial concerns; in fine, all affairs which in anywise appertain to the aforesaid line of business, of whatever name, shape and descriptions they may be, and shall be carried on under his direction and superintendence. In like manner shall all the manufactures and similar works be under his superintending care, to the furtherance and improvement of which he shall pay due regard, and to regulate them in such a way and manner as he shall from time to time find it most conducive to the general good of said Society. The agent-general shall furthermore be entitled to appoint subagents, when and as many as he shall stand in need of, who shall be empowered to transact in his name all such business as he shall see proper to charge them with; and said subagents shall be held responsible to the agent-general for all their transactions; and the said agent-general shall, in appointing subagents, act by and with the consent of the trustees, whose concurrence shall also be necessary in all undertakings of moment and importance; and for the due administration of the powers and duties hereby committed to his care and charge, he shall be accountable to the standing committee of the Society. All deeds, mortgages, and similar instruments of writing shall be executed in the name of the trustees and be placed in the safe-keeping of the agent-general.

Article 4.

By virtue of these articles the Society shall elect from amongst its members a standing committee, which shall consist of five persons, but in case a vacancy of one or two members thereof shall occur, either by death, sickness, absence or otherwise, then the three remaining members shall be capable of transacting business until the next succeeding election; this committee shall be invested with the concentrated power of the Society and shall execute all those duties which are marked out for it in this constitution; in all extraordinary cases shall this committee serve as a court of appeals, and shall, as the highest tribunal, be hereby empowered to decide as such, and the judgment thereof be final and binding in all cases, provided that no complaint shall be brought before it for decision except by way of appeal; that is, in case one or both of the contending parties should be dissatisfied with the decision of the trustees. Trustees can never at the same time be members of this committee. The election of this
committee shall be so regulated that annually one member to said committee shall be elected, and that each member may hold his office for five years successively, and are at all times eligible again as long as they possess the confidence of said Society.

Article 5.

The Society shall choose a cashier or treasurer to be elected for the term of four years, and shall, after the expiration of such term, be eligible again so long as the Society entrust him with the station; said cashier shall take charge of and duly administer all its financial concerns, and besides him none of the members shall be entitled to hold any money, without order from the cashier. Even the trustees and the agent-general shall deliver up all money, notes, bonds, checks, etc., as belonging to the Society into the treasury without delay; and every transgressor of this provision shall, by any member or person whosoever, be prosecuted for the same before the trustees of the Society and shall be treated by them according to the provisions of the tenth article. It shall also be the duty of the cashier to appropriate and apply all moneys received, conformable to the directions of the trustees, the agent-general, and the standing committee, exclusively to the benefit of the Society; to pay the Society's debts, defray the general necessaries, and to credit said trustees with the surplus fund. All and every person who has charge over any one or more of the branches of economy shall hand in their accounts to the cashier at such times as he shall see proper to order the same; and the trustees are hereby entitled to request from the cashier an annual account of his transactions if they deem it necessary. The cashier shall have the right, if circumstances require it, to appoint a clerk to keep regular records of elections and of such important measures which the divers officers shall deem necessary.

Article 6.

We, the undersigned members, second class of the Society of Separatists of Zoar, that all our property of all and every description, which we either now or in future may possess, movable or immovable, or both, together with all claims, titles, rights, devise, and legacies, etc., of whatever kind and name they may be, as well for ourselves as our descendants, heirs, executors, and administrators, shall be forever given up to said Society, with the express condition that such property shall from the date of the signatures of each member forever henceforth, consequently after the death of each respective member, be and remain the exclusive property of said Society; also do we promise and bind ourselves most faithfully and industriously to execute all the orders and regulations of said trustees and their subtrustees or agents, without opposition and murmuring, and we likewise agree to apply all our strength, good will, industry and skill for life to the general benefit of said Society and to the satisfaction of the trustees; likewise do we promise and agree, under the
same conditions and regulations, to place our children, whilst they are in a state of minority, under the directions and regulations of said trustees, in the same manner as if they were legally bound by lawful indentures to them and their successors in office, until they shall have attained their proper age, as defined by the laws of this State.

Article 7.

In accepting new members the following rule and order is to be observed: Each and every person wishing and desiring to become a member of the second class of this Society shall first of all have attained to the lawful age, that is, a male person shall be twenty-one and a female eighteen years of age; secondly, such person or persons shall have lived in and dwelled with the Society for the term of at least one year and shall have been a member of the first class of this Society, without exception if ever born and educated in the Society, and provided that they have faithfully fulfilled the contract previously concluded with the trustees of this Society at their entrance into the first class. If such person or persons can show both the aforesaid qualifications, and the resolution not being prematurely made, but who by their own free will and accord, self-convinced are so resolved, such person or persons shall make known their intention to one or more of the trustees, whose duty it shall be to hear such persons; and if after having taken the applicant’s motives into due consideration, no well-founded cause for rejection or postponement be found, then said trustees shall make it known to the Society at least thirty days previous, and appoint the time and place when and where such signing shall be performed; and if during the interval no complaints or objections from the part of the Society or any of its individual members against such person or persons be made thereupon, they may be admitted to the signing of this constitution, and after signing such are thereby constituted members of the second class of the Society, and shall be considered and treated as such; provided that in case such new member shall have kept secret any of his contracted debts or other obligations foreign to the Society, such member shall have forfeited all privileges and rights of membership, in case sufficient proof be found to establish the fact.

Article 8.

In accordance with this article the Society shall keep or establish a general education institute for all the children in the community, at the head of which such male or female overseers shall be placed whose qualifications shall be found best suited for said purpose, and, agreeable to this proviso, all the parents of children in this Society bind themselves to deliver up and place their children, after having arrived at the third year of their age or sooner, to the overseers of said institution, where said children shall receive,
according to their age and faculties, appropriate education and
tuition. Said overseers shall be chosen and engaged by the standing
committee, subject to the express duty that they shall exert their
best endeavors and care to give those children placed under their care,
as well in moral as in physical consideration, the best possible educa-
tion, thereby having in view not only the attainment of scientific
branches of knowledge, but also gradually training them to performing
the divers branches of manual labor. And it is hereby made the duty of
said committee to keep strict superintendence over the institution,
And they shall also be authorized to place such children, as soon as
their age, abilities, and bodily condition shall permit, under the
control of the trustees, who shall give them such employment as they
may be able to perform.

Article 9.

(This article is identical in meaning with Article 5 of the
Articles of Association of 1824.)

Article 10.

Casual contentions between two or more members, and complaints,
of whatsoever kind and description they may be, shall be brought before
the trustees and by them examined and settled. But in case one or the
other party shall not be satisfied with the decision of said trus-
tees, or should any one or more of the trustees themselves be involved
in such contention, etc., then appeal may be had to the standing com-
mittee or court of appeal, whose decision shall in all cases be final
and binding. Whosoever shall act contrary to this provision and will
not be satisfied with their judgment loses and deems himself of all
further enjoyment and rights of a member.

Article 11.

Should any member or members find cause to secede from the
Society, they shall make known their intention to one or more of the
trustees, whose duty it shall be to notify the Society thereof, in
order that, if any complaints be existing against such member or mem-
ers, they may be times be brought forward to said trustees, who shall
thereafter act in respect to them agreeable to all the attending
circumstances; but should any seceding member, unknown to the trus-
tees, have contracted any debt or debts upon the community or have
been the cause of subjecting the Society to any cost or injury, in
such case said member or members shall make satisfactory restitution
or otherwise render such indemnification as the said trustees shall
demand, and in case such secede or seceders should not content them-
seves with the judgment of said trustees and refuse to make satisfac-
tory restitution, in that case both parties, the trustees and the se-
ceding members, shall be entitled to an appeal to the standing com-
mittee and the decision thereof shall in all cases be binding and final.
Should any person or persons, notwithstanding this provision, be
dissatisfied and apply to a court of justice beyond the limits of
the Society for assistance, in such case they are also hereby bound
to render due indemnification for all damages and loss of time there-
by caused to and sustained by said Society. In case any seceding
person shall refuse to comply with the demand of the trustees in
pursuance of the decision of the standing committee, the trustees
shall be authorized to prosecute such person or persons and by course
of law to bring them or cause them to be brought to the due fulfill-
ment of the duty or payment as aforesaid. Furthermore, the committee
shall be authorized to act in like manner with all those who, on
account of acting contrary to duty and good order, have been expelled
from the Society, to expunge their names and signatures, and to excom-
municate them from all further enjoyment and rights of a member of the
Society. Neither the seceding members who leave the Society of their
own accord nor those who are expelled therefrom can ever by virtue of
their signatures and by the provisions of this article, under any pret-
tense whatever, in any wise make any demand or obtain, either upon
property brought to the Society or for their labor or any other ser-
vice which they may have rendered to the Society, in whatever the same
shall have consisted, any compensation whatever. Yet such person or
persons may, if they choose, submit their pretensions to the standing
committee, whose opinion shall decide whether or not, or under what
condition such applicants shall be entitled to receive any indemnity.
All judgments of the committee issued pursuant to the foregoing
prescriptions shall be made out in writing and recorded in a book kept
for that purpose, which shall in all courts of law be considered valid
and incontestable. Each given judgment of said committee shall be
handed over to one or more of the trustees, by virtue of which he or
they are authorized to execute such judgment or cause it to be executed,
either on voluntary terms or by the ordinary process of law. This con-
stitution shall never in any wise be broken or annulled by dissatisfied
or seceding members.

Article 12.

This Society can at any time, whenever deemed expedient and
necessary, alter this constitution, or any one of the articles there-
of, or add thereto, provided that such alteration or addition shall
always be founded on the principles of unity and the preservation of
the Society, and only then practicable if at least two-thirds of all
the members be in favor of it. In no wise shall this present renewed
constitution ever be viewed as declaring or presenting ineffectual or
void the articles signed by the members on the fifteenth day of April,
1819, and those on the eighteenth day of March, A.D. 1824. On the
contrary, said articles shall be acknowledged as the basis of the pres-
cent constitution. All unintelligibleness, equivocation, or deficiency
which peradventure might exist in this constitution shall always be
constructed and treated in favor of the Society, and never to the advantage of individual members. At least annually, at a suitable place, shall this constitution be publicly read at the place of public meeting. Written and concluded in Zoar, Tuscarawas County, and State of Ohio, the fourteenth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three.

Appendix III.

Officers of the Society of Separatists of Zoar, 1819-1898, with their periods of service. (The records are incomplete for the period 1819-1832)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directors and Trustees</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johannes Breymaier 1819 1824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Georg Ackermann 1819 1830(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August Huber 1819 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Schacher 1824 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Sindlinger 1824 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georg Grätzinger 1825 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Sylvan 1825 1831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caspar Petter 1831 1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Miller 1831 1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John G. Goesele 1831 1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Ackermann 1832 1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Ruof 1834 1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ludwig Birk 1838 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Sylvan 1838 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John G. Grätzinger 1851 1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John G. Ruof 1859 1885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Harr 1862 1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Beuter 1885 1890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sturm 1887 1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Rimeler 1889 1900 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Ruof 1890 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Breymaier 1893 1900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Standing Committee.

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<table>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ludwig Birk 1833 1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John G. Grätzinger 1833 1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John M. Bäumeler 1835 1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Meigele 1838 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gottfried Kappel 1847 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Seo. Ackermann 1851 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gottfried Lenz 1853 1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John G. Ruof 1854 1859</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The corporate character of the Society was not dissolved until 1900, and the trustees remained in office to complete the work of division.
John Breymaier 1854 1877
J.P. Rimeler 1854 1861
Mathias Bühler 1859 1873
Martin Reuschenberger 1860 1870
Levi Bimeler 1869 1879
Simon Beuter 1870 1885
Frederick Heid 1873 1883
Frenz Strobel 1877 1881
John Sturm 1877 1887
John Ricker 1879 1889
Clementz Breil 1883 1893
John Kuecherer 1885 1895
Christian Ackermann 1887 1892
Christian Ruof 1888 1890
John Bimeler 1889 1889
Jacob Ricker 1890 1900
Peter Bimeler 1892 1894
Carl Ehlers 1894 1900
Benjamin Beuter 1894 1900
Jacob Furkhart 1895 1900

Cashier.

John M. Bäumeler 1833 1853
Christian Nielson 1853 1872
Jacob Ackermann 1872 1889
Louise Zimmermann 1889 1900

Arbitrator.

John M. Bäumeler 1824 1833

Agent-General.

John M. Bäumeler 1833 1853

Appendix IV.

Form of contract signed by members of the First Class.

We, the undersigned, members of the first class of Separatists, party of the first part, and------, ------, ------, trustees elect, and their successors in office, of the Separatists' Society of Zear, in the county of Tuscarawas, and State of Ohio, party of the second part, have, through confidence mutually reposed in one another, established, and by these presents do establish the following rules and principles of social compact for the better fulfillment of the duties of mankind,
which we owe one another, and also for the furtherance of our spiritual and temporal welfare and happiness.

Article 1.

We, the said party of the first part, do declare, that by our own free will and accord we have agreed...to labor obey and execute all the orders of said trustees and their successors in office; and from the day of the date hereof henceforth to use all our industry and skill in behalf of the exclusive benefit of the Separatists' Society of Zoar, and continue to do so, as long as strength and health will permit, to the entire satisfaction of the trustees and their successors in office.

Article 2.

And we do also hereby agree and bind ourselves by these presents to put our minor children under the care and control of the said trustees and their successors in office, in the same manner as if they had been bound by indentures to serve and dwell with them and their successors in office, for and during the term of their minority, subject to all the duties and likewise entitled to the same rights and protection as indentured children by law are subject and entitled to, until they shall have attained their proper age as defined by the statutes of the State of Ohio.

Article 3.

And the said trustees do hereby for themselves and their successors in office, agree and bind themselves to furnish the said party of the first part with suitable dwelling, board and clothing, free of cost, the clothing to consist at any time of not less than two suits, including the clothes brought by the said party of the first part to this Society; and in case of sickness, necessary care and attendance is hereby promised to the said party of the first part; and this performance of the trustees and their successors in office shall be considered by the party of the first part a full compensation for all their labors and services, done either by themselves or their minor children, without any further claim or demands whatever.

Article 4.

Good and moral behavior, such as is enjoined by strict observance of the principles of Holy Writ, are by both parties hereby promised to be observed; hence, it is clearly understood that all profane language, immoral words and acts, which may cause offense amongst 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.
Article 5.

The object of this agreement being, furthermore, to preserve peace and unity, and as such can only be maintained by a general equality among its members, it is, therefore, severally understood and declared that no extra demands shall be made or allowed in respect to meat, drink, clothing, dwellings, etc., (cases of sickness excepted) but such, if any can be allowed to exist, may and shall be obtained by individuals through means of their own and never out of the common fund.

Article 6.

All moneys which the said party of the first part either now possesses or hereafter may receive into his possession, shall without delay be deposited in the common fund of this Society, for which a receipt, payable on demand, is to be given; but upon the request of the said party of the first part, in order to procure extra necessaries, as the case may be, a part or the whole of said deposit shall be refunded to the owner.

Article 7.

All manner of misunderstandings and differences shall be settled by way of arbitration and not otherwise; that is, by a body of three or five persons, to be chosen by both parties, and their decision shall be binding on both parties.

Article 8.

All rules and regulations contained in the foregoing articles (if any there be which are not plain enough or are subject to misapprehension) shall be so understood as never to be in opposition to but always in perfect accordance with the morals, usages, principles, and regulations of the members of the second class of the Separatists' Society of Zoor.

Article 9.

These articles being fully and fairly understood, to their strict and faithful performance, both parties bind themselves in the most solemn manner, jointly and severally, their children, heirs, administrators, and successors in office by the penal sum of fifty dollars, current money of the United States of America.

Article 10.

If, in consequence of the foregoing, a penalty upon any one of the parties to this agreement shall be laid, then, in case of refusal or noncompliance, the party so refusing may be prosecuted for the
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.