THE SOCIETY OF SEPARATISTS OF ZOAR: A STUDY OF A COMMUNAL SOCIETY WITHIN A REGIONAL SOCIAL CONTEXT, FOCUSING ON THE YEARS 1870-1898

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts

by

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INTRODUCTION

The Society of Separatists of Zoar was one of the many communal societies that emerged in America during the nineteenth century. The Zoar Society, like a few other communal groups, was founded by a group of religious refugees called Separatists, who emigrated to this country from the Wurttemberg area of southern Germany. Several historians have considered the Zoar Society one of the most successful experiments in communalism, partly because it existed, in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, as a communal society for nearly eighty years, from 1819 until 1898. Typical of nineteenth-century communal societies, the Zoar Society's livelihood was based primarily on agriculture, and secondarily on small-scale craft and industrial pursuits. A unique feature of Zoar's economy, however, was its attraction as a resort, which constituted a significant source of the community's income during the last three decades of its existence.

A large literature devoted to historic communal societies in the United States has accumulated over the

*The Society of Separatists of Zoar will from this point be referred to as the Zoar Society.
past century and a half. With few exceptions, however, there has to this point been a prevailing tendency to study historic communal societies from an exclusively internal viewpoint. Little effort has been directed to understanding and interpreting the history of these societies within a cultural, religious, political, and economic context—that is, within an active social environment.

This lack of context creates an unrealistic and misleading impression that these groups existed entirely independently from the outside world. Communal societies did have complex and singular internal structures, which the literature attends to in detail; and most communal societies were largely self-sufficient in terms of the daily necessities of living. Nevertheless, few, if any, were economically or otherwise completely independent of the outside world. These communities as entities had to and did interact with the "outside" world, especially their nearest neighbors, in some important capacities. At the minimum, communal societies depended on the outside world to provide goods and services not available within the community—most significantly such commodities as land, labor, transportation, and cash. Also, most societies depended on outside markets for the sale of surplus goods and services. Some communal societies, however,
also interacted with outsiders in more informal capacities: participating in political activities, community agricultural fairs, and celebrations of religious or cultural holidays; working with neighbors for common goals and needs; or even intermarrying with outsiders. The extent of interaction varied considerably among the societies and likely over time within each as well. In any case, consideration or at least acknowledgement of factors such as social context and nature of interaction with the outside world contribute much to the overall understanding of specific communal societies' experiences and of communalism in general. Previous studies of the Zoar Society have been no exception in this trend to overlook social context.

The purpose of this study is to begin to round out the history of the Zoar Society by considering the social environment in which it existed and the types of interaction between it and the outside world. The study is undertaken with a few premises in mind. Most essential of these is that a positive relationship existed between the Zoar Society and the outlying communities throughout the Society's history. Two premises are put forth to explain this attitude: first, that the predominant German culture of the communities surrounding Zoar contributed to their original acceptance of and positive attitude toward the Zoar Society; and second, that during the heyday of
Zoar's popularity as a resort, the Society enjoyed further preferential treatment from its neighbors as a result of the sense of prestige it brought to the community. A final premise is that increased contact with the outside world contributed to the dissatisfaction of Society members with the communal system and to their gradual integration with the outside community, which eased the transition from communalism to the capitalist system and lifestyle.

In addition to the limitations inherent in examining a historic group of foreign origin, some further boundaries have been set to keep the study manageable. Although such limitations prohibit the study from being comprehensive, they make it possible to arrive at some specific and tangible conclusions. To begin with, primary sources in only the English language have been used. This restriction automatically entails heavy reliance on outside sources, and therefore an outside point of view, since the majority of records the Zoar Society left were written in German. The communities included in the study have been limited to those within a close proximity of Zoar with which the Zoar Society had the closest ties through transportation and communication networks: Canal Dover, New Philadelphia, Bolivar, Sandyville, Shanesville, and several other small towns and villages. Massillon was omitted because extant primary sources were not available.
Given these limitations, local newspapers proved the most valuable source. Because a thorough search in extant newspapers is extensive and time-consuming, and because little local editorial commentary appeared in the newspapers of this area until the last few decades of the nineteenth century, research in local newspapers was limited to those printed between 1870 and 1898 (the official end of the communal organization of Zoar). Of the towns mentioned, only Dover and New Philadelphia printed regular newspapers during this period; Chapter 2 lists the names and dates of the newspapers searched for this study.

In summary, this study will focus on information relating to the previously specified premises found in English-language newspapers printed in Dover and New Philadelphia, Ohio between 1870 and 1898. The first chapter of this paper summarizes the literature that is relevant to this study. Chapter 2 specifies and briefly describes the sources used in this study. In Chapters 3 and 4 the period previous to 1870 is examined. These chapters are based on a less intensive, more varied range of sources and are neither as thorough nor as precise as the chapters that refer to the later period. They are included, however, to establish a proper groundwork for the study of the later period for both the researcher's purposes and the reader's benefit. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 concern the
period between 1870 and 1898 and comprise the principal section of this work.
CHAPTER 1

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A substantial literature devoted to historic communal societies has been established. This chapter includes an overview of this literature and focuses on specific works that pertain to the Zoar Society and to the questions addressed in this study.

With a few exceptions, which will be discussed at a later point in this chapter, the literature devoted to historic communal societies gives little attention to the relationship between communal societies and the outside world. Though it is important to emphasize the necessity of incorporating this aspect in the study of historic communal societies, it would not be appropriate to discredit previous historians' work. The tendency to limit studies of historic communalism to exclusively internal histories until recent years is, in fact, quite understandable. It is often the case with relatively new and non-traditional fields within the discipline of history that a good deal of research and thus time is required before the literature develops to a point where more critical or more encompassing problems can be competently
addressed. The literature of historic communalism has only recently developed to this point. Although consideration of social environment and interaction between communal societies and the outside world would have been possible in earlier studies, such an issue likely seemed secondary in importance, if considered at all, in comparison with the more pressing need to document how and why these complex societies originated, functioned, and, in most cases, eventually dissolved. An internal viewpoint was apparently considered the most expedient means to achieving this goal.

During the nineteenth century, when literally dozens of communal societies both formed and dissolved, several individuals studied, mainly by visitation and interview, and wrote about a number of communal societies. Their findings were most often published in the form of compilations that usually included only brief accounts of the history and current condition of the several communities included, and were often popular in tone. Though limited in scope, these studies are important first-hand documentation of nineteenth-century communalism; they are often referred to in more recent histories of communal societies and are properly considered primary sources. Two classic nineteenth-century surveys of communal societies are Noyes' History of American Socialisms, published in 1870, and
Nordhoff's *The Communistic Societies of the United States from Personal Visit and Observation*, of 1875. The Zoar Society is included in both of these histories.

Similar in scope and tone are nineteenth-century histories of counties and states in which communal societies were located. Some of these were published considerably earlier than those works which specifically concerned communal societies and some contemporaneously with them. These sometimes offer more extensive histories of the communal societies that concern the locality, and, important to this study, inherently present the societies' histories within the context of their local environment. Examples of Ohio state and Tuscarawas County histories that include accounts of the Zoar Society follow: Jenkins' *Ohio Gazetteer and Traveller's Guide*, 1837; Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*, first published in 1848; Mitchener's *Ohio Annals, Historic Events in the Tuscarawas and Muskingum Valleys*, 1876; and Mansfield's *History of Tuscarawas County*, 1884.

In the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, as communalism declined in popularity and many communal societies disbanded, more extensive histories were written about individual communal societies. These were sometimes based on first hand observation, but, by this time, were more often based on reminiscences of former communal society members--sometimes themselves the authors
of these histories—and on information compiled from records left by communal societies. Many of the histories of this period were popular in tone, but academic studies also began to appear. Again, the Zoar Society was not neglected in this group of literature. As early as 1898, the year of the formal dissolution of the Zoar Society, George Landis wrote a fairly extensive paper on the history of the Zoar Society, which was presented at the 1898 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association. To this point, Landis's was the most extensive, accurate, and well documented history of the Zoar Society, and the only one written from an academic viewpoint. E.O. Randall, then Secretary of the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society, soon succeeded Landis with a history of the Zoar Society of much the same scope and tone which was published in 1902. In these two works appears some acknowledgement of interaction between the Zoar Society and the outside world, though such references are only in passing. For example, Randall wrote: "The Ohio and Erie canal passes near by and the town is a station on the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad," but he does not proceed to elaborate on the great significance of these connections with the outside world. As in previous histories, the emphasis in these works is on internal history—they give little suggestion of the Society's existence within a larger social environment.
In 1933, Edgar Nixon, a descendent of Zoar Society members, submitted a dissertation for a doctoral degree in history at The Ohio State University entitled "The Society of Separatists of Zoar." This is a much enlarged and more detailed version of previous Zoar histories. Though it remains unpublished, it has been considered and utilized by most succeeding historians of the Zoar Society as the most comprehensive and reliable secondary source on the Zoar Society available. Nixon's work also elaborates more extensively than previous or succeeding histories of the Zoar Society on subjects relevant to the present study. For instance, a greater emphasis is placed on the importance of the building and use of the Ohio-Erie Canal in Zoar, and on the quantity and variety of goods produced for sale to outside markets in contributing to the Society's eventual material prosperity. The prevalence and significant effects of hired labor are also described. Nixon also noted the significance of the Zoar Hotel, and thus the resort business in Zoar in contributing to both the Society's prosperity and its demise.

Nixon recognized the importance of, and devoted an entire chapter to the Zoar Society's relationships with other communal societies, with which the Society corresponded and occasionally did business. Surprisingly, however, he did not give an equivalent amount of direct attention to the significance of the Society's relationships
with the outside community, with which it interacted daily. Though the nature of the relationships with these two groups obviously differed, it would be difficult to show that interaction with one group deserved more attention than that with another. Again, however, this can be attributed to a preoccupation with internal history, which correspondence with other communal societies might be considered a part of.

In addition to academic studies of the Zoar Society and other communal societies, a number of popular histories were written between the turn of the century and the present time. These vary in scope and reliability and need not be mentioned here. A few of these that pertain to Zoar are included in the bibliography of this paper.

Beginning in approximately the 1930's, as a basic literature devoted to communal societies became established, another category of literature emerged that was devoted to more specific aspects of communal societies, among which are both scholarly and popular studies. Notable among these are the numerous works on the material culture of communal societies. Other topics include education, manufacturing or industrial endeavors, the religious beliefs of specific communal societies, and the musical traditions of communal societies, to name a few. Among the studies devoted to Zoar in this category are

Although the great number and variety of books and articles written since the nineteenth century attests to an unceasing interest in American communalism, it has not been until the last twenty years that this interest has really gained momentum. Social movements of the 1960's and 70's, including a renewed interest in experimentation with communal living among "sub-culture" youth, and the recent growth of a general interest in American history, associated with the celebration of the American bicentennial anniversary, have sparked the interest of scholars, popular historians, and collectors of historic material culture in American communalism.

Several developments correspond to this recent heightened interest in the history of American communalism. For one, the National Historic Communal Societies Association was formed in 1974.² This association holds annual conferences and publishes an annual scholarly journal devoted to the study of historic communal societies. This interest has also moved museum, archives, and library administrators to make more available materials that pertain to historic communal societies. An example of such efforts is the publication on microfilm and national
circulation of the entire Shaker manuscript and photograph collection held in the archives of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

Another reflection of this interest are the several sites of historic communal societies across the country that have been and continue to be preserved and restored for public visitation and education, supported by both public and private funds.

There has also been a considerable growth in the number of publications devoted to communal societies, including works in each of the categories described above: surveys of communal societies with limited attention given to each, histories of individual communal societies, and specialized studies. This literature continues to vary in tone, scope, and reliability.

Among this recent literature are a number of academic studies that begin to look at communalism more critically and to address some important issues previously overlooked. This reflects both a heightened serious interest in communalism and the relatively recent movement of the discipline of history into the realm of social sciences, which has motivated historians in most fields to consciously incorporate vigorous consideration of sociological questions, which are sometimes quantifiable, into their studies.
A few examples of this trend in the study of communalism are Foster's *Religion and Sexuality*, a collection of essays devoted to the analysis of the sexual roles and practices of three American communal groups; Kantor's *Commitment and Community: Communes and Utopias in a Sociological Perspective*; and Whitworth's *God's Blueprints: A Sociological Study of Three Utopian Sects*.

In reference to the Zoar Society, the only study that might belong in this category is Meyers' unpublished M.B.A. thesis, "The Machine in the Garden: The Design and Operation of the Society of Separatists of Zoar," which is a study of the internal formal structure of the Zoar Society.

Here concludes a brief survey of the literature of American communalism including that of the Zoar Society. Before the study continues, however, it is necessary to note what has been included in the literature regarding interaction between communal societies and the outside world. It has been asserted that there has been little attention given to environmental context, even so much as a brief description of the cultural, political, economic, or religious characteristics of the surrounding area in which communal societies existed. In this instance, one is hard put to find studies in which this is not true, with the singular exception of Arndt's work, which will be
discussed shortly. It has also been stated that few studies give deliberate attention to the nature and mutual effects of interaction between communal societies and the outside world, either in a local or a widespread area. To this point, though, there are a few exceptions, three of which are described here.

First and most significant of these exceptions is in the case of communal societies that experienced external disapproval. Many communal societies experienced disapproval, which was manifested in various forms from mild verbal criticism to unfair treatment by legal authorities and outright physical abuse in some form such as damage to property, bodily harm, and, in some cases, even murder. Especially in cases of extreme persecution, historians of communal societies have often, though not always, included accounts of and the apparent sources of outside intolerance. As will later be discussed in detail, the Zoar Society apparently enjoyed not only tolerance by their neighbors, but even a reciprocally positive relationship with them.

While discussion of outsiders' intolerance of some other communal societies is not directly relevant to this study, nor is this the only important aspect of interaction between any communal society and its environment, an understanding of what aspects outsiders perceived as
objectionable or altogether intolerable about specific communal societies does suggest questions which might be considered to discover why Zoar was exempt from similar criticisms. Rather than systematically listing and describing what has been included in individual studies regarding criticism or persecution of communal societies, it would probably be more effective to briefly describe specific circumstances and issues which led to negative feelings and actions toward communal societies and give examples from the literature.

Communal societies seem to rarely have been directly criticized for their communal lifestyle, which is a surprising case among communal societies that existed during the early nineteenth century when social exclusiveness was perceived as a threat to American democratic ideals. Perhaps the want of attention to this issue reflects a lack in the perception of historians or maybe this was simply not a circumstance tangible enough to effect a degree of criticism or negative action to warrant documentation. In any case, the issues documented relate more so to qualities or practices of communal societies which were perceived as directly threatening to the status quo or to the material well being of the community.

The characteristics of communal societies that evoked disapproval by their neighbors were most often
related to the practical application of unorthodox religious or social beliefs. Non-traditional sexual practices seem to have been especially offensive. There are, for instance, numerous examples of extreme persecution against the polygamist Mormons who were violently attacked and expelled by neighboring communities for their sexual practices, among other offenses. In 1857, a few years after Brigham Young's public exposure to the world of the Mormon practice of polygamy, opposition to Mormons had become so great that President Buchanan dispatched national troops to Utah "to conquer Mormonism."³

While Mormons were not communalists in the same respect as many other groups, their experiences paralleled those of several communal groups.

John Humphrey Noyes' Oneida community, which practiced a form of complex marriage as a central feature of its "social experimentation," was forced by outside pressures, first temporarily and eventually permanently, to abandon complex marriage and to adopt traditional family organization.⁴

Neither were celibate communal societies immune to criticism of their sexual practices or doctrines. Such societies' neighbors were in some cases suspicious of them and anxious to find fault with their system. A leader of Ephrata, a celibate eighteenth-century communal colony, was tried for allegedly fathering an illegitimate child.
Though he was acquitted, the outlying community was not convinced of his innocence and ultimately resorted to setting fire to Ephrata homes and attempting unsuccessfully to oust the settlement. ⁵

Shakers' aggressive testimony against "the sins of the flesh" aroused hostility from neighbors and clergymen as a frontal assault on marriage and all close family ties." ⁶

Women of several communal societies enjoyed rights and roles well beyond the limits that their mainstream-culture contemporaries considered acceptable. This encouragement of women to function in capacities outside of their "proper sphere" provoked varying degrees of outside criticism. The most conspicuous example is the elevation of Mother Ann Lee, founder and spiritual leader for many years of the Shakers, to an equal status with Christ, actually considered by many Shakers to be the reincarnation of Christ in the female form. The outrage this stirred in early nineteenth-century America is not difficult to imagine. For this belief Ann Lee and her followers suffered mistreatment by anti-Shaker mobs; Ann Lee herself was frequently accused of being a witch and on a few occasions was beaten by mobs. ⁷

Politics was yet another potentially sensitive issue. For instance, the Harmony society experienced
violent protests against their right to vote on the grounds that they did not participate in military service and thus should not be granted this right. It seems likely, however, that opposition was actually more based on the Harmonists' habit of voting as a bloc for candidates and issues contrary to those popular among the outside community. 8

Mormon experiences are again another conspicuous example. Mormon cohesion and strength became an especially apparent threat when combined with active political participation and their unique political and economic ideas, which were perceived by outsiders as contradictory to the traditional American ideal of separation of church and state. 9 Opposition to Mormon political endeavors culminated in the murder in 1844 of Joseph Smith, the founder and original spiritual leader of the Mormon church, at the time an American presidential candidate. 10

Arndt has suggested that a perception of inequity—that is, jealousy—contributed to outsiders' bitterness toward and intolerance of some communal societies. He has indicated that this attitude resulted in the instance of the superior material success of the New Harmony, Indiana community relative to that of outsiders. 11

A few other historians have also suggested that jealousy may have contributed to conflict. This may have applied, for instance, to communal societies that
sanctioned multiple sexual partners; to those which were exempt from military service; and to those which experienced greater economic security, especially in times of economic upset in the outside world.

Cultural similarities or differences also affected the quality of interaction between outsiders and communal societies, especially when a communal group was of foreign origin. Again Arndt gives a distinct example when he contrasts the difference between the quality of relationships between Harmonists and their neighbors while located in Pennsylvania and that while in Indiana. In Pennsylvania, many of the Harmonists' neighbors had at some point emigrated from the same part of Europe as the Harmonists had, and for similar reasons—to freely practice their religion. With these neighbors the Harmonists shared a language, similar cultural values and lifestyle, and a like history of religious persecution while in Europe. In this environment the Harmonists were understood and accepted. In Indiana, however, many of the Harmonists' neighbors were of English descent; here "their adherence to the language without which their culture could not survive, was mistaken as a sign of ignorance and aroused hatred."

Cultural heritage may have played a similar part in the experiences of other communal societies with the
outside world; it is clearly relevant in this study of the Zoar Society.

The preceding discussion suggests some of the complexity of the relationships between communal societies and the outside world. Clearly, neither outsiders nor communalists were oblivious to or unaffected by one another. Beyond the conflicts described above, however, emphasis on the dynamics of interaction between these groups drops off for the most part in the histories of communal societies, excepting the instances that follow.

The second significant exception in the literature is a tendency to overlook the external social environment of communal societies and interaction between communal groups and the outside world is Karl J. R. Arndt's study, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847*. This is the only work known by the researcher that directly acknowledges and elaborates on these aspects. Arndt's study includes no less than five chapters that directly deal with either interaction between Harmonists and outsiders or outside attitudes and their impact on the Harmony community. These chapters are integrated into the texts and contribute to a thorough and realistic history of the Harmony Society. Not only are these chapters in Arndt's work important to the present study as the only models of studies of this type, but their content is relevant because it suggests
important questions, some briefly described above, that
directly apply to the Zoar Society, which was charac-
terized by a culture and a religion quite similar to
those of the Harmony Society.

A third exception of studies that do incorporate
consideration of communal societies' social environmental
context and interaction between communal groups and the
outside world are several studies devoted to communal
societies that still thrive today. Here only works con-
cerning Amish communities, which function on a quasi-
communal basis, and Hutterite communities, which are
formally operated as communes, are considered since these
contemporary groups most parallel the Zoar Society—each
of these groups is characterized by a reliance on agricul-
ture as an economic basis, a predominant traditional German
culture, a history of religious persecution in Europe, and
an attractiveness to tourists.

Few of the studies of these groups that are of
importance to this study were written by historians
but by sociologists and cultural anthropologists. In
keeping with the orientation of their disciplines, these
scholars mainly concentrate on contemporary examples and
include historic accounts in their studies only as back-
ground to the current condition of the groups in question.
Although their historic perspective is limited, most of
these studies include extensive critical consideration of
the contemporary dynamics of the relationships between these groups and the outside world; several of the questions that they address are relevant here. Because the contents of these studies is so complex and extensive, only a brief description of the relevant questions that are addressed in them are included here.

Most outstanding among these works are the several specialized and comprehensive studies of Amish and Hutterite societies written by John A. Hostetler, a sociologist and anthropologist. The questions that Hostetler addresses that are relevant here are those concerning the social problems of maintaining a relatively closed society within a larger social environment, the importance of language in maintaining both culture and a separate community, and the exchange of ideas, values, and culture between communal and separate societies and the outside world.

The detrimental and positive effects of tourism on contemporary communal groups is also discussed by various scholars, including Hostetler and Roy C. Buck. The Hutterites: A Study in Prejudice, written by David Flint also addresses some important issues such as the effects of technology on a communal society with strong traditional values, and the nature of conflicts based on cultural differences. There are numerous other works in this
category and other important questions which they address, however this is a fair sampling of those relevant to this study.

Conclusions of this review of the literature of nineteenth-century communal societies follow. Neither Zoar nor any other communal society, excepting the Harmony Society, have been placed in their social environmental context. Although historians have given accounts of and have suggested the causes of criticism and persecution of these groups, little direct attention has been given to other aspects of relationships between communal societies and the outside world. Because the study of historic communalism is a relatively young field, issues of this type are only beginning to receive appropriate attention from scholars. The present study is a relatively minor attempt to close this specific gap in the literature, but future studies will hopefully incorporate similar questions to round out the history of American communalism.
CHAPTER 2

SOURCES

This chapter briefly summarizes the sources utilized in this study. Excepting the titles of newspapers, no specific sources are referred to by name in this chapter. Specific references may be found in this study's bibliography which is divided into sections according to topic.

The geographic scope and period on which this study concentrates have been limited to some extent by the language in which primary sources were written. Therefore, before a discussion of the sources that were used commences, a few remarks are necessary regarding primary sources that have not been utilized in this study. An extensive record written in the German language was left by both Zoarites and their neighbors, including personal letters and diaries, religious documents, business records, German-language newspapers, and other miscellaneous manuscripts and documents. Though the reliance on English-language sources has resulted in an outside bias, which is in many ways beneficial to this study, the omission of German-language sources and the related limitations in
geographic scope and the period emphasized clearly leaves the picture only partially complete.

Secondary sources that specifically deal with the Zoar Society's history are discussed in Chapter 1. These are the basis for Chapter 3, which gives a brief description of the history of the Zoar Society. A couple of secondary works on German social history contributed to Chapter 3 as well.

A variety of sources provided the basis of Chapter 4, the section of this study devoted to the background of the communities outlying Zoar, interaction between those communities and Zoar, and outside attitudes toward the Zoar Society during the period prior to 1870. Though this section is a necessary part of this study, it is primarily intended to provide a basic background to the later period, and, therefore, was not thoroughly researched. A description of the characteristics of the outside communities was based on Ohio histories, Tuscarawas County histories, state and local agricultural societies' records, histories of state and local industrial developments, and impressions derived from a look at local newspapers of that period. The discussion of the interaction between the Zoar Society and the outside communities, and of outside attitudes toward the Zoar Society is not based on specific evidence; rather, it is largely deduced from the
known characteristics of the Zoar Society and the outside communities, and was directed by questions and issues suggested by historians of other nineteenth-century communal societies, which are discussed in Chapter 2.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 comprise the major section of this study, which concentrates on the nature and effects of interaction between the Zoar Society and the outside communities during the period between 1870 and 1898. These chapters are primarily based on research in newspapers printed in the English language in the nearby towns with which the Zoar Society had the closest contact: Dover and New Philadelphia, Ohio. Contributions from many other local towns and rural communities were also printed in these papers. Zoar also had some significant contact with the town of Massillon. Extant newspapers from this town, however, were inaccessible to the researcher and have therefore been omitted from this study, excepting a few Massillon contributions that were printed in Dover and New Philadelphia newspapers. A list of the names and dates of the newspapers that were extensively searched in this study follows:

Dover:

The Iron Valley Reporter, 1872-1898

New Philadelphia:

The Ohio Democrat, 1870-1897
New Philadelphia Times, 1886-1894
The Advocate Tribune, 1884 and miscellaneous issues.
All of these newspapers were printed weekly and were from four to eight pages in length. Each issue was searched for references that expressed individual or community attitudes toward the Zoar Society, references that documented interaction between the Zoar Society and the outside community, and correspondence sent to the newspapers from Zoar.

Despite differences in the general focus of these papers, most notably the political orientation of the Ohio Democrat and The Advocate Tribune (Republican), the sections of each of these papers that were devoted to local news, in which most references to Zoar were found, were quite similar in tone and scope of interest. The Iron Valley Reporter, however, contained by far the greatest number of references to and communications from the Zoar Society, presumably because of its closer location to, and thus greater amount of interaction with the Zoar Society. A notable feature of each of these newspapers is that, throughout the period, correspondence from local communities was sometimes printed in German; German words and phrases were also occasionally included within articles and editorials otherwise printed in English.

In addition to information found in local newspapers, Chapters 5, 6, and 7 were based on the same or similar sources as those utilized in Chapter 4, which concerns the period prior to 1870.
CHAPTER 3
THE SOCIETY OF SEPARATISTS OF ZOAR

A brief history of the Zoar Society is necessary at this point. Although this chapter will make further reading of this paper more meaningful, it is by no means intended to serve as a thorough history. A more detailed overall history is provided in Nixon's "The Society of Separatists of Zoar" and other sources described in Chapter 1.

This chapter must begin with a look at some social and religious developments of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany, factors which significantly shaped the social and religious characteristics of Separatism. Alienation from the Lutheran Church became increasingly evident in Germany after the Thirty Years War of 1618-1648. The Church had reverted to practices inconsistent with basic Protestant principles: it had become dogmatic and institutionalized, and politically it had become more closely tied with the state and the aristocracy, and thus had begun to cater to aristocratic values and demands. Also, a preoccupation with Biblical interpretive debate
contributed to a growing disregard for the spiritual needs of common members, needs which had become elevated in importance in connection with the social and economic chaos that lingered for several decades after the war.  

This trend led to the emergence of Pietism, introduced into the church during the 1670's by two theologians named Francke and Spener. Pietism was characterized by a general religious fanaticism, emphasizing a conscious spiritual rebirth, a more personal relationship with God, and, to varying degrees among different groups, chiliasm and mysticism.

Pietist values emphasized austere self-discipline and the subordination of individual good to the good of the whole, also individual equality before God in both religious experience and participation, which made the movement especially attractive to women and lower social orders.

When, in 1791, the Lutheran Church adopted a new hymn book, a number of radical Pietist factions who considered the change too worldly left the Church, calling themselves Separatists. When a new liturgy was donned in 1808 another break from the Church occurred. Although they had withdrawn from the Church for similar reasons, different Separatist groups varied in their specific beliefs and in their inclination toward chiliasm and mysticism.
The group that was to become the Society of Separatists of Zoar had its origins during this period, probably about 1800. This group was mainly from the Wurttemberg area, in what is now southern Germany, which area had been troubled for years with warfare, tyrannical rulers, and economic hardship. It is likely that these circumstances contributed to the inclination toward mysticism among Separatists of this region, including the Zoar Separatist group.

Authorities were apparently quite intolerant of these rebellious groups. Among Separatists' most offensive practices were their refusals to take oath, to address their superiors in the formal Sie rather than the familiar du, to send their children to state Lutheran schools, and, most significantly, their refusal to serve in the military. For these and other violations of legal and social codes, Separatists were seriously persecuted; most eventually had to choose between renouncing their faith or emigrating from the country. This partially explains why Separatism was virtually unknown in Germany by the mid-nineteenth century.

After unsuccessful attempts to settle as a separate community in the outskirts of Wurttemberg and the loss of most of their resources, the Zoar Separatist group finally gained permission to emigrate. By this time, around 1817, Joseph Michael Baumeler (later Anglicized to
"Bimeler") had gained the group's trust as their spiritual and temporal leader. With the combined resources of a few of the group's wealthier members and the financial assistance of a group of English Quakers; the group, which at this point consisted of nearly three hundred individuals, sailed to Philadelphia during the summer of 1817.

Local Quakers greeted the Separatists in Philadelphia and fed and housed them until they were physically and financially able to find a place in which to settle. The Separatists soon purchased a section of fifty-five hundred acres of land in Tuscarawas County, Ohio at three dollars per acre from Godfrey Haga, who had been recommended to them by the Quakers. The Philadelphia Quakers loaned the group fifteen hundred dollars for the required deposit and Bimeler signed the deed to simplify matters, with the understanding that the property would later be divided into individual plots.

In the fall of 1817, several members of the group journeyed to the land to begin its settlement; the remainder followed as they were able. The Separatists found the land to be wooded with oak, hickory, chestnut, and maple. The Tuscarawas River crossed the property diagonally, northwest to southeast, and the terrain was hilly except the plains that lay along the river. The group immediately set to the task of constructing temporary shelters—log buildings built from their
abundant supply of timber. They called their settlement Zoar, in reference to the refuge to which Biblical Lot fled. 19

Zoar was laid out in the fashion of a traditional rural German village with homes, craft shops and agricultural facilities centrally located, surrounded by what was eventually to be fields and grazing pastures.

The original plan was for each family to cultivate as much land as possible and sell any surplus crops or products above the barest necessities to pay for their own share of land. Their first two winters in Zoar, however, were especially harsh, and many had to work for neighboring farmers just to meet the necessity of providing for themselves. 20 During the winter of 1818-1819, several members of the group proposed a community of goods. After a great deal of discussion, this plan was adopted and on April 15, 1819 the Articles of Association was drawn up and signed by 53 men and 104 women. 21

A few fundamental factors explain the adoption of this seemingly extreme and unusual scheme. The primary consideration at this point was survival. Though thousands had immigrated to this country and "made it" without resorting to a collective economic system, few had come as such a large and cohesive group and purchased so large a tract of land on credit as the Zoar Separatists had. These were unquestionably pressing matters. Moreover,
only one third of the Zoar community's labor force were men.\textsuperscript{22} Although women contributed considerably to the agricultural labor force, many were restricted by the responsibilities of childbearing, childrearing, and other domestic duties that weren't cash productive.\textsuperscript{22} One argument could be, then, that communalism was adopted to resolve economic problems, by pooling resources and efforts. Also, communalism was not far removed from the economic system of the agricultural villages from which many Zoarites had originated. Although members of those communities had worked and operated individually-owned land and trades for their own profit, the economy had originally been mainly barter-based; thus the villages had operated in a quasi-communal manner.\textsuperscript{23} The Zoarites' adoption of an actual communal system, therefore, was not to them necessarily a radical scheme since it agreed somewhat with tradition. Finally, as the introductory paragraph to their Articles of Association illustrates, communalism was also religiously sanctioned:

\begin{quote}
The undersigned members of the Society of Separatists have, . . . found themselves convinced and induced to unite themselves, according to the Christian apostolic sense, under the following rules, through a communion of property, . . .\textsuperscript{24}
\end{quote}

In summary, three major factors supported the Zoarites' adoption of communalism: economic necessity, cultural tradition, and religious sanction. The adoption
of the communal system in America by two other Separatist
groups that had originated in the same area of Germany—the
Harmonists and the Amana Inspirationists—is further
evidence that supports this explanation.

The Articles of Association served as the Zoar
Society's first constitution and established the organiza-
tion of the Society's administrative system. It was
revised in 1833 and thereafter changed little in form until
the dissolution of the Society in 1898. The simple plan
gave equal status to men and women members, a reflection
of the group's Pietist origins, and entrusted all adminis-
trative and economic powers to three directors, one of
which was to be elected each year. Joseph Bimeler was
entrusted with the role of "Agent General," in which
capacity he functioned, until his death in 1853, as a
general manager of the Society and as the Society's
representative in transactions with the outside world.

From the start, Bimeler was also looked to as the
spiritual leader of the group. His own religious beliefs
thus shaped the development of Zoarites' particular ver-
sion of Separatism. For the most part, Bimeler held to
the faith as it had been believed and practiced in
Wurttemberg.

Bimeler did, however, introduce two notable
deviations: a reinterpretation of the doctrine that
Christ would physically reappear on earth to mean that a
spiritual regeneration of man would occur, and an abandonment of any previous mystical orientation. 27

On Sunday mornings Bimeler delivered what he called "Discourses," which he claimed to be directly inspired by God. 28 These religious talks were delivered spontaneously without the aid of notes and Bimeler's charismatic personality and ability as a speaker apparently commanded the group's attention and respect. 29

A man named Johannes Neef kept notes of the Discourses for his deaf father until 1832, and after an interval of two years another member took over this task until Bimeler's death. 29 The Discourses were later printed on a hand press, purchased specifically for this purpose, and copies were distributed among members. 30

Bimeler apparently had no able successor as spiritual leader; after his death, his Discourses were read aloud during the Sunday meetings and, having been previously noted, the exact hymns sung at the time the Discourses were originally delivered were sung again. From this point, the Sunday meetings assumed a rather mundane quality. 31

From 1822 until 1830 the community adopted the practice of celibacy, banning marriage and requiring married couples to live apart. 32 It is difficult to precisely identify the motivation for this plan. The Harmonists, with whom the Zoarites had considerable
contact, adopted celibacy in 1807 and continued its practice throughout the remainder of its existence, mainly on religious grounds.\textsuperscript{33} The Separatist Principles, established by Separatists in Germany around 1816, acknowledged the necessity of sexual relations for perpetuating the race, but maintained that celibacy was spiritually more desirable.\textsuperscript{34}

Nixon, however, has suggested that a major incentive for the adoption of celibacy was economic necessity. He argues that the community assumed this practice primarily in response to a "grave doubt as to whether the community could support any great increase in population for some years to come,"\textsuperscript{35} and a realization that women could contribute to the labor force to a greater degree if not restricted by childbearing and the responsibilities of childrearing.\textsuperscript{36}

The Zoar Society clearly did prosper during the 1820's and Zoar women undeniably played no small part in this trend. Also, celibacy was abandoned soon after the Society's land debt was paid.\textsuperscript{37}

Likely, a combination of these considerations—religious and economic—prompted the adoption of celibacy though the question of which had greater importance has not been sufficiently investigated to reach a convincing conclusion.
Although the system of communalism adopted by the Zoar Society was not meticulously defined or monitored (as it was by some other communal societies, most notably the Shakers), it did assume a routine character and was slow to change once established. Workers were summoned each morning at a specific time, depending on the season, by a horn or bell. At this time tasks were assigned, having been arranged the previous evening by the directors.\textsuperscript{38} Unusually large buildings housed "families," consisting of several individuals. Clothing, food and other necessities were distributed among households according to their needs, though some goods were produced within individual households.\textsuperscript{39}

Until the 1840's, children over the age of three were required to live in boys' and girls' dormitories.\textsuperscript{40} After the abandonment of celibacy, this arrangement continued to free the majority of Zoar women to participate in the labor force, except a few who tended to domestic household responsibilities. Children were formally educated in a school located in Zoar that was part of the Tuscarawas County school system. The school building was maintained by the Zoar Society and the school system paid the salaries of the teachers, who were often Zoar Society members.\textsuperscript{41}

From the Society's beginning until its close, agriculture was its underlying foundation. Most of the Zoar
Society's lands were not considered particularly fertile, except the plains that lay along the Tuscarawas River. These areas had previously been cleared and planted in corn by Indians. The Society's eagerness to have the land cleared is illustrated by the fact that within fifteen years of the founding of Zoar, approximately one thousand acres had been cleared. All of the major crops and livestock normally raised in that part of Ohio were raised at Zoar.

Women greatly enlarged the agricultural labor force. They worked with men in most phases of field labor and were almost solely responsible for sheep shearing, dairying, vegetable gardening, and all phases of work connected with the Zoar silk and linen industries. Yet, as agriculture expanded in Zoar, the labor force was still insufficient. Therefore, as the community prospered, the Society began to hire a number of farm laborers each year. By 1850, sixty men were employed in farm work. Most individuals hired were recent immigrants from southern Germany. They were housed in the "Baurhaus," located in the village, during the term of their employment, which often amounted to a period of several years.

Agriculture was complemented by a number of trades and industries. While most agricultural workers were assigned tasks each morning, skilled workers operated their trades continually, only occasionally vacating their
shops to assist in heavy seasonal agricultural tasks, especially during harvests.\textsuperscript{48}

Trade shops, special service shops, and manufactory located in Zoar included: a bakery, a pottery, a dairy, a butcher shop, a tannery, a sewing house, a cabinet shop, a tinshop, a tailoring shop, a weaving house, a cooper shop, a cartwright shop, a shingle shop, a print shop, a woolen mill, two sawmills, a planing mill, a grist mill, a cider mill, a silk factory, two brickyards, two blast furnaces, a foundry, and, not least, a brewery.\textsuperscript{49} The importance or even the existence of many of these was not consistent throughout the nineteenth century, but this is a sampling of those of importance at some time.

In many cases, the goods and services produced in Zoar were intended only for community use. Several operations, however, purposely produced surplus goods or provided services to outsiders for profit. Most significant among exported Zoar products were woolen blankets, flour, and pig iron.\textsuperscript{50} These and many other goods were disposed of in a number of ways. Many items were sold in the Zoar Store to farmers in the outlying area, travelers, and to hired workers who lived in the community.\textsuperscript{51} (Often a portion of their pay was provided in the form of credit in the store.\textsuperscript{52}) Services were available to local outsiders as well, for example: milling, repairs of all
kinds, various phases of wool processing, and the custom production of tools or other items.\textsuperscript{53}

The Zoar Hotel was built in 1833 and an addition to it was made in 1892.\textsuperscript{54} It was originally built to accommodate occasional visitors and those who came to Zoar to conduct business. Beginning in the 1870's Zoar became popular as a summer resort, and by the late nineteenth century, the Zoar Hotel had become an important economic asset to the Society.\textsuperscript{55} This operation became an important outlet for a great variety of Zoar products.

The most significant amount of Zoar products were sold at distant markets. This outlet was accessible early in the Society's history by way of the Ohio canal system. The Zoar Society contracted to build the section of the Ohio-Erie Canal that ran parallel to the Tuscarawas River. The construction of the canal between 1825 and 1833 brought the Society twenty-one thousand dollars, which was more than enough to pay off the land debt.\textsuperscript{56}

The ultimate benefit the Society derived from the canal, however, was direct accessibility to Cleveland and Lake Erie to the north, and Portsmouth and the Ohio River to the south, which made possible connections with otherwise inaccessible markets.\textsuperscript{57}

Finding it most economically favorable, the Zoar Society owned and operated four canal boats during its
history.\textsuperscript{5b} The Society also built warehouses near the canal, 1-1/2 miles from the center of Zoar. This made transportation transactions more convenient. The Zoar-owned canal boats and warehouses were also available for the surrounding communities' use.\textsuperscript{59}

Soon after the canal was opened, the Society built the Canal Hotel near the canal locks. This establishment was operated until about 1845.\textsuperscript{60} The occasional necessity to send an overflow of guests to the Zoar Hotel in the village indicates the Canal Hotel's popularity among canal boat operators and passengers, and local users of the canal.\textsuperscript{61}

The canal also brought business to the Zoar Store and to Zoar mills, where raw materials could be converted to more profitable products before being transported to market.\textsuperscript{62} In 1884 the establishment in Zoar of a train station on the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroad replaced the canal system in the transportation of Zoar products to market.\textsuperscript{63}

Despite the obvious necessity of adopting American language and culture to some degree, Zoar was able to maintain its German character throughout the nineteenth century. This was reflected in many areas of life. As was mentioned previously, the complex itself was laid out in a fashion reminiscent of rural German villages. Zoar architecture
also reflected German influence, both in style and construction. From the massive furniture to the decorative designs employed, Zoar's material culture also had a distinctively German flavor. German tradition was also reflected in many of the Zoarites' customs, for example, in their language, their diet, their musical traditions, their love for beer and wine, and the festivals they celebrated.

Several forces functioned to maintain German culture in Zoar. No doubt, the strongest force was tradition—the continuation of culture through socialization from one generation to the next. The many hired laborers and new members who had come directly from the Wurttemberg area to Zoar also contributed to keeping German culture fresh, most notably in keeping pure the Swabian dialect spoken in Zoar.

Another important factor was that many of the Zoarites' neighbors in the northern part of Tuscarawas County were of recent German origin. This had the same effect on culture and language in Zoar as did German hired laborers and new members. Moreover, this characteristic of the nearby community meant that Zoarites experienced little pressure to abandon their native culture. The relationship between Zoar and its neighbors is explored further in the following chapters.
This chapter has provided a general outline of the origins and features of the Zoar Society. A more detailed account of changes in economic policies, gradual changes in attitudes among Zoar Society members, and the resulting formal dissolution of the Zoar Society is presented in Chapter 7.
CHAPTER 4

A DESCRIPTION OF THE OUTSIDE COMMUNITY AND
ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ZOAR SOCIETY
PRIOR TO 1870

This chapter, like Chapter 3, is intended to serve as a background to the chapters that follow and is therefore only a brief sketch. More detailed accounts of the history of Tuscarawas County are listed in the bibliography at the end of this paper.

The chapter opens with a brief description of responses to the Zoar Separatists before their arrival in Tuscarawas County, included to provide a contrast to the Separatists' reception in Tuscarawas County. The chapter continues with descriptions of the local community, occasions for interaction between the Zoar Society and the outer community, and concludes with some assumptions about outside attitudes toward the Zoar Society.

The Separatists' history in Germany is provided in some detail in Chapter 3. It is appropriate here, however, to again emphasize that the harassment the Separatists experienced in Germany was primarily a reaction to their fanatic, unorthodox religious beliefs and practices. The
persecution they experienced was apparently unbearable—enough to induce the Separatists to emigrate from their native country.

The Separatists arrived in Philadelphia in 1817 where local Quakers fed and housed them for some months. The Quakers also helped the Separatists find a section of land suitable for their settlement, for which purchase they loaned the group a large sum of money.¹ For these generous favors, the Philadelphia Quakers were kindly remembered by the Zoar Separatists for many years.²

During their stay in Philadelphia, however, several Friends expressed serious skepticism of the Separatists' religious and related moral beliefs, and of the sincerity and moral character of the group's chosen spiritual and temporal leader, Joseph Bimeler.³ For instance, the Quaker committee responsible for the Separatists declined requests made by Bimeler and others for letters of recommendation.⁴

A year after the Separatists' arrival in Ohio, Ohio Friends even expressed an inclination to "entirely close up the way of those who have been disposed to aid these people..." presumably based on sentiments they shared with Philadelphia Quakers "regarding the strange principles...which these people hold."⁵ In short, the Separatists' religious beliefs were not well received by the Quakers with whom they had contact.
No documentation was found that reveals early reactions in Tuscarawas County to the Separatists' religion; however, the Separatists seem to have been kindly received there. In 1939, a historian of Zoar noted, "legend has it that [when the Separatists arrived at Zoar] some of the neighbors helped supply food and the Indians supplied them with venison."  

Most accounts of this early period indicate that, during the Separatists' first couple of seasons in Ohio, neighbors also aided the group by hiring some of them to work on their farms, despite the economic hardships of those years. Though these accounts are not documented, they reflect a memory in Zoar traditions of a supportive reception upon their arrival in Tuscarawas County. A sympathetic attitude toward the Separatists is well understood when characteristics of the outside community are considered.

Tuscarawas County was originally settled in 1803 by immigrants of German origin from Pennsylvania and Virginia. The lands that were to become the towns of Dover and New Philadelphia were purchased in 1802 and 1803 and were settled in the following several years by Pennsylvania "Dutch" (of German origin) from the Susquehanna Valley in Pennsylvania.

The proportionally large number of German settlers is illustrated by the fact that in 1808, John Knisely, the
original purchaser of the New Philadelphia land, donated to the county 100 lots of land totaling 160 acres of which one "block" was allotted to each the German, Moravian, and English societies for cemetery purposes, and one lot each to the Germans and the English on which to build school-houses.\(^{10}\) (In these references it is safe to assume that "English" simply means English-speaking as opposed to German-speaking, since no evidence was found of actual English settlers in the region.)

Most early settlers in Lawrence Township (where Zoar was located) also came from either Germany or German areas of Pennsylvania.\(^{11}\) No references were found that specify which section of Germany was represented by settlers to Tuscarawas County; but some sources indicate that many of the Germans who settled in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century were from southern Germany, so it is possible that Pennsylvania Germans who came to Tuscarawas County were of southern-German descent.\(^{12}\)

A reference to when the practice of having separate schools for German-speaking children was abandoned in public schools was not found, but it is apparent that the German language was kept alive throughout the nineteenth century, illustrated by the circulation of German-language newspapers, a few published locally, into the twentieth century. Amish and many Mennonite groups still speak an Americanized German dialect today, though it is not written.
Religion is another important characteristic of the settlers of Tuscarawas County that should be considered. German-speaking Moravians had come to the Tuscarawas County area from Pennsylvania, originally as missionaries to the Indians in the area, as early as the 1760's, well before the county, or even the state was formally established.\textsuperscript{13} Many of the Germans and Pennsylvania Germans who came to Tuscarawas County practiced non-Lutheran religions, some with a history of European religious persecution, Anabaptist sectors representing a particularly sizable proportion. Lawrence Township had an especially large settlement of Dunkards, who began to emigrate to Indiana in the 1830's.\textsuperscript{14}

Large numbers of Pennsylvania-German Mennonites and Amish settled in the Tuscarawas County area in the 1820's and again in the 1840's.\textsuperscript{15} Also, a few Catholic German congregations formed in the area as early as the 1820's.\textsuperscript{16}

Lutherans, however, were also represented in Tuscarawas County. Around 1819 the first German Lutheran congregation in the area was organized and eventually grew to a significant size, forming an influential regional organization: the "Mother Synod of the Lutheran Church in the West."\textsuperscript{17}

There is no evidence of friction between the German Lutheran and German non-Lutheran groups. Methodist,
Presbyterian, and English Lutheran sects were also represented in the area.

Through the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, agriculture was the major economic pursuit in the area. While this was true of most areas of the country, it is significant that working the land was a religious ideal among many of the German settlers of the region. As was the case in much of this part of the country, tobacco was a leading crop in Tuscarawas County during the 1820's and 1830's. In time, however, soil erosion and depletion led to diminishing outputs.

Though tobacco continued to be raised as a cash crop for several decades, it was largely displaced by the 1840's by grains; and, with the increased availability of cheap transportation to eastern markets, flour became an important product of the area. However, as the railroads expanded farther west in the later part of the nineteenth century, the rolling farms of northeastern Ohio could no longer compete with the heavy grain production of the Great Plains region.

During this time, many Ohio farmers turned to truck farming or other areas of specialization. In Tuscarawas County, and in other nearby counties, many farmers turned to dairying, especially the production of "Schweitzer" or Swiss cheese, for which the area acquired and has maintained
a notable reputation. This type of specialization was made possible by the knowledge of the process brought by Germans and Swiss to the area.\textsuperscript{21}

Though agriculture was the foremost endeavor in the area, manufacturing and industrial interests emerged as well. The completion of the Ohio-Erie Canal in the early 1830's made profitable specialized industries possible in Tuscarawas County. Among these were the manufacture of bricks and vitrified drain tiles, made from the fine clay indigenous to the area; the mining and some processing of coal, iron, and salt; flour milling; and the manufacture of woolen products.\textsuperscript{22}

With these characteristics of the Tuscarawas County area in mind, it is possible to begin to put the Zoar Society in context. Clearly Zoarites had much in common with many of their neighbors. The most obvious similarities were in their cultural background and their language, which may even have been of a similar dialect in some cases.

But even more important were similarities in their religious backgrounds, especially in memories of religious persecution in Europe, which made the Zoarites and many of their neighbors especially aware of the necessity of mutual tolerance of and respect for one another's religious beliefs and practices.
However, these similarities in culture and religious background would have been of little consequence if only very limited interaction happened between these groups. A good deal of interaction, however, did occur.

As is noted earlier in this chapter, some members of the Zoar Society worked for local farmers during the first couple of seasons of their settlement in Tuscarawas County. Also, provisions and materials that could not be brought along from the East had to be purchased from the outside community until the Zoarites were able to provide such necessities for themselves.23

Economic relationships continued through the century to be an important basis for interaction between the Zoar Society and the outside community. As early as 1825 agricultural products were sold by the Zoar Society,24 and in 1833 the Zoar Store was built, from which a variety of Zoar products were sold to or bartered for with farmers in the surrounding area.25 Local farmers also came to Zoar to procure services provided in Zoar shops and mills.

The Ohio-Erie Canal, which had locks in Zoar, was also a source of economic interaction between Zoar and the outside community. Because of the convenient location of the canal near Zoar, some local farmers not only shipped from Zoar but also had agricultural products processed in Zoar mills before shipping them, especially in the case of having grain milled into flour.26
Although the occasions for economic interaction described above represented formal ties with the outside, they likely also formed the basis for informal social ties. An excellent example was the Society's practice of hiring outside laborers. The majority of these workers had come directly to Zoar from Germany, but many--those who did not become Society members--eventually became members of the outside community. Not only did hired laborers work side by side with Zoarites, but they also lived in Zoar during their term of employment, sometimes as long as a few years. This system clearly established longstanding social ties between Zoarites and the outside community.

There were also occasions for social interaction between Zoar and their neighbors that were unrelated to economic interaction. For instance, the Zoar Society invited the outside community to join in their seasonal and cultural celebrations. The Zoar Society also participated in the county's agricultural fairs. A reference to their entries in the fair is made as early as 1854.

In consideration of the characteristics of each the Zoar Society and the outside community, it seems likely that the attitude of local outsiders toward Zoar was not hostile at least, and positive at best. Those who shared a similar culture, language, and religious background with the Zoar Separatists likely saw little that was especially
unusual or offensive in the Zoarites' way of life. Even the Zoar Society's communal system may not have seemed strange or unnatural to these German neighbors since such an economic and social system was reminiscent of European agricultural tradition, with which many likely were familiar.

While many of the non-Germanic portion of the community may have perceived the Zoarites' communal system as somewhat unusual, it is unlikely that this and other of the Society's features were considered as much different from the peculiarities of some other German religious sects of the area, such as Amish and Mennonites, characterized by conspicuous traditional clothing and customs.

Also, the Zoar Society had been a part of the community since the early years of the area's settlement and thus had taken part in the exciting era of the area's development. The following excerpt from an editorial entitled "The Ohio Canal" that appeared in a local newspaper in 1878 gives an excellent illustration of Zoar's presence in the midst of the excitement:

The first boat came here to Lockport--or where Lockport now is--July 4, 1830. I think the name of the boat was 'Union,' and was to take the citizens of New Philadelphia and Dover [on] a boat ride to Zoar and return in the evening. I was then about fifteen years old . . . and well remember the excitement of the people here . . . 30

Moreover, Zoarites proved themselves to be able businessmen and agriculturalists who contributed to the economic stability of the community.
Preceding is a general sketch of the characteristics of the community surrounding Zoar, and its interactions with and attitudes toward the Zoar Society. Clearly, more complex circumstances than what has been described here were involved, and the complexities no doubt evolved and differed through the years. However, the chapter serves to give some perspective to the period following 1870. The following chapters, which are devoted to the later period, give more attention to some of the intricacies of the relationships and transformations involved.
CHAPTER 5

THE ZOAR SOCIETY AND ITS NEIGHBORS, 1870-1898

This chapter will look at continuities and changes in the characteristics of the community outlying Zoar and in the interaction between the Zoar Society and the outside community that occurred after 1870. The circumstantial forces that caused change during this period—the transformation of transportation and communication systems—will first be considered. Following will be a discussion of the resulting alterations in the community's characteristics and of its characteristics that remained constant as a result of cultural integrity. The next portion of the chapter will describe interactions between the Zoar Society and the outer community that resulted from Zoar's new attraction as a resort, describing first the popularity of visiting Zoar among the local community, and second, Zoarites' roles in this new sphere of interaction. The final section of the chapter will present other phases of interaction with the outside community unrelated to the resort business, that were initiated by the Zoar Society.
The choice of the year 1870 as a starting point for this section of the study was not originally based on any specific change or event that occurred in either Zoar or the outer community. Rather, it was chosen as an approximate time when newspapers began to incorporate local news and editorials, important to the practical research necessities of this study.

Very soon, however, it became apparent that these changes in the newspapers reflected important developments in transportation and communication networks that affected many areas of life. The 1850's through the 1880's was a period of phenomenal railroad expansion all across the nation.¹

In the Tuscarawas County area, the most important new railroad lines were opened in the 1870's and 1880's.² These established relatively speedy and inexpensive passenger connections between many local towns, including Dover, New Philadelphia, and Zoar, making day trips, or "excursions," much more popular than before. These developments contributed to an enlargement of the area perceived as being part of the "local" community. But, as the perceived inclusive area of the community grew, and the likelihood of everyone knowing everyone else's business diminished, sections devoted to local news began to appear in the local newspapers. This explains the appropriateness of 1870 as a beginning point for this section of the study.
Expansion of national communication networks also affected the local culture since it increased exposure to mainstream American culture. The combination of this influence with the natural inclination of younger generations to adopt American culture and identify less with European culture, no doubt resulted in a growing American bias. The area, though, did continue to display a notable German character throughout this period. For instance, many retained the German language. German-language newspapers continued to be circulated in the area into the twentieth century. Even local newspapers printed in English included articles and local "communications" printed in German up to at least the turn of the century.

An entry that appeared in a local paper in 1878 indicates the continued popularity of the German language:

"The German language is fully and well represented on the Democratic ticket. All the candidates on the Democratic County Ticket, except Geo. W. Bowers, ... readily speak the German, and George makes up that deficiency by being an A No. 1 good fellow and mighty popular with everybody ... ³"

The newspapers also make note of and describe cultural German celebrations, such as those which took place in Zoar. Even Fourth of July celebrations had a German flavor, including performances by ever popular local brass bands and speeches and singing in both English and German.⁴

By the 1870's, the variety of religious sects represented in the area, especially in towns, had expanded; but
the German share of these remained influential. As the following description of the Amish that appeared in a Dover paper indicates, the area also continued to include a large Anabaptist sector and the community continued to be tolerant and even supportive of this element:

The Omish Church. We think it nothing more than justice to these good people to give your numerous readers a few ideas in reference to their citizenship and their influence in our community. They are a peaceable, inoffensive people. They are liberal and obliging to those in need, and you see but a few in want that belong to their church. They are strictly honest and truthful; their word is as good as a note with security. If the mechanics and merchants of our village were deprived of the Omish patronage, there would be but little left. They are alive to all improvements, and are among the first class farmers in our vicinity.

Although agriculture continued to be the primary economic pursuit in the area, the introduction of the railroad stimulated industry and commerce. In general, those same local industries mentioned in Chapter 4 continued and prospered during this period. Local businesses also flourished in response to both the growing prosperity of the area and the ever-increasing emphasis on materialism throughout the Victorian era.

During this period, the most immediate and significant contact between Zoar and the outside world was also closely related to the introduction of the railroad: that interaction which resulted from Zoar's fast-growing popularity as a resort. Zoar had been visited by outsiders since the Zoar Hotel was built in the 1830's, mostly by people who had
business in Zoar, as well as a few who came to take advantage of the supposed healthful effects of the mineral springs in Zoar. But with the introduction of the railroad in the 1870's with a stop near Zoar, the village became immediately accessible to the outside world; soon Zoar became extremely popular as a resort. The Zoar Hotel was primarily occupied by visitors from cities of the larger surrounding area, including Cleveland, Akron, Canton, Pittsburgh, and others.

Railroad transportation also made it possible for citizens of the local area to enjoy Zoar. However, once Zoar's popularity as a resort was established, local visitors also began to come in buggies and river boats. Local visitors occasionally stayed overnight at the Zoar Hotel, but most often they came to Zoar for a day or an evening. A railroad advertisement from the early 1870's illustrates this new phenomenon of the possibility of making such day trips to Zoar by train:

Parties of half a dozen or less, desiring even one days recreation, have a nice opportunity now by taking the 7 A.M. train on the C. and P. to Zoar Station, (fare 35 cts.) thence . . . to Zoar, where the day may be pleasantly whiled away, and return . . . arriving at New Philadelphia by the 9 P.M. train.  

As one observer described, visitors went to Zoar "to enjoy themselves hugely, in riding, driving, jumping, gamboling upon the green-sward, fishing, hunting, [and]
baseball and euchre playing." Visits often included a meal at the Zoar Hotel as well, though picnics were also quite popular.

Local visitors included not only families, couples, and informal groups, but also groups affiliated with formal social institutions, such as church organizations, dramatic clubs, women's charitable societies, fraternal societies, musical associations, and agricultural societies. The popularity of Zoar as a local center of social activity during the late nineteenth century cannot be overstated: it truly was a local institution. By the late 1880's and the 1890's, it was not uncommon for summer editions of local weekly newspapers to include as many as four or five entries describing or simply noting local citizens' visits to Zoar, such as this:

A number of our nobby young married people had a pleasant trip to Zoar Wednesday. It was a nice drive and a good time,

or this:

Mr. and Mrs. George B. Deardorff last week enjoyed the rural airs and quaint scenery about Zoar. Mr. D. has been too closely confined in his hardware store, and took this means of securing rest;

or announcing planned gatherings of local groups, for instance:

On Thursday, August 9, the U.B. [United Brethren] Sabbath School of New Philadelphia, have an Excursion and Basket Picnic at Zoar, Train leaving
C. & P. depot at Dover at 7:30 A.M. Fare 40 cents. Excellent music and a good time is expected. All are kindly invited. The Zoar Society also took an active part in this phase of interaction with the outer community. First, the Zoar Society sought out visitation through solicitations to local citizens printed in local newspapers, for instance:

Zoar Hotel. The undersigned are pleased to announce that their new hotel will be completed and ready for guests on July 10th. The new house is furnished with all modern conveniences, including hot and cold baths. The village has long been noted for its picturesqueness and beauty. For further information, address the Zoar Society, Zoar, 0.

The Zoar Society also encouraged visitation and cultivated a friendly relationship with their neighbors by inviting them to festivities held in Zoar on various occasions, for instance the Schwabenfest, a celebration held in honor of immigrants and their descendants from Swabia (a part of Germany from which many Zoarites and local citizens originated); and Harvest Home Picnics, occasionally held in Zoar to celebrate the late summer harvest. The following entry gives an idea of the enthusiasm and neighborly fellowship that accompanied such an affair:

On Saturday morning last a procession of wagons and buggies a quarter of a mile in length, headed by the Shanesville band, passed through Dover en route for the Harvest-home Picnic at Zoar. It was a grand reunion of friends and neighbors, and an occasion long to be remembered.
Zoarites also participated in this relationship to some degree by personally interacting with visitors while on Zoar grounds. Several entries in the local newspapers that describe visits to Zoar include mention of talking with certain members of the Zoar Society. There are even a few references to courtship between young visitors and Zoarites. Interaction also took the form of less direct personal contact, such as performances by the Zoar band for visitors, to which several references were found; or Zoarites and visitors merely being within one another's sight—no doubt each was equally curious of the other.

Although hosting visitors was the most outstanding interaction the Zoar Society had with the outer community, there were several other occasions for contact. Actually, as Nixon noted, the benefits gained from the apparently harmless resort business obliterated any previous prejudice among Zoarites against contact with the outside world. This attitude made other modes of outside interaction more acceptable. Hence, the Zoar Society's active participation in the community gradually became more conspicuous during the last couple of decades of the nineteenth century.

As ever before, the Zoar Society continued to provide goods and services to the local community. Several references were found in the local papers to Zoar's business transactions with neighboring citizens and businesses;
for example, "a big cheese," purchased by a nearby butcher shop; "a nice pair of coach horses," bought by a local livery; and the Society's "squeezing" a "two-horse load of apples" into cider for a local farmer. The only new circumstance was that the Society began to solicit such business. An advertisement for the Zoar Woolen Mills is a typical example:

Having refitted our Mill for manufacturing woolen goods, such as yarns, flannels, cassimeres, satinets, and a special line for farmers and mechanics wear, we respectfully invite the attention of the public to the same. All our goods are manufactured from pure Ohio wool, and are therefore free from shoddy and cotton. The Zoar Society.16

Newspapers became another tie between the Zoar Society and the outer community. For many years, the Society had subscribed to weekly German-language newspapers, but there is no evidence that either the Zoar Society or individual members subscribed to local English-language newspapers before the 1870's. As contact with outsiders increased, however, some Society members managed to obtain cash of their own so were able to purchase personal subscriptions to local papers. An editor's comment in an 1882 Dover paper describes how prevalent Zoar members' subscriptions had become:

When we engaged in the newspaper business, we never expected to have more than a subscriber or two at that place, . . . but one by one, names have been added to our list till now we
have quite a respectable showing, and we count the Zoar Society people among the staunchest friends of the Iron Valley Reporter. ¹⁸

Certainly this served to strengthen ties between the Zoar Society and the outside community. On the Zoar Society's end, the local papers informed members of local events and concerns. Regular references in the papers to the Zoar Society likely also reinforced the Society's awareness of its important place in the community. Through the papers, the outside community was also made aware of the Zoar Society's involvement in local matters not related to commercial interests (discussed later in this chapter).

With limited resources and a small number of reporters, it had been, since the 1870's, a common practice for local papers to print letters from local towns that described their recent events and items of interest. During the 1870's, no correspondence directly from Zoar was found in local papers. Any Zoar news that appeared in the papers during these years was submitted by newspaper editors or was included in communications from small towns located near Zoar, especially Bolivar and Zoar Station. The information about Zoar provided by these sources, though, was usually quite limited and sometimes inaccurate. ¹⁹

By the early 1880's, Zoar subscribers finally became bold enough to actually send correspondence to the local newspapers, especially Dover's, Iron Valley Reporter.
However, the first letter from Zoar to that paper was, unlike the usual gossipy communications from local towns, an extensive moralistic exposition of the Zoar Society's position on the issue of corporal punishment, with regard to a recent local murder case. A few lines are included here to give a sense of the tone of this editorial:

I read in Lev. 24, xvii: 'He that killeth any man shall surely be put to death.' How does this language represent the case in question? . . . We think that one reason why God has commanded the murderer to be killed, is because of the affront he offers to God. The criminal law does not punish that it may inflict suffering. The law seeks to deter from crime by the example of punishment. Is it not right to restrain the liberty of the offender, that they who do not offend may enjoy their own liberty?20

The Zoarites likely took a special interest in the case, since the woman who committed the murder had three years previously worked for the Zoar Society and, during her term of employment there, had permanently injured a fellow worker with a potato hook.21 But whatever the motive was for this first direct correspondence from Zoar in this paper, it served the purpose of initiating future correspondence from Zoar.

After this first letter no correspondence from Zoar appeared for four months. The next correspondence began:

As nobody else has yet undertaken to give you news from this town, which really deserves mention. I shall try to let you know something occasionally.22
From this point correspondence from Zoar continued to appear irregularly through the 1880's and then quite regularly through the 1890's, and continued even after the dissolution of the Society in 1898. The correspondence from Zoar following their initial letter was as gossipy and often trivial as that from any other local town, including reports and descriptions of personal illnesses and deaths, agricultural activities, minor business interests, physical changes or improvements in property, and various other matters. This type of communication to the papers, and thus to the community, reveals both a sense of local pride and a sense of belonging within the larger community.

Another example of Zoarites' community participation was in the realm of politics. Zoarites had apparently been politically aware and active throughout the nineteenth century; however, there is some interesting documentation from this later period that illustrates a strong interest in politics among Zoarites. For instance, an 1890 entry in Alexander Gunn's journal notes the importance of election day in Zoar:

This is election day. All the brethren vote at Bolivar—all Republicans but two or three... In the afternoon talk with the brethren about the excitement of the day. It is here a half-holiday, the only one in the year except Thanksgiving.

And a few days later he wrote:
Louis and Joseph go over to the hotel with us. The landlord is brooding over the Republican defeat.25

Zoarites, like many of their neighbors, took a great interest in the 1896 Presidential election. In June of that year, Zoarites described expressions of their enthusiasm in a communication to the Iron Valley Reporter:

Mr. McKinley's nomination was duly celebrated here. When the news reached town Thursday evening, Mr. Zimmerman got out the band. The band rendered all the patriotic airs and was much applauded. The spirit of patriotism took hold of young America who kept up the celebration til midnight.26

And a couple of weeks before the election, Zoar Republicans sent a delegation of twenty-three members to an enthusiastic McKinley meeting in Mineral Point.27 These are examples of a mutual public interest that Zoarites shared with their neighbors.

The Society also joined with their neighbors in various local causes. For example, in response to Southern malaria epidemics during the late 1870's, a local society took up a collection, to which the Zoar Society donated twenty-five dollars.28 Another example is the Society's donation to a local Soldiers' Reunion Dinner:

The Zoar Society donated for the reunion, the finest beef they had on their farm, weighing 1500 pounds. When the boys got the news, they gave three rousing cheers and a tiger for the good people of Zoar.29

The Zoar Society Band also represented the Society in various community events. For example, it participated in
local band contests, which were highly celebrated community events. The local newspapers also note the Zoar Band's participation in local Fourth of July celebrations, such as the one described below in which the Zoar Band was a central feature:

The Workingman's Society formed a procession at nine o'clock, and marched about the streets and to the fairground. They were led by the Zoar Society Band, which made very good music.30

Also, the Society continued to participate in Tuscarawas County agricultural fairs, by entering livestock and other agricultural products. This was an important community event and on a few occasions local papers mention the "good showing" made by the Zoar Society.31

The Zoar Society participated with the local community in the area of education in a couple of ways. First, although the school in Zoar was mainly attended by Zoar Society children, non-Society children from the surrounding area also attended, since the Zoar School was part of the Tuscarawas County school system.32 Clearly this meant interaction between Society and non-Society children, and possibly between those non-Society children's parents and the school's instructors, who were often Zoar Society members.33 Second, the Zoar School's instructors appear to have regularly participated in local "Teacher's Institutes," which were periodic two-week-long seminar-type gatherings of local teachers.34 These were obviously
occasions for both professional and social interaction between Zoar and other local teachers.

Members who had seceded from the Society represented another type of interaction, perhaps more appropriately called integration with the outer community. Most of these individuals, and there were several during the last couple of decades of the nineteenth century, moved to local towns and formed close business and social ties with community members while maintaining some contact with their family and friends of the Zoar Society. These members thus served as another connection between Zoar and the community.

Though several points of connection between the Zoar Society and the outer community may have been overlooked, a fairly representative sampling has likely been included. In all, these examples are evidence of a good deal of interaction between the Zoar Society and the outside community in both formal and informal capacities. Even those who did not directly interact with the Zoar Society or individual Zoar Society members, most community members were aware of the Society's participation in community life, which was made public knowledge through the local newspapers. The following chapter considers specific attitudes of the outer community toward the Zoar Society.
CHAPTER 6

OUTSIDE COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARD

THE ZOAR SOCIETY, 1870-1898

When local newspapers began to include local news and commentary, Zoar appeared as a popular topic. As is shown in Chapter 5, entries in the papers reveal several aspects of interaction between the Zoar Society and the outer community. A few of the entries cited in Chapter 5 give some sense of community attitudes toward the Zoar Society, most fundamentally that the Society was acknowledged as being a part of the community. It has been noted that most of the references to Zoar found in the local newspapers are announcements and descriptions of local citizens visits to Zoar; however, the local newspapers also include articles and editorials that express specific attitudes toward the Zoar Society and its individual members, some related and some unrelated to the Society's resort business. The purpose of this chapter is to identify outside attitudes, and to consider the basis for these attitudes toward the Zoar Society, including those toward both public and internal aspects of the Zoar Society; and those toward individual Society members--presented in that order.
The majority of articles and editorials in local newspapers that describe the Zoar Society and its resort business are quite positive and some even idealistic in quality. These examples are typical:

The reputation of the Zoar Bsetzel and the Zoar bread and butter have gone abroad, and now it is not only a Sunday resort, but a summer resort... The pure atmosphere, the quite accommodating people; the quaint scenery, and the healthful diet and unconventional manners, attract sensible people who desire to escape the heat, and worry of business. There is but one Zoar.1

The town of Zoar, inhabited by a quaint interesting community. A placid stream flows through the valley, almost encircling the houses which nestle together, their red tile rooves in rude example of dutch architecture loaning a sense of romance to a spot embellished by the hand of nature. Shrouded by green hillsides, contented and industrious, the Zoarites live as one family... and one object--peace...2

Several factors have been identified that likely contributed to a favorable attitude of the outer community toward the Zoar Society, such as shared cultural and historic background and mutually favorable economic ties, but the immoderate positive tone of descriptions of Zoar that appeared in local papers, might be accounted for by another element. The local community was well aware that Zoar had become a fashionable resort among the supposed elite of larger cities. It seems to have occurred to Zoar's neighbors that their status as individuals and as a community would somehow be enhanced by participation in
popular trend of visiting Zoar. Publicly announcing and
describing their visits to Zoar in the local newspapers
affirmed the prestige thus acquired, and describing Zoar
in idealistic terms served to further enhance this
prestige.

The inclusion in local newspapers of complementary
articles about Zoar that were originally printed in distant
cities—as far away as Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, and
even Chicago and New York City—illustrates the community's
pride in "Zoar, our famous summer resort." In cases when
information included in such articles was not quite accu-
rate, local newspaper editors were eager to politely
correct them, especially when the corrections further
enhanced the image of Zoar. For example, A. McGregor of
the Canton Democrat wrote of Zoar,

All property is owned in common and they are
very wealthy. They number now over 300, own
about 7000 acres worth over a hundred
thousand dollars.4

To this a local editor responded,

We beg to correct brother McGregor of Canton
Democrat as to the 'worth' of the magnificent
possessions of the Zoar Society of this county.
They have in our county duplicate 7500 acres
appraised at $221,730. One tract of their land
4,106 acres stands appraised at $116,000. In
short, the money value of the Zoar Society may
be safely set down somewhere between $500,000
and one million dollars. A healthy institution
and a good people verily. --The Editors of the
Ohio Democrat.5
Some local contributors tended even to exaggerate Zoar's prestige, for example:

Zoar as a Place of Summer Resort. . . .
As a summer resort it is excelled only by Long Branch or Saratoga. It occurs to us that if President Grant knew that there was a place with such natural facilities for amusements, &e., that he wouldn't be fooling away his time at Long Branch. . . ."6

Also shown in the local newspapers was an avid interest in developments that would further enhance the Zoar resort business, such as improved or additional railroad lines connections to Zoar, or relevant improvements in Zoar. For instance, when the Zoar Society decided to build a large addition to the Zoar Hotel, a series of articles followed its progress, one of which even included an engraving of the new structure,7 an expensive and uncommon feature in local news sections during that period.

Although the Zoar Society did in general receive widespread approval and support from the outside community, a couple of the Society's practices related to the resort business did receive some criticism. The first is that of entertaining guests on Sunday. Though Zoarites did attend religious meetings on Sunday morning, their religion held that "one day was as holy as the next,"8 therefore, they did not abstain from work on Sunday. Apparently there was enough either internal or outside pressure to discontinue Sunday "entertaining" for a short time, as several references are made to this, but the practice was soon
resumed and was continued at least until the time of the Society's dissolution. The motivation for continuing Sunday operation, as criticisms quoted below suggest, was likely the economic benefit derived thereby. A couple of examples of criticism of this practice follow:

Last Sunday our Dover Dramatic Association made a carriage excursion to Zoar. We don't know that it contains only church members; but there are choristers of the leading churches in it. And besides the dramatic folks, there are half a dozen other prominent families of the town and members of the churches, who also excused in the same way. . . . We are not laying down the rules for these church people, and if their own consciences and churches don't interfere, we shall not try to stop them. We are only trying to show how vexed a question it is.9

Zoar is getting to be quite a resort again for pleasure seekers. For some time they had shut down on entertaining Sunday visitors, but the dollars were too great an inducement, and now strangers come in flocks on the Lord's day. Numbers go from our town, weekly; church members, Sabbath-school scholars, and all. They, perhaps consider it a Sabbath days' journey toward the promised land.10

A response to the latter of these appeared in another local paper the following week:

The 'Puritan' who prints the Iron Valley Reporter doesn't like to see people who toil all week enjoy themselves and take a little recreation on Sunday. . . . We hope the Zoar community will continue to entertain visitors, whenever they apply; and we suggest that they build a new hotel for that purpose.11

It is clear that the majority of the community approved of visiting Zoar on Sunday--that was the weekday when probably most local visitors went to Zoar.
During those years, the consumption and sale of alcohol was a sensitive issue. The Zoar Society, however, had its own brewery; and, as a part of the group's German heritage, the consumption of beer, wine and cider was popular in Zoar. Alexander Gunn noted in his journal,

The community consumes three thousand dollars worth of beer alone a year, to say nothing of cider; and every household has a private stock of wine, made from everything conceivable. ... An insatiable thirst is the strongest sentiment at Zoar.\textsuperscript{12}

The Zoarites made no effort to conceal their liking for these beverages either. Included in a communication from Zoar to a local paper is a description of an upcoming visit of "Schwabe" from Cleveland:

The Schwabe are great beer imbibers, and last year when they were here, they drank out the brewery. Hope they will not be quite so thirsty this year. We want some beer too. ...\textsuperscript{13}

It is somewhat surprising that no criticism of the Zoarites' consumption of alcoholic beverages was found except one amusing comment in an otherwise favorable description of Zoar, describing the location of the brewery as "very appropriately, just across from the cemetery."\textsuperscript{14}

This absence of criticism of the Zoarites' alcohol consumption is somewhat explained by a then common idea that, as a rule, "foreigners" drank in moderation, as is expressed in the following article:
It is a noticeable fact in this town and everywhere else that we have lived, that nine-tenths of the liquor saloons are carried on by foreigners, and that, perhaps, three-fourths of the people who drink are foreigners, and yet it is a fact that two-thirds of our dunkards are native Americans. This is paradoxical, yet it is true. The majority of our foreigners drink beer or wine, principally brim full, but our American takes whiskey, and takes it straight, and he gets drunk as a loon. There are exceptions but these things are the rule.15

Not only did Zoarites consume beer and wine, though; their brewery also supplied beer for the hotel "and for the christening and wedding feasts of the neighboring farmers."16 For their refusal to sell beer or wine on Sunday, the Society was often complemented; for example,

The excursion over the Marietta road to Zoar, Sunday, was a huge affair. People turned out in multitudes... To the credit of the Society, ... not a drop of beer, wine, or liquor could be had at any price.17

Again, for the Society's practice of dispensing alcoholic beverages, only one criticism was found; however, this is a strong condemnation:

Zoar had a crowd yesterday from the old Forest City; but the law was trampled in the dust. Beer was sold boldly without respect to age or sex. We do think the authorities should look this matter up; it looks strange to see a general community, and especially the best of every community, supporting prohibition last fall, and now allow so damming a thing as this without even a move to prevent it. Laws are a fraud if not enforced. We know parents who can pray fervently for the downfall of intoxicating drinks, but when their own sons get so drunk as to be taken home by another person, why it's the Zoar Society, and it's useless to act or attend to. ...18
The last line of the above excerpt is an excellent piece of evidence illustrating the Zoar Society's immunity from criticism, even on such sensitive issues as alcohol consumption and sales. The following notice is yet another instance of the Zoar Society's having been excused from local disapproval of alcohol sales:

The contest between the Wets and the Drys in Lawrence Township (outside of Zoar), resulted in a verdict against the saloons. . . .

This attitude can be attributed to the prestige the Zoar Society brought to the area through the resort business, making the community exceptionally tolerant of the Society's practices, especially those directly related to their resort business.

Although topics relating to the Zoar Society's resort business dominated references to the Society in the local newspapers, some references to other aspects of the Society were also found, though these were limited in number. Other than the comments cited above regarding Zoar's Sunday entertaining, only one subjective reference that specifically addresses Zoarites' business practices was found:

Mr. [Louis] Zimmerman, treasurer of the Zoar Society, Mr. [Peter] Bimeler, and several others of the younger members, are known as shrewed, careful, energetic businessmen with many modern ideas. . . .
This reference, however, was a reprint in a local paper from an outside source; also, the description is too vague to be certain what is meant by "modern ideas" in business.

Descriptions and opinions of the Zoar Society's agricultural practices are slightly more numerous. A typical example follows:

[The Society owns] 7000 acres of land—the finest in the Tuscarawas Valley; well stocked and under a high state of cultivation, with every industrial appliance for promoting the material interests of the Separatists' Society of Zoar. . . . [21]

This entry does not exactly say that the "industrial appliances" used were modern, but this is certainly implied. Other references also either imply or state that "modern tools and machinery are employed." [22] Reliable sources, however, explain that the Society had fallen behind the modern world in agricultural and industrial technology in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. [23] It is likely that the local descriptions of the Society's agricultural and industrial practices as modern were based either on ignorance of the technology actually employed in Zoar or on efforts to give an idealistic image of Zoar.

There were also topics of a public or common nature to which no references that expressed outside attitudes toward the Zoar Society were found, though several of these topics were acknowledged in local papers. Examples of such topics that were apparently exempt from scrutiny
include Zoarites' political views and practices; Zoarites' participation in or attendance at public events outside of Zoar, such as band contests, July Fourth or other community celebrations, agricultural fairs, or circuses; and the Zoar Society's investments in railroad companies or other institutions of local interest. These topics were likely not of a controversial nature and thus received no subjective commentary.

Very few references give any indication of outside attitudes regarding the Zoar Society's private internal systems. In the case of Zoarites' religion, two reasons could explain this. First—a practical reason—outsiders apparently knew little about the Zoar Separatists' religious beliefs. And a second reason explains the first: as was suggested in Chapter 4, there seems to have been a custom in this area, where many unconventional religious sects were represented, to show especial religious tolerance and respect for the privacy of local religious sects' beliefs and practices. Local newspapers, as a general rule, were devoid of discussion of the beliefs of local religious groups.

An article about Zoarites' religious beliefs, however, did surprisingly appear in 1888 in a local paper. It is possible that this unusual article was printed because it was originally printed in a Chicago newspaper, which
1) illustrated Zoar's nationwide fame, and 2) excused its focus on religion. Whatever the reason that this article was printed, the introduction reveals the local community's interest in the subject:

A correspondent discourses on the beliefs of the Zoarites, a letter of more than ordinary interest to the residents of Tuscarawas County. . . .

This article, entitled "Was Adam a Woman?," includes a long and detailed description of Joseph Bimeler's religious beliefs, specifically focusing on his alleged interpretation of the original creation of Adam and Eve: that Adam was originally half male and half female. Little is now understood about Bimeler's specific religious beliefs, so it is not possible to confirm or deny the author's descriptions of them. But it is possible that the author was misinformed or that he or she fabricated some of the information included in the article, judging from other information in the article known to be false. The local community, however, was likely unaware of how much of the article was true. In any case, no comment about the article's content was found in the current or later issues by either the local community or the Zoar Society, even though the ideas the article describes were extremely unorthodox. Apparently, printing such an article was as far as local newspaper editors were willing to neglect the local custom of respecting religious privacy.
Acknowledgement and descriptions of the Zoar Society's communal system were fairly common. The Society's communalism had, by the end of the nineteenth century, become conspicuously unconventional relative to the outside world. But there is no indication in the local papers of outside pressure on the Zoar Society to abandon this system. Instead, the Society's communal system is consistently favorably described. For instance, rarely was "strange" or any other negative term used to describe Zoarites' communal system; instead such terms as "quaint" or "refreshingly unconventional" were used. Other than attitudes that can be ascertained from the tone of the language used to describe Zoar communalism, no expressions of opinion were found. An explanation for this may be that the Zoarites' communal system was perceived as being tied to their religious beliefs, thus opinionated comment on it was not made for the reasons described above.

Also, though, it was clear to the outside community that the Zoarites' communal system was a feature of Zoar that attracted outside visitors to the fashionable resort, which feature, among others, the local community seems to have been reluctant to criticize or disrupt.

To this point, this chapter has focused on attitudes of the outer community toward the Zoar Society as a unit. Local newspapers, however, also included references to individual members of the Society. Because of their
association with the now "famous" Zoar Society, Zoarites appear to have been treated by outsiders somewhat as celebrities. That "so and so" of the Zoar Society "was in town" was often included in local news sections; and descriptions that often accompanied these were complementary; for example:

Louis Zimmerman was seen in town last week, [he is] a very pleasant gentleman; . . . one of the mainstays of the Zoar Society.  

When a member of the Zoar Society bought a subscription to a local newspaper, that newspaper's editor sometimes took advantage of the opportunity to advertise his paper with a note such as this:

We were pleased to add the name of Mr. August Kuecherer to our large list of subscribers. He is one of the gentlemanly storekeepers of the Zoar Society and a sociable young man.

The local papers also included notices and descriptions of accidents in which Zoarites were involved, or of deaths of Zoar Society members. Reports of such events, however, were not unique to Zoar.

In the majority of topics discussed in this chapter, it is apparent that the Zoar Society and its individual members enjoyed a favorable, if not privileged, status in the community, at least as is expressed in local newspapers. A few factors have been identified that may explain this positive attitude of the local community toward the Zoar Society: initially, the community's
cultural identity with the Zoar Separatists; with the advent of Zoar's popularity as a resort, the outer community's actual appreciation of Zoar as a local social institution; and, perhaps of most significance, the sense of prestige Zoar brought to the community as a result of its widespread fame and its popularity among the upper-middle class that it attracted as a summer resort.
CHAPTER 7

CHANGES IN THE ZOAR SOCIETY, INCLUDING DISSOLUTION,
1870-1898

During this period, there were several changes in characteristics of the Zoar Society. In the practical functions of the Society there were both some significant changes and some aspects that failed to change, for better or worse. The most significant changes, though, were in the attitudes and values of many Society members. All of these influences combined to wholly alter the nature of the community.

Until the Zoar Society dissolved in 1898, its administrative organization remained unchanged throughout the century, with one exception: Joseph Bimeler was not replaced in the role of Agent General after his death in 1853. The loss of both this individual and this position had a detrimental effect on the community. As Agent General, Bimeler had acted as a general overseer of the Society's practical functions. Under his direction and influence, the community's profits were reinvested in Society enterprises, so that agricultural and industrial
technology and practices kept pace with the most modern developments of the times.\textsuperscript{1} Bimeler had also acted as a central accountant for the Society and, under his supervision, craft shops and other commercial operations were operated efficiently and honestly.\textsuperscript{2} Throughout the duration of Bimeler's influence, the Zoar Society prospered.

After Bimeler's death, the efficiency of Society enterprises deteriorated. Rather than reinvest in Society operations, the Society's leaders began to invest in railroad and bank stocks, bonds, farm mortgages, and personal loans.\textsuperscript{3} These investments, though, were not always well-advised and in this way the Society eventually lost thousands of dollars.\textsuperscript{4} Because of the reluctance of Society leaders to invest in new agricultural or industrial machinery, production methods, and thus output, fell behind modern standards after the Civil War.\textsuperscript{5} Workers' frustration resulting from this situation, combined with unsupervised bookkeeping, resulted in a lack of motivation to seriously attempt to keep up production, and in some cases, resulted in "grave abuses," such as misappropriation of funds\textsuperscript{6} or sabotage of tools and machinery.\textsuperscript{7} This general deterioration ultimately resulted in huge annual losses; and, by the 1870's, the appearance of well-to-do visitors in Zoar was a welcome boost to the Society's economy.
Although agriculture remained the Society's economic base, the resort business provided a substantial supplement to Zoar income from the 1870's until the Society's dissolution. This new concern introduced a new orientation of community efforts. As the resort business grew, the practice of reserving the choicest goods for visitors became more pronounced. Also, it became necessary to produce additional goods, especially food, to meet the large demands of the hotel. In short, more effort was devoted to catering to visitors.

Significant changes in attitudes of Zoar Society members also became evidence during this period, some of which were directly related to the circumstantial changes described above, and some of which had evolved over the years and were but further cultivated by the above changes. Most significant was a gradual change in the religious sentiment of the group. The central concern of the original Separatist group was religion. To be able to practice their religion as they desired, they had made major sacrifices, including, in many cases, losing their homes and other property and, eventually, leaving their native country. The many new members that joined the Society in the 1840's, a generation after the original group had come to Zoar, had not necessarily left Germany for religious reasons; more often they left to escape the trauma and deprivation resulting from transitions in the economic
system, overpopulation, and poverty in Germany during that period. Many of these new arrivals had heard that they could "get a start" in Zoar, and hadn't necessarily originally intended to become members of the Society. Those who did join did not generally do so for primarily religious motives, but moreso for the economic security the communal system had to offer.

After Bimeler's death, and as other original members began to die, religion continually declined in significance in Zoar. Meanwhile, the community had prospered under the communal system and there was no serious desire among the group to abandon communalism. From the 1860's until the dissolution of the Society, the only religious address given during Sunday meetings was a reading of one of Bimeler's Discourses, not necessarily delivered by so able a speaker as Bimeler had been. By the 1890's, two-thirds of the community did not even attend the Sunday meetings.

Although German culture was still quite evident in Zoar at the end of the nineteenth century, the adoption of American culture and values had, during the last few decades of the century, become noticeable, especially among the youngest generations of Society members. In some cases, these values conflicted with Separatist ideals. For instance, as early as the 1860's, it was evident that Zoar youth did not necessarily adhere to pacifism, an
integral tenet of early Separatist faith: fourteen of the Society's young men enlisted in the Union Army early in the Civil War.\textsuperscript{13} Also, as Nixon noted, Zoarites had become inclined toward materialism, despite its incongruity with the original Separatist emphasis on austerity. Though not officially condoned, individual Zoarites sometimes acquired personal spending money through the sale of goods or services to visitors to Zoar. The furniture, clothing, and Victorian knick-knackery that Zoarites acquired during the late nineteenth century are evidence of fashionable worldly taste among Zoarites.\textsuperscript{15}

Finally, there arose sentiments of resentment about some elements of life in Zoar. One source of complaint was a sense of inequality between members in both living accommodations and work responsibilities.\textsuperscript{16} Another complaint was that the first and best Zoar products were reserved for the hotel; Nixon explained,

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 years of the community. . . . But many members felt that the time was past for the frugal living and rigid self-denial of the earlier period.\textsuperscript{17}

Also, those who worked in Zoar agriculture, crafts, and industries—a large portion of the community—experienced resentment toward Society leaders, who refused to invest in newer, more productive equipment.\textsuperscript{18}
During the last couple of decades of the nineteenth century, a number of Zoarites, especially young men, left the Society to pursue a livelihood outside of Zoar. Some of the communications to local newspapers from Zoar reveal the sentiments of those who remained in Zoar about members who had left. Most of these communications express regret; yet most also express support and, in some cases, even excitement about those members' move. The following excerpt gives a sense of this supportive attitude:

... Mr. and Mrs. David Harr ... have decided to leave the Society next fall and will make their home in Cleveland. Mr. Harr was Superintendent of the Zoar Woolen Mills and had a reputation as manufacturer of the best all-wool blankets in the state. ... We are sorry that the family leaves us as it is one of the best families in Zoar.

John Barkhart has left the Society and has secured a place in the tin mills of Dover. We are well acquainted with John and assure you that he will be a faithful workman, a profit to his employers, and with all an honest fellow. It is significant that the best element leaves the Society. We never heard any of the town loafers express the wish to assume an independent station in life. ... 19

The conclusion of the excerpt above explains that these were model individuals and perhaps implies that their move was not only acceptable but even exemplary of what sensible people in Zoar do. Furthermore, as Nixon suggested, the success of ex-members in the outside world was a source of discontent among those who remained in Zoar. 20

Nixon also acknowledged that contact with the outside world introduced dissatisfaction among Society members
with their situation. He explained:

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. . . .

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. . . . 21

The developments described above culminated, by the 1890's, in a general dissatisfaction among Zoar Society members with the communal system. Actual agitation to dissolve the Society began in 1896 when Levi Bimeler, a Zoar schoolteacher and a great-grandson of Joseph Bimeler, printed three issues of a newspaper, the Nugitna, 22 which were distributed among Society members. 23 Bimeler's editorial in these papers argued, in short, that the communal system was, for various reasons, no longer appropriate in Zoar and should be abandoned. Though Society leaders quickly put a stop to the papers, Bimeler's editorials caused quite a stir among Society members. Two years later, on March 10, 1898, the Zoar Society was formally dissolved and soon after the property was legally divided among members. 24 The resolutions adopted at the time of the dissolution outlined the fundamental factors that made the communal system no longer satisfactory: 1) financial instability, 2) lack of shared religious sentiment, 3) poor performance of workers, and
4) dissatisfaction among many Society members with the communal system.  

The local community took no small interest in these developments in Zoar. Bimeler's editorial comments in each issue of his Nugitna were printed in local papers, preceded by lengthy discussions of the situation. The following excerpt illustrates the supportive attitude of the outside community toward both the Zoar community and the approach used by the agitators:

... They are a peaceable, honest, and frugal and prosperous people, but discontent has been growing on the part of their younger and most energetic and enterprising young men and women; as is evidenced by numbers of them going out into the world moneyless, rather than remain.

But the present move is a more momentous one than has ever heretofore confronted the Society. It is a peaceable, friendly, argumentative, educational attack on the fundamental theories and tenets of the Society.

... There is plenty of room for argument pro and con. ... Whatever the result may be, the agitators are pursuing the right method.

Finally, in March of 1898, Levi Bimeler sent to the Iron Valley Reporter a formal public announcement of the Society's dissolution. His letter included a brief history of the Society's origins, the reasons for the decision to dissolve the Society, and details of the agreement, including a description of the contract, the names of lawyers employed, and other details that confirmed the legality of the move. The introduction of his letter suggests the commotion this move had caused in the
community:

The vague, impossible, and most absurd accounts of Zoar going the rounds of the press make it necessary for us to disclose the true state of affairs. 25

The dissolution of the Zoar Society seems to have been a natural and inevitable outcome.

It is important here to acknowledge the significance of Zoarites' interaction with the outside community in hastening the processes of both abandonment of the communal system and integration with the outside community. Zoar's attraction to outsiders as a resort led to Society members' dissatisfaction with communalism in two major ways: first, it provided Zoarites a direct comparison with outsiders' way of life and their own; and second, the resort business itself was a source of resentment toward the communal system since it required members to continually sacrifice the best fruits of their labor for the good of the community. Also, interaction with the outer community, through both the resort business and local newspapers, contributed to a gradual adoption of values of the outside world and an ever-declining identity with Separatist values. Furthermore, continued contact between Society members and ex-members was a form of actual integration since it represented personal ties with the outside community. And finally, ex-members' success in the outside world demonstrated the receptiveness of the
outer community and the possibility of individuals successfully making the transition to the capitalist system. Factors other than these contributed to the Society's dissolution; but clearly, Zoarites' various contacts with the outside world, and specifically with the local community, played no small role in this outcome.
CONCLUSION

A discussion of sources of disapproval of various nineteenth-century communal societies was included in Chapter 1. Sources of disapproval cited include unorthodox religious beliefs, unusual sexual practices, political beliefs and practices, perceived inequities, and cultural differences. No evidence was found that shows that the Zoar Society received outside criticism in any of these instances. Instead, the evidence has shown that the Society enjoyed quite favorable relations with its neighbors.

Initially, the most important factor contributing to favorable relations between the Zoar Society and the local community was that they shared a like cultural heritage. Also, because the community in which the Zoar Society existed included several other unorthodox religious sects with a history of religious persecution, the community carried on a tradition of especial tolerance of individual religious sects' beliefs and practices. Therefore, the Zoar Society fit in well--there was little about the Society that could be seen as offensive or threatening to the status quo of the community.

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Later in the century, when railroads were introduced to the area, Zoar gained widespread popularity as a summer resort. This led to yet more favorable rapport with the outer community, since Zoar's resort business was locally perceived as having brought prestige to the community.

Details of the various occasions for interaction between the Zoar Society and the outer community need not be summarized here. It will suffice to say that a good deal of interaction did occur, though most interaction was indirect. The last chapter of this study has shown that in later years interaction with the outside community contributed to hastening the dissolution of the Society and to easing the transition to mainstream American life, by means of adoption of mainstream values and gradual integration with the outside community.

A point was made early in this study that the majority of literature devoted to historic communal societies presents a lopsided viewpoint since it excludes any sense of external social environment or communal societies' interaction with the outside world. It is true that this study has gone to almost the opposite extreme. Hopefully, however, this study has shown that, in the case of the Zoar Society, the outside community's attitude toward the Society, and the Society's interaction with the local community were indeed of significance. First, that the
Zoar Society was accepted by the community and that the Society's religious beliefs and practices were respected and uncriticized, allowed the community to achieve its initial goal—to practice the Separatist religions as a community. Second, the Zoar Society had important economic ties with the community that contributed to the Society's material prosperity and thus to its ability to function as a communal society. And finally, when the Zoarites' identity with Separatist ideals had diminished, its contact with the outside community enabled Society members to gradually make the transition to mainstream American living.

The Zoarites found themselves in an accepting and supportive environment. If this had not been the case, the history of the Zoar Society may have been much different. To guess what might have happened, though, is not the historian's task. What should be recognized is that social environment does much to shape any social unit, including a communal society. Therefore, it is of importance to include this aspect in the consideration of a communal society's history. It is hoped that this supplement serves to make previous perceptions of the Zoar Society's history more complete.
FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1


5 Claverton, pp. 57-58.

6 Foster, p. 31.

7 Ibid., pp. 32-33.


10 Ibid.


12 Ibid., p. 260.

13 Ibid.
CHAPTER 2

1A large collection of Zoar Society papers is held in the Library Archives of the Ohio Historical Society in Columbus, Ohio; see Mss collections 110 (Zoar Papers) and 680 (Nixon Family Papers).

2The Ohio-Erie Canal and, later, railroads connected Zoar with Massillon, which was about the same distance from Zoar as Dover and New Philadelphia.

CHAPTER 3


2Ibid., pp. 110-11.

3Ibid., p. 110.


6Sagarra, pp. 113 and 409.

7Nixon, pp. 4-5.

8Ibid., p. 6.

9Ibid.

10Ibid., pp. 6-7.

11Ibid., p. 18.

12Ibid., p. 20.

13Ibid., p. 19.

14Ibid., p. 20.

15Ibid., p. 21.

16Ibid.

17Ibid.
22 Nixon also noted that there were a number of elderly and "infirm" individuals among the group who were unable to contribute to the labor force; pp. 26-27.

23 Sagarra, pp. 140-141.

24 Nixon, p. 28.

25 Ibid., p. 41.

26 Ibid., pp. 29-39.

27 Ibid., pp. 104 and 107.


29 Ibid., p. 103.


32 Ibid., pp. 34-35.


35 Ibid., p. 34.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., p. 35.

38 Ibid., p. 65.

39 Ibid., pp. 70-73.

40 Ibid., pp. 74-75.
Ibid., p. 95.

42 Nixon, p. 23.

43 History of Zoar to date, 1832, Peter Kafmann Papers, Mss collection 136, Ohio Historical Society Library Archives, Columbus, Ohio, translation p. 26.

44 Nixon, p. 127.


46 Ibid., p. 124.

47 Ibid., p. 125.

48 Ibid., p. 126.


51 Ibid., p. 147.

52 Ibid.

53 History of Zoar, 1832, translation pp. 25-26, 34.

54 Nixon, pp. 146-147.

55 Ibid., p. 207.

56 Ibid., p. 36.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid., p. 143.


60 Nixon, p. 145.

61 Ibid.

62 History of Zoar, 1832, translation pp. 24-25.

63 Nixon, p. 142.

64 The material culture of the Zoar Society can be seen at the Zoar State Memorial in Zoar.
CHAPTER 4


2History of Zoar to date, 1832, Peter Kaufmann papers, Mss collection 136, Ohio Historical Society Library Archives, Columbus, Ohio, translation p. 13.


4Ibid.

5Thomas Cope to Thomas Rotch, 6 February 1818, Ohio Society of Friends Papers, Mss 132, Box 7, Ohio Historical Society Library Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

6McArtor, p. 12.


12James Owen Knauss, Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as Revealed in German Newspapers Published in America (LaNCASTER, Penn.: New Era Printing Co., 1922), p. 105.

13Howe, p. 483.

14Mansfield, p. 567.

15Federal Writers Project of Ohio, p. 43.

16Ibid.

17ibid., p. 17.
CHAPTER 5


3Ohio Democrat (New Philadelphia), 3 October 1787.

4Iron Valley Reporter (Dover, Ohio),

5Iron Valley Reporter, 2 November 1872.

6Ohio Democrat, 12 June 1874.

7Ibid.

8Ohio Democrat, 25 July 1873.
9 Iron Valley Reporter, 21 June 1879.
10 Iron Valley Reporter, 16 July 1881.
11 Iron Valley Reporter, 3 August 1883.
12 Iron Valley Reporter, 14 July 1892.
13 Iron Valley Reporter, 11 August 1877.
15 Ohio Democrat, 7 October 1886; Iron Valley Reporter, 22 September 1892; Iron Valley Reporter, 13 November 1885.
16 Iron Valley Reporter, 27 November 1890.
17 Nixon, p. 100.
18 Iron Valley Reporter, 11 February 1882.
19 A comment in an early Zoar correspondence laments, "With unwillingness we acknowledge that the Zoar Station correspondent gobbles up most of our news, and sometimes more than would bear close inspection; thereby depriving us of the satisfaction to report it ourselves." Iron Valley Reporter, 17 December 1881.
20 Iron Valley Reporter, 19 February 1881.
21 Iron Valley Reporter, 12 February 1881.
23 During the last twenty years of the Society's existence, Alexander Gunn, a retired businessman, lived in Zoar as a permanent guest. During those years he kept a journal that was published as the Zoar-Hermitage Note-Book after his death in 1901. This is an invaluable record of daily life in Zoar during the Society's last two decades. See Nixon, pp. 208-212 for further information about Gunn.
25 Ibid., p. 21.
CHAPTER 6

1 Iron Valley Reporter (Dover), 22 June 1883.
2 Ohio Democrat (New Philadelphia), 15 August 1889.
3 Iron Valley Reporter, 4 June 1881.
4 Ohio Democrat, 17 May 1882.
5 Ibid.
6 Ohio Democrat, 25 July 1873.
7 Iron Valley Reporter, 5 May 1892.
9 Iron Valley Reporter, 11 July 1889.
10 Iron Valley Reporter, 20 June 1874.
11 Ohio Democrat, 26 July 1874.
13 Iron Valley Reporter, 21 May 1896.
14 Iron Valley Reporter, 3 August 1892.

15 Iron Valley Reporter, 31 March 1874.

16 Karl Knortz, "From the Portfolio of a German-American: Matters Godly and Ungodly," typed translation of Aus der Mappe eines Deutsch-Amerikaners (Bamberg: n.p., 1893), Zoar Papers, Mss 110. box1, Ohio Historical Society Library Archives, Columbus, Ohio.

17 Iron Valley Reporter, 30 June 1883.

18 Tuscarawas Advocate (New Philadelphia), 26 June 1884.

19 Iron Valley Reporter, 26 December 1895.

20 Iron Valley Reporter, 29 September 1892.

21 Ohio Democrat, 25 July 1873.


24 Ohio Democrat, 24 May 1888.

25 Iron Valley Reporter, 3 January 1896.

26 Iron Valley Reporter, 3 July 1880.

CHAPTER 7


2 Ibid., p. 220.

3 Ibid., p. 218.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., p. 219.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., p. 217.
8 Ibid., p. 207.


10 Nixon notes that most hired laborers were from Wurttemberg (p. 125). Also, personal letters from Wurttemberg suggest that individuals came directly to Zoar to establish themselves in America; see Zoar Papers, Mss 110, Ohio Historical Society Library Archives, Columbus, Ohio.


12 Ibid., p. 216.

13 Ibid., p. 118.


15 Material culture of Zoar of the late nineteenth century can be seen in the Lillian Bimeler Museum which has been restored to that period as part of the Zoar State Memorial operated by the Ohio Historical Society in Zoar, Ohio.

16 Nixon, p. 220.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid., p. 218.


20 Nixon, p. 221.

21 Ibid.

22 Backwards Nuginia spells "Anti-Gunn." This reflected discontent among members who resented Society leaders' hob-nobbing with Gunn, who otherwise was arrogant with Zoarites; Nixon, pp. 211 and 223.


24 Ibid., p. 225.


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