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A Short History of the Amana Society, 1714-2002

Nestled in the wooded valley of the Iowa River in east central Iowa, the seven villages that comprise the Amana Colonies retain ample evidence of the work of the sturdy German Pietists who settled and constructed the villages a century and a half ago. Refugees from religious persecution in the German states of the early nineteenth century, the founders of Amana were the descendants of an eighteenth century religious movement first known as the Community of True Inspiration (*Wahre Inspirations Gemeinde*).

The origins of the Amana Society can be found in the Pietist Movement of the early eighteenth century. Dissatisfied with the dogmatism and formality of the established church, Pietists, under the leadership of individuals such as Auguste Francke, sought to reinvigorate religious experience and service through a return to simpler forms. For some Pietists such a return meant eschewing most of the trappings of the established church including a church hierarchy, a formal liturgy, regular sacraments and ostentatious church ornamentation. Instead, such forms were replaced by simple gatherings featuring *a cappella* singing, unadorned worship places, and ecstatic, extemporaneous worship.

In the early 1700s a Lutheran clergyman, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and a saddle maker named Johann Friedrich Rock of Himbach, began to meet and engage in frequent discussions of scripture and Pietist thought. In 1714 a group of mystical pietists known as the *Inspirirte,* or "Inspired," came to their attention. Although they initially rejected the Inspired's claim that they possessed the gift of divine inspiration, Gruber invited representatives of the group to a meeting in his home on 16 November 1714. The Community of True Inspiration traces its foundation to this meeting, after which both Gruber and Rock became active supporters of the sect.

Gruber assumed leadership of the sect, while Rock became one of its *Werkzeuge,* or inspired instruments. After 1720, Rock remained the group's only *Werkzeug* and, as such, made visitational journeys to Inspirationist congregations scattered across the German states. Following Gruber's death in 1728, Rock assumed leadership and continued in this capacity until his death in 1749, after which his scribe Paul Nagel, trained as an attorney, became the group's leader. Nagel continued to visit the scattered Inspirationist congregations and maintained a degree of activity within the sect despite the fact that it no longer possessed an inspired leader. Following Nagel's death in

1779, however, the group entered a period of decline that did not end until 1817, at a point when virtually all of its original leaders and mainstays had died. In that year Michael Krausert, a journeyman tailor from Strassburg, proclaimed that he was an inspired *Werkzeug* and made himself known to the Inspirationist communities.[1]

Krausert's emergence led to dissension within the dying movement, as some leaders and congregations refused to accept him as a true *Werkzeug*. Krausert, however, gained followers and began to instigate a revival. In 1818 Barbara Heinemann, an illiterate serving maid from Alsace, was directed to the Inspirationists by friends who felt that her strange visions and inner promptings were similar to those of an Inspirationist *Werkzeug*. Krausert accepted Heinemann at once, and she began to speak in Inspiration alongside her mentor.[2]

In 1819, Christian Metz, a young carpenter who had been born and reared within the Inspirationist community, also began to speak in Inspiration. Conflict soon erupted among the three leaders that ultimately ended, in 1819, with the leading elders of the sect ordering Krausert to leave. Metz ceased to speak in Inspiration, leaving Heinemann as the only *Werkzeug*. In 1823, tired of the demands placed upon her by the unique position that she held within the community and anxious to have a normal life, Heinemann married Georg Landmann, a schoolteacher. The Inspirationists, who held the celibate state to be the most pleasing to God, viewed Heinemann's marriage as a spiritual fall. Accordingly, Heinemann ceased to deliver testimonies, and Christian Metz, who remained the group's charismatic leader for the next fifty years and who had once again begun to speak in Inspiration that winter, took her position.[3]

Like the *Werkzeuge* who came before him, Metz undertook visitational journeys to the scattered congregations. In the early 1830s he expanded his usual visits to include Inspirationist communities in Switzerland which had been largely ignored for several decades. Here Metz led a revival. During the 1820s and 1830s civil authorities began to revoke the privileges granted the various Inspirationist communities and to question their rights to educate their own children and refuse military service. In 1826, Metz located an abandoned convent in the liberal principality of Hesse Darmstadt that he rented as a refuge for his followers. Members of some of the persecuted congregations gathered at the convent, Marienborn, and began to form a semblance of community life there. At the same time, Metz's testimonies began to suggest that:

> the time will come, and it is not far distant, when I [the Lord] will remove My luminaries [the Inspirationists] from there and put them in a different place. Eventually, I will gather all those who follow and remain true to Me. I will assemble them into . . . one flock.[4]

Over the next seven years, Metz and his associates leased additional properties as sanctuaries, including Herrnhaag in 1828, Arnsburg (renamed by the Inspirationists "Armenburg") in 1832, and Engelthal, also an abandoned convent, in 1834. Between 300 to 400 of the Inspirationist faithful ultimately congregated at these leased properties. Moving to the estates represented a significant action on the part of the faithful, as it

required uprooting themselves from their homelands and forgoing a private family home as they moved into large common buildings with other Inspirationists.[5]

Although they continued to maintain their own money and property, certain aspects of the Inspirationist existence became communal while they were housed on the estates. Fields were tilled communally for the good of the whole community, and at Herrnhaag and Armenburg wealthier members of the Society established woolen factories in order to provide much needed employment and income for the sect. Rents for the estates were paid from the common fund, while their income was divided among the members "according to their ability and time spent at work." Finally, meals and church services on the estates were held in large common rooms. Not only did the Inspirationists become used to living and working together during this time, but they also came to submit to the authority of the *Werkzeug* and other elders in secular matters as well as in spiritual. At the same time, Metz and the elders worked to unify the separate estate congregations through regular visits and conferences in which the elders of the three communities assembled in order to discuss matters of common interest. Thus, by the late 1830s, the Inspirationists set the stage for an expansion of communal living by the group in the next decade. [6]

In 1842, facing the effects of a long drought, increased rents on the estate properties and continued persecution, Metz delivered a testimony directing the community to seek a home in the New World. Within a few months of this testimony, Metz, and three associates boarded the ship *New York* and set sail across the Atlantic. After a stormy voyage, the committee arrived in New York and, after fruitless searches elsewhere, purchased a 5,000-acre tract on Buffalo Creek Indian Reservation just outside the city of Buffalo, New York. Unfortunately, the company that sold Metz the land did not yet possess clear title to the property, and it would be four years before such a title could be produced. In the meantime, the Inspirationist faithful began the process of migrating to their new home.[7]

Before his followers arrived, Metz and Wilhelm Noé crafted a "preliminary constitution" which may have reflected organizational discussions held in Germany. Under the terms of the agreement, each member of the Society was to surrender his or her property to a common fund for a period of three years. The leaders agreed to use the fund to pay the passage for poorer members of the sect, secure land, and otherwise fund the development of the new settlement. Interest would accrue on the funds deposited by the members, and the Society would provide them with food and shelter. After the three years had passed, the Society would redistribute its property among the members.[8]

Precisely why Metz chose to institute communal living at this point deserves some exploration. Perhaps his need for a large amount of money with which to purchase the contiguous tract of land led him to institute a common fund. The desire to assure that all members, regardless of their wealth would be able to immigrate was also likely a factor. Metz would have been aware of the fact that such a system would not be viewed as a significant departure from the arrangement previously held on the German estates, and so would prove acceptable to his followers. He may also have been motivated

by a desire to emulate the first Christian church described in the book of Acts in which all property was held in common. [9]

Metz named the new settlement "Ebenezer," a biblical term meaning, "hitherto the Lord has helped us." The community, legally, became known as the "Ebenezer Society." Within a short time, the community had created three small villages on its New York land and acquired a large tract of Canadian land when its owner converted to the faith. By 1852 the community had created three additional villages in New York and two small outposts in Canada. Each village was a self-sustaining unit with blacksmiths, wagon and harness makers, cobblers and tinsmiths. By 1846 a large woolen mill was in operation at the village of Middle Ebenezer, while tanneries, flourmills and sawmills operated in the other villages. As the community became established in its new home, Metz realized the need to formalize and extend his communal arrangement indefinitely. A permanent constitution was drawn up and signed by the members and, in 1846, the New York State Assembly formally incorporated the community as the "Village of Ebenezer."[10]

By 1854 the Ebenezer villages had reached a state of settlement and organization beyond that of most rural communities of the time. Bound together by religion and their unique economic system, the Inspirationists were also in daily contact with one another, whether working side by side in the fields or in the kitchen houses, and such contact strengthened the growing bonds of community. And yet, for the apparent strength of the Society, threats, both externally and internally, threatened its long-term survival. Internally, some divisions between members of the community were apparent. Although major controversies, such as an 1846 debate on whether or not the community should observe total celibacy during which Metz was openly challenged in a church service, passed without serious harm, other problems proved to be more persistent and insidious. In what would prove the bane of the Inspirationists' communal experience, members of the Society realized that they had no incentive to work particularly hard. Not only did communal activity lessen the demands on the individual worker, but the fact that the deficiencies in one worker's efforts would be compensated for by those of another also prevailed. By 1854 the Society already employed hired hands to perform certain tasks on the farms and in the mills of the Society.[11]

Society records indicate a growing concern by Metz and other leaders with a developing sense of "materialism" and an indifference to spiritual teachings by members of the Society. Such a "falling away" from core principles was likely fueled by the fact that the nearby city of Buffalo possessed a large and vibrant German immigrant community with which Society members had some contact and whose lifestyle they likely envied.[12]

Externally, the Society leaders were buffeted by attacks from competing business interests and hostile neighbors. In the spring of 1854 complaints that the Society failed to meet its fair share of the tax burden led to a formal investigation by a committee of the New York General Assembly. At the same time, a dispute involving a dam a few miles downstream from the villages threatened to draw the community into a lawsuit. The dam, originally constructed in 1828 by the Buffalo Hydraulic Association, diverted water from Buffalo Creek into a canal which, in turn, powered several tanneries and

other industries in the city of Buffalo. Over time the canal had silted in, leading the Association to raise the level of their dam on Buffalo Creek, rather than dredge the canal bed. This action caused water to back up in the creek bed and flood some of the Inspirationist's low-lying fields. Worse still, the higher water level often made it impossible for the turbines of the Middle Ebenezer mills to function. The Association, alarmed by Inspirationist complaints about the dam, filed a formal court injunction, (later overturned) against the Society. On the same day that the injunction was filed, Christian Metz delivered an *Einsprache* (a written, as opposed to a spoken) testimony directing the Society to seek a new home in the West.[13]

Within days of Metz's testimony, the Inspirationists organized a scouting party. The committee traveled to the new territory of Kansas but failed to locate or purchase a suitable tract. Plagued with illness and perhaps unsettled by the growing controversy over slavery in the territory, the committee returned to Ebenezer. A second committee traveled to Iowa and located a tract of land only twenty miles from the state capital of Iowa City on its first day of exploration. In June 1855, a third committee began to purchase what would eventually amount to 26,000 acres of land in the heavily wooded valley of the Iowa River.

The new site, unlike Ebenezer, was relatively isolated from the "outside world." Additionally, the river and a large creek promised suitable waterpower, while the large stand of timber, clay and stone outcroppings provided easily available building materials. Settlement began with the arrival of a hand picked contingent of thirty-three settlers from Ebenezer in July. This advance party began the process of clearing land and constructing houses and barns at what became the village of Amana. In the following year, more settlers arrived from Ebenezer, and a new settlement, West Amana, was started on the northwestern corner of the Society's land holdings.

In almost every year after 1855, the Society started a new village, spreading the communities across its estate roughly an hour apart by ox cart. Each village was surrounded by its own farm district averaging roughly 2,000 acres. As in Ebenezer the Inspirationists farmed their new holdings in the open field manner they had known in Germany, in which farm workers inhabited a village and worked the land surrounding it, but no one lived on an independent farmstead. The Inspirationists funded their Iowa purchases through the sale of their Ebenezer holdings, although the Panic of 1857 temporarily halted land sales and forced the community to borrow large sums of money from Buffalo banks. On 30 December 1864 the final contingent of settlers arrived at Amana from Ebenezer; by that time, the Amana villages had a total population of 1,228 members. [14]

The 1860s were years of growth and development at Amana, as the community struggled not only to plant crops, but also to build homes, barns, shops and factories. Each village was laid out so that the *Saal*, or meetinghouse, was centrally located with shops and barns located at the edge of town. The most significant construction activity involved completion of a seven-mile long millrace in order to divert water from the Iowa River for use at the Society's various mills and factories. The millrace, begun in 1865, required four years for construction. The completed canal powered both of the

Society's woolen mills, the Amana calico mill, machine shops at both Main and Middle Amana, a starch factory at Middle Amana, and a flourmill at Main Amana.

On 24 July 1867 Christian Metz, the beloved charismatic leader of the community died at the age of seventy-two. Metz's mantle as *Werkzeug* fell upon Barbara Heinemann Landmann, who had regained her gift of inspiration in 1849 and who continued to spiritually guide the community until her death in 1883, at the age of eighty-eight. Landmann's status as a woman, however, combined with what appears to have been a difficult personality, limited her actual leadership role within the community.

Daily life in communal Amana quickly settled into a familiar pattern that remained unchanged for over seventy years. Mothers cared for their children until they reached the age of three, after which they spent part of each day in the village *Kinderschule*, or daycare. At the age of five, children entered one of the village schools, which followed the German *Volkschule* pattern of classroom instruction, interspersed with manual training and playtime.[15]

At the age of fourteen, Amana youth entered the work force. Boys often began work on the farm where most of the Society's labor force was employed. Later, the village elders might assign them to work in one of the Society's craft shops or in the woolen, calico or flourmills. Girls were always assigned to work in one of the Society's over fifty communal kitchens. Each kitchen, under the management of a *Küche-Baas*, fed between twenty and forty community residents five times a day. Older women might spend a few hours at the kitchen house preparing vegetables for cooking, or working in the enormous three-acre gardens which supplied each kitchen with vegetables.

Beyond their workday life, Amana residents attended eleven church services each week, a nightly *Nachtgebet* (evening prayer service) and services during the day on Wednesday and Saturday and twice on Sunday. Although the brief *Nachtgebet* services were generally held in designated residences, the weekend services were held in the village *Versammlungsaal*: a large centrally located brick or sandstone building. Inside the *Saal*, members sat with men on one side and women on the other facing a bench of elders who conducted the worship service. Worship consisted of readings from the Bible, as well as from the inspired testimonies of the *Werkzeuge*, *a cappella* hymns sung from the *Psalter Spiel*, and prayer.

Amana residents had plenty of free time to indulge various hobbies, such as handwork, furniture making and even fine art. The botanical illustrations produced by the Prestele family of Amana for nurserymen and the Smithsonian Institution have received scholarly attention, as has the work of West Amana painter, Carl Flick. Woodworker Friedrich Hahn, of Middle Amana, in addition to making over forty clocks, also constructed a telephone system that linked the Amana villages by 1881. Life in Amana was sedate and simple; the villages, resembling German *Dörfer*, were noted for their profusion of flowers and gardens. German remained the principal language throughout the communal period, and German cultural traditions, such as Christmas trees, persisted among the otherwise austere Inspirationists.[16]

In 1918, while the Society was still riding the crest of wartime production profits, its attorney recommended an amendment to the constitution that would provide for

the dissolution of the communal organization. That such dissolution was necessary became apparent to many leaders during the 1920s, as both the textile industry and agriculture entered a decline following the removal of wartime price supports in 1919. The finances of the Society were further damaged by a major fire in 1923 that destroyed the Amana flourmill and much of the adjacent woolen mill, which, although uninsured, was rebuilt. By 1932, the Society's total debt reached almost $500,000. At the same time, other problems, such as the $60,000 annually paid to hired workers, waste, corruption, and an on-going youth rebellion steadily eroded the Society's strength. Additionally, the Society had been without a charismatic leader since Landmann's death in 1883, and while the elders had been successful in managing affairs since that time, they had failed to adapt the communal system established under the guidance of the *Werkzeuge* to modern conditions.[17]

Following a lobbying effort by a group of concerned Amana men, the *Bruderrath* appointed a committee of four to address the members in each village and to explain the organization's precarious financial state. After these presentations in April 1931, Society members elected a committee to plan for the Society's future. Almost from the start, the "Committee of Forty-Seven," as it became known, began to plan for a complete reorganization of the Amana Society. In June they sent a formal letter and questionnaire to each adult member of the Society asking them whether they would be willing to return to a life of self-denial, or whether they would prefer reorganization. The membership voted 74 percent in favor of pursuing reorganization.[18]

After months of deliberation, the Committee produced a reorganization plan to create a joint stock business corporation, known as the Amana Society that would assume the business aspects of the Society while a separate organization, the Amana Church Society, would oversee religious affairs. The plan provided for distribution of voting shares to adult members, which would entitle them to vote in Society elections and to receive medical and burial benefits from the new corporation. Additionally, the Society would issue prior distributive shares to each new member based on their years of service under the old system. Thus, an elderly member of the Society would receive stock shares, representing their lifetime of service, which they would be able to redeem for cash or credit at the Society main office. The new plan also provided for the orderly appraisal of Society property and guaranteed members the right to purchase their homes. The plan was approved by 96 percent of the members when submitted for a vote on 1 February 1932.[19]

During the weeks that followed approval of the plan, the Society began a period of transition. In March and April appraisers descended on the villages, and surveyors laid out lot lines where none had been before. The appraisers reviewed the equipment and inventory of each of the Society's 162 shops—not including the Society's woolen mills, four hotels, grain elevators and farm departments.[20]

The first significant shift in Society habits brought by the impending reorganization was when the communal kitchens served their last meal on the night of 11 April 1932. Fifty years after the reorganization a woman in South Amana still lamented the end of the kitchen houses: "I missed the kitchens and the girls I worked with. Sure, it

was easier to cook for my husband and myself instead of [for] thirty people, but I missed the girls in the kitchen."[21]

In the weeks following the closing of the kitchens, the Society held auctions and sales in each of the seven villages, so residents could purchase utensils with which to set up housekeeping. Most residents bought things for their sentimental value; few saw uses for the old lapboards, giant copper boilers and oversized frying pans.

In April the Society's new business manager, a former bank examiner from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Arthur Barlow, arrived to assume his duties. Assisted by a hastily assembled staff, Barlow began to institute double-entry book keeping among the Society businesses. Barlow directed the closure of shops that the Society deemed unprofitable. The individuals who worked in those shops were told that they could purchase their equipment and continue as a private business, or take a new job with the Society. The new organization guaranteed jobs to all of its members, which usually meant working in one of the factories or on the farm. For many craftspeople the change that their employment brought was minimal, since most had worked on the farms in the summer months anyway. Some craftsmen continued to operate their businesses as a sideline, while working on the farm or in one of the Society factories.

On 2 May 1932 the new Amana Society Corporation came into existence and, for the first time, Amana workers were put on a payroll. The reorganization plan called for a transition period, during which the Society and its members could adjust to the new order of affairs, and during which every worker, from the managers down to the farm hands, would receive ten cents an hour wage. To compensate for the low wage, the Society sold groceries and other items in their stores at cost to members.[22]

Many Amana residents, when asked about the "Change" on its fiftieth anniversary, described it in positive terms. "I don't see how they could have lived any longer the way they did," commented one resident, "[y]ou have to go forward, not backward, and this was a backward way of living." Other residents recalled the anticipation of buying a car or of having their own kitchen. Some women expressed relief at being freed from the authority of their kitchen boss and the regimentation of kitchen life. (In a demonstration of her new freedom, one Amana woman served canned pineapple at the first meal she prepared after the kitchens closed.) The individuals who were alive at the time of the anniversary, however, were young in 1932 and, as a result, their memories reflected the attitude of the Society's youth. For older residents, the "Change" was greeted with trepidation. One older High Amana woman, upset that she could no longer continue peeling potatoes at her kitchen house, which had allowed her to socialize, commented, "I can not understand how those people who brought this [reorganization] on will be able to rest in their graves." [23]

The elderly woman who lamented the loss of her kitchen house job likely did not enter the post communal workforce. Many younger women did, however. Amana women found wage labor jobs following the reorganization, one assumes, in part because their income was needed at home, and also because they were used to working and wanted to preserve the camaraderie of their kitchen house experience. Some women found work in the woolen mills, and the Society employed other women to maintain some of the kitchen gardens as small truck farming operations. Still other

women participated in the Society's short-lived attempts at producing mittens and canned goods, known as "Department W," for sale.[24]

For men, the reorganization meant little change in their ordinary work habits. Most continued to work at the job they had done before the change, provided they were employed by one of the sixty businesses that survived Barlow's purge. One difference in their labor, however, and one that was frequently commented upon in later years, was how many men who had professed illness and an inability to work before the change suddenly "recovered" after it occurred. Residents attribute this shift to the realization that if they wanted their families to survive they would need to work. These miraculous cures led the colonists to bestow the nickname "Dr. Barlow" on their new business manager.[25]

Amana young people, many of whom had been part of the Society workforce since the age of fourteen, jumped at the opportunity that the reorganization afforded them for attending high school. Suddenly, young Amana men and women, who had been "adults" under the old Amana Society, found themselves once again immersed in youth culture and irresponsibility.

During the 1930s the Amana Society managed to show a modest profit at the end of each year. The employment and stock structures created by the reorganization proved to be effective. A new community school system, formed in 1932, opened a high school in Middle Amana in 1934. Still, the Amana Society remained much as it had always been. New improvements, including radios, synthetic siding, automobiles, running water and electricity were added to Amana homes, but the villages retained much of their communal era atmosphere. In reorganizing the Society, the Amana people successfully reorganized their community, retaining what they felt were its best aspects, while obliterating the distinctive features of communal ownership and labor that had characterized it for nearly a century.

In 1934, George C. Foerstner, the son of the High Amana storekeeper, began to sell and install refrigeration coolers from a small shed located across the street from his father's store. In 1936 Foerstner, and his single employee, began to manufacture as well as to install these appliances under the name "Amana Electric Company," which was soon purchased by the Amana Society. Under Foerstner's continued management, and using Amana Society capital, the business grew to enormous proportions, marketing the first upright home freezer in 1948. Sold by the Society in 1950, the company, headquartered in Middle Amana, grew to become the sixth largest appliance manufacturer in the country, employing over three thousand people. Additional workers came from outside the community, many of them relocating to the former communal garden and field sites surrounding the villages of Main and Middle Amana. The modern ranch style homes that these individuals, as well as younger community residents, build in these new developments altered the Amana landscape. Following a merger with the Raytheon Corporation in 1967, Amana introduced the first home microwave oven. Currently a division of the Maytag Corporation, Amana Appliances remains a major presence in the Amana community.

A further change came to the Amana community in the 1960s with the growth and development of tourism. The community had always been a popular destination

for the curious, but improved roadways, the addition of an interstate highway only seven miles from the villages, the visibility given the name "Amana" through its connection with the appliance company, and effective marketing, brought thousands of visitors to the villages each year.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Amana Society was touted as the largest and most successful communal society in the United States. With seven unadorned villages spread over a 26,000-acre domain, the Society managed to keep most of the rest of the world at bay while practicing its unique religious and social beliefs. A century later, in the year 2000, the Amana Society still controlled a 26,000-acre domain, but its seven villages, now billed as "Iowa's most popular tourist attraction," were filled with gift shops and boutiques catering to the very human desires that its founders had abhorred in the outside world.

In the seventy years since its reorganization, the Amana villages have acquired many of the standard accouterments of American life, including community clubs, Boy and Girl Scout organizations, family vacations, automobiles, television and other aspects of American consumer culture. Through all of this change, the Amana Church has remained a potent force in the community. Although the majority of the current members of the church are communal era residents or their descendants, new converts join each year and the current membership stands at 400. In 1961 the church instituted an English language service, and members today have the choice of attending services entirely in English, or an early Sunday service which still features German hymns, prayers and scripture reading. Amana services still feature *a cappella* singing and are conducted by lay elders, as opposed to an ordained clergy. Since 1987 both men and women have served in the voluntary capacity of church elders.[26] In the end, what survives of the old Amana is the collective memory of its communal survivors, of whom there are fewer each year, the physical environment that those communal workers created, and the fleeting visions of faith, work and hope expressed by its founders.

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Notes

[1] Gottlieb Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, trans. Janet W. Zuber (Lake Mills, IA: Graphic Publishing Company, 1987), 3. This essay is a condensed version of the author's forthcoming book, *The Amana People: A History of a Religious Community.*

[2] Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie,1817-1850*, 5, 12; for Heinemann's early life and experiences see Gottlieb Scheuner, *Barbara Heinemann Landmann Biography*, trans. Janet W. Zuber (Lake Mills, IA: Graphic Publishing Company, 1981).

[3] Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 23-24, 38. The standard biography of Metz is Francis Alan DuVal, "Christian Metz: German-American Religious Leader and Pioneer," Ph.D. diss., State University of Iowa, 1948.

[4] Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 42, 48, 53-54.

[5] Andelson, "Communalism and Change in the Amana Society, 1855-1932," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1974, 38; Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 59.

[6] Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 81; Barthinius L Wick. "Christian Communism in the Mississippi Valley: The Amana Society, or Community of True Inspiration." *Midland Monthly* 6 (October 1896): 338; Scheuner, *Inspirations Historie, 1817-1850*, 72.

[7] Wilhelm Noé to "Brothers and Fellow Members," 22 December 1842, trans. Peter Stuck, collection of the author.

[8] The original draft of the provisional constitution is dated 20 February 1843 (Charles F. Noé, "A Brief History of the Amana Society," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 2 (April 1904): 176; DuVal, "Christian Metz," 119).

[9] Some have suggested that Metz's visit to the Zoar Communal Society in eastern Ohio the spring following his arrival may have cemented his thinking on the issue of communalism. Metz's comments of that visit, however, suggest that, if anything, the visit dampened his enthusiasm. Finally, Metz may well have had in mind the statement in Acts 3:44-45 that the first Christian church had held all things in common.

[10] The principal source for the history of the Ebenezer Society is Frank J. Lankes, *The Ebenezer Community of True Inspiration* (Buffalo: Kiesling Printing Company, 1949).

[11] For the controversy over celibacy see Jonathan Andelson, "The Gift To Be Single: Celibacy and Religious Enthusiasm in the Community of True Inspiration," *Communal Societies* 5 (1985): 1-32.

[12] Andelson, "Communalism and Change," 57.

[13] For the controversy involving the Hydraulic Association see Peter Hoehnle, "Machine in the Garden: The Woolen Textile Industry of the Amana Society, 1785-1942," *Annals of Iowa* 61 (Winter 2002): 24-67.

[14] Andelson, "Communalism and Change," 73-74.

[15] For a memoir of childhood in communal Amana see Barbara Yambura and Eunice Willis Bodine, *A Change and A Parting: My Story of Amana* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1960).

[16] For the work of the Prestele family see Charles Van Ravenswaay, *Drawn From Nature: The Botanical Art of Joseph Prestele and His Sons* (Washington, DC: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984); for the arts and crafts of the Amanas see Steven Ohrn, *Remaining Faithful: Amana Folk Art in Transition* (Des Moines: Iowa Department of Cultural Affairs, 1988).

[17] William F. Moershel, "Statement of Liquitable Assets and Liabilities," 4 April 1931, author's collection.

[18] Minutes, Amana Society Board of Trustees, 16 March 1931, Amana Society Archives, Amana Society main office, Main Amana (Lawrence Rettig, *Amana Today: A History of the Amana Society from 1932 to the Present* [South Amana, IA, 1975], 123).

[19] *Reorganization Plan* (Middle Amana, IA: Amana Society, 1932).

[20] One of Marston's assistants, Charles G. Parsons, used the Amana valuations as the basis of his master's thesis. Charles G. Parsons, "Valuation of the Industrial Property of the Amana Society" (M.S. thesis, Iowa State College, 1932).

[21] Emilie Zuber Hoppe, "A Story Recalled," unpublished paper, Amana Heritage Society, 1981, 13, quoting Minnie Setzer, then of High Amana, who had worked in the communal kitchens for over thirty years before the reorganization.

[22] Iowa County Land Deed Records, Book 81/82, pp. 213-23, Iowa County Recorder's Office, Marengo, Iowa.

[23] *Amana Society Bulletin*, 2 June 1932. Oral Histories nos. 6 and 20, typed transcripts, Oral History Collection, Amana Heritage Society.

[24] The Society continued to employ women to cultivate the "Corporation Gardens" until at least 1936. Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, "Amana – In Transition," *Palimpsest* 17 (May 1936), 155. For information concerning "Department W" see *Amana Society Bulletin*, 14 July and 1 September 1932.

[25] Bertha M. H. Shambaugh. "Amana – In Transition," 151; Oral History no. 59, typed transcript, Oral History Collection, Amana Heritage Society. The belief that men who had falsely professed illness to avoid working before the reorganization was common among the subjects of the Amana Oral History Project in 1982.

[26] The only published historical account of the Amana Church Society since 1932 is found in Rettig, *Amana Today*, 50-65.