

The **PALIMPSEST**



Dr. Henry G. Moershel in his Homestead office.

Life In the Amana Colony

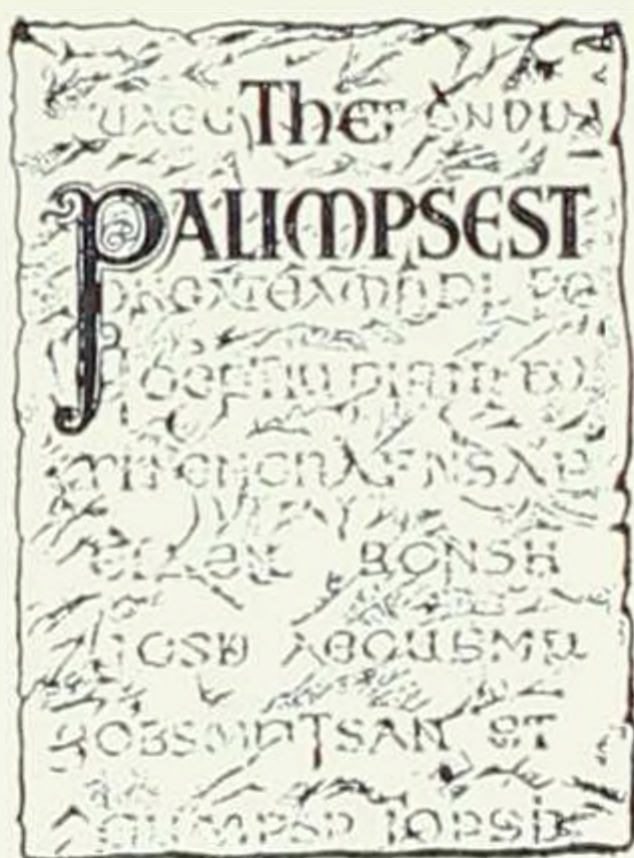
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The Meaning of Palimpsest

In early times a palimpsest was a parchment or other material from which one or more writings had been erased to give room for later records. But the erasures were not always complete; and so it became the fascinating task of scholars not only to translate the later records but also to reconstruct the original writings by deciphering the dim fragments of letters partly erased and partly covered by subsequent texts.

The history of Iowa may be likened to a palimpsest which holds the record of successive generations. To decipher these records of the past, reconstruct them, and tell the stories which they contain is the task of those who write history.

Contents

LIFE IN THE AMANA COLONY

Dr. Henry G. Moershel	161
WILLIAM J. PETERSEN	
Life In the Amana Colony	163
ALBERT SHAW	
Study of Religious Communism	177
RICHARD T. ELY	
Eighty-Nine Years of Collective Living	198
MILLARD MILBURN RICE	
Life In Amana	214
LULU MACCLURE	
Amana	223
WILLIAM J. PETERSEN	

Illustrations

In addition to the Society's picture collection, the following provided photographs for this issue: Lena Unglenk, 22; Rudolph Pitz, 16; Mrs. Henry Moershel, 11; Marie Blechschmidt, 6; William Noe and Wilhelmine Baumgartner, 2 each; William Leichsenring, Alma Ehrle, and Connie Zuber, 1 each.

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William J. Petersen is superintendent of the State Historical Society. Information on the other four contributors will be found on pages 223-4.

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THE PALIMPSEST

EDITED BY WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

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Dr. Henry G. Moershel

Dr. Henry George Moershel was born of good Amana stock at Homestead in 1891. He graduated from Iowa City high school in 1910, received his M.D. from the University of Iowa in 1917, and was commissioned a First Lieutenant in the Medical Corps in World War I. He was discharged from the service December 20, 1918.

From 1918 to 1971, Dr. Moershel practiced medicine at Homestead, serving all the Amana villages, as well as the surrounding countryside. A member of numerous professional societies, Dr. Moershel served on the Mercy Hospital staff at Cedar Rapids and as local surgeon for the Rock Island Railroad.

In addition to his medical services, Dr. Moershel will always be remembered and revered for his spiritual guidance of the Inspirationists. He served as president of the Welfare Club from 1920 to 1929, as a director and president of the Amana Society from 1932 to 1955; and as president of the Amana Church Society from 1931 to

his death in March, 1971. His own personal faith in the Community of True Inspiration won for him the undying devotion of the Amana people.

In August of 1959, Dr. Moershel was presented the Order of Merit of the Republic of West Germany for his efforts to keep alive the German tradition in the Amana Society. Only 19 Americans had received this award.

As the evening shadows began to gather about him the valiant doctor discerned a new danger in the form of a Freeway that would cut through the jugular vein of the colonies. On January 15, 1971, he wrote the Federal Government that "most of the Amana people are not in favor of this project and almost 500 have voiced this opinion in the enclosed petition." Truly, all Amana will miss this gentle, courageous soul, whose wise counsel served as a shield for his people in times of trouble.

This issue of *The Palimpsest* is dedicated to Dr. Henry G. Moershel—a Life Member, Curator, and stalwart friend of the State Historical Society.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN

Life In the Amana Colony

The co-operative village, with diversified industries based upon agriculture as the main industry, has been the ideal of many social reformers and is still the fond anticipation of not a few practical men. The organization of industry and the domestic economy of a communistic society whose basis is agriculture, yet whose industrial life is varied and so far as possible complete within itself, may bear very importantly upon the question whether purely co-operative village life could be made feasible and profitable. Every trace of communism might be eliminated from the constitution of a society like Amana and co-operation substituted therefor, without visibly affecting the mechanism of social and industrial life. So radical a change in the *motif* of the association, which is held together by a peculiar religious creed, might cause rapid disintegration. But in outward form Amana is a miniature co-operative commonwealth; and some account of its structure and arrangements may be permitted, especially in view of the fact that from the standpoint of co-operation this particular society is by far the most important of the communistic groups of the country.

The Amana community occupies an irregularly

bounded tract of land ten or twelve miles long and five or six miles wide, containing about twenty-six thousand acres, and lying on the line of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway, principally in Iowa County, Iowa, at a point about midway between Davenport and Des Moines. The people are Germans. They came to America in 1842 and acquired a tract of land near Buffalo, New York, which they called Ebenezer. They are known as "Inspirationists," having come from a peculiar sect which originated in Germany early in the last century and which has much in common with the Quakers. They believe in the continuance of direct inspiration, and have generally possessed a religious head whose utterances were believed to be those of an inspired instrument.

In Germany they did not attempt communal life; but after coming to this country they were directed by "inspiration" to have all things in common. Their land at Ebenezer was a tract of about eight thousand acres. They came from the thrifty middle class of German society, and brought with them much skill in certain kinds of manufacture. In order that the immigrants might do the sort of work they were accustomed to do, and still remain together, a co-operative organization became a practical necessity. The deep religious conviction which was the bond that held them together as a peculiar people, made it easy to superimpose the communistic mode of distribu-

tion upon the co-operative organization of production. Every family contributed its capital to the common stock, in sums ranging from two thousand to sixty thousand dollars. Those who found agriculture distasteful were allowed to work in the woolen factory and the various shops. The society prospered steadily. It was soon found that more land was needed, and that it would be profitable to sell the valuable tract near Buffalo and acquire government land beyond the Mississippi. In 1855 a gradual migration to Iowa began, an excellent location on the Iowa River having been chosen. From time to time the domain of the colony has been extended by purchase until it now includes twenty-six thousand acres.

The present population of Amana is about two thousand, of whom nearly two hundred are hired helpers and their families, while more than eighteen hundred are members of the society. For the sake of convenient access to the land, the people are grouped in seven villages. For convenience in administration, all of the villages, and nearly all of the land owned by the society, have been included in one civil township. The villages, with their membership population given approximately, are as follows: Amana, 550; East Amana, 140; Middle Amana, 400; High Amana, 140; West Amana, 220; South Amana, 200; and Homestead, 180. From the east to the west village the distance is about six miles. Homestead is a station on the

Rock Island road. Amana (village) is on a new division of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul road. South Amana has two village centers a mile apart, one being on the Rock Island and the other on the Milwaukee road. The villages are all connected by good wagon roads and by telephone lines.

About five thousand acres of the colony's domain is timber land. Each village has assigned to it a definite area for cultivation and pasturage. The village is a social and industrial unit, for all ordinary purposes. The colony as a whole is governed by a board of thirteen trustees, of which Amana, as the largest village and headquarters of the colony, chooses three, while two small villages elect one each and the other four villages elect two each. This board manages all the general affairs of the colony. Each separate village is governed by a board of elders, the number varying from seven in the smallest village to eighteen in the largest. The village elders have spiritual as well as temporal functions, and they were formerly appointed by the inspired spiritual head of the colony. Vacancies are now filled by the central board of trustees, appointments being for life.

The elders order the industry of the village, appointing the foremen and designating the duties of individuals, always consulting their preferences so far as possible. The village work seems to proceed smoothly and harmoniously, the machinery

of organization being never visible to the spectator.

The central institution in each village is the "store," the small farming village of East Amana alone being without it. The store is a large general retail establishment, with a stock of groceries, dry goods, clothing, hats and caps, hardware, drugs, etc. Its bookkeeping is very elaborate. Except in dealings with outsiders, the colonists do not ordinarily use money. Everything is done by a system of accounts which are kept at the store. The blacksmith shop and the carpenter shop have accounts against the farm department, which are duly recorded on the village books. Every family or adult individual has an account at the store. At the beginning of each year certain credits are allowed to all members by the village elders, and purchases against those credits are made at the store.

All members take meals at village boardinghouses, in groups of perhaps forty or fifty. These boardinghouses maintain each their own dairy, are supplied with groceries from the store, with flour from the colony's mills, and with meat from the village butcher shop. The villages are rather compactly built; with large, plain houses of wood, stone, or brick, the latter material greatly predominating. Each family is assigned its houseroom by the village elders. Most houses are occupied by more than one family. They are without kitchens and dining rooms, a boardinghouse being conveniently at hand for every eight or ten families.

The stores are well-stocked and admirably managed. They have a very large outside patronage, farmers often coming for twenty miles to sell their products to "the colony" and to buy their supplies from the fair-dealing storekeepers at Amana, South Amana, or Homestead. The store at South Amana carries a stock of goods worth not less than twenty thousand dollars, and its annual trade is very large.

The bookkeeping for each of these villages is as perfect as that of the best managed banks. It shows precisely what, in all directions, the village has produced in a given time, exactly what amount of its own productions it has consumed, just what has been sold to the other villages or marketed outside the colony, just what has been bought from other villages or from without, and just what the net gain or loss has been. At Amana, the central books of the colony are kept, and the accounts of the different villages are periodically cleared. The trustees are enabled thus to consider every feature in the financial situation of the colony. Balances between villages are not, of course, actually paid. The farming villages of East and West Amana may have suffered from a bad crop season or from cattle disease, and their income for the year may not equal their expenditures; while the manufacturing villages of Amana and Middle Amana, with two great woolen mills and the cotton print factory, may have made money hand-

somely. But profits and losses are equalized for the whole colony. The system of village industry only exists for convenience in organization; and no village suffers detriment or disadvantage from the fact that its resources may not be so productive as those of other villages.

Perhaps a further word should be said as to the method of distribution among families and individuals. First, the village elders provide shelter for all, taking account of the size and condition of families, and showing the utmost regard for the home sentiment and for reasonable preferences, and making no unnecessary stir on moving day. The simple furniture and stock of household goods are the private property of the families. The fruit of the numerous grapevines in the narrow door yards and trellised against the house walls, is appropriated by the occupants and is not accounted for.

Besides furnishing shelter, the village provides excellent and abundant food for all, in the numerous boardinghouses to which families are assigned. In lieu of clothing and sundries, credits for fixed sums are allowed and each person or family is provided with a passbook and allowed to purchase what he pleases at the store or the village tailor shop. The customs and religious principles of the village prescribe a very simple and somber garb, so that the clothing allowances are not large. They vary in amount according to circumstances.

Some kinds of work are comparatively destructive of clothing, and due recognition is given to all such facts. There is nothing punctilious or exacting about this distributive system. It is the desire that all shall be well-sheltered, well-nourished, and comfortably clad, and there is no suspicion of higgling or niggardliness. But luxury and vain display are religiously eschewed. The sick and aged are always tenderly cared for, and there is visible no harshness among these God-fearing and honest people.

The purpose of this sketch forbids a detailed account of the industries of the Amana colony, but they may be briefly described. Most important are the two large woolen mills, one in the central village and the other in Middle Amana. The yarns and flannels of these mills are not surpassed, and are in demand everywhere in the country. The annual output is said to be worth about half a million dollars. The operatives are all men, and a majority of them are past middle life. They are as hale and interesting a body of old men as can be found anywhere. Long practice has given them great skill. They have a fine pride in the perfection of their goods, and quality is their first object. The factories are supplied with excellent machinery. Everybody in them is industrious and cheerful, while nobody is overworked. I do not believe that so intelligent and well-conditioned a group of operatives can be found in any other

factories on earth. A cotton print factory at the Amana village also produces a famous line of goods. The colonists brought with them from Germany a process of cotton printing and indigo dyeing. The durability of their prints makes the demand for them constant and large. Most of them go to wholesale dealers in Chicago, New York, and Boston. At Middle Amana there is a starch factory and at Amana a soap factory, neither of which is very extensive.

Fifteen or twenty years ago flour milling was one of the leading industries of the colony. In those days Iowa was a large producer of wheat, and the new methods of milling which have built up flouring centers like Minneapolis were not in vogue. The colony had two large mills, and did a thriving business in the jobbing of flour. The mills still do some outside business, but are chiefly occupied with grinding for home consumption. The one at West Amana supplies three villages and the one at Amana supplies four. It is intended this year to rebuild the West Amana mill and equip it with rollers and the most recent machinery. There are sawmills in four of the villages, but they do not manufacture lumber for sale. They are used only as necessity requires. At High Amana there is a tannery. There are machine shops at Amana and Middle Amana, and blacksmith and wood shops in all the villages. At South Amana and Amana there are lumber yards, which are patron-

ized extensively by outside farmers. There are two or three grain elevators at the colony's railroad stations, and the grain or livestock of outsiders is freely purchased and shipped to the Chicago market. The head men of the colony are competent and prudent businessmen, and they manage their large business with system, skill, and profit. They are noted for their upright dealings.

The income of the society is large enough to provide a comfortable living for all, and to permit the constant improvement of its noble domain. A canal six or eight miles long has been constructed at considerable expense in order to furnish water-power for the woolen mills from the Iowa River. A fall of fourteen feet is thus secured. There are several good bridges across the Iowa River, and many miles of fairly good roads connecting the villages with one another and with outside places. The telephone connects all parts of the colony. A flowing artesian well, two thousand, two hundred feet deep, has been sunk at Middle Amana. A plain but suitable church is found in every village, and also a good schoolhouse. The dwelling-houses are solid and capacious. The barns and stables are excellent, and the supplies of farm machinery the best. The income of the society is thus absorbed in current expenditure and general improvements.

Advanced education is not appreciated at Amana. The people are not, as in the French

Icarian community, readers and philosophers. They have clear, practical intelligence, but apart from the Bible and their own religious records (many volumes of which they have printed) they do not hold literature in high esteem. But they believe in a common education, and send all of their children to their village schools. Life in the schoolroom begins very young and continues until the girls are thirteen and the boys fourteen. School keeps five and a half days in the week and fifty-two weeks in the year, and begins very early in the morning.

The teachers, of whom there are sixteen in the seven villages, are all men—typical old-fashioned German schoolmasters—and all members of the colony. Some of them have been teaching where they are for twenty or thirty years. Every schoolhouse contains a large, sunny work room, and the children spend part of each day in that room, boys and girls together, knitting and glovemaking, under the instruction of women. Great loaves of fresh rye bread are brought to the school from the village bakery, and the master dispenses generous slices of bread and butter.

German and English are both used in the schools—the latter somewhat painfully. The teaching is conscientious and thorough, in the old-fashioned way. The good old masters take pride in the fluent reading of their best boys and in the scrupulously neat copybooks of their best girls.

The little girls all wear long dresses, small black caps, and diminutive shawls religiously pinned across their breasts, and they look very fresh-faced and pretty. The courtesy and good manners of the Amana children are worthy of special note. These schools are occasionally visited by the county superintendent and are accounted as belonging to the public school system of the state. The colony is given its share in the apportionment of the state school fund. It is a question whether these quaint old German teachers are not accomplishing better work than some of the ambitious graded schools in the large towns of the state.

When they leave school at fourteen, the boys are assigned to some useful function in the community. The tastes and preferences of each boy and the opinions of his parents are, of course, consulted, and no practical difficulty is found in determining which boys shall farm, which shall be teamsters, which shall be mechanics, which factory operatives, and which businessmen.

The population of the colony grows at moderate pace, chiefly from within. Occasionally a German family is admitted from without, but no accessions are sought, and most applications are refused. It is remarkable that so few old members become discontented and withdraw, and that so few, comparatively, of the young people, seek escape from the monotony of life in the colony. It would be impossible to find any other Western neighbor-

hood, of like population, where changes are not five-fold, or ten-fold, more numerous. When occasionally a member does withdraw, he is paid the sum he originally gave to the society, or his legal share of the sum his parents may have deposited. But otherwise he receives no portion of the accumulated wealth of the society, except what the trustees may voluntarily bestow upon him.

This incomplete sketch must of necessity leave unsaid very many things that should have place in a full description of life at Amana. It is a community in which crime is absolutely unknown. In deference to the laws and institutions of the state, the colonists go through the form of electing a justice of the peace and a constable for their township; but these officers have nothing to do. Pauperism, of course, is a term that has no meaning in a communistic society. The even and wholesome life of the colony is conducive to good health and great longevity. If there are vicious and ill-disposed persons in the colony, I have seen none of them and have heard of none. I mean, of course, such persons as would be regarded in any good community as bad members of society. I have seen in the colony no faces that excited distrust and dislike. The life is unquestionably promotive of moral excellence. The average of physical comfort is high, but it might easily be higher. The wants of the people are few and simple, and they do not aspire to "all the modern conveniences." Their

intellectual standard also is low. They might have libraries and reading rooms and a central high school with the best appliances. But this is not what they want. They live under the restrictions of a narrow creed. Obviously their life has its unfavorable as well as its favorable side. There have been troubles and disagreements at times, undoubtedly. As society at large is now constituted, nothing could be more hopelessly impracticable, for general adoption, than the communistic program. But there is much in a community like Amana to strengthen faith in the feasibility of co-operation.

ALBERT SHAW

Study of Religious Communism

The interesting second quarter of the nineteenth century is that to which belongs the era of communism based upon fraternity and rationalism. Some communistic settlements of this class may have been founded after 1850, but the faith in the regeneration of mankind through this sort of communism had already begun to wane by that date. The communistic settlements of this class, having as their watchwords "Liberty, equality, fraternity," are connected chiefly with three names, and I think we may indeed say three great names, even if these leaders were visionaries. These names are Robert Owen, a great manufacturer, at one time the "prince of cotton-spinners," the friend of lords and sovereigns, who was listened to with respect by the Congress of the United States; the French enthusiast, Etienne Cabet, who wrote his romance *Voyage to Icaria*, and in the year 1848 led to this country an advance guard of communists who, as they thought, were to redeem the world. The third among these leaders is the one who produced, after all, the greatest impression in the United States, namely, Charles Fourier, who captivated the hearts and imaginations of a considerable number of the noblest Americans — Americans whose

names adorn our history. We naturally think in this connection of Brook Farm, and of men like Horace Greeley, George William Curtis, Nathaniel Hawthorne, George Ripley, and William Henry Channing. Hinds mentions some twenty communistic settlements which attempted to carry out the fraternal ideas of Fourier. Alas! these all long since followed to the grave the settlements of Robert Owen and his friends.

Icaria, Iowa, existed over thirty years, although during that period there were many schisms, and several different colonies were established by those who broke away from the original settlement. No better account of a communistic society has probably ever been written than that given by Dr. Albert Shaw in his book *Icaria: a Chapter in the History of Communism*. Dr. Shaw describes it as the "most typical experiment in rational democratic communism." When Icaria ceased to exist the last communistic settlement founded on a non-religious (not necessarily irreligious or anti-religious) basis perished. Outside of Amana, the only communistic settlements of any note now existing in the United States are those of the Shakers, and their thirty-five communities do not all together have as many members as are embraced in the Amana Society. Amana, then, comprises more than half the communists of the United States, and in studying Amana we are examining the largest and strongest communistic settlement in the entire world.

The Amana Society is known also as the "Community of True Inspiration." The historians of the community trace the society back to the early years of the eighteenth century in Germany, connecting it with the pietism and mysticism of that period in German history. It is said that J. F. Rock established in 1714 in Hesse, Germany, a new religious sect which has now become the "Community of True Inspiration." It was not until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century, however, that these people began the practice of communism. While still in Germany, where they were persecuted on account of their religious beliefs, they assisted one another generously and displayed a spirit of communism. For self-protection and self-support they worked and lived together, communistic practices springing up unconsciously, without any thought of social transformation. In 1842 one of the members became inspired, as they thought, and in his inspiration recommended a community of goods. It seems evident that Cabet and Fourier both had made their influence felt upon these religious people. They felt moved to emigrate to this country in 1842, and in 1843 they made a settlement at Ebenezer, which is now in the suburbs of Buffalo. There they prospered for ten years, but felt that they were too much under the influence of the world near such a large and rapidly growing city, and decided to emigrate to some quieter place in the then "Far West." Finally selection was made

of a large tract of land southeast of the central part of the State, along both sides of the Iowa River, where they now live. They have added to their domain until it embraces 26,000 acres of fine land, including some 10,000 acres of forests, while their numbers have increased until there are nearly 1800 souls among them, and they occupy seven villages—namely, Amana, West Amana, South Amana, East Amana, Middle Amana, High Amana, and Homestead.

The community was incorporated in Iowa in 1859, under the name of the Amana Society, and their main purpose and central thoughts cannot be better described than in the following words quoted from their constitution:

“That the foundation of our civil organization is and shall remain forever God, the Lord, and the faith, which He worked in us; . . .

“That the land purchased here, and that may hereafter be purchased, shall be and remain a common estate and property, with all improvements thereupon and all appurtenances thereto, as also with all the labor, cares, troubles and burdens, of which each member shall bear his allotted share with a willing heart. . . .

“Agriculture and the raising of cattle and other domestic animals, in connection with some manufactures and trades, shall under the blessing of God form the means of sustenance for this Society. Out of the income of the land and the other

branches of industry the common expenses of the Society shall be defrayed.

"The surplus, if any, shall from time to time be applied to the improvement of the common estate of the Society, to the building and maintaining of meeting and schoolhouses, printing establishments, to the support and care of the old, sick, and infirm members of the Society, to the founding of a business and safety fund, and to benevolent purposes in general."

Like the Puritans and Pilgrims who settled New England, the members of the Community of True Inspiration recognize God as the foundation of their social order, and regard His service as the chief end of man. Like the Puritans, too, there is a pronounced strain of asceticism in their beliefs and practices. This earth is a vale of tears, a period of probation during which the children of God are chiefly concerned with the preparation for a future paradise.

It is not necessary to dwell at length upon any peculiar features in the theology of this religious society. They hold to Christianity, and in the main as ordinarily accepted by the various evangelical Christian bodies. In some particulars, however, they resemble the Quakers more closely than any other Christian denomination. They hold baptism to be purely spiritual, and consequently do not baptize with water. On the other hand, they celebrate the Lord's Supper, practice feet washing,

and enjoy love feasts, according to the manner, as they claim, of primitive Christians. Like the Quakers they are opposed to war, and regard oaths as inadmissible. They also object to all wordly plays and recreations which divert the mind from God, and practice extreme simplicity in dress. These characteristics of simplicity and fraternal communism follow them one by one as they are laid away in the grave. Each member takes his place in the cemetery according to his death, being laid next to the one who died last, and each grave is marked by a simple white slab, upon which we find inscribed only the name and age of the deceased. Their two great leaders in this country have been Christian Metz and Barbara Heinemann Landmann, and I was interested in searching out their graves. The slabs which marked them were like all the others, save that they seemed to be even smaller than most of them.

The society is called the Society of True Inspiration because they believe in the continuity of inspiration, but they do not believe that all inspiration is true inspiration; in other words, the spirits are to be tested. Their great movements have been directed by their inspired members, but with the death of Barbara Landmann in 1883 inspiration has ceased up to the present.

It is the firm belief of the leaders of the Amana people that religion is the necessary foundation of communism, and that their own communism is

simply an outgrowth of their religious life. The most fundamental thing with them, then, is not communism, but religion. The ideas which underlie rational, democratic communism have but little sympathy with them. They have their elders in their church; and the trustees, in whom is confided chief power, are elected from among the elders. As one of their elders told me, and told me truly, the rock upon which their organization is built is obedience. As the three words which give form and direction to democratic communism are liberty, equality, and fraternity, so the three words which express what is most fundamental in this Christian communism are authority, obedience, fraternity. The authority which exists in Amana is not on its industrial side so strict and exacting as in a great modern factory. I should say that it is distinctly milder in this particular than the authority which I witnessed at Pelzer and Cleveland. This may be because it is characterized by fraternity, and has in view the equal good of all. It is, however, more far-reaching, since it is religious, and religion exempts from its sway no part of our life, however private it may be. Marriage, and the family, and the entire mode of life fall under the influence of religion, and cannot do otherwise when religion is taken earnestly.

Next to agriculture their principal industry is, probably, the manufacture of woollens. They have also calico print works and some other in-

dustries. Their woolens, it may be remarked, are celebrated, and are found in every part of the country. Their goods are always what they profess to be, and "colony" products have everywhere a high reputation. Here again, however, we see a difficulty in the way of life in accordance with the principles of peace in a world of strife. Knowing that the "colonists" are non-combatants, and opposed to legal as well as physical strife, unscrupulous persons are inclined to take advantage of their love of peace and to palm off as Amana products various goods which are produced elsewhere.

I visited their woolen mills, interested to learn whether or not the peculiarities of fraternal communism would manifest themselves in a high-grade manufacturing establishment. It did not take long to discover differences between the Amana woolen mills and the cotton mills which I had visited a few months previously in the South. The number of adults and even old men and the absence of children first attracted my attention. Education is compulsory, and it is needless to say that in Amana compulsory education means what it professes to mean, which, unhappily, is not always the case in our country. All the children attend school between the ages of five and fourteen, and are not at work when they ought to be preparing themselves for their future life. Those are employed in manufacturing who have some special aptitude therefor, and also many who, on account

of age or otherwise, are too feeble to engage in agriculture or pursuits which require full vigor of body. No one is, however, given more work than he ought to do, and it is probable that the machinery is not "speeded up" so high as in other mills. Seats are provided, so that while watching the spinning frames and looms and whenever this can be done the operators may sit down. No needless effort is required of any one, but, on the contrary, the aim seems to be to render work as easy as possible with the maintenance of efficiency. It is said that frequently in the mill flowers may be seen, but I did not notice any while there. Understanding that a considerable number of women are employed in the woolen mill, I was struck by the fact that only two or three were at work. I was told, however, that this was because it was Monday, and they were engaged in doing family washing. This illustrates the manner in which one sort of work is adjusted to another. My visit was in June, at a time when activity for the fall trade had begun. The hours were long just at this time, thirteen and a half per day, but yet I am confident that no one was overworked. Usually the hours are ten per day.

Probably one could not readily find a more contented lot of working people. They are obliged to hire some outside working people, but so far as the members of the community themselves are concerned, many of the difficulties which are experi-

enced in the competition of private industries are from the very nature of the case excluded. There is no room for conflict between labor and capital when the same persons own the capital and furnish the labor. There can be no opposition to improved machinery when the workers themselves directly and immediately enjoy the full benefits of it, and can readily perceive that they do so. There can be no unemployed, because there is always some work for every one, whatever may be his physical or mental powers. There is no "dead-line" beyond which it becomes difficult to secure employment. When a man becomes too feeble for one sort of work, some other can be provided, and he suffers no harm. Old age has no economic terrors for the toilers of Amana, because the very constitution of the society provides for all. It is simply required that each one should do his best. It is the general testimony of all those in the neighborhood that no one is overtaxed, and also that no one lacks the necessities and comforts of life.

"They don't work too hard," is an expression which one may hear with reference to these people. But, on the other hand, laziness does not appear to afford trouble at Amana. Curiously enough, too, indolence has never been, so far as I have observed or been able to learn, one of the rocks upon which communistic societies have made shipwreck. Others who have studied communistic settlements have noticed this, which is worthy of attention, in

view of the common allegation—didn't Emerson say it?—that "man is as lazy as he dares to be." Charles Nordhoff in his work on the *Communistic Societies of the United States*, published a quarter of a century ago, says this, after having visited the more important communistic settlements at that time existing in the country:

" 'How do you manage with the lazy people?' I have asked in many cases. But there are no idlers in a commune. I conclude that men are not naturally idle."

Probably the annual per capita production of wealth is not so great as it would be in a similar population equally well provided with land and capital. The Amana Society has a great estate, entirely free from debt, and a favorable situation. The number of children and old people to be supported is relatively large, there being among the 1767 members 187 under five and 321 over the age of sixty. They are all brothers, and the essential equality of treatment thereby required acts in some cases as a drawback to the greatest efficiency. One of the most intelligent members of the society told me that this operated against the productiveness of agriculture. The usual number of working hours in the manufacturing establishments is ten, and this renders it difficult to exact the long hours which farmers generally think necessary. All have a generous satisfaction of their material wants, but the life is simple and economical, with an entire

absence of display. Generally there is at least a small balance on the right side at the close of the year's operations, so that there is some progress in the accumulation of wealth. Yet sometimes at the close of the year there is a deficit. The surplus production is, at any rate, comparatively small, and a large part of the wealth has come from the increment in land values.

The distribution of wealth is a comparatively simple matter. All members give their services and put in any property which they may have. They receive an adequate and comfortable dwelling, and an abundance of good food. Each one has also an annual allowance in the form of credit at the "store." With this credit they purchase their clothing and satisfy other wants, whatever is purchased being charged against the purchaser in a credit book, with which all are provided. In making purchases the credit book is handed in to one of the employees of the store, and whatever is purchased is entered. The annual allowance varies considerably—say, from \$35 to \$75. It is considered meritorious to leave any unexpended balance in the funds of the society, and in this way credits are sometimes accumulated. The variations in allowances suggest inequalities which at first might appear to be contrary to the principles of communism. Inequalities, however, are recognized in wants. The educated physician and his family have, as every rational man will have to

admit, wants beyond those of the ordinary man who follows the plough. The physicians do not confine their practice to the members of the community, who, of course, receive their services gratis, and the fact that their occupation takes them more into the outside world makes a difference. But this is, after all, not the whole story.

"If you thrust Nature out with a pitchfork, she will return." There must be some kind of an aristocracy in every society, and in so stable a community as Amana it will be a natural aristocracy. Originally some members of the community were wealthy, one member having put into the common fund, it is said, \$50,000, and some were in general culture and station superior to others. The most highly educated members of the community are probably the physicians. One of them might not be treated better than others, and would not be treated better than others because his profession might bring a large income to the society, but there would be a respect for his learning. Within certain limits, then, equality is interpreted to mean proportional satisfaction of needs.

Each family, as already stated, has its adequate dwelling, and each member of the family his own room. Each family has its own little garden, and what is raised in this garden belongs to the family. The gardens are exceedingly well-cultivated, and afford many dainties in summer and winter; grapes are grown abundantly and furnish homemade

wine. Although it is not encouraged, it is still allowed to sell things from the garden, and what is received belongs to the family. The families are also divided into groups and live together in a "kitchen-house." In Amana, the largest one of their villages, with 600 inhabitants, there are sixteen of these kitchen-houses. There is, in other words, co-operative housekeeping. Now with each kitchen-house there goes a large garden, and the group of persons so associated may sell the produce from their garden and use this to provide such food as they may see fit for the kitchen, in addition to that which is granted by the community. I found one little group which seemed to derive a considerable revenue from an excellently managed hennery. Great pride appeared to be taken in the skill displayed by one of the women in this group who had a large supply of eggs when they were selling for thirty and forty cents a dozen, and other people's hens had almost altogether ceased laying. All this may be contrasted with the French community of Icaria, where, as Dr. Shaw tells us in his work, the individual gardens were destroyed, in order that a mathematical equality among the members might be preserved. Is it any wonder that quarrels ensued which at that time threatened the existence of Icaria?

It has been mentioned that all children are sent to school. The religious life is the chief end, and not the intellectual life, but still there seems to be a

desire to give the members of the community as good an education as their means will permit. Apart from a few religious holidays, the children go to school every day, beginning at about seven o'clock in the morning. There is no regular vacation except Saturday afternoon. The teachers are all men and conduct school in accordance with old-fashioned principles. After the school exercises there comes a "play hour," and then follow various exercises—knitting and crocheting for the girls, and work in field or factory for the boys. Their time is very fully occupied, and no room is left for idleness. One of the interesting sights at Amana is the "school forest" planted by the children. It consists of long rows of trees, mostly pines and firs, which form beautiful green avenues. What has been done at the school forests in Amana affords a valuable suggestion for country schools generally.

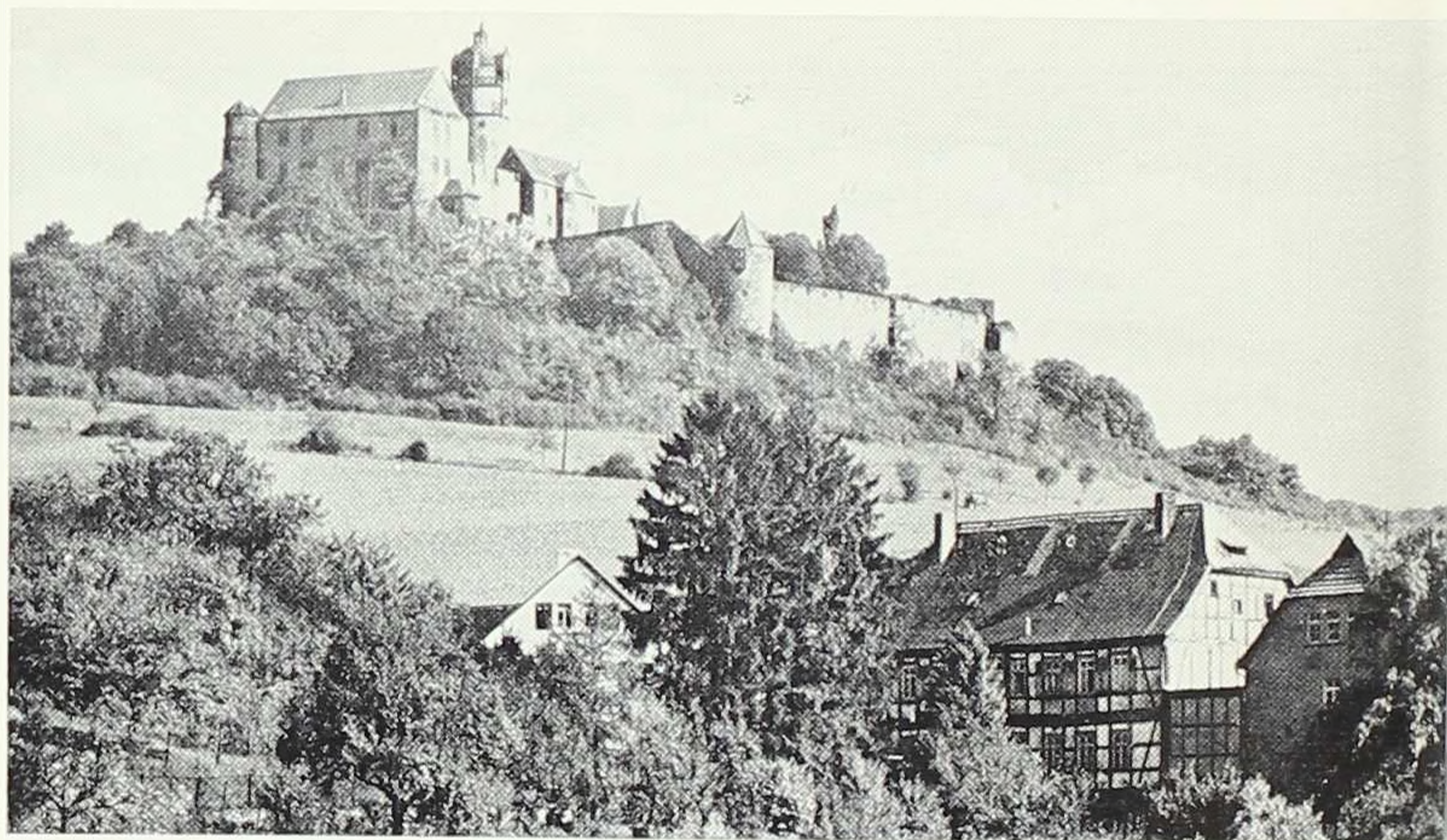
Those who are destined to become physicians are sent away to carry forward and finish their education. Three of them have gone to the University of Iowa, one has carried on postgraduate work in New York City, and another has spent a year in Germany.

Everywhere in communistic settlements the members frequently live to a great age. I was impressed with this when I visited the Shakers at Mount Lebanon. During the year preceding my visit, there had been three deaths; two brothers

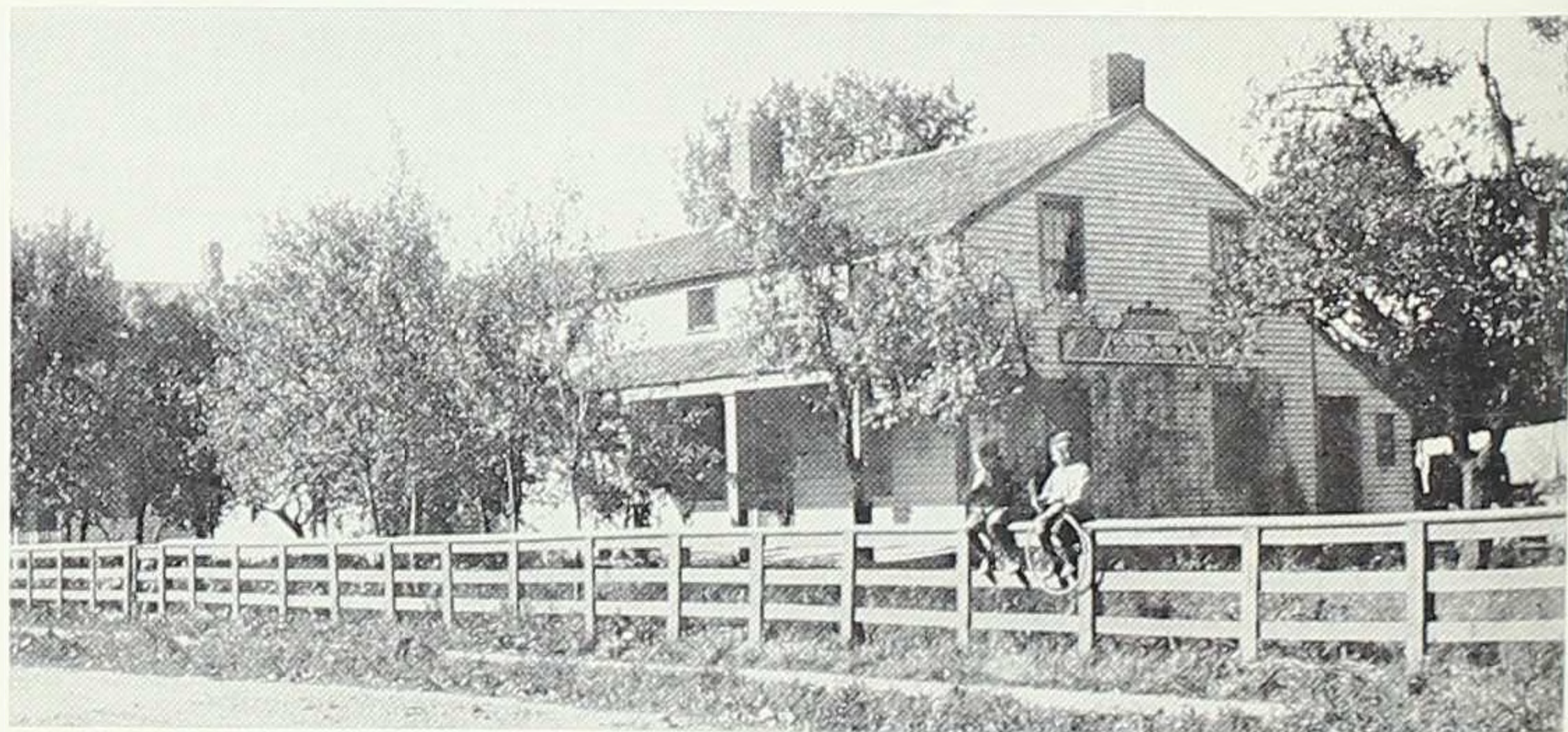
had died aged eighty-seven and ninety-one respectively, and a sister had departed this life at the age of one hundred and eight. Daniel Fraser, who is delightfully described by Howells in his *Undiscovered Country*, was then between eighty and ninety, and his intellectual powers were so keen that it was a delight to converse with him. The leader of Mount Lebanon was Elder Frederick Evans, seventy-eight years of age. "How old do you take this horse to be?" he asked me, pointing to a horse which was drawing a load of apples. "I should say that he was about twelve," I replied. "He is thirty," said Elder Evans; "but he has enjoyed Shaker treatment, not the world's." Mr. Hinds, in his book to which reference has been made, tells us that recently, when he inquired, he was told that one member of the Amana Society had, not long ago, died over one hundred years of age; that there were two living members above ninety, and about twenty-five between eighty and ninety. The Shakers speak of their "watch-tower," and among them one has the feeling that one is standing on a watch-tower, looking at the great, busy world through a telescope, as it were. But the Shakers neither marry nor give in marriage, and their life is more isolated and separated from that of the competitive world of industry than is that of Amana.

The villages have the appearance of a German Dorf, or agricultural village, but they are far more

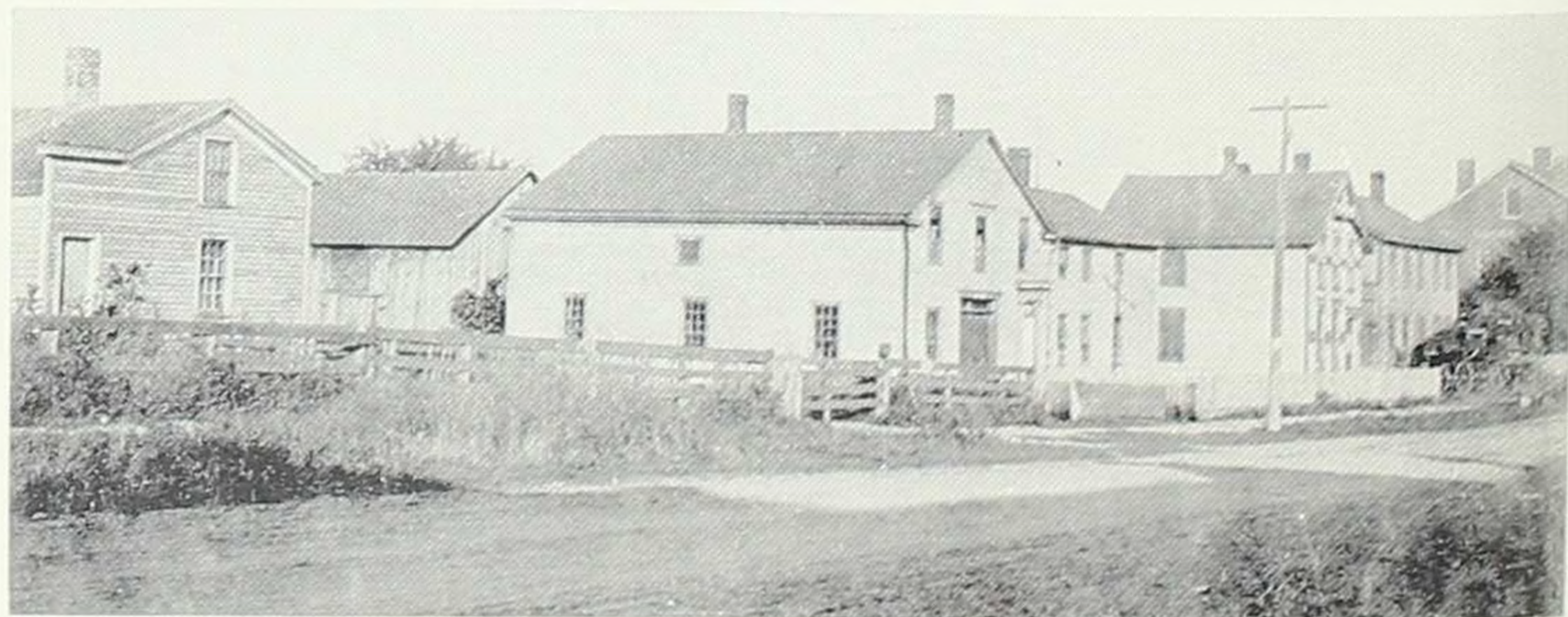
FROM RONNEBURG TO EBENEZER . . .



Ronneburg Castle in Germany overlooked the homeland of the Amanites.

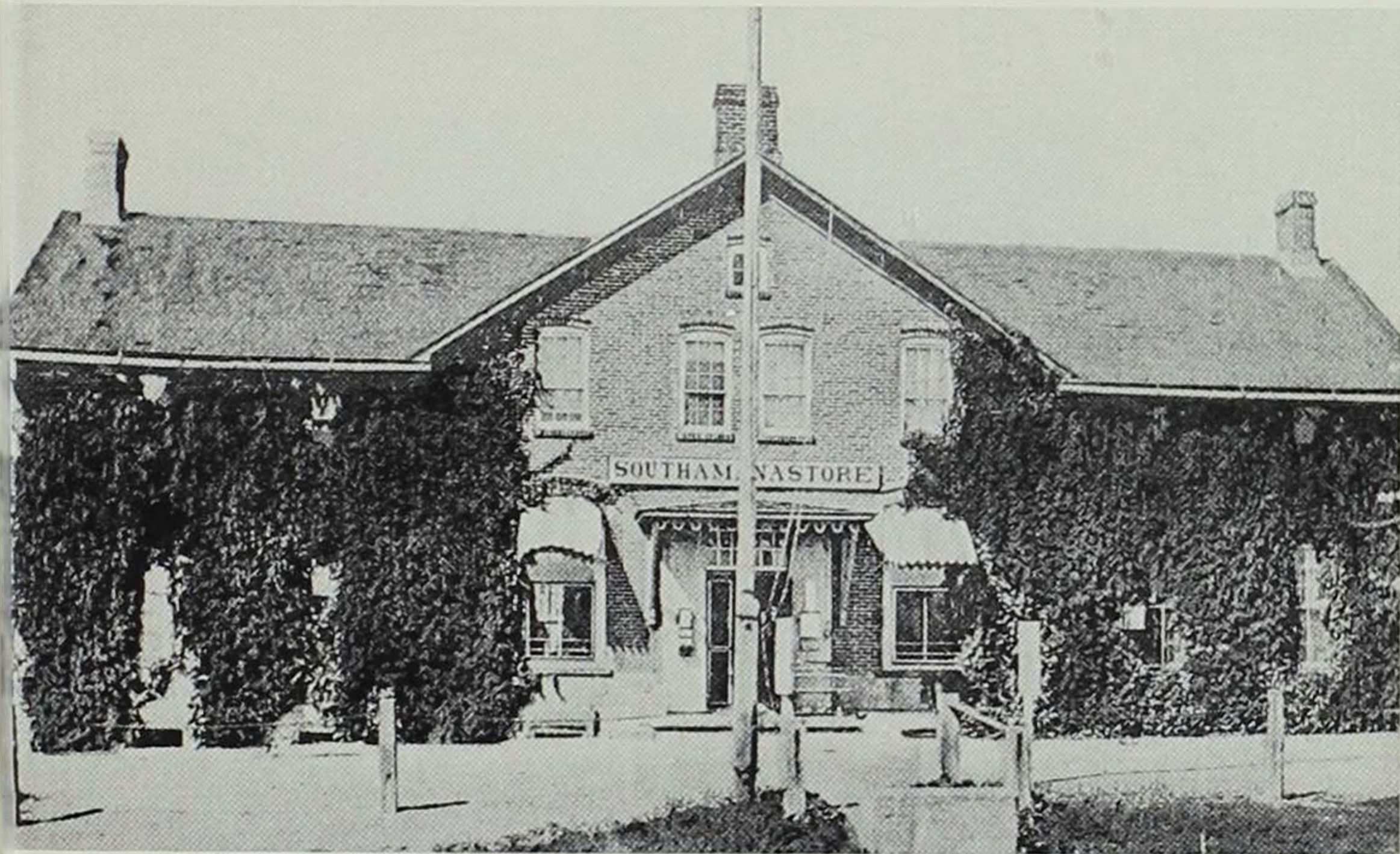


Schoolhouse, Christian Metz' living quarters and kitchen in Middle Ebenezer.



A street scene in Middle Ebenezer.

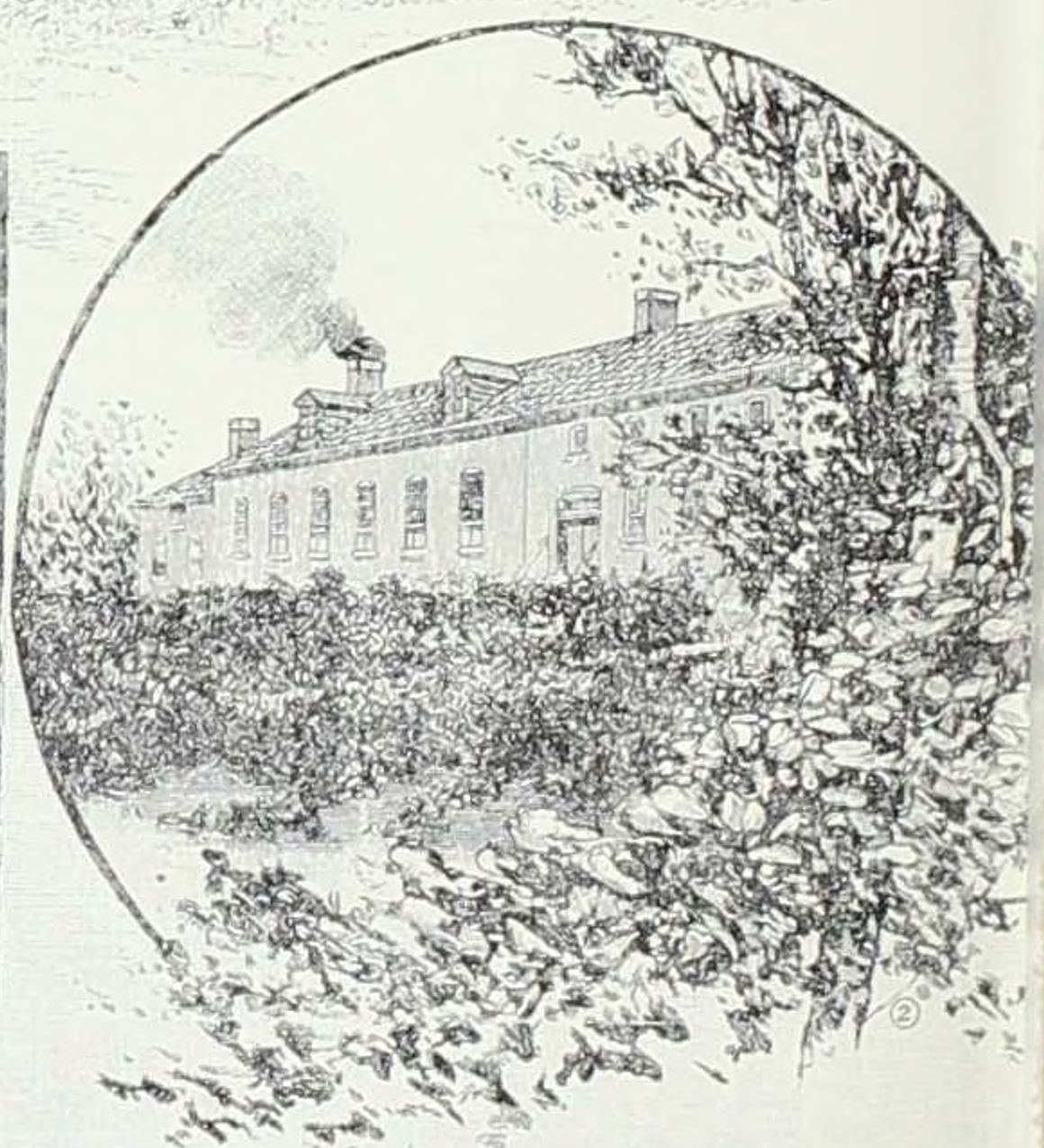
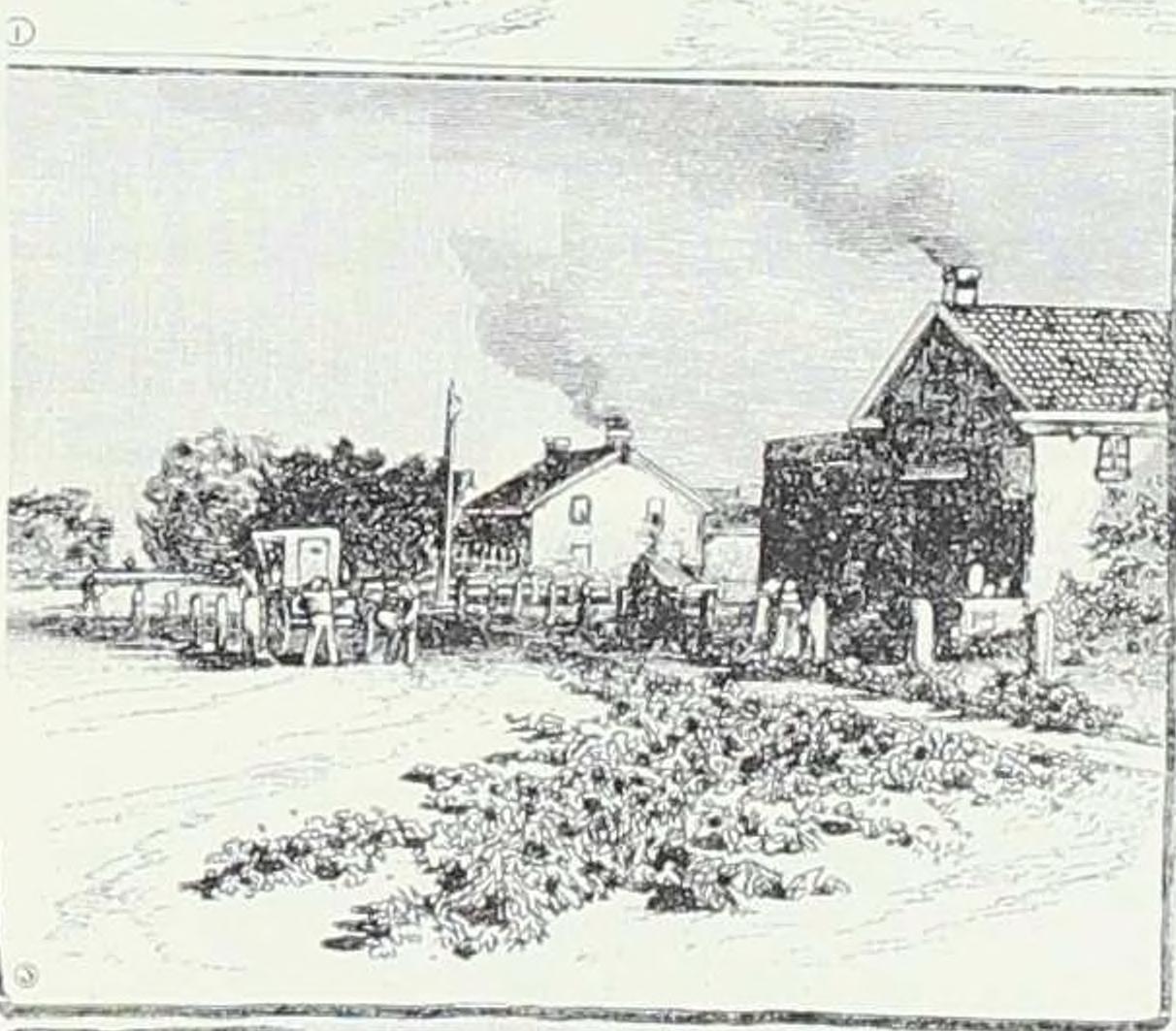
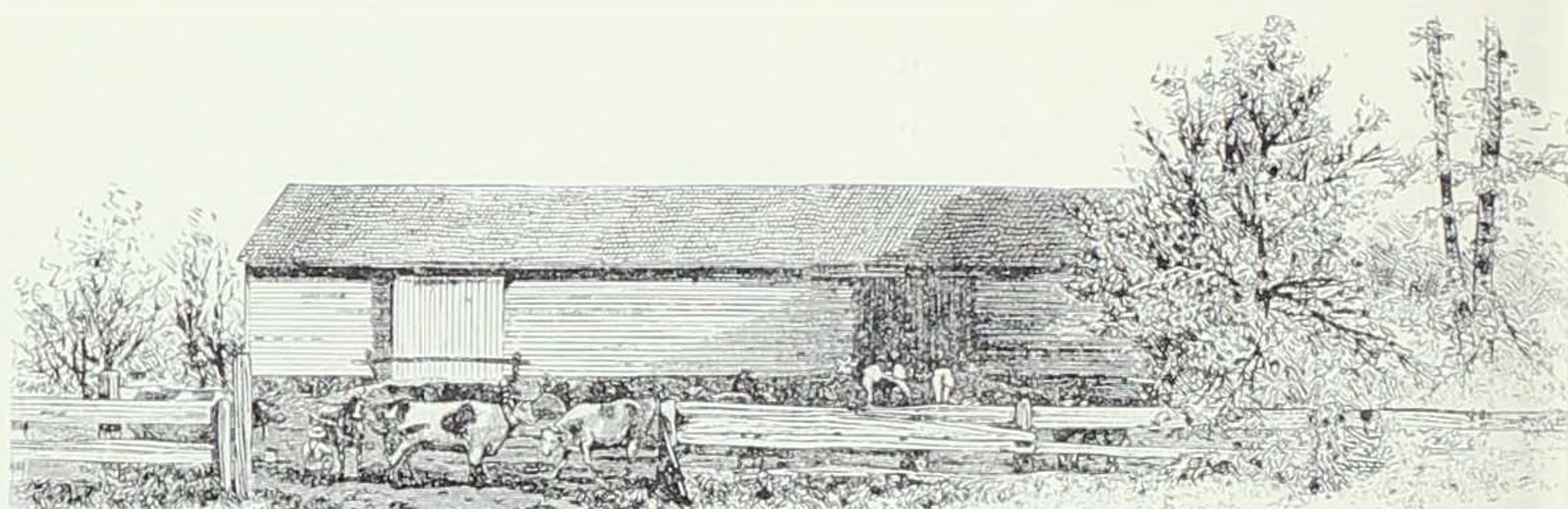
TO THE SEVEN VILLAGES OF AMANA



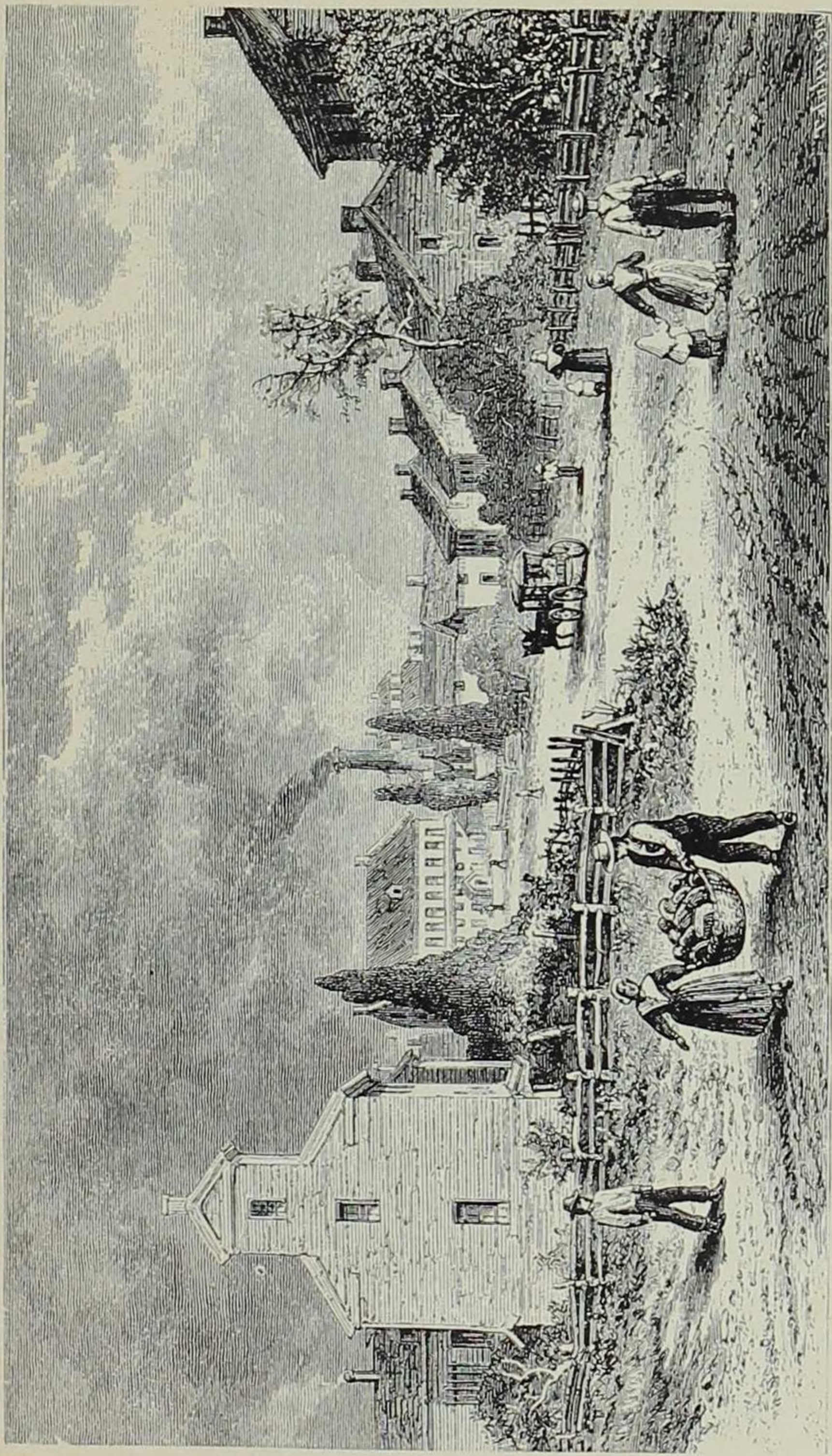
"The store at South Amana carries a stock of goods worth not less than twenty thousand dollars, and its annual trade [1888] is very large." (Shaw) This is the Upper South Amana Store, which was originally the largest.



By horse and buggy visitors arrive at the Amana store, coming from the surrounding countryside as well as neighboring towns and villages.



(1) Milking time. "The cattle are pastured outside and driven in every night to be cared for at the six cow barns. . . . These cow barns are immense structures, the lower half of stone, beautifully clean." (MacClure) (2) Church. "The colonists are distinctly religious." (MacClure) (3) Village street. "There is really but one street—a rambling affair—meeting other lanes at all possible angles." (MacClure) (4) Society's vineyard. "Grapes are grown abundantly and furnish homemade wine." (Ely)



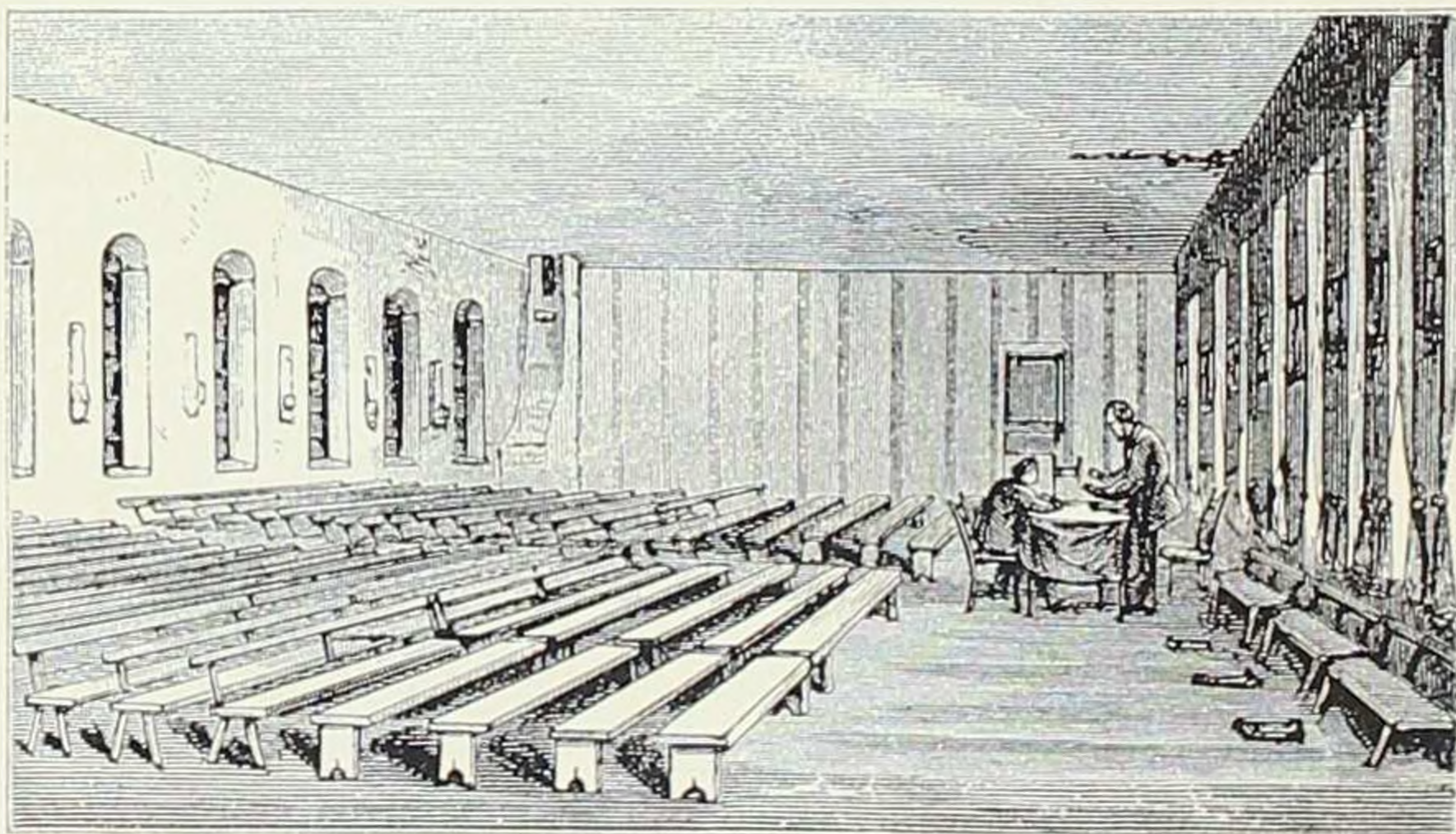
A General View of Amana

In the foreground a couple carries a basket of bread while other residents of the village are bound for various destinations. A delivery wagon, its motive power supplied by a horse, heads down the street toward the woolen mills. The road in the left foreground goes to East Amana. The building in the left foreground is a fire watch tower. (This picture, along with those shown on the next two pages come from Charles Nordhoff's *The Communitist Societies of the United States*.)



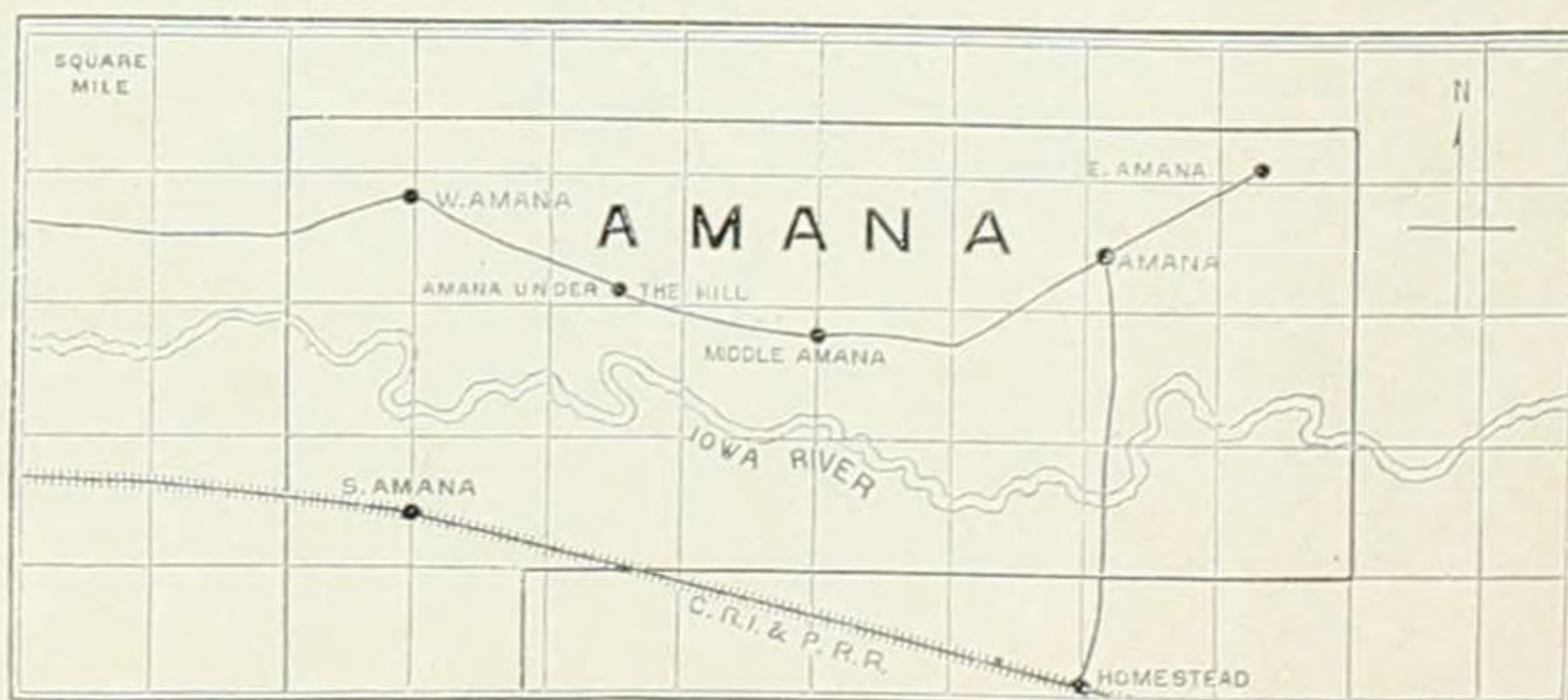
Church at Amana

"There are three places of worship . . . the largest of these a long building with four divisions. The first is for children and young girls, the second for boys, the third for young people of both sexes, and the fourth for adults." (MacClure)



Interior View of the Amana Church

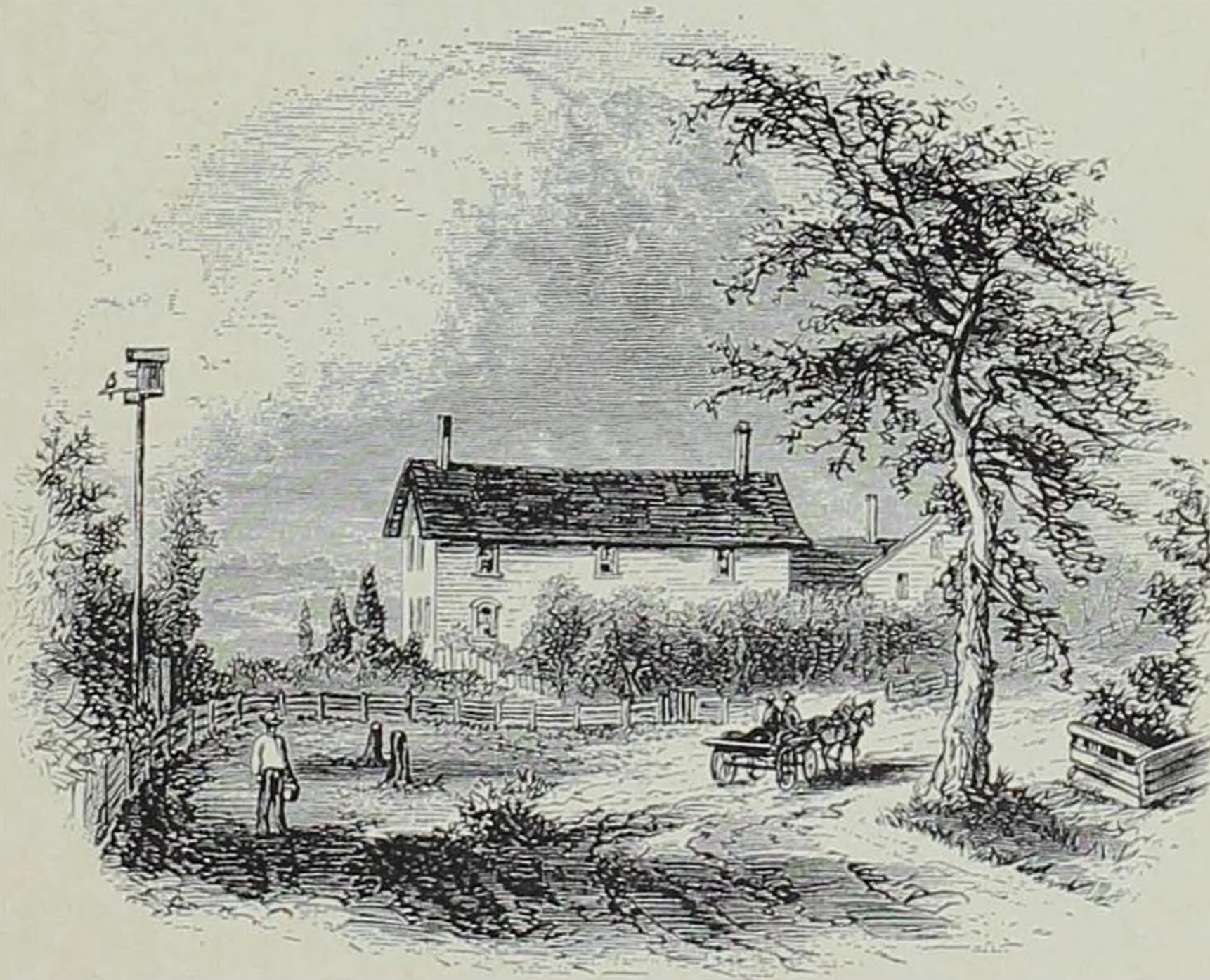
"The pews are snowy white benches with a railing at the back." (MacClure)



A Contemporary Map of the Amana Villages



Grace Is Said Before Eating



Amana Schoolhouse

"German and English are both used in the schools—the latter somewhat painfully. The teaching is conscientious and thorough, in the old-fashioned way." (Shaw)



The women were kept busy in the cornfields . . .



Gathering grapes . . .



Baking cookies . . .



Preparing meals . . .



And feeding the ducks, chickens and geese.

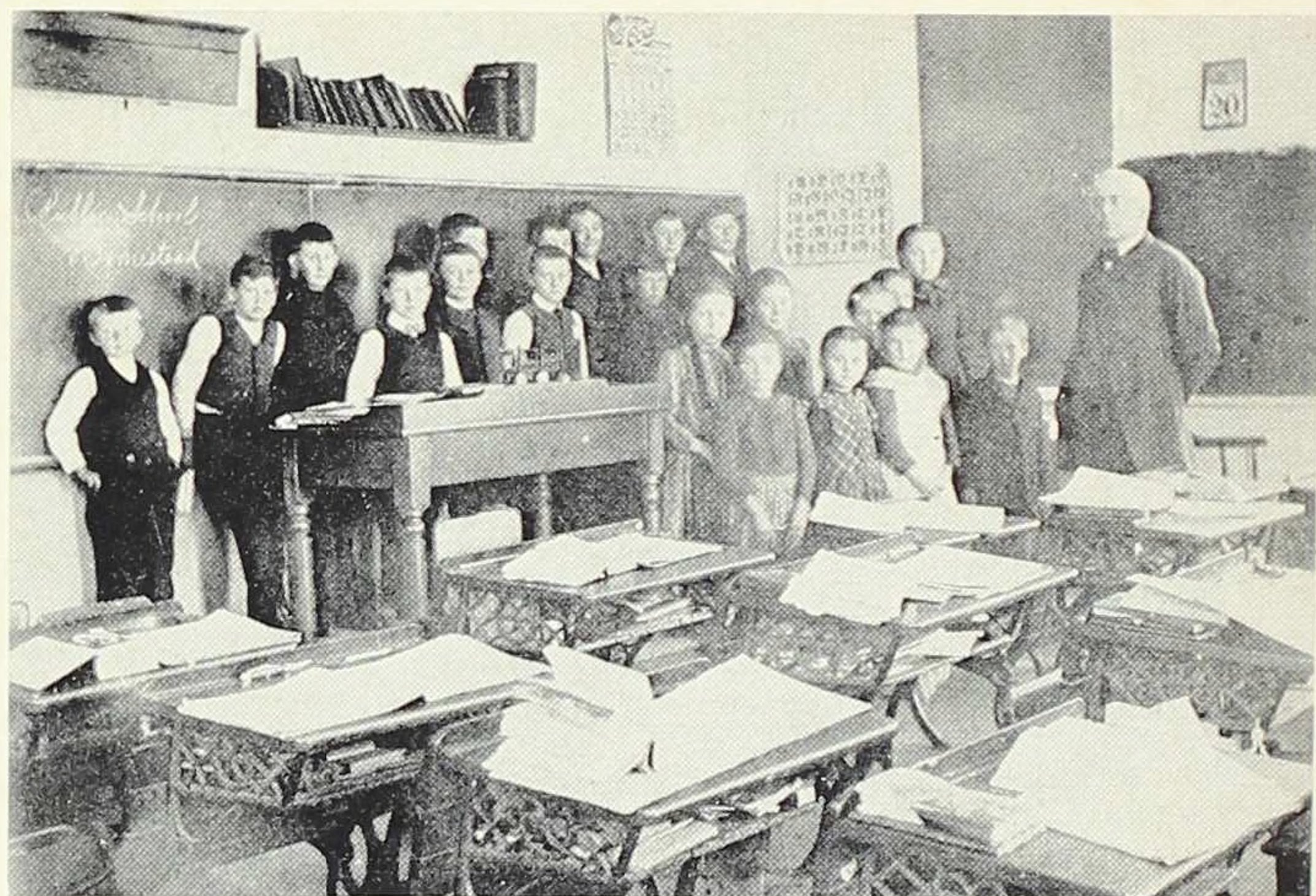


Dr. Noe's kitchen force ran the gamut from young to old.

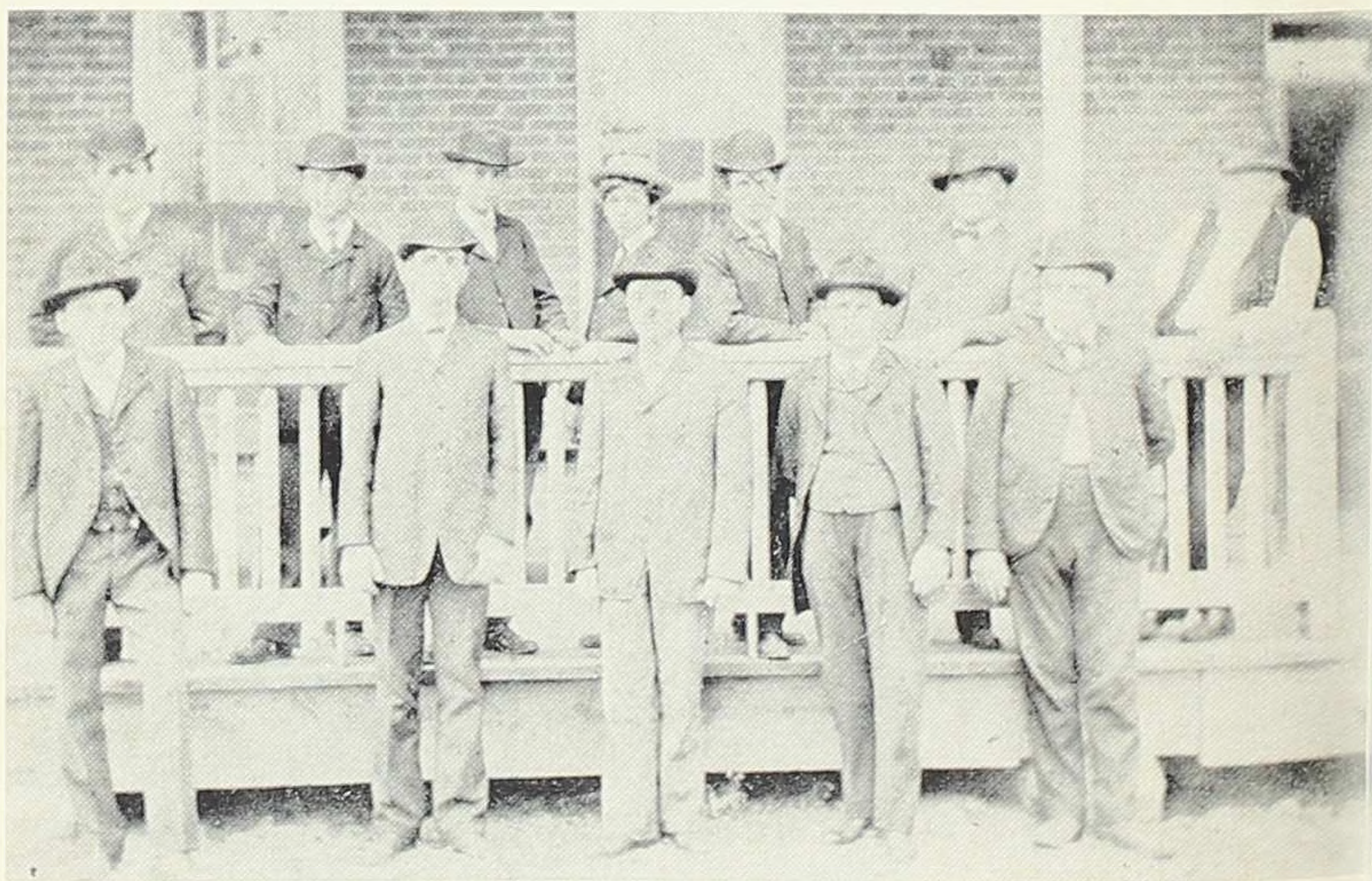


Cabbages! Cabbages! Cabbages!

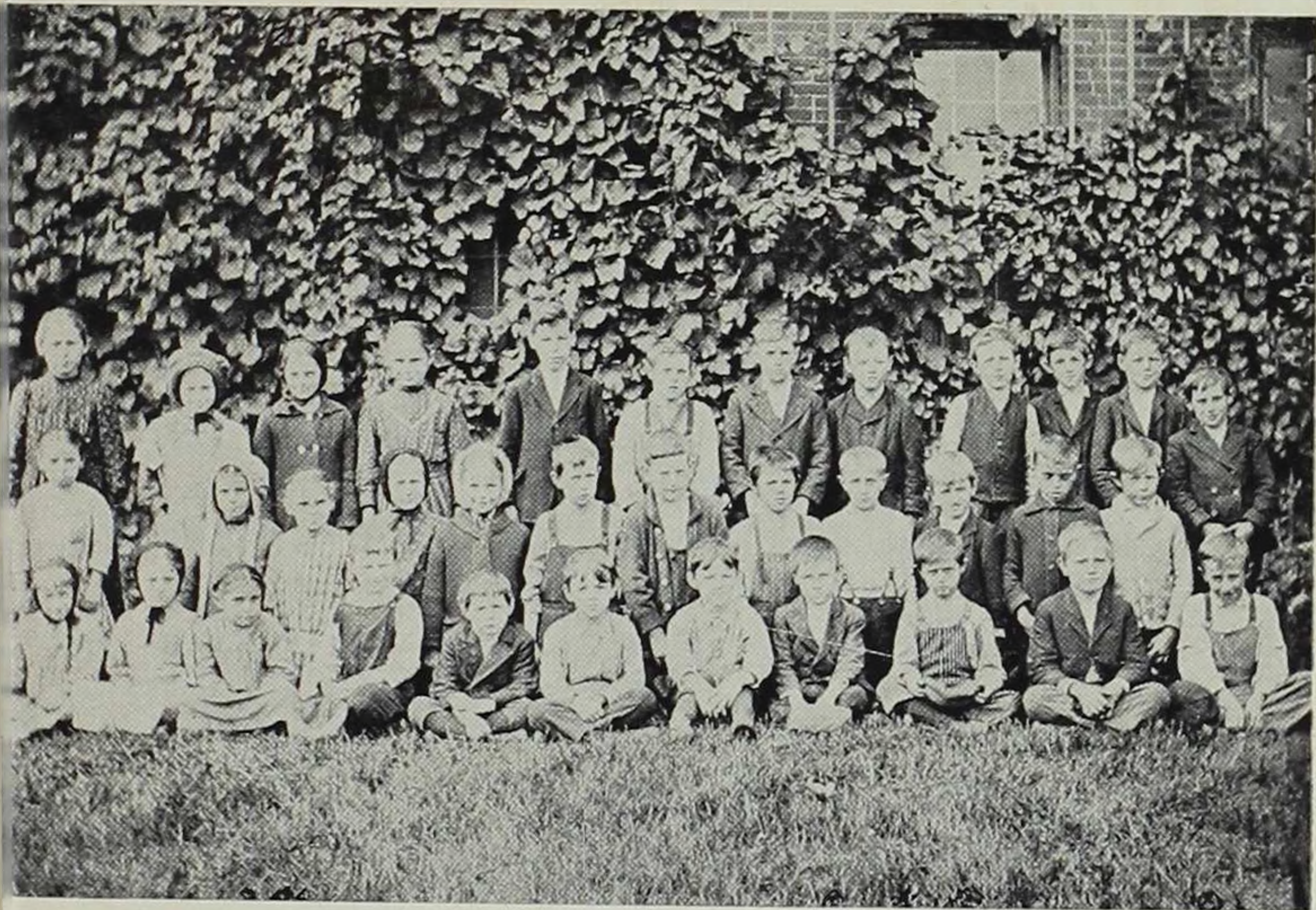
From coleslaw to boiled cabbage to sauerkraut—these were always great favorites with the Amana people. The women working here are on a porch of a Middle Amana community kitchen making sauerkraut.



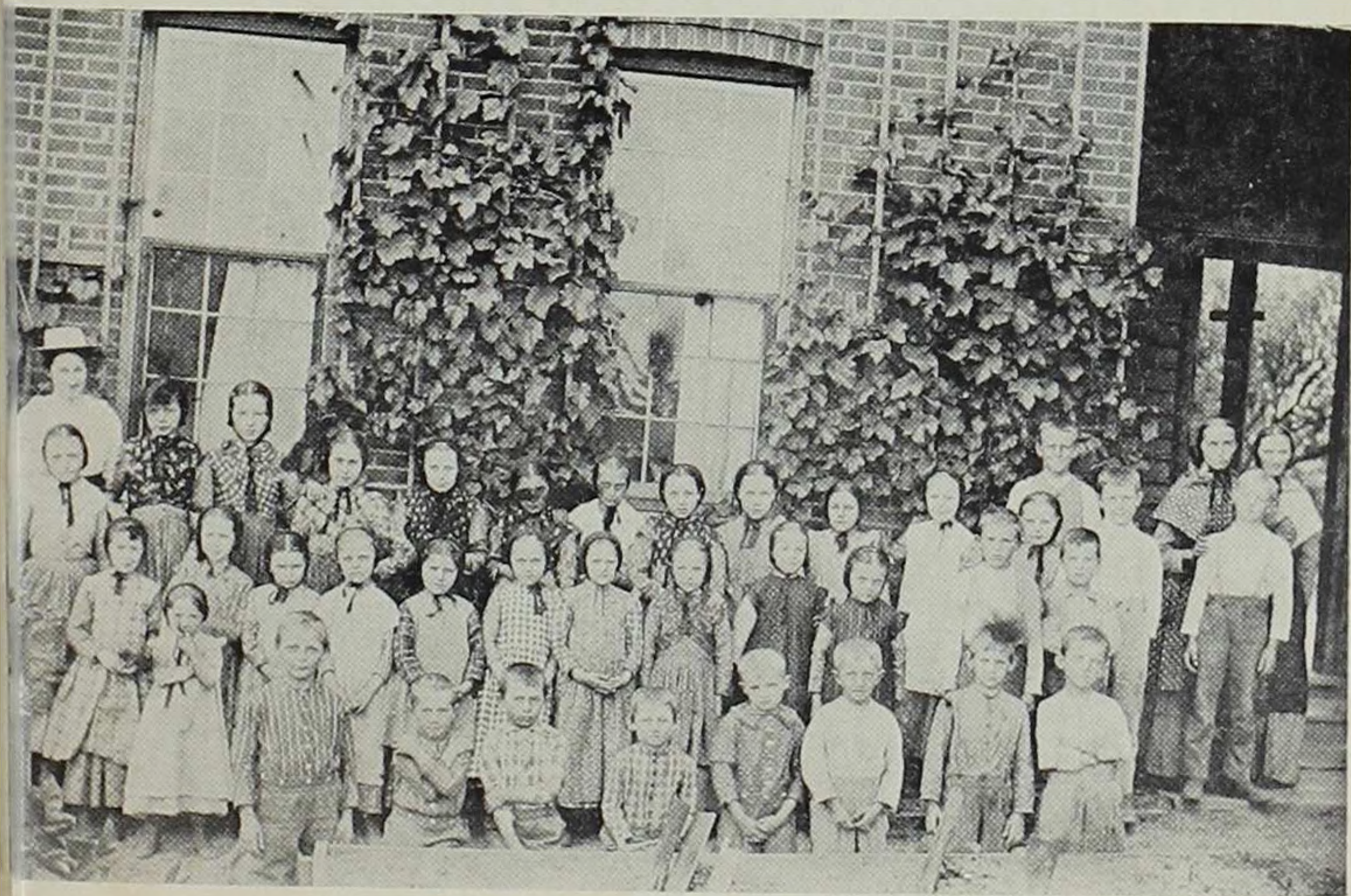
A Homestead schoolroom, Richard Seifert, instructor. "The hours are from 7 to 11:30, 12:30 to 6. They have no holidays or vacations." (MacClure)



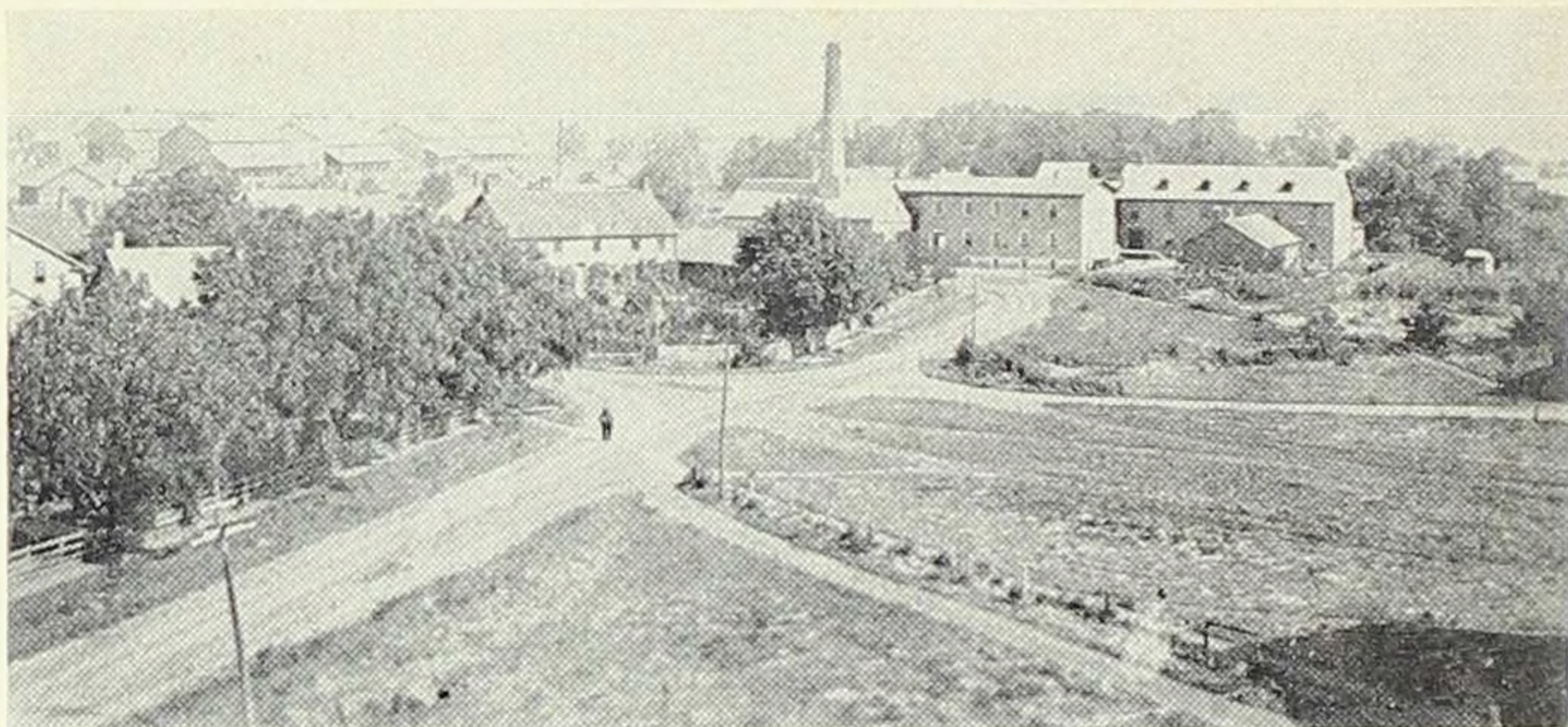
Amana Colony schoolmasters: (left to right, front row): Gottlieb Herr, William Setzer, Emil Miller, Ludwig Unglenk, and Carl Rettig. (Back Row): August Blechschmidt, Herman Puegner, Peter Stuck, Ferdinand Moershel, Emil Seifert, Richard Seifert, and Louis Koch.



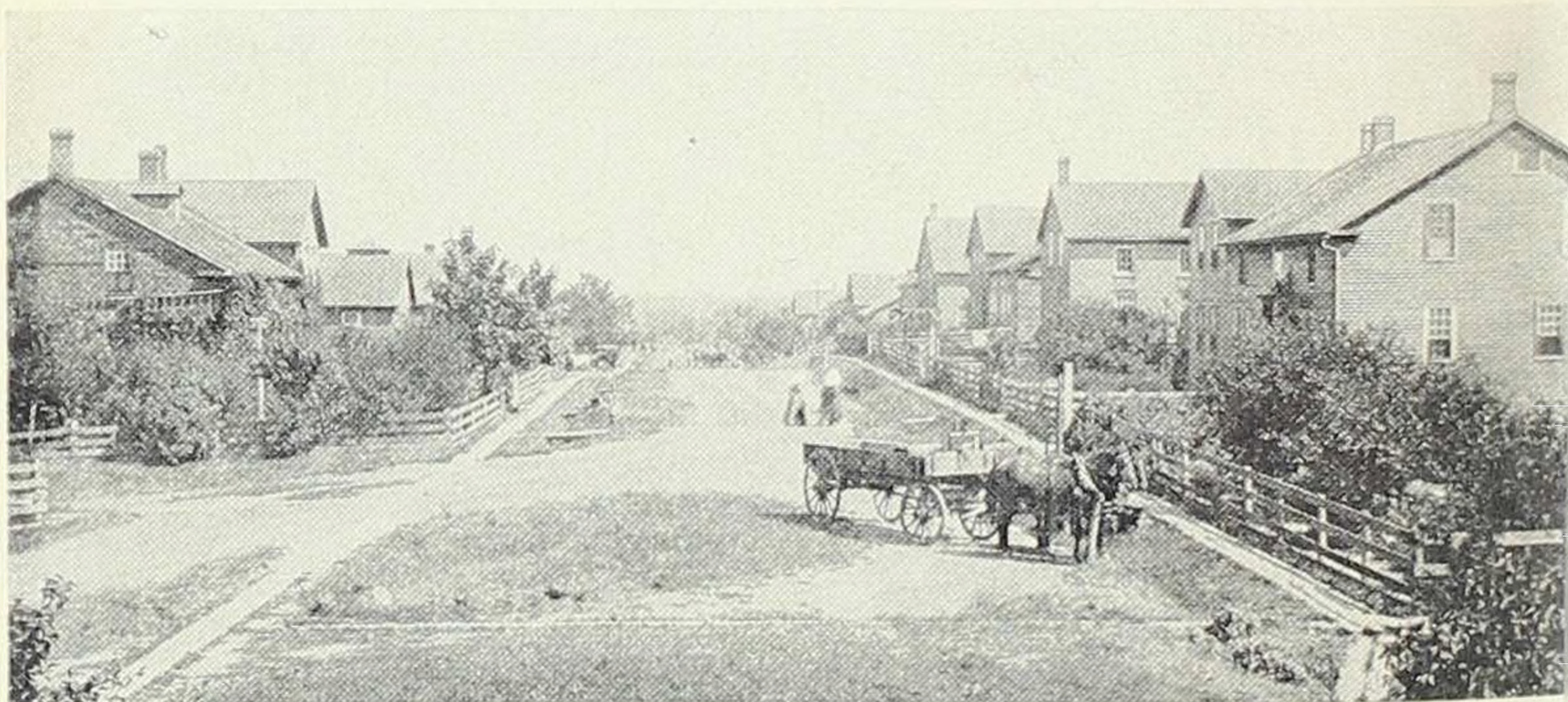
Pictured above and below are two classes from the Amana schools. "Life in the schoolroom begins very young and continues until the girls are thirteen and the boys fourteen. The teachers, of whom there are sixteen in the seven villages, are all men—typical old-fashioned German schoolmasters—and all members of the colony." (Shaw)



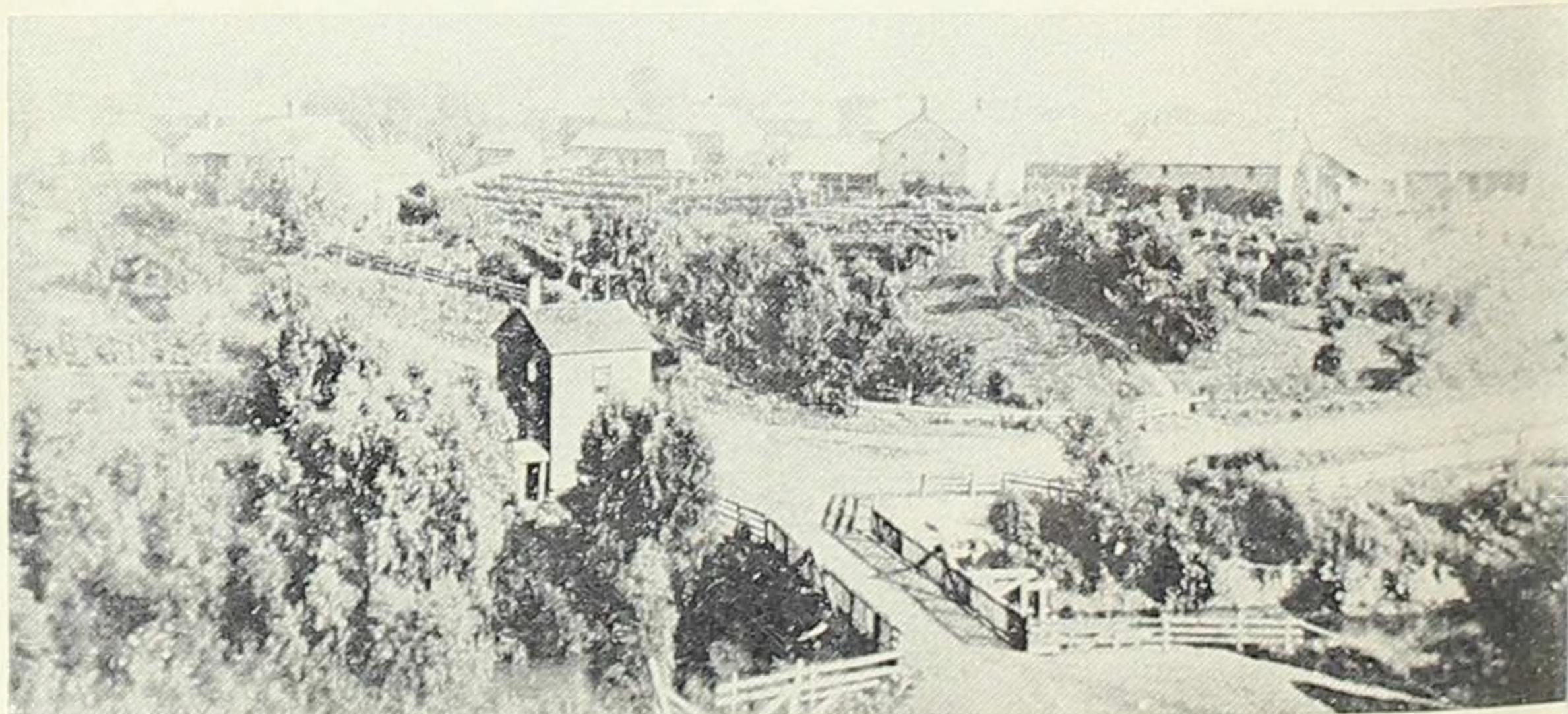
SOME VIEWS OF OLD AMANA . . .



The old print shop—now the Amana Furniture and Sales Room.

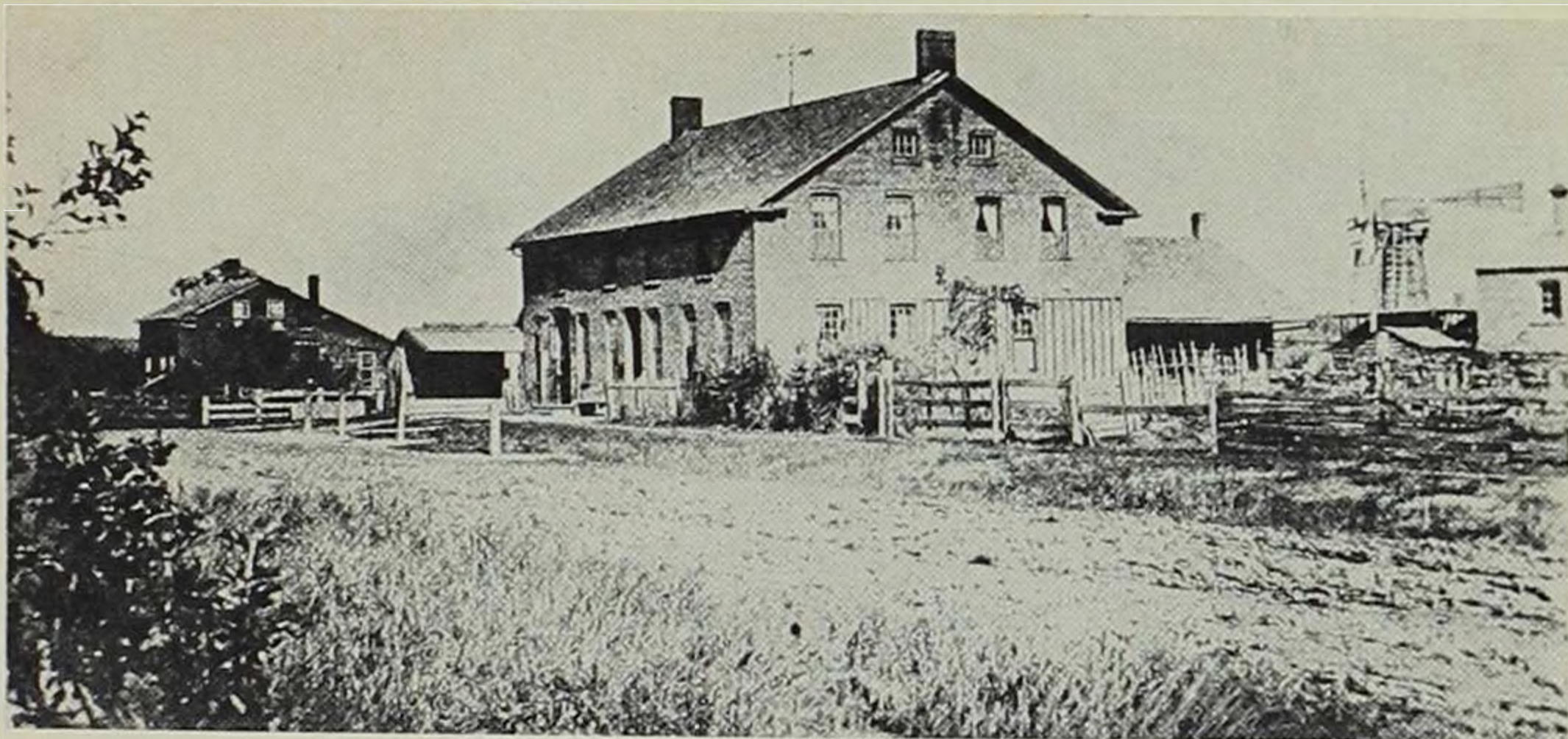


A street in Amana—Peter Stuck home on the left. "In each village there is a long straggling street, with a few side streets branching off irregularly." (Ely)

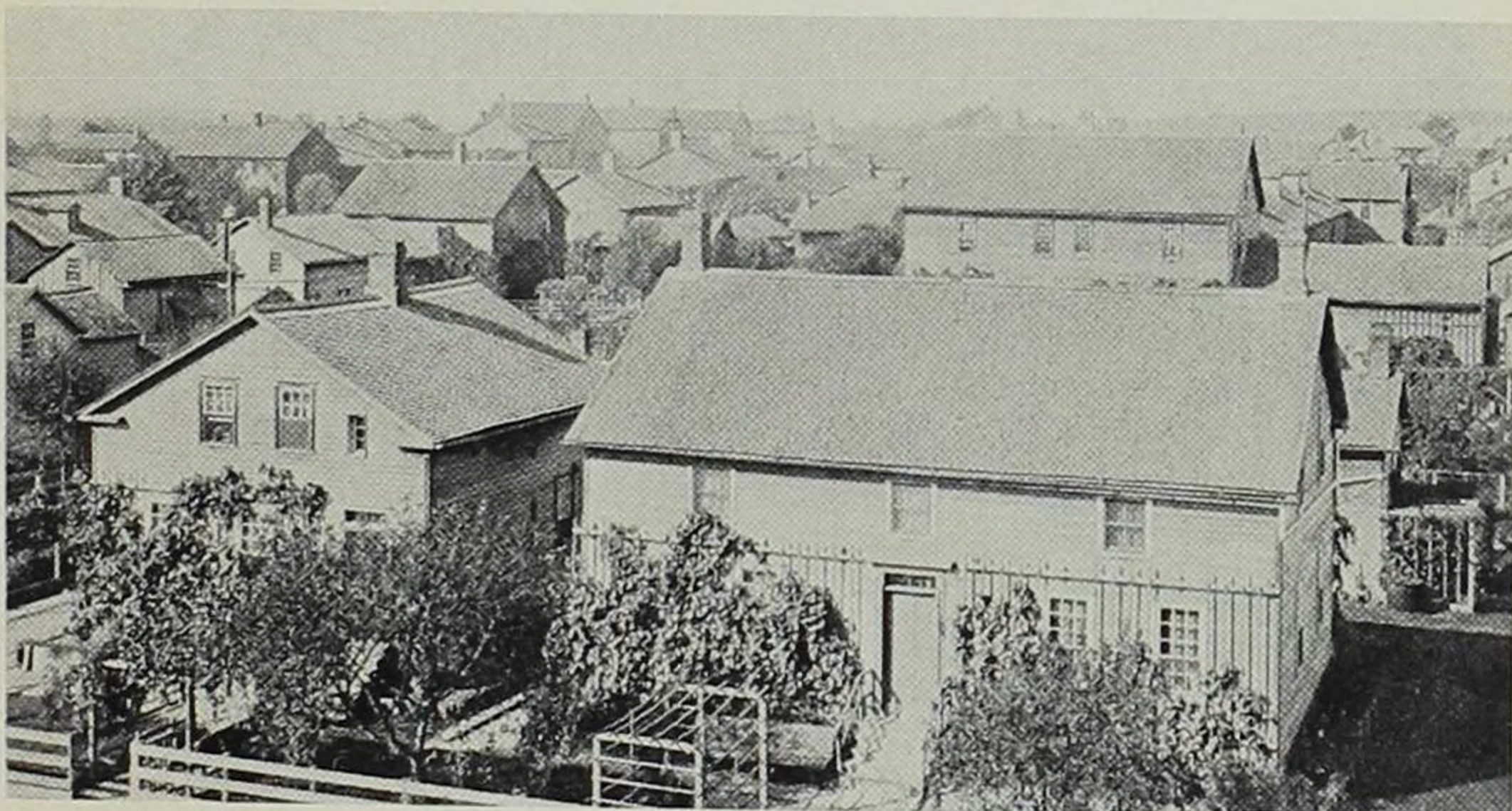


Middle Amana—note bridge and watch tower.

AROUND THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

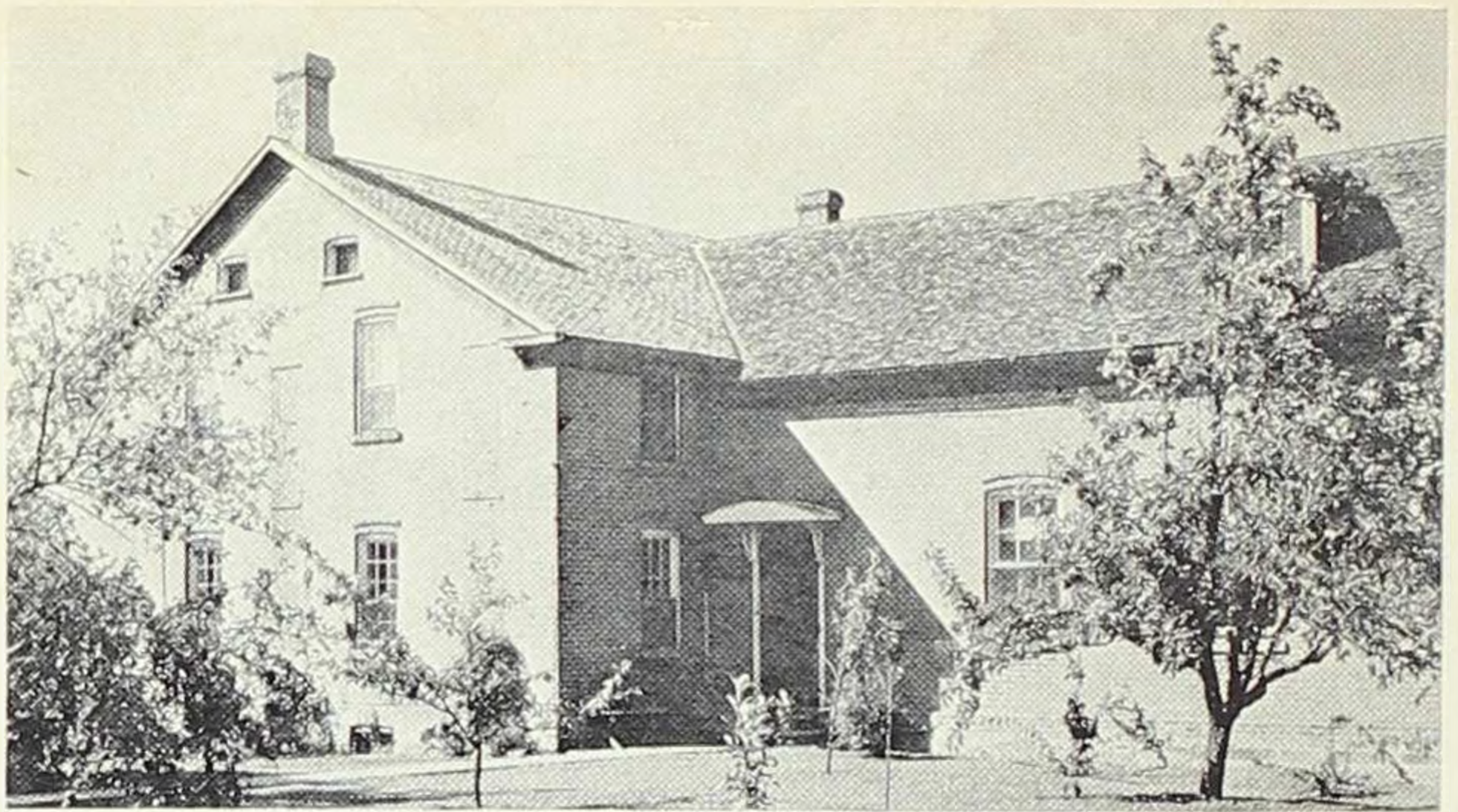


Old Amana drugstore—note windmill on the right.

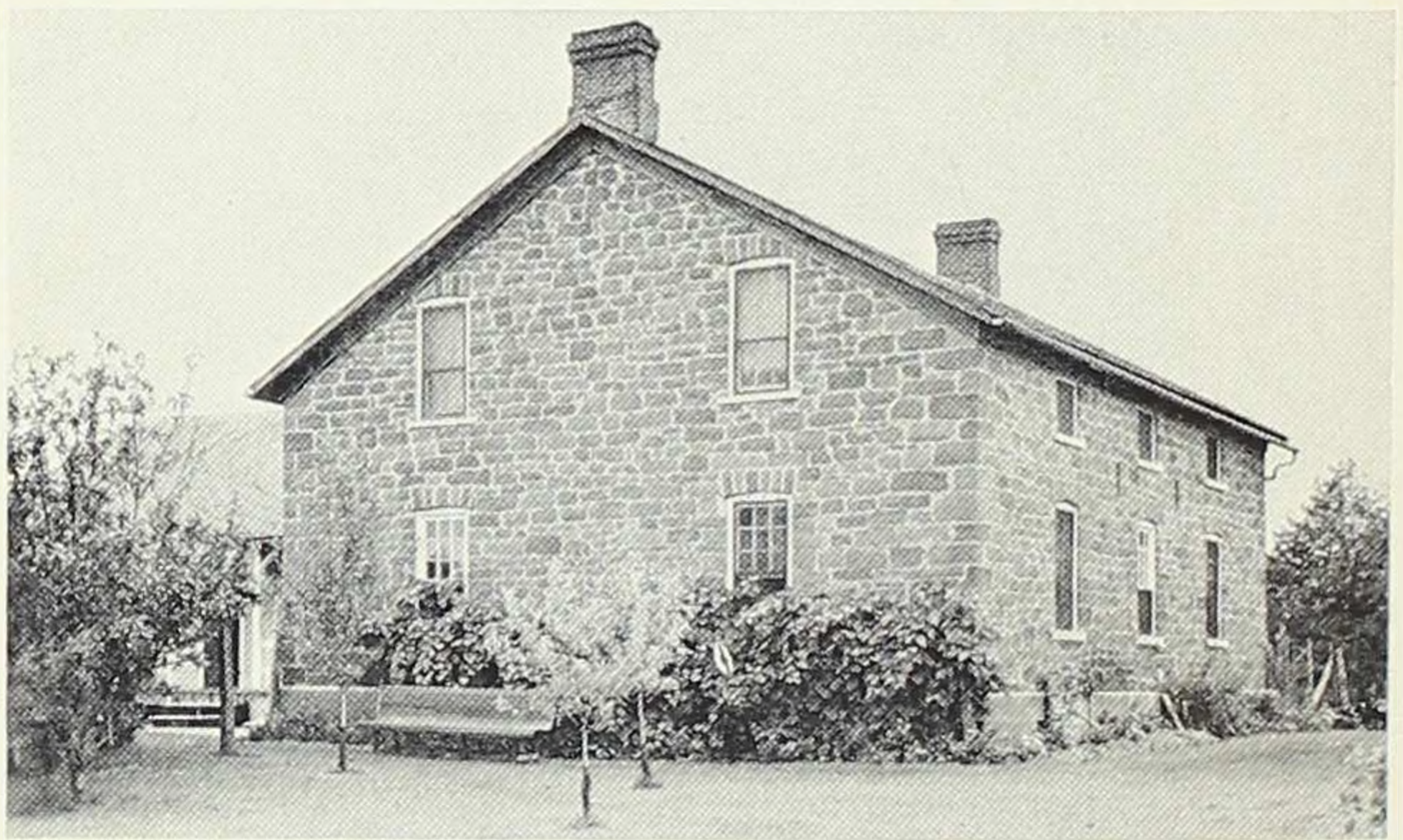


(Above and below) A cluster of Amana homes. Note trellises and grapevines.

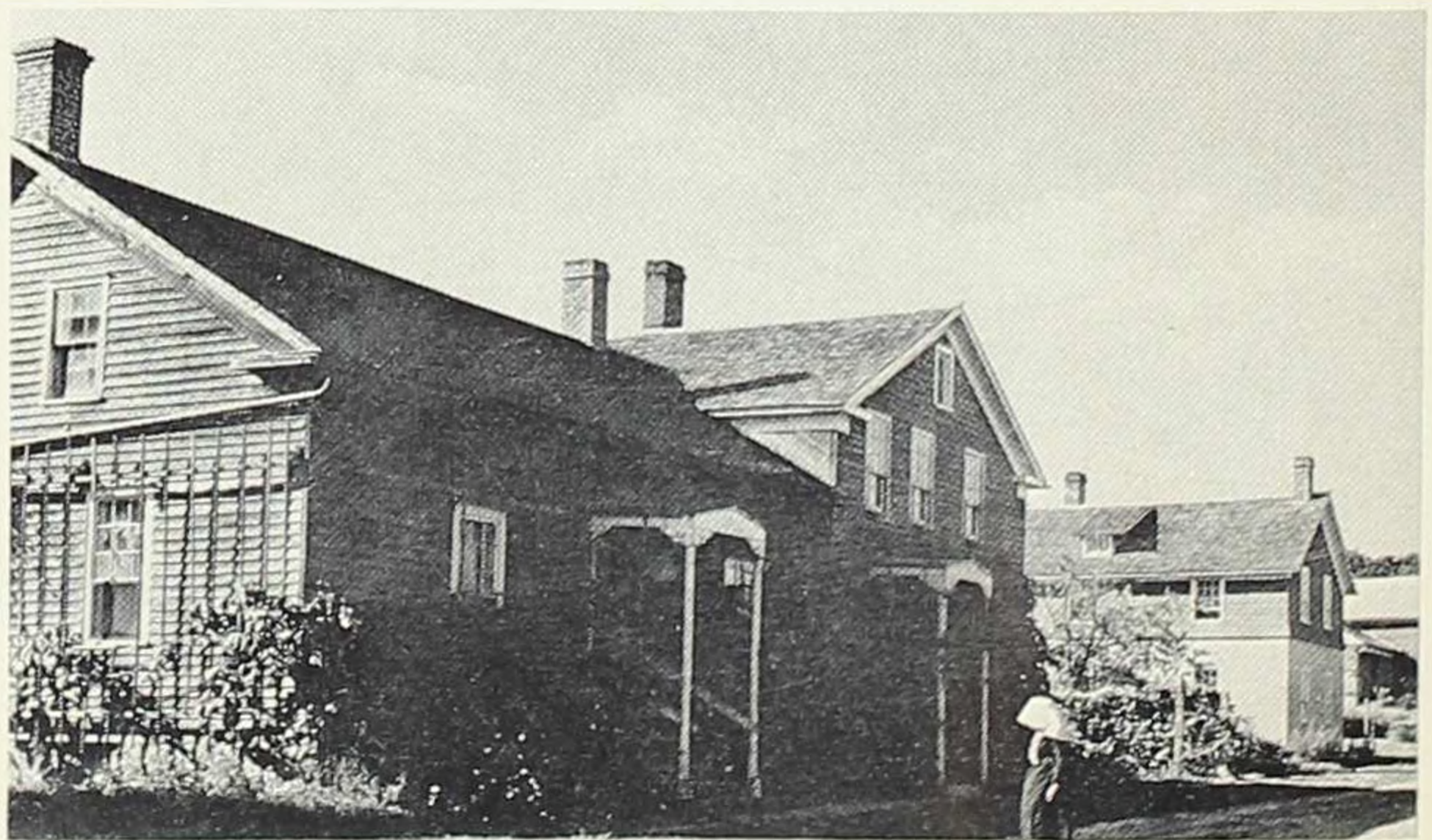




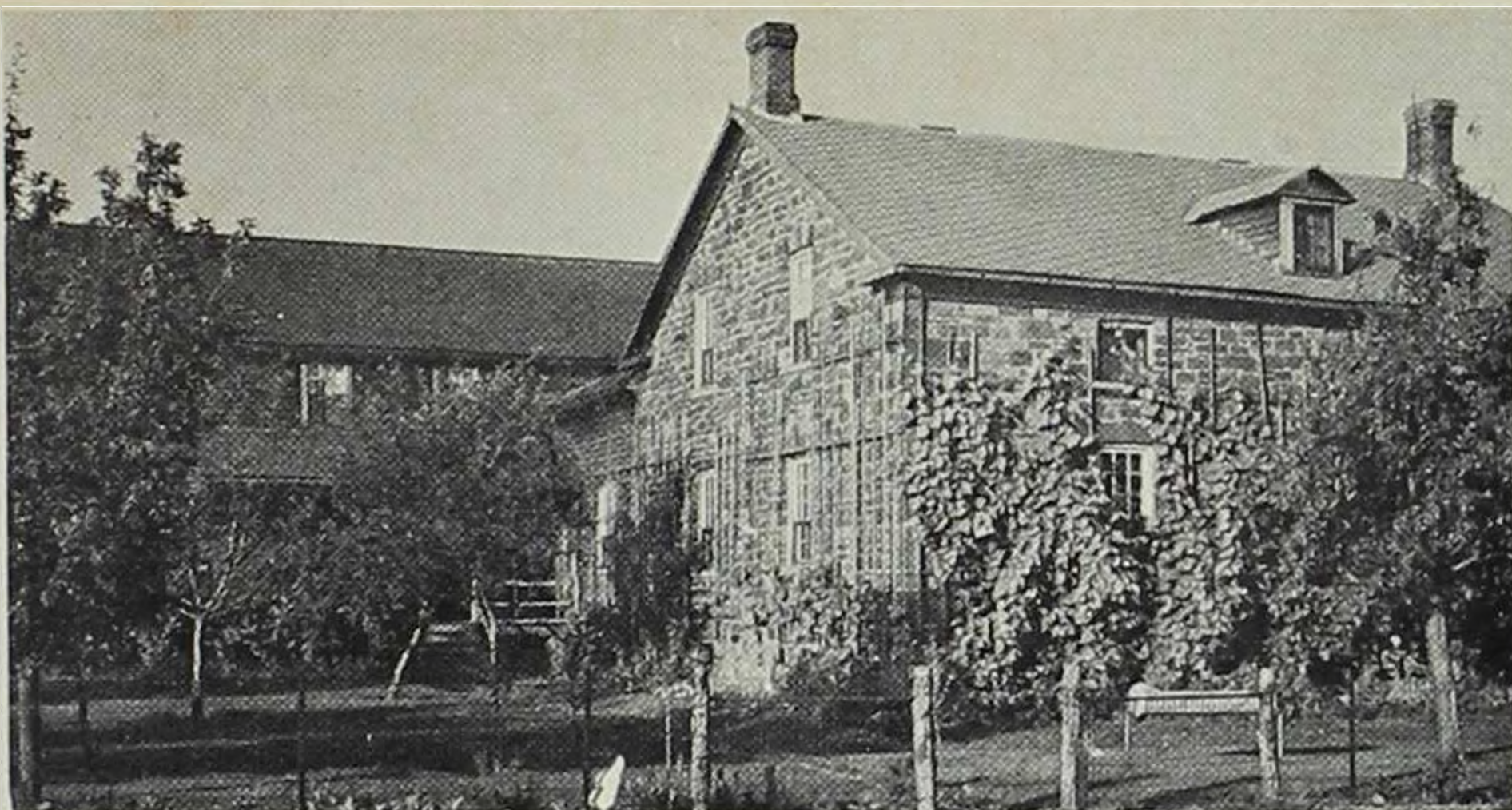
Residence at Homestead.



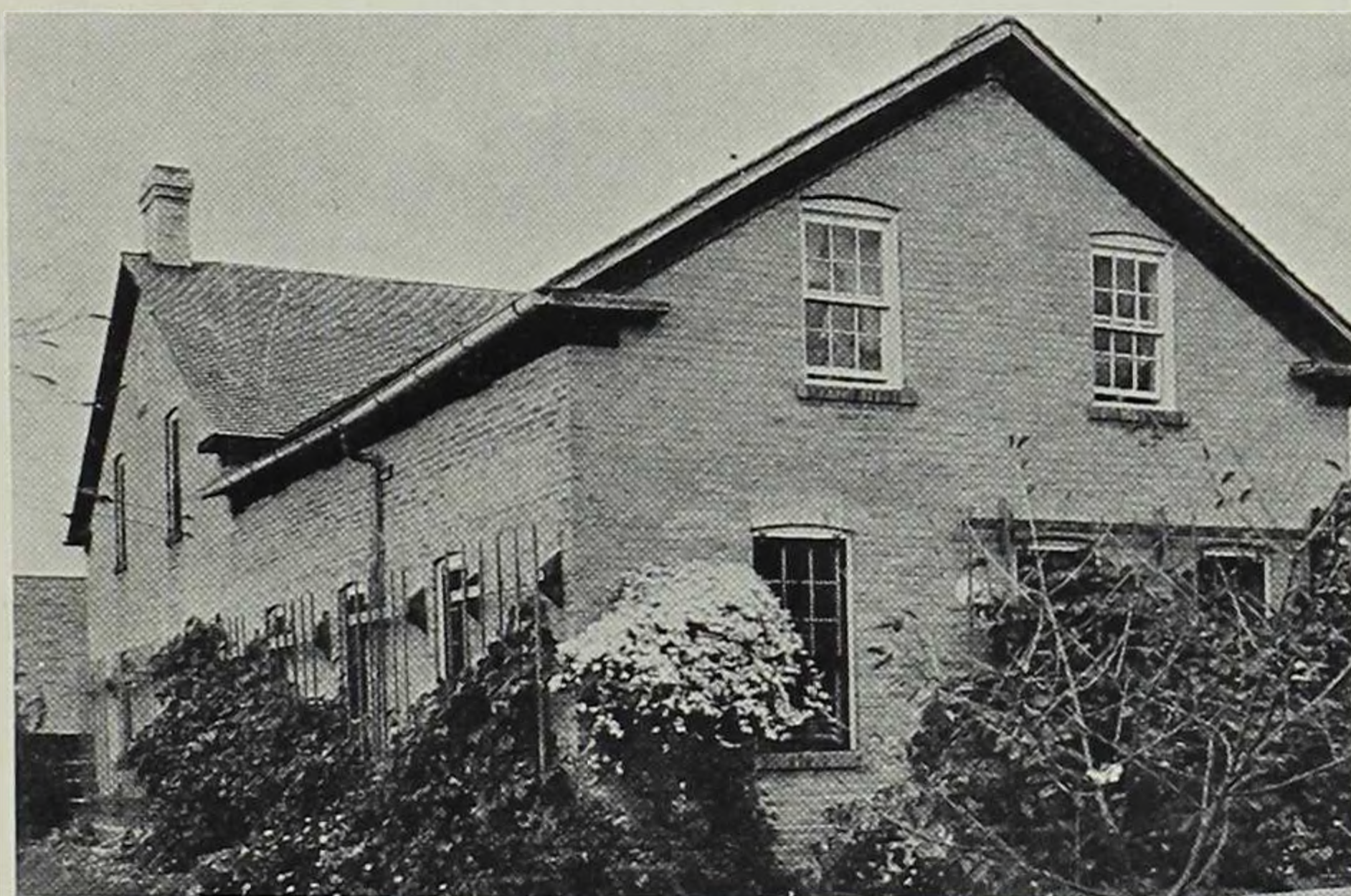
Residence at West Amana.



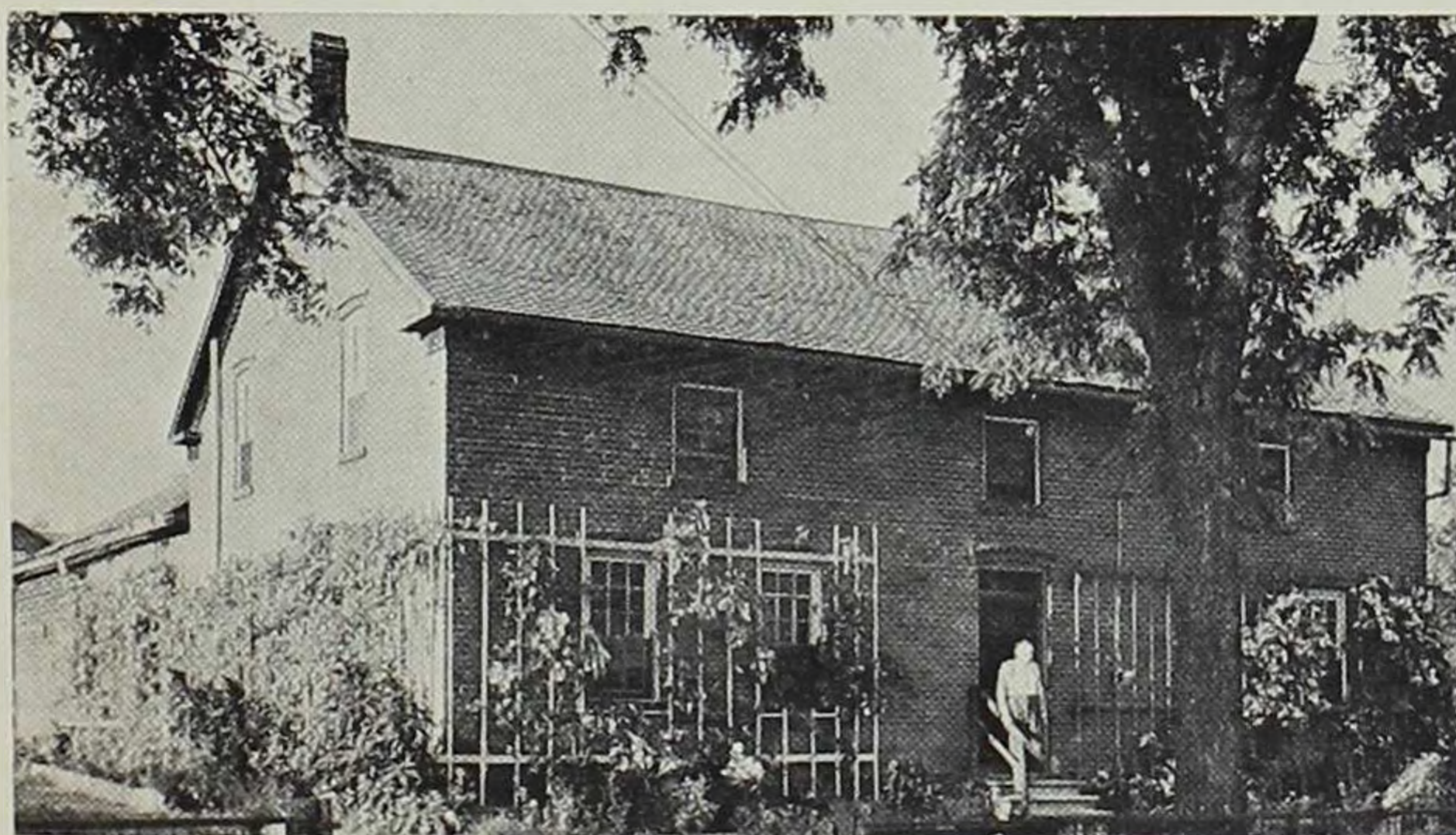
Homes along a street in East Amana.



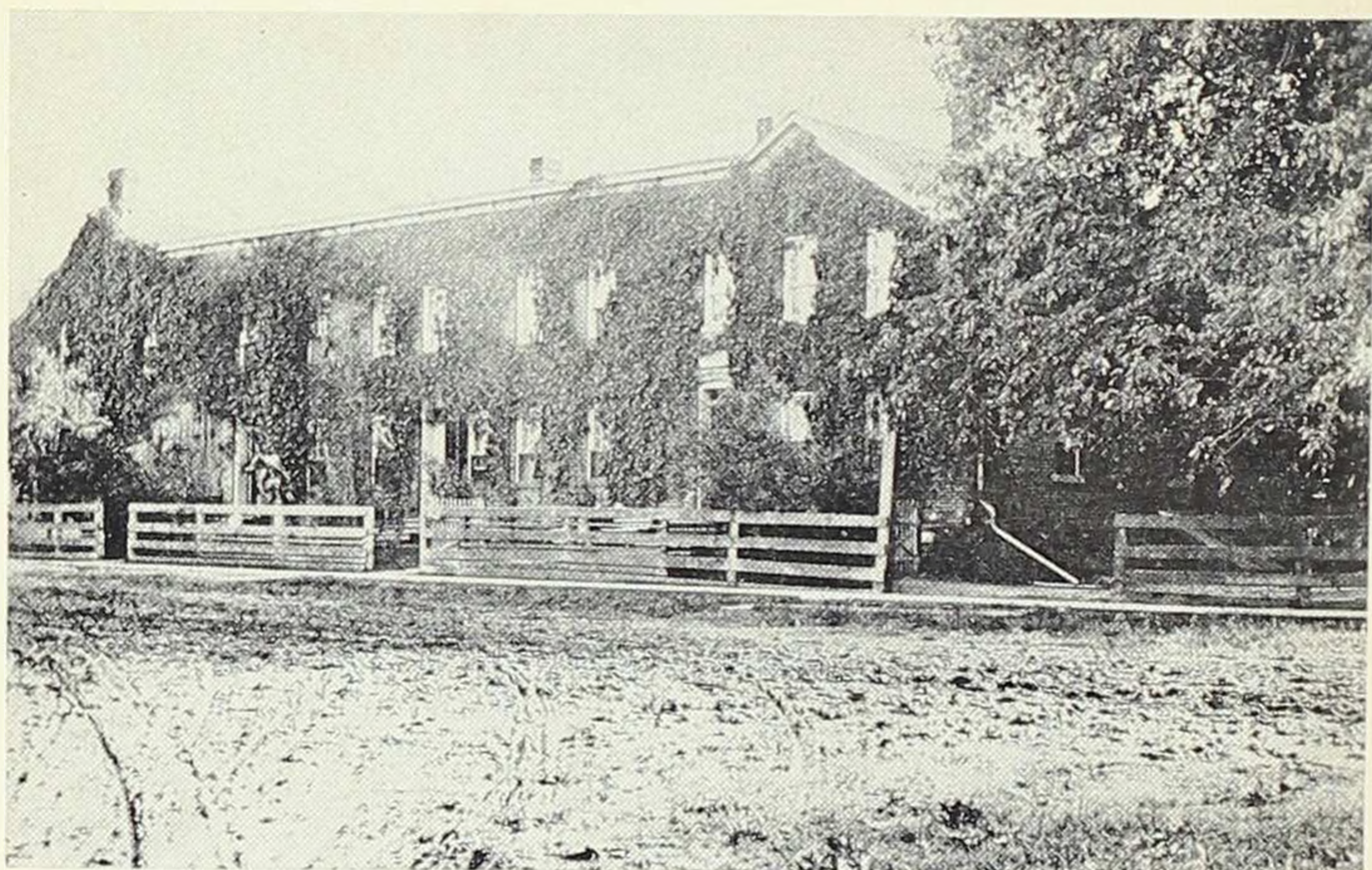
Residence at Amana.



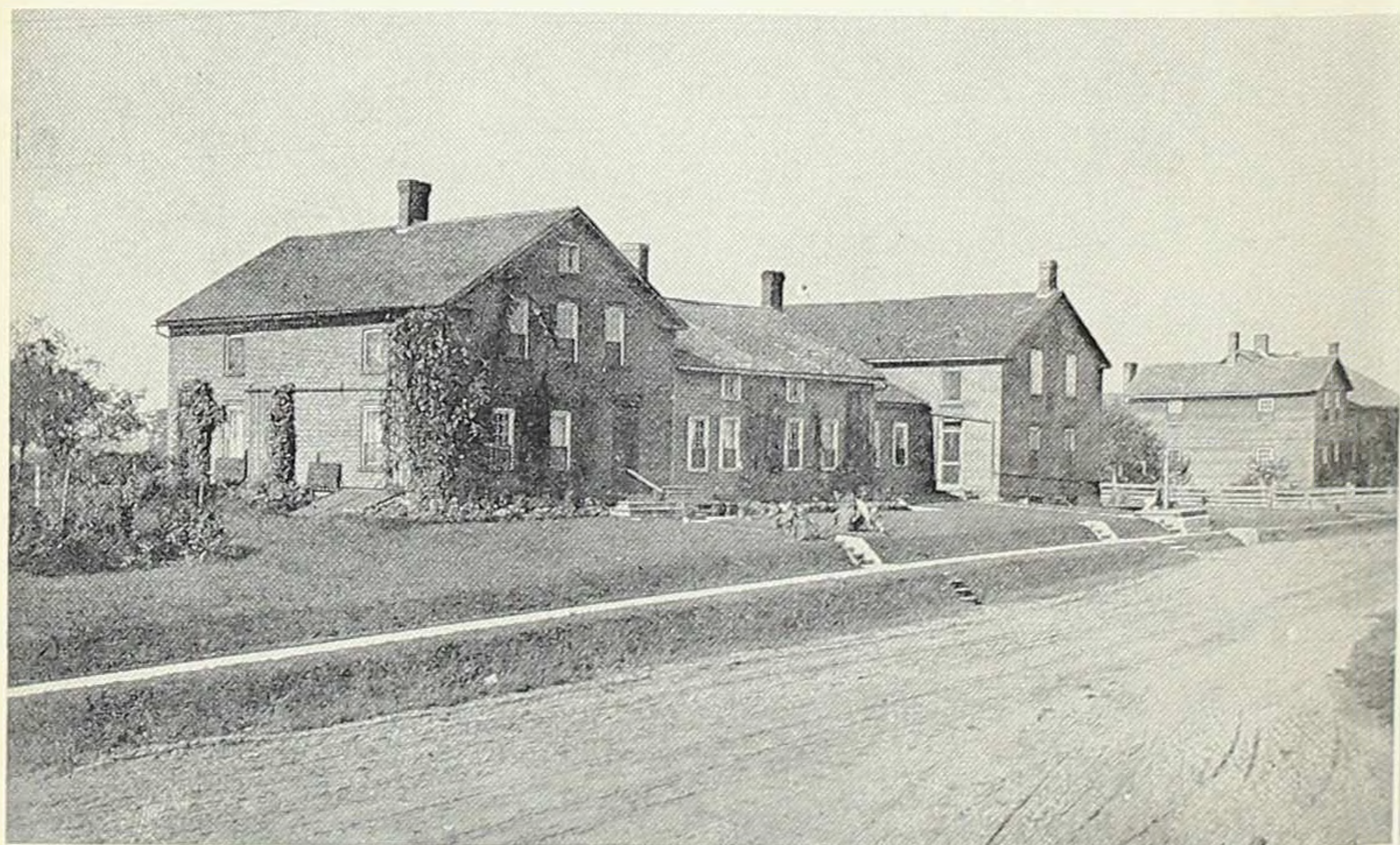
First used as a harness shop and later as a residence in South Amana.



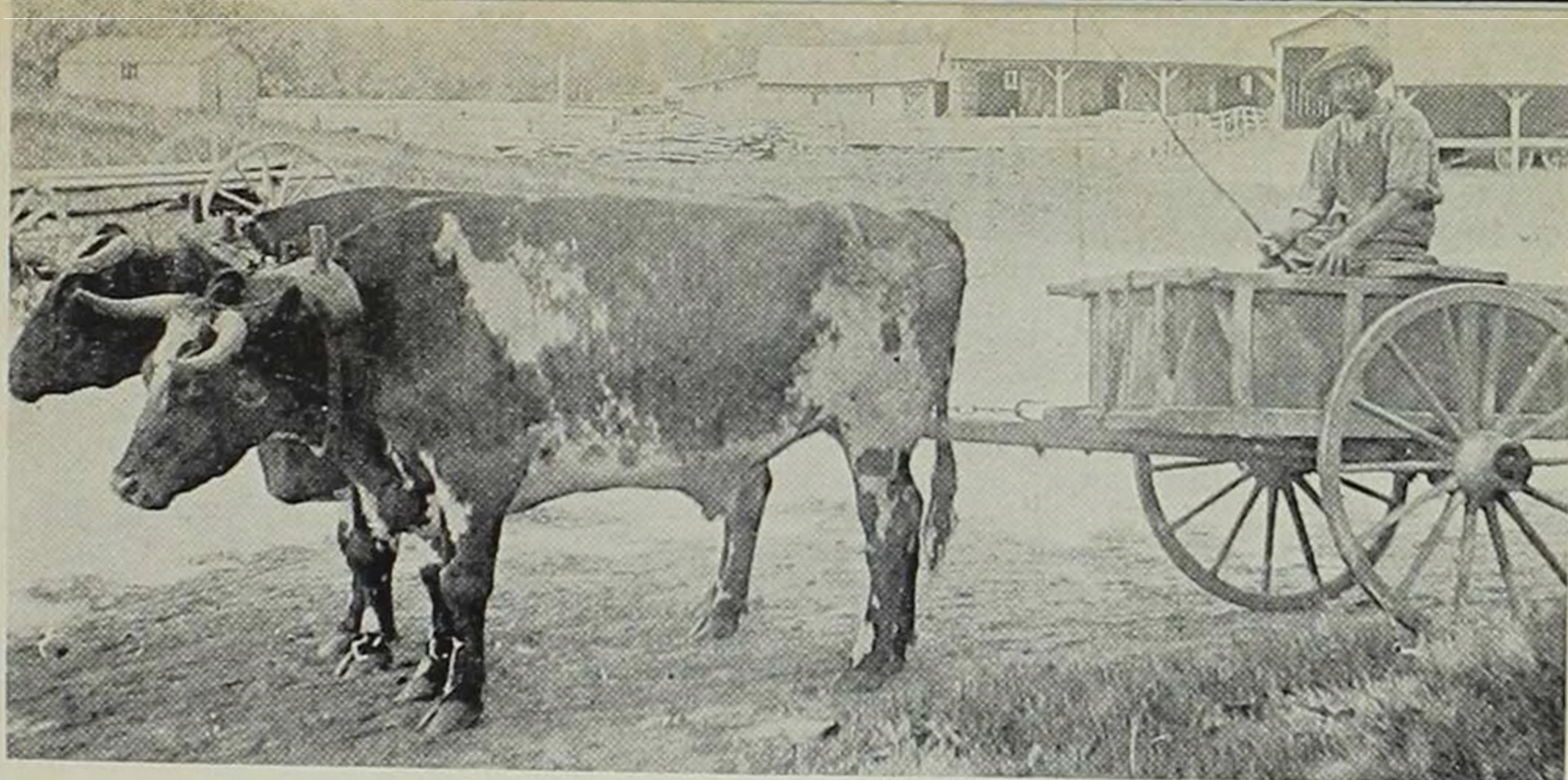
Residence in Middle Amana.



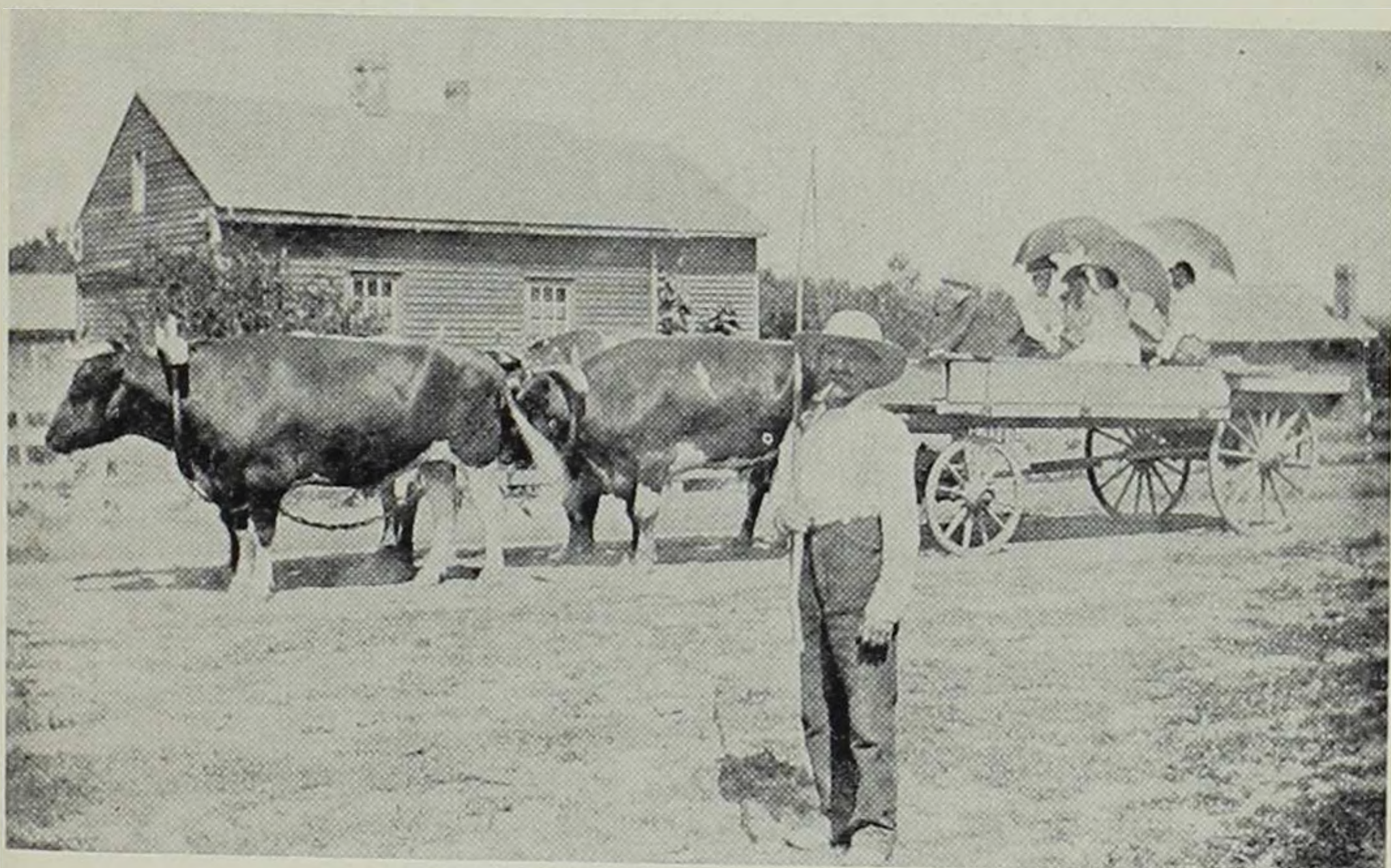
Bill Zuber's Dugout Restaurant now occupies this building in Homestead.



Zimmerman's Kitchenhouse is now the Ronneburg Restaurant in Amana.

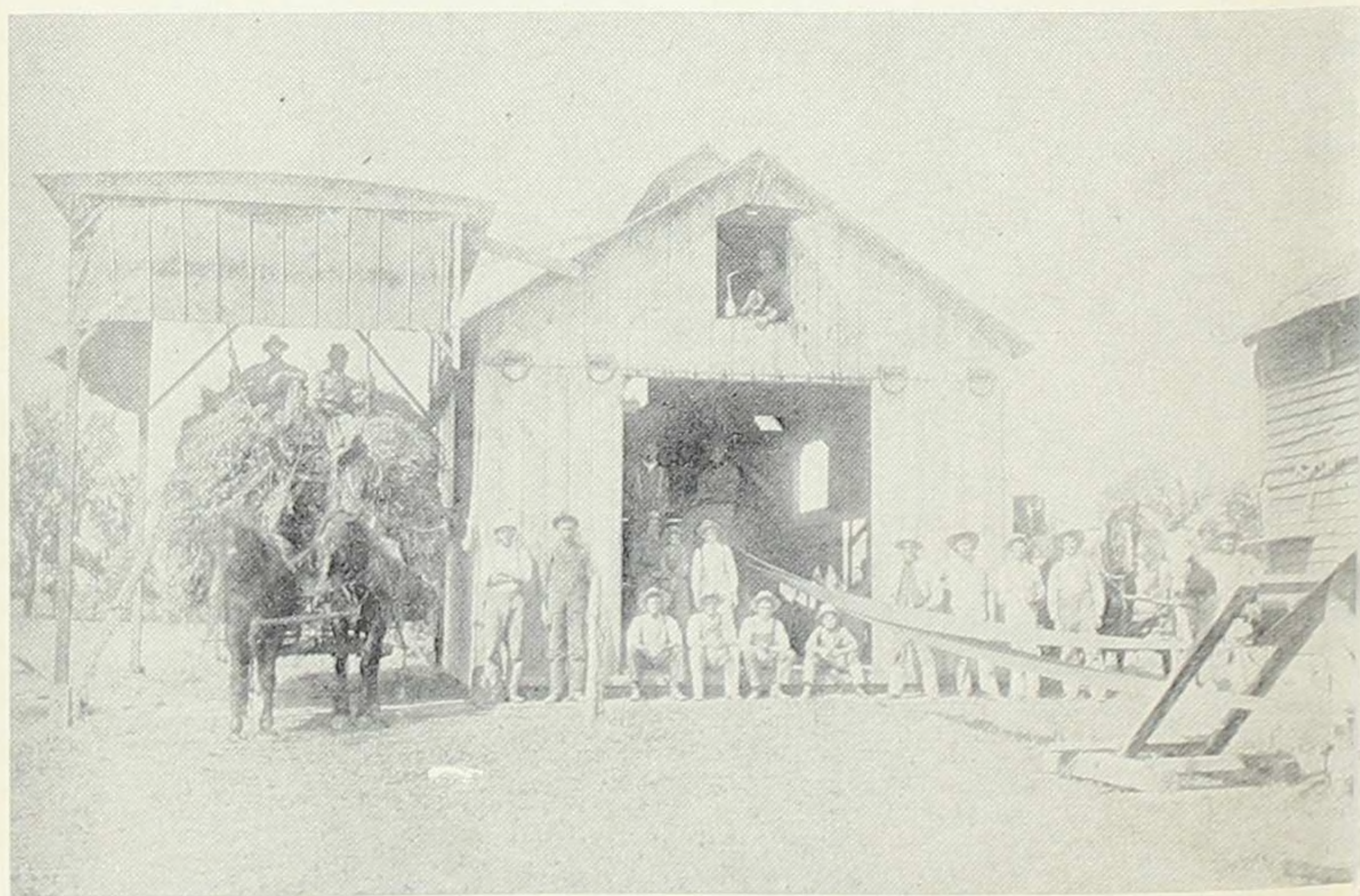


"Oxen, horses, and mules find Amana an earthly paradise." (Ely)



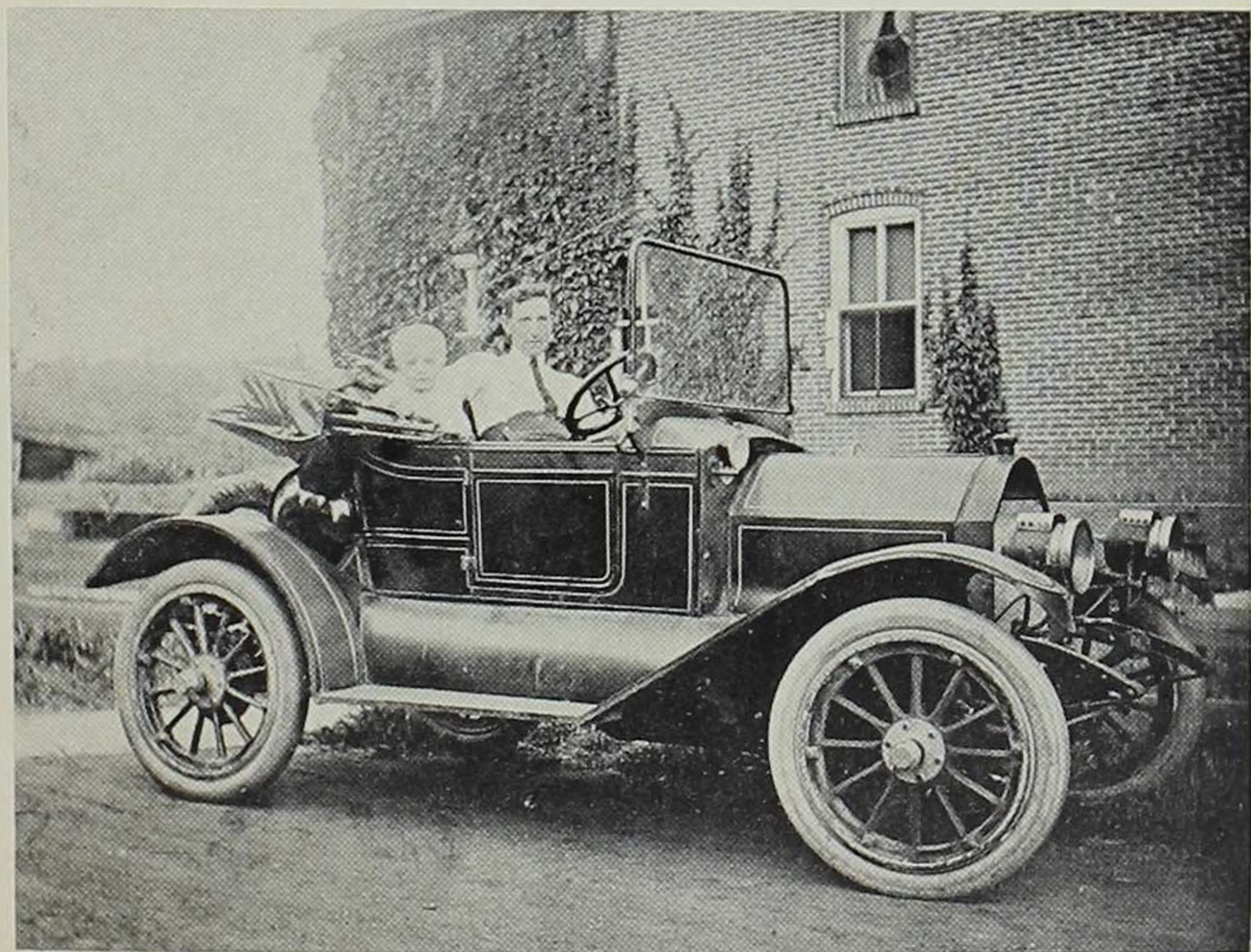


Because of the heavy work involved, farming chores were primarily assigned to the middle-aged men of the colony. However, many boys leaving the schools at 14 years of age were assigned to help with the farm work. Oxen, horses, and mules provided the motive power for field work and the movement of the production of the farm units. Women often were called on to help in the fields as well as the gardens.





Amana children were always eager to be photographed in a visitor's car. The Amanas . . . "had long discouraged automobiles by the effective means of raising their street crossings above the level of the street." (Rice)



For years professional men were the only ones who were given cars. Pictured here is Dr. Charles Noe. "There was another disrupting factor: the desire for personal possessions. It seemed to go deeper than the mere possession of an automobile, or a radio, or a bicycle, or a wrist watch . . ." (Rice)



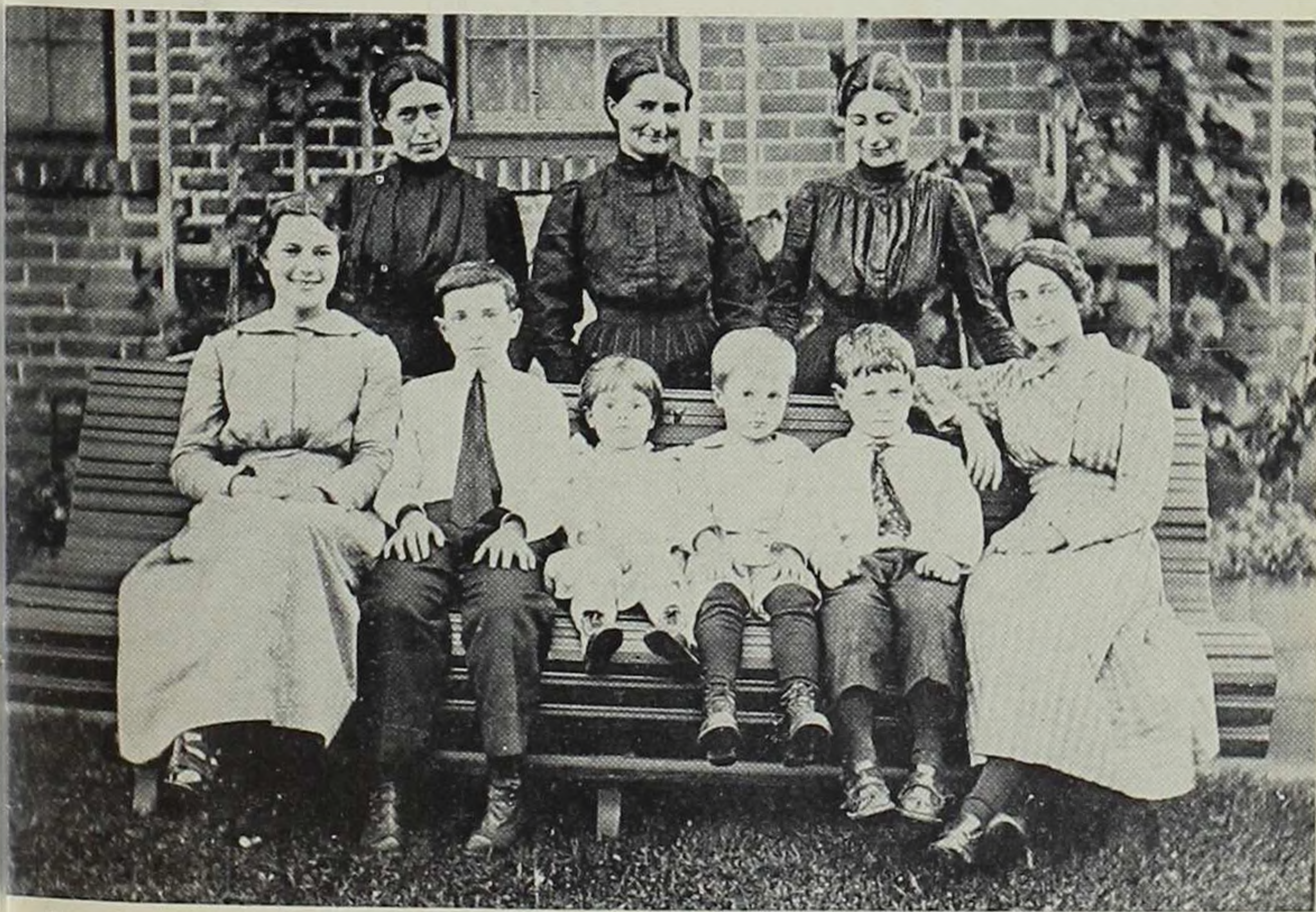
Organizing the first male chorus in Amana were these men, left to right: George Schmieder, Ferdinand Goerler, an outsider—Specht, Henry Klipfel, Adam Clemens, Paul Leichsenring, Sam Christen, and George Roth. Emil Pecher, an outsider, lies in front.



Hunting was popular in the early days of the Amanas.



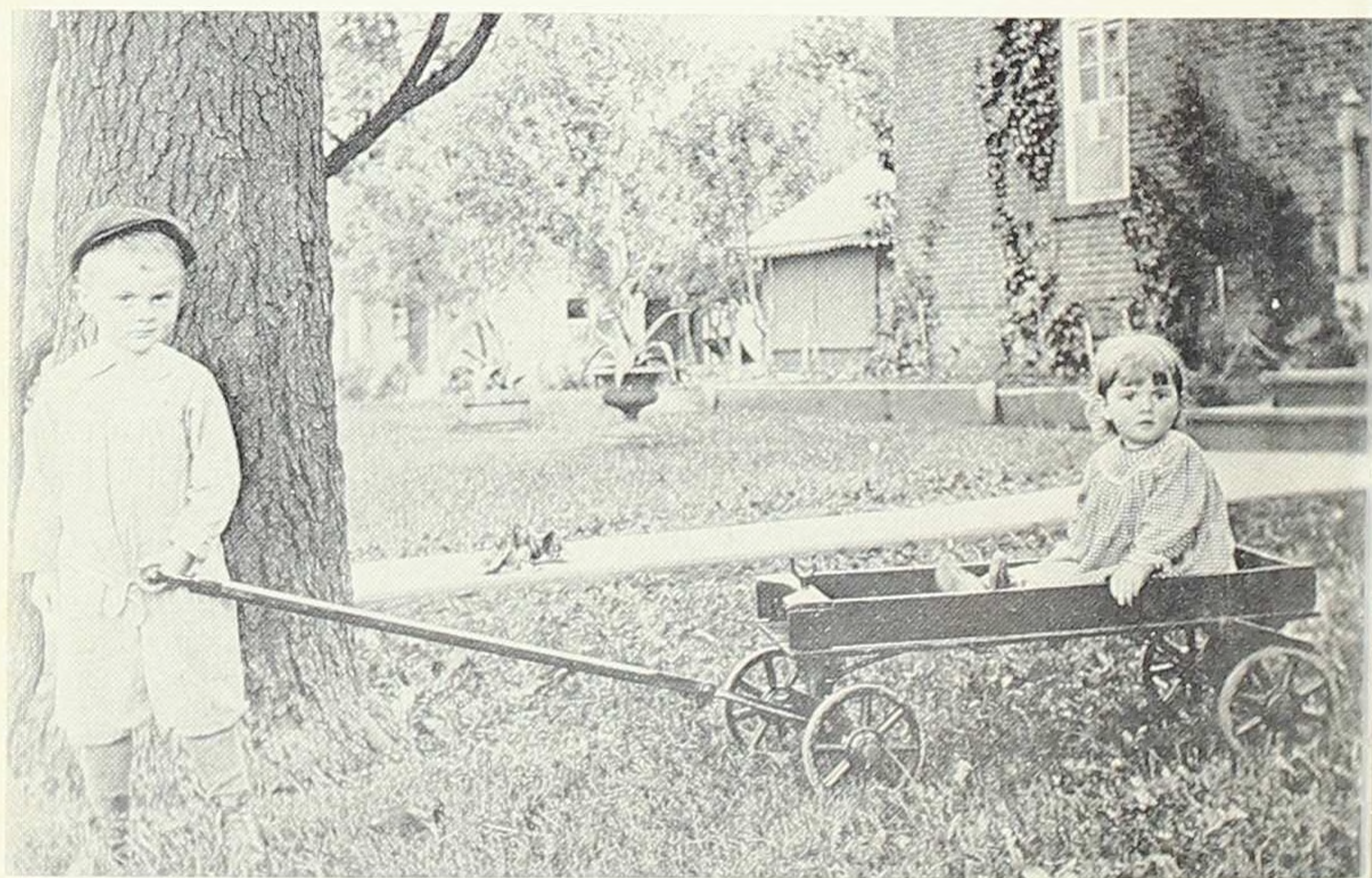
Mrs. Herrmann entertains a few friends around the family board.



Standing are three sisters: Mrs. Charles Noe, Mrs. August Koch, and Mrs. William Miller.



William Leichsenring (upper left), now popular owner of the Ox Yoke Inn, joined a group of Amana girls to gather flowers.



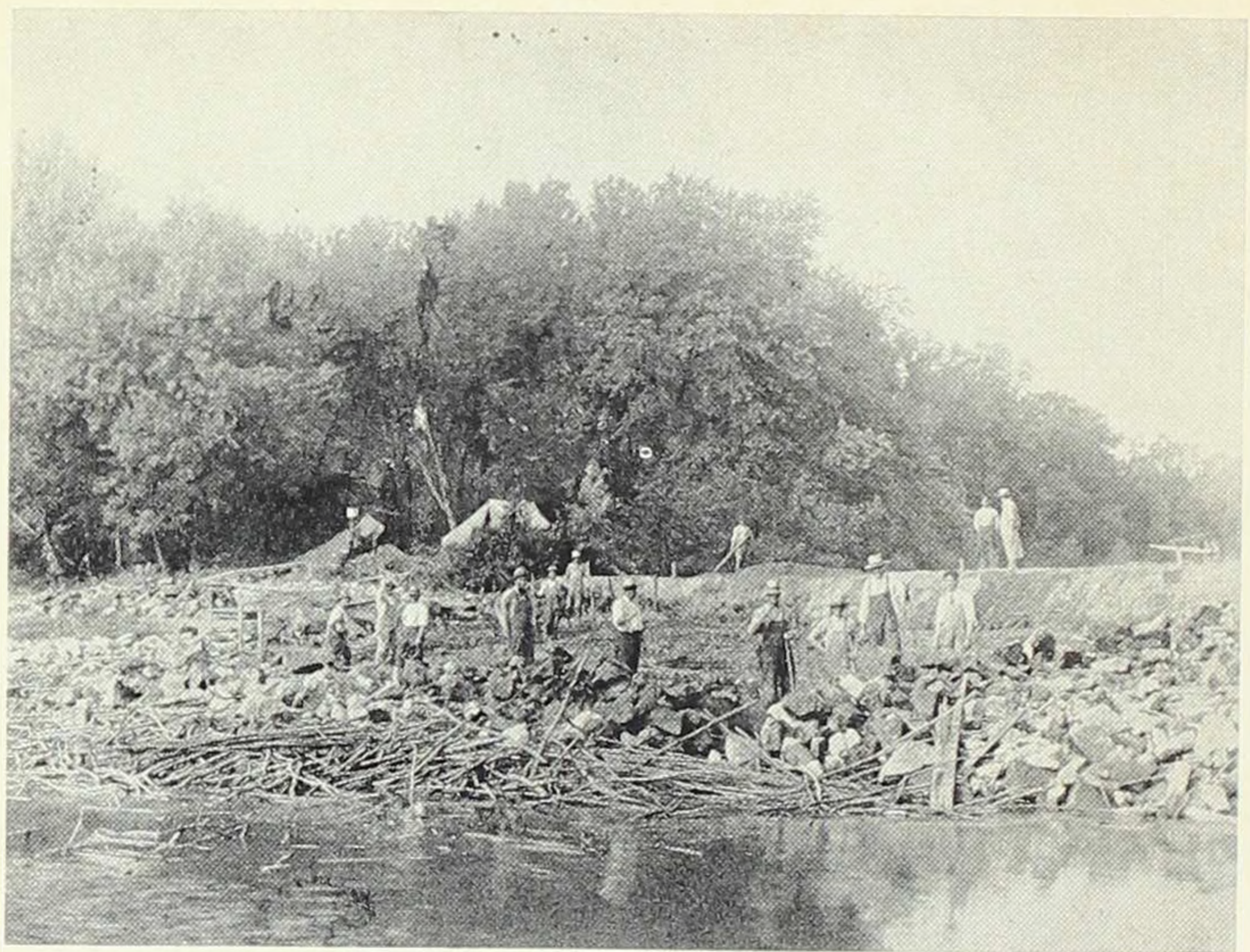
Henry Miller takes little Louise Miller for a ride in Homestead.



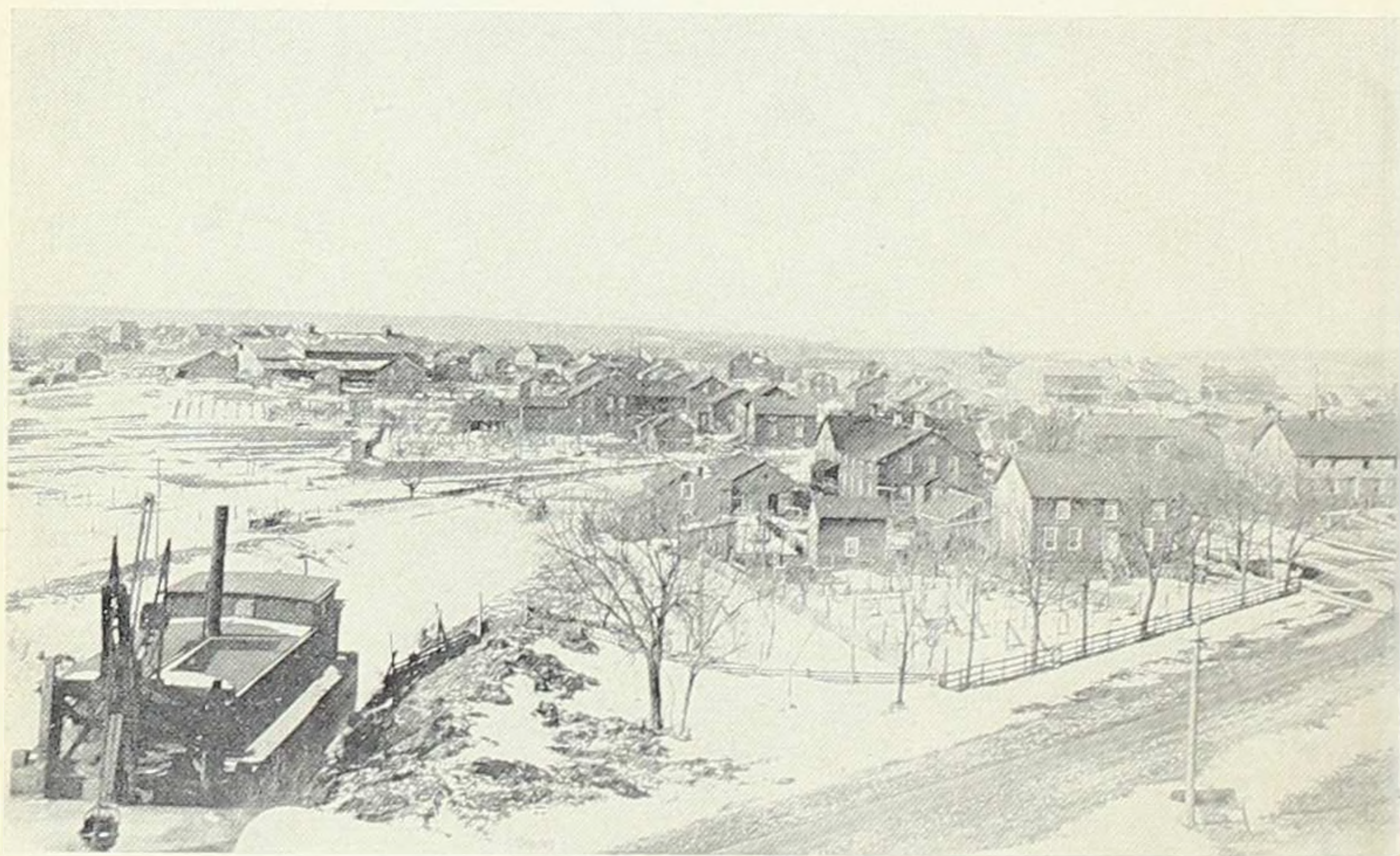
The water lilies in Amana Lily Lake are a blaze of color when they reach full bloom in July and August. "There is a lake that covers 180 acres, and along its margins are pleasant drives and winding, shady bypaths." (MacClure)



Cutting ice on Lily Lake supplied the refrigeration requirements of the villages for the coming summer.



Amana men are pictured as they worked on the construction of a dam across the Iowa River west of West Amana. This supplied the water requirements for the canal.



A dredge was used each summer to clear the canal which connected the various Amana villages. "A canal six or eight miles long has been constructed at considerable expense in order to furnish waterpower for the woolen mills from the Iowa River. A fall of fourteen feet is thus secured." (Shaw)



A disastrous fire destroyed a woolen mill at Amana.



A Rock Island passenger wreck west of Homestead.



Carl Kolb and little Elizabeth Lipman, Homestead, have their pipes under control.



Bill Zuber suffered a broken leg for this picture. The horse, scared by the photographer, tossed and kicked 2-year-old Bill.



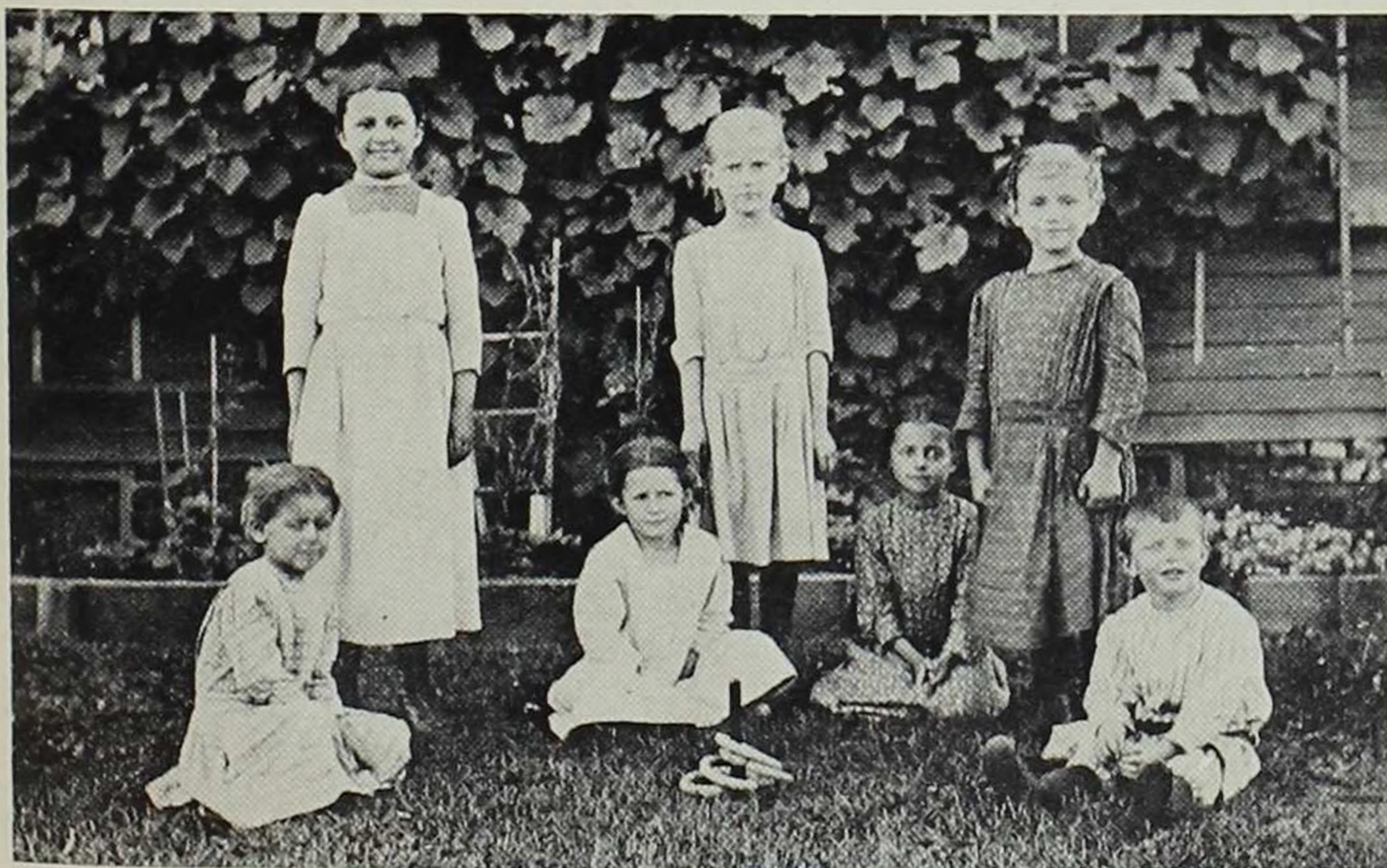
Louise and Henry Miller, Amana.



George Foerstner and Emily and Lilly Wendler.



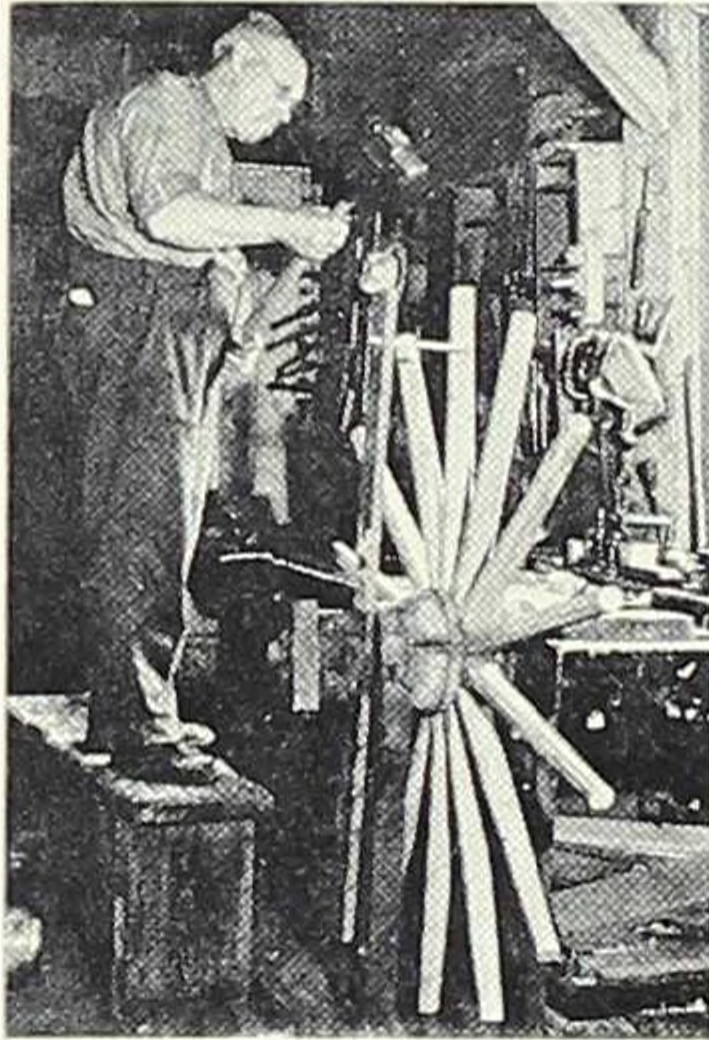
A group of young people from Amana have fun on a day's outing.



Resting from a game of ring toss are these young folks from Homestead. Elizabeth Lipman, pictured on the opposite page is seated, center, behind rings and stake.



Bakers remove freshly baked bread from an oven.



Wheelmaker



Druggist



Furniture Maker



Desk in Pharmacist William Miller home in Amana.



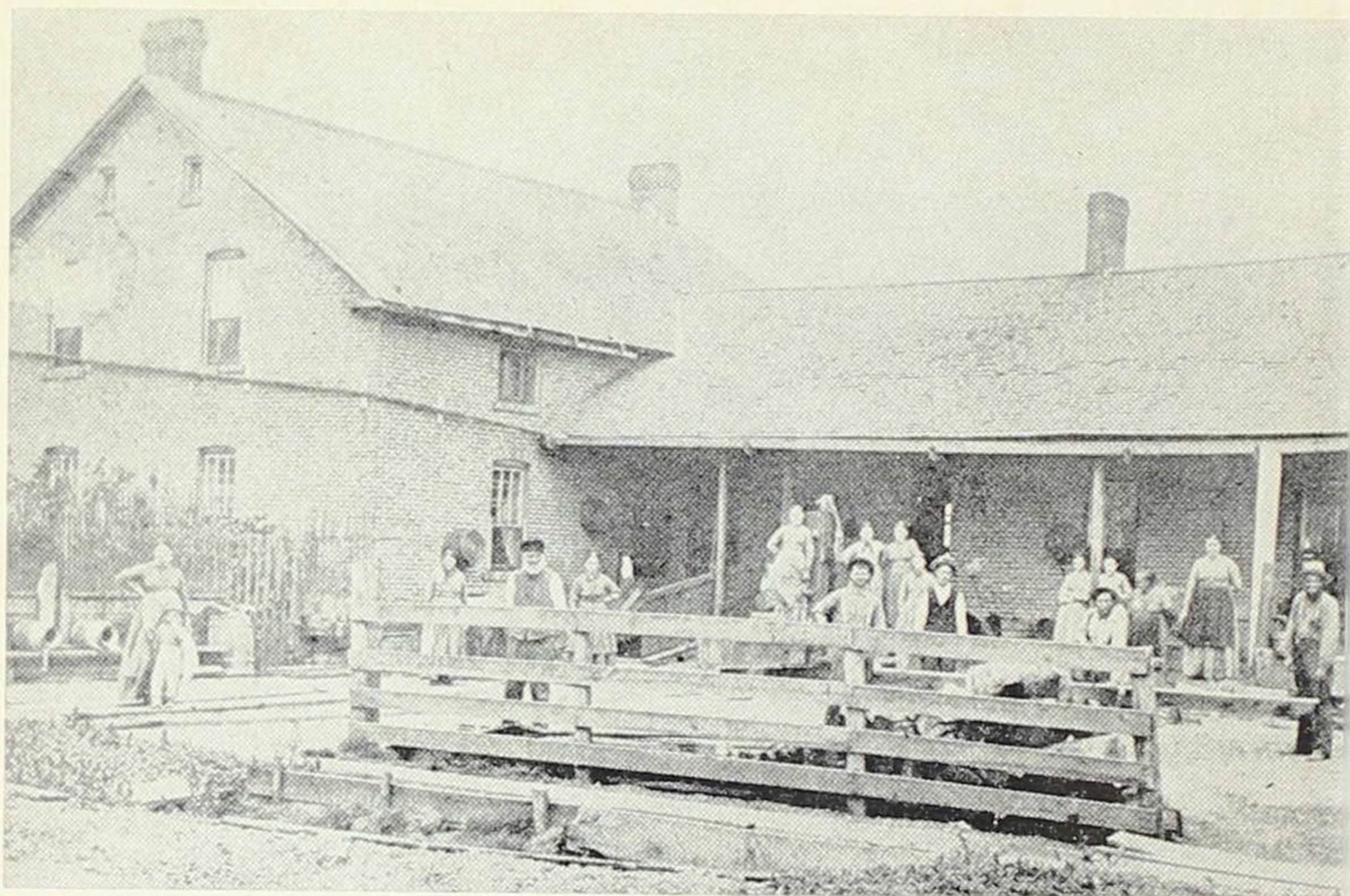
Old brewery in Amana—now completely demolished.



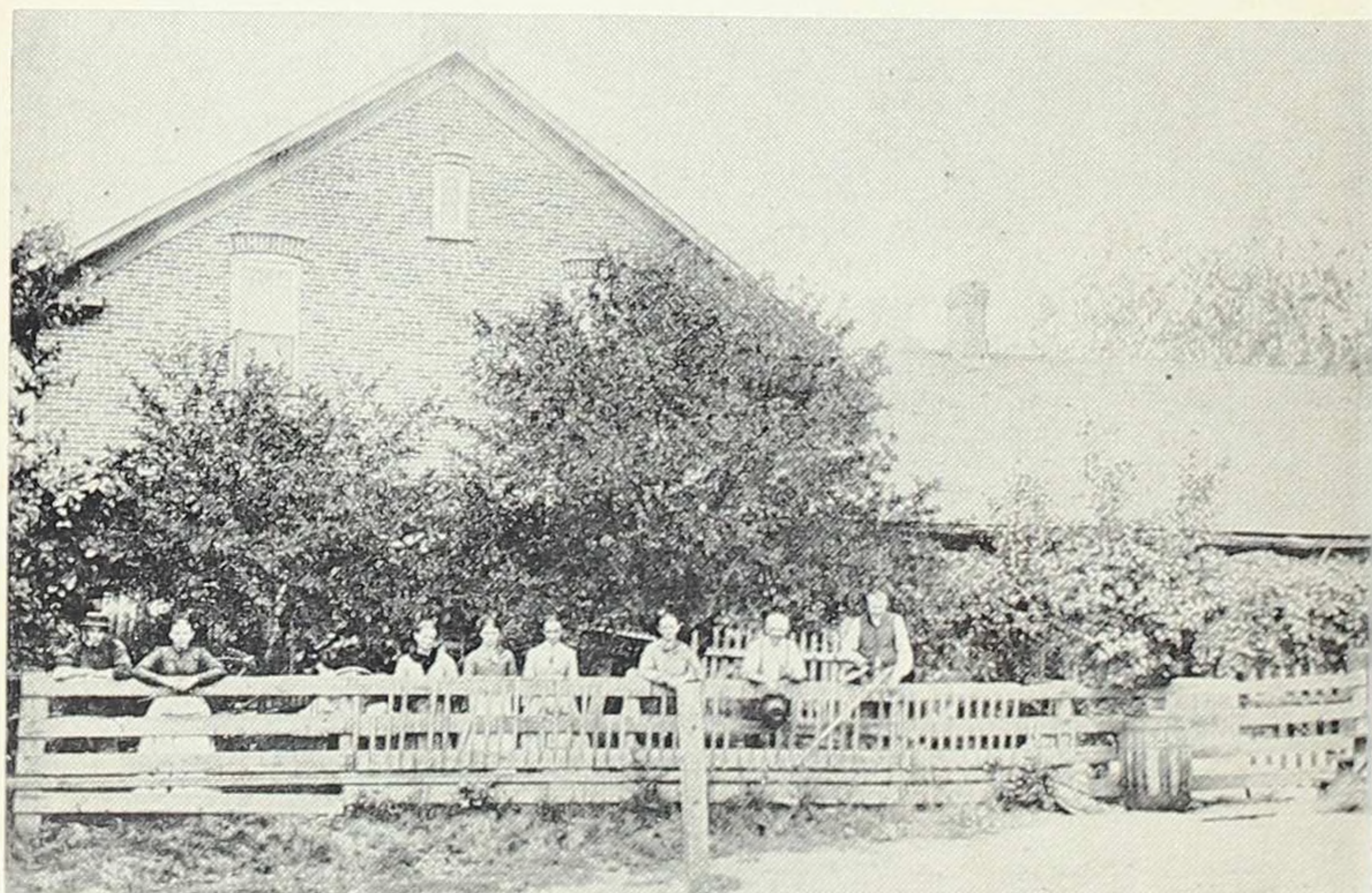
The lumber yard was always a busy place in the Amanas.

The Ehrle Winery in Homestead is the colony's oldest and largest winery.

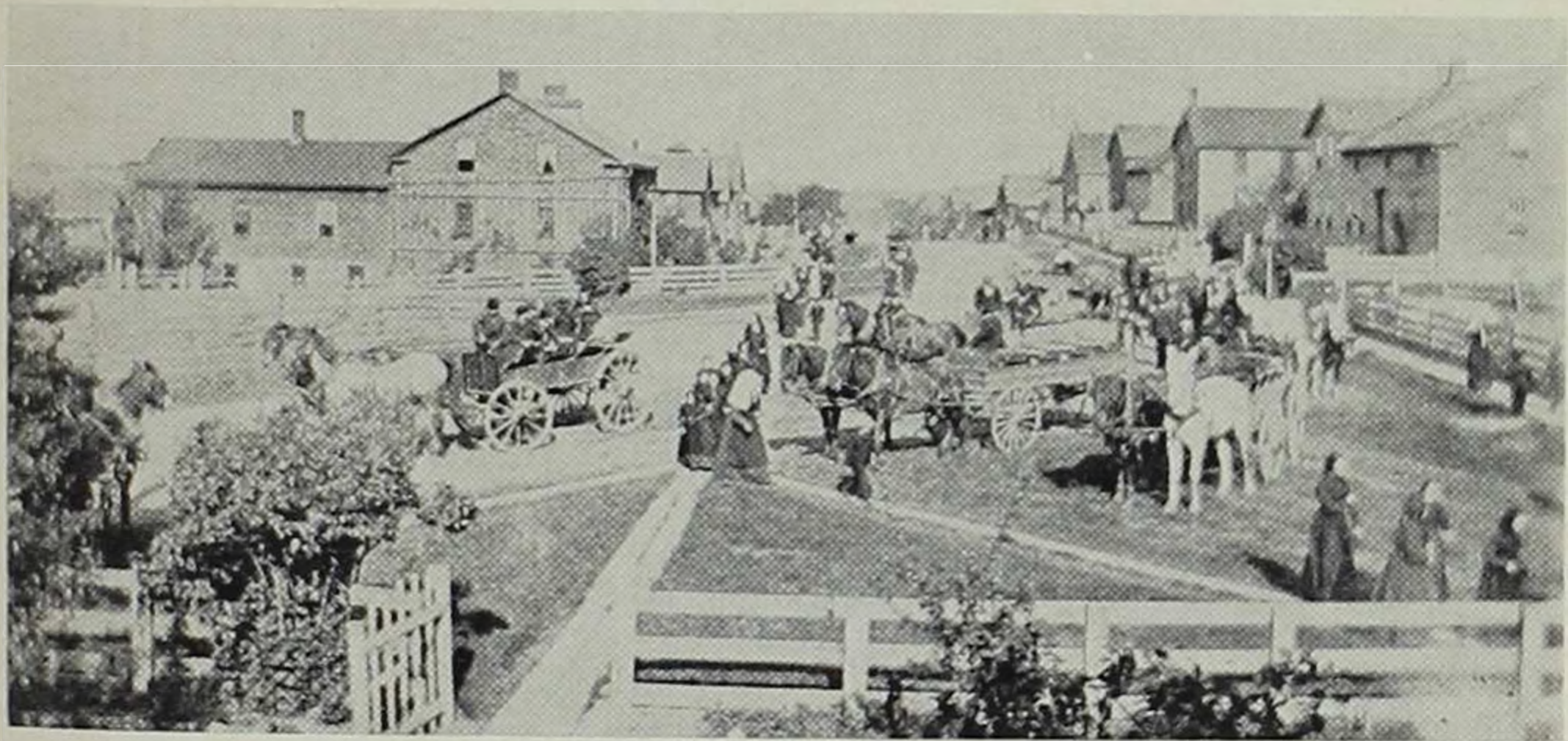




Kippenhan's Kitchen in South Amana. "All members take meals at village boardinghouses, in groups of perhaps forty or fifty. These boardinghouses maintain each their own dairy, are supplied with groceries from the store, with flour from the colony's mills, and with meat from the village butcher shop." (Shaw)



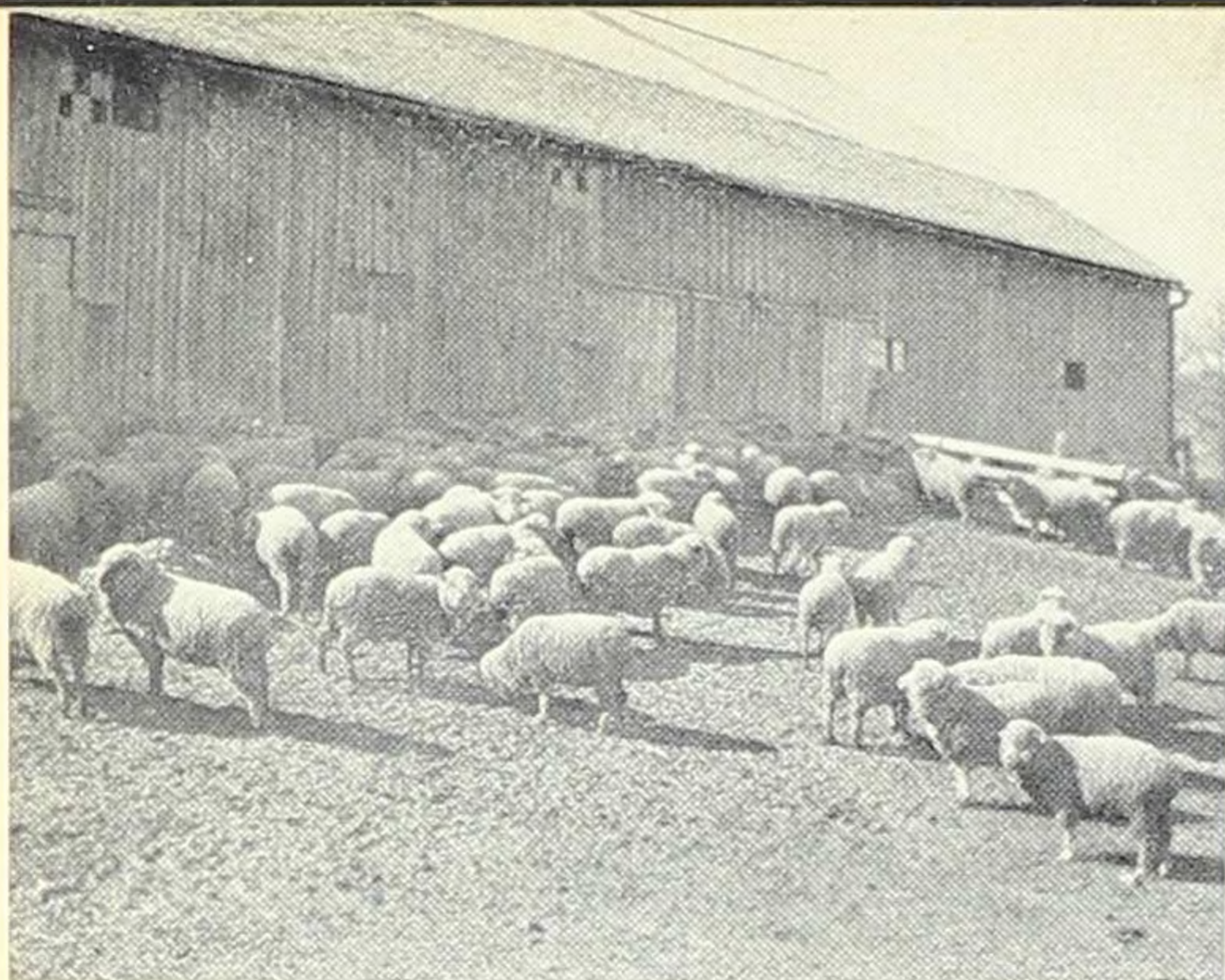
Geiger's Kitchen. "In Amana proper there are sixteen kitchens, each caring for about forty persons. The unmarried men are obliged to board at the hotel . . . There are five meals a day. Men leave the mills in instalments, so the constant coming and going gives one the idea that life is a continual scramble for something to eat." (MacClure)



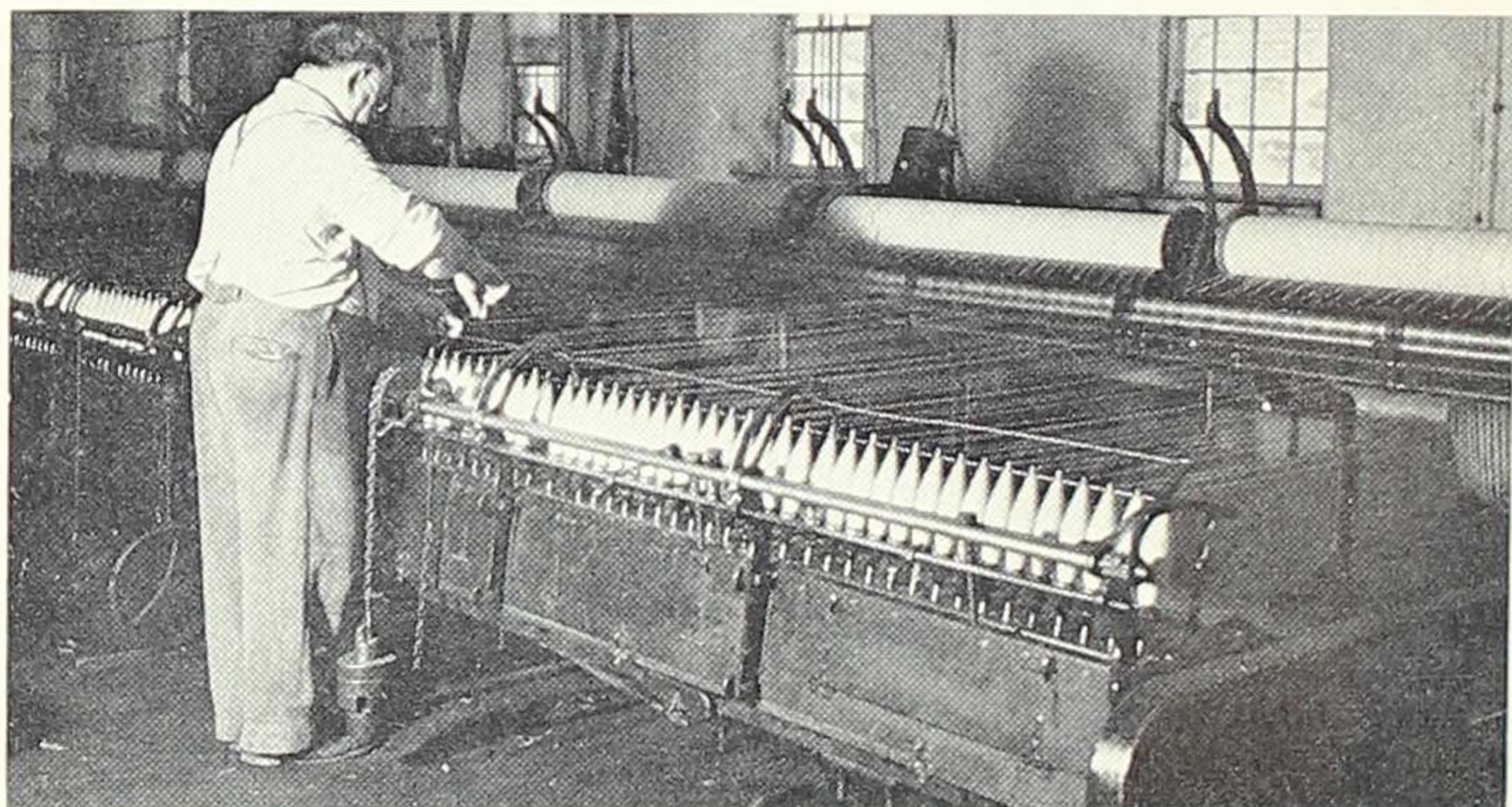
Amana residents ready to leave for church. "It is the firm belief of the leaders of the Amana people that religion is the necessary foundation of communism, and that their own communism is simply an outgrowth of their religious life." (Ely)



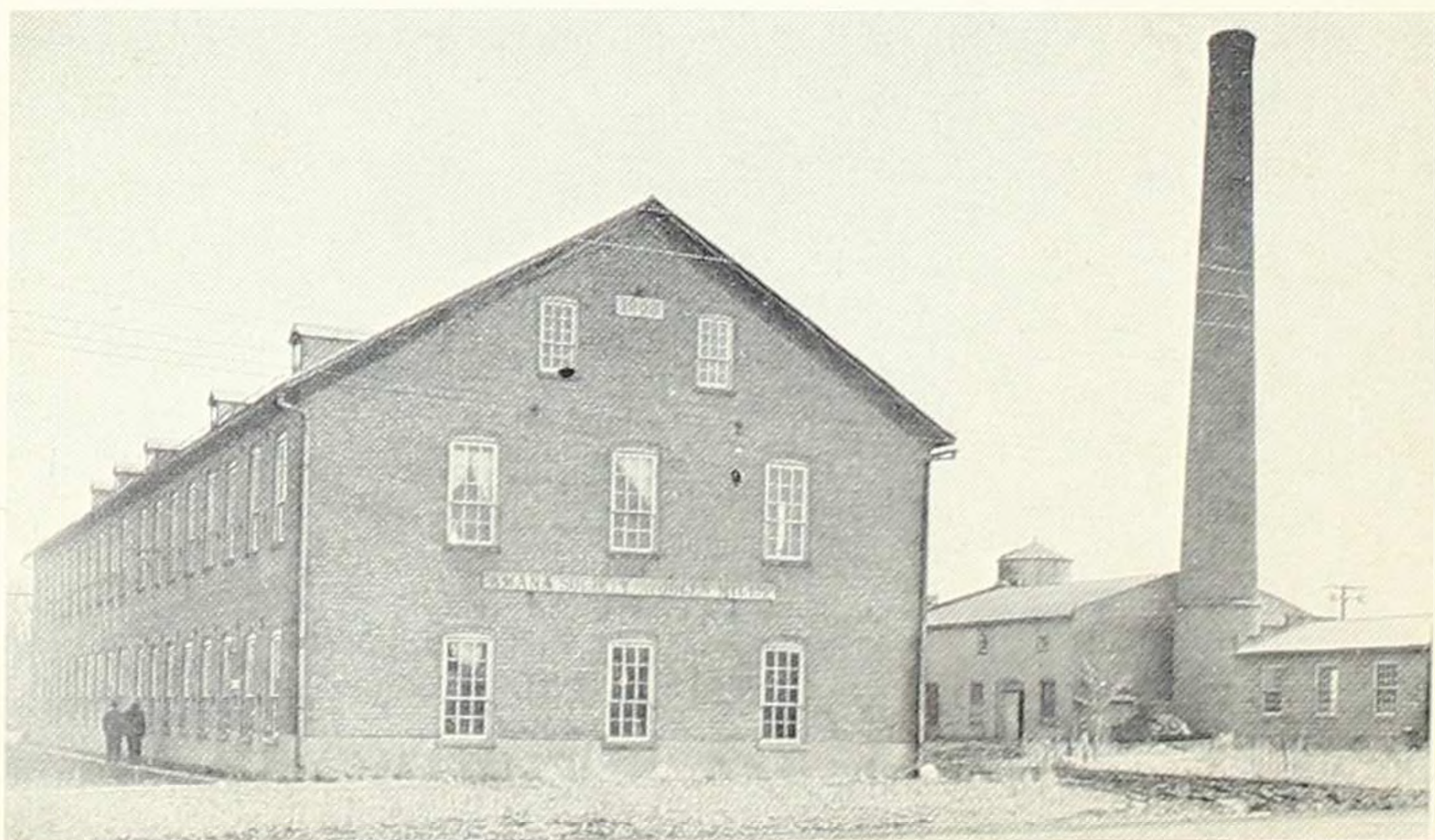
Dickel's Kitchen at Amana burned down on September 27, 1899.



From the sheep ranches of Homestead comes the fleece . . .



That kept the looms (above) of Amana woolen (below) and print mills running.

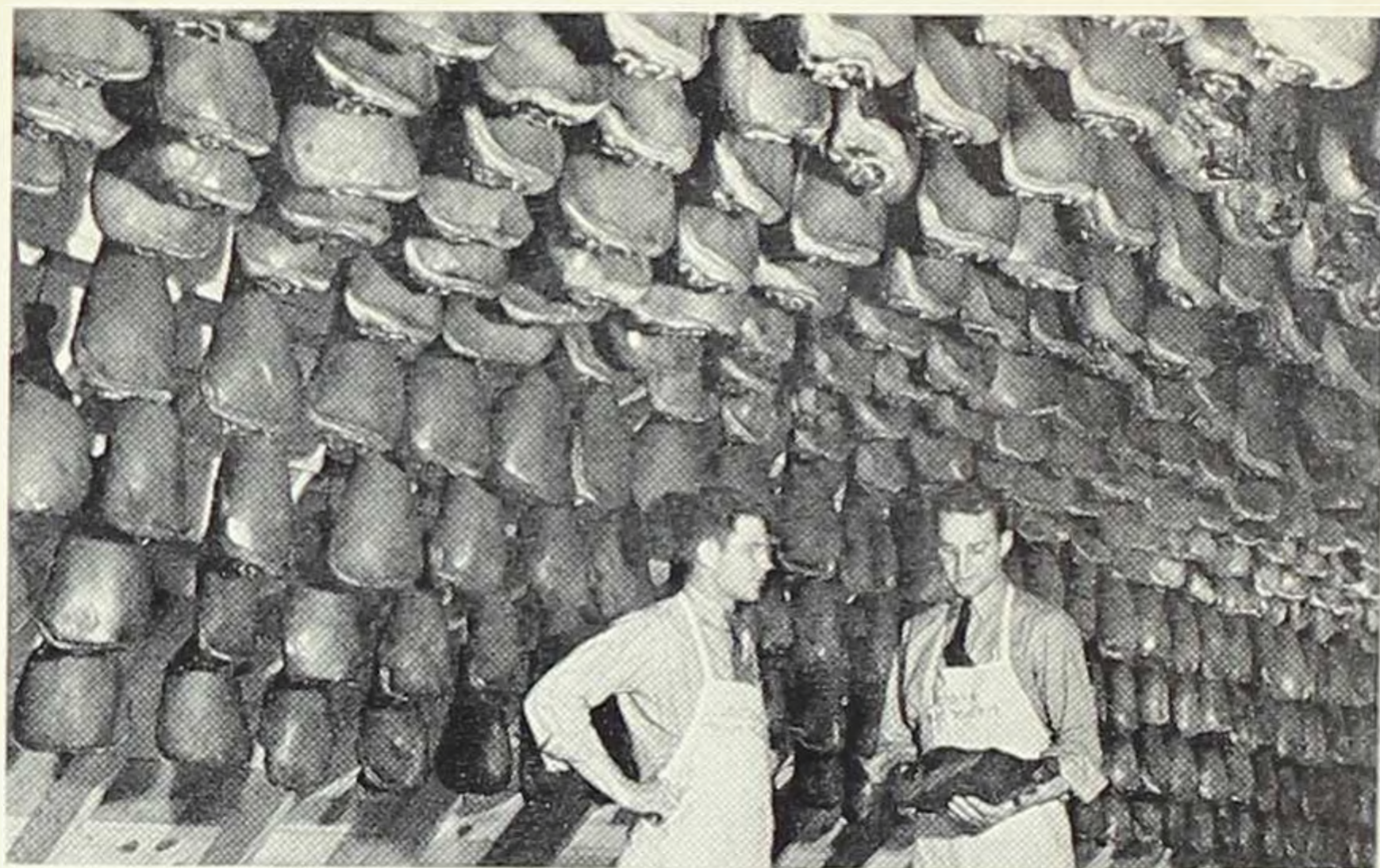




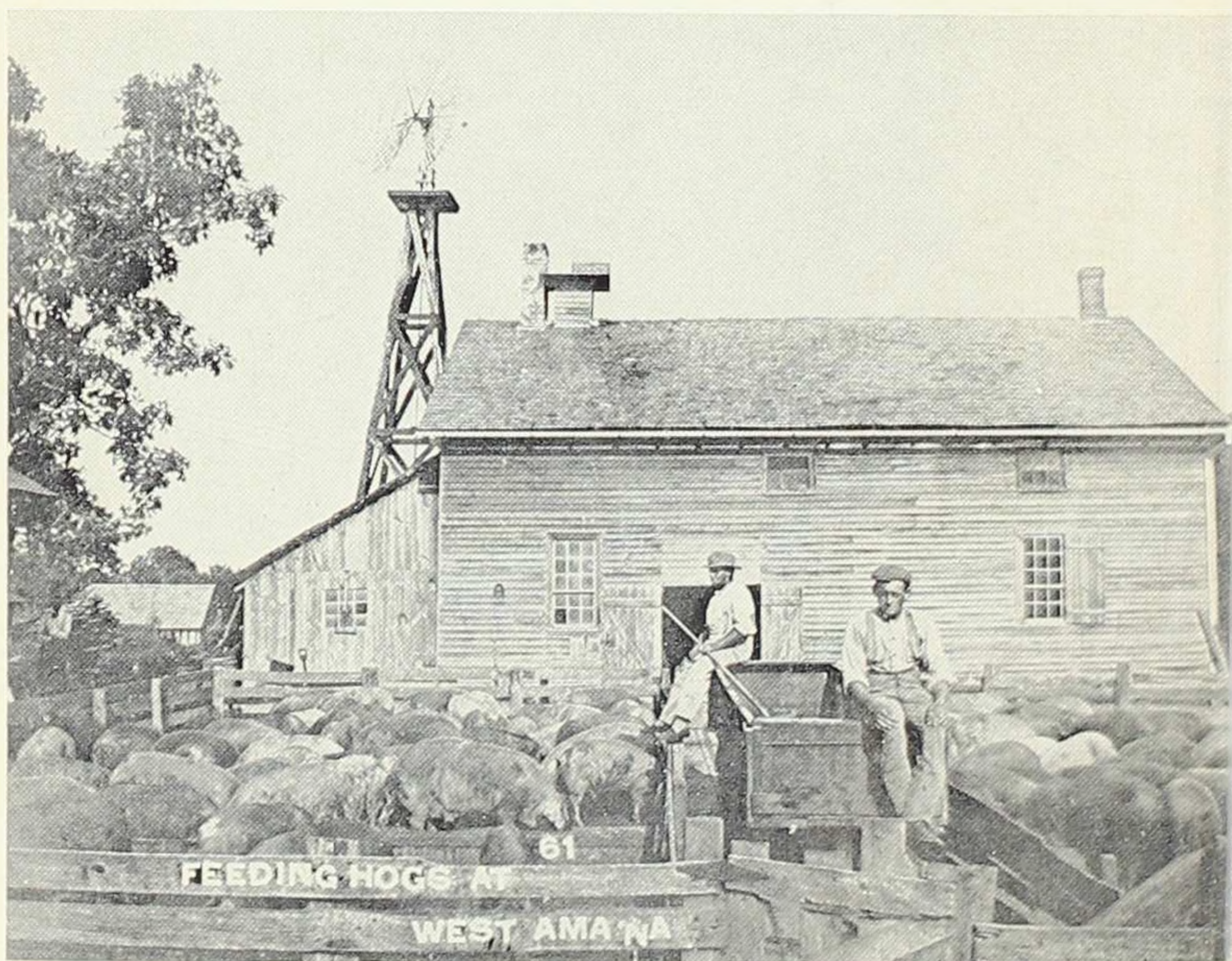
An early sales room was a far cry from today's well-stocked sales area.



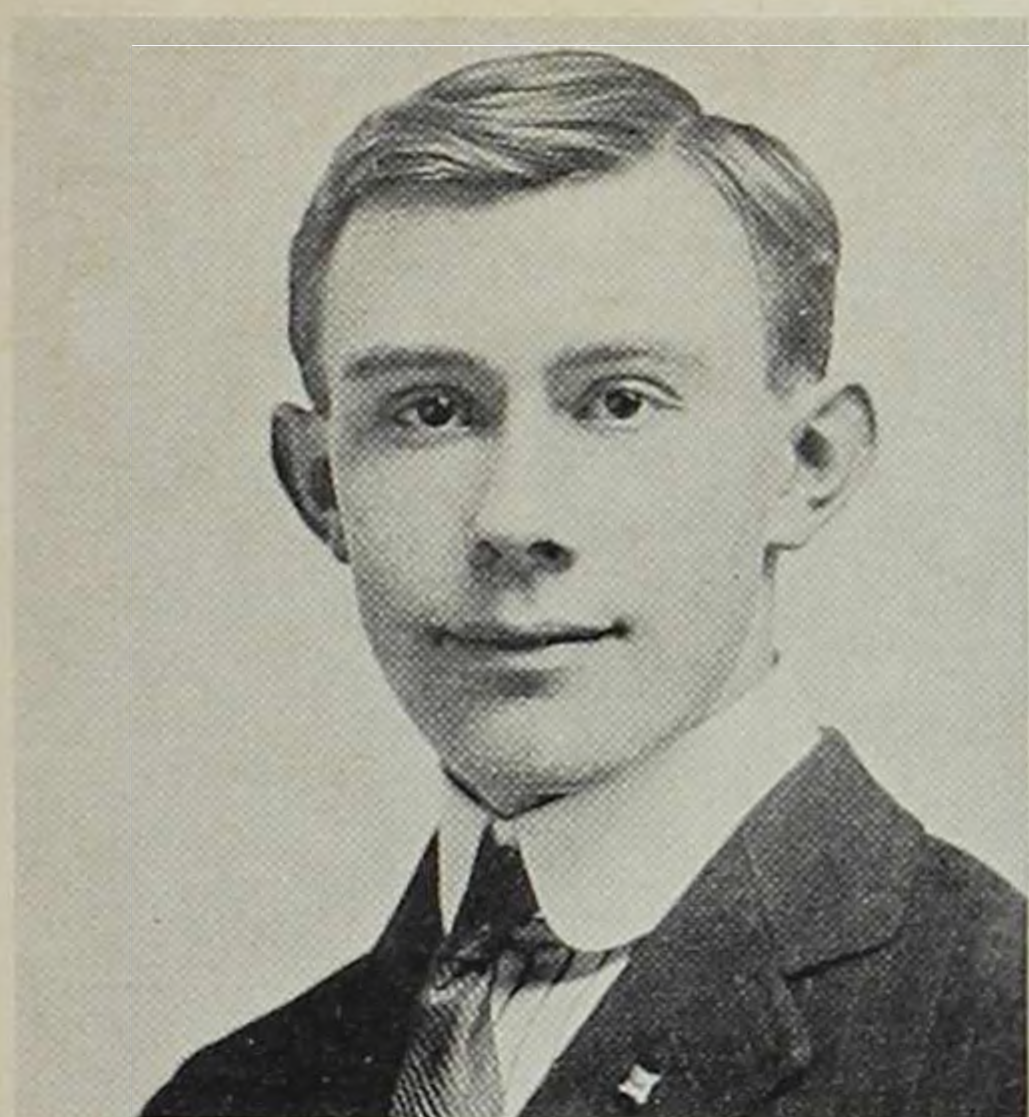
Amana women were skilled in all forms of needlework.



Aging Westphalian style hickory-smoked hams.



Feeding hogs in the yards at West Amana. "The barns and stables are excellent, and supplies of farm machinery the best." (Shaw)



A youthful-appearing Henry G. Moershel was to devote his life to healing the ill of the Amana Colony.



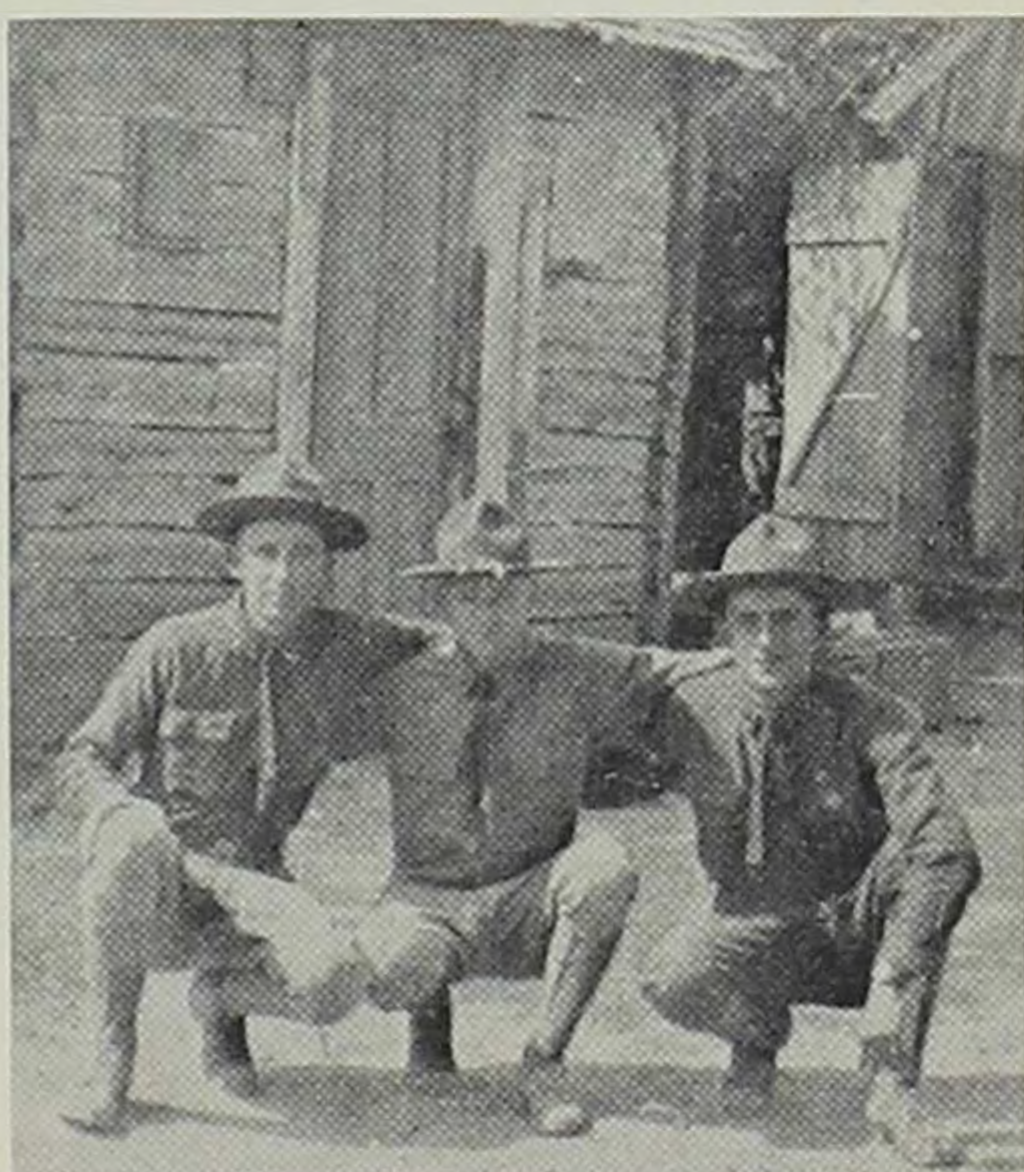
Two young ladies of the Homestead area are ready to give battle in a fast game of croquet.



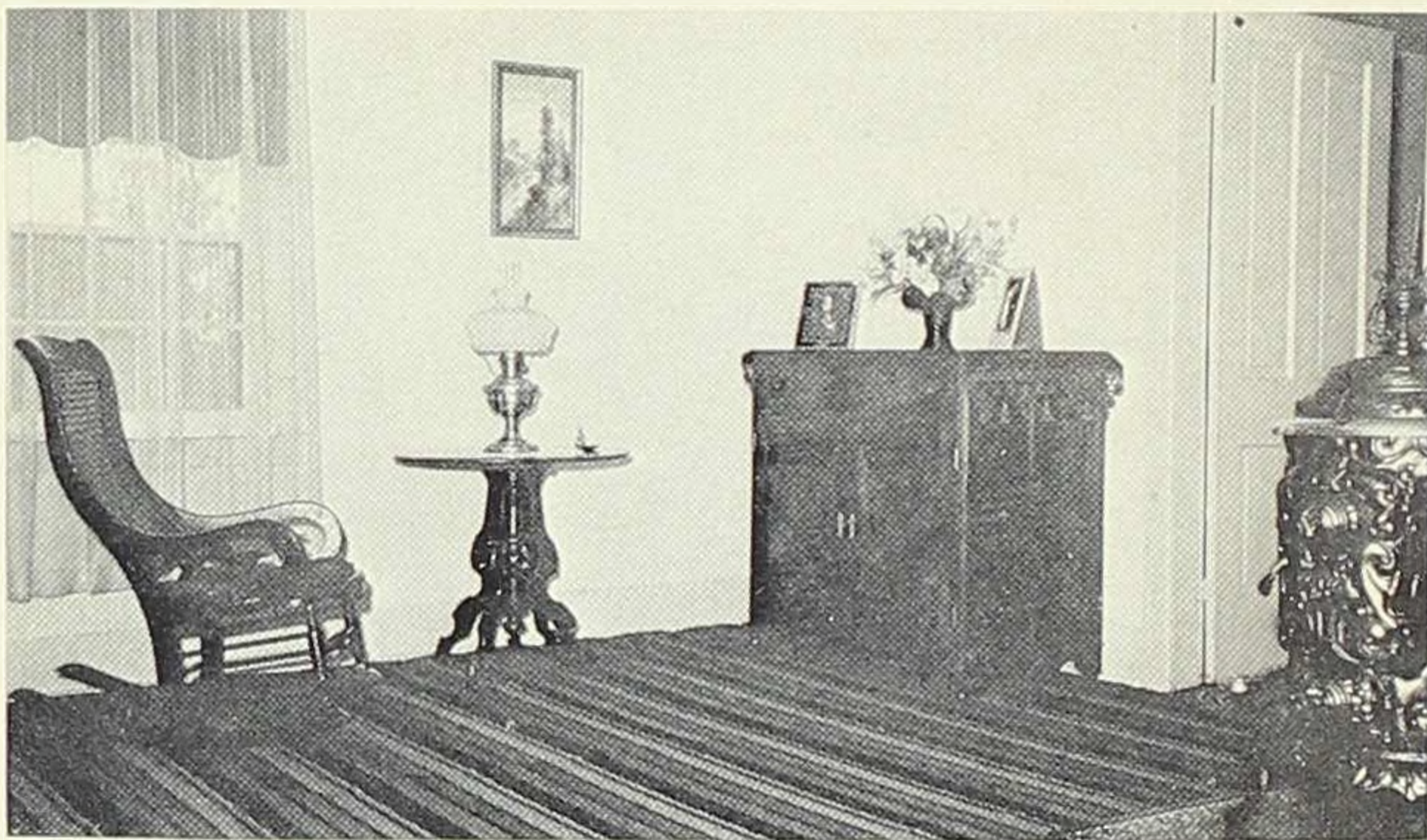
Two younger young ladies absorb the warmth of a springtime sun.



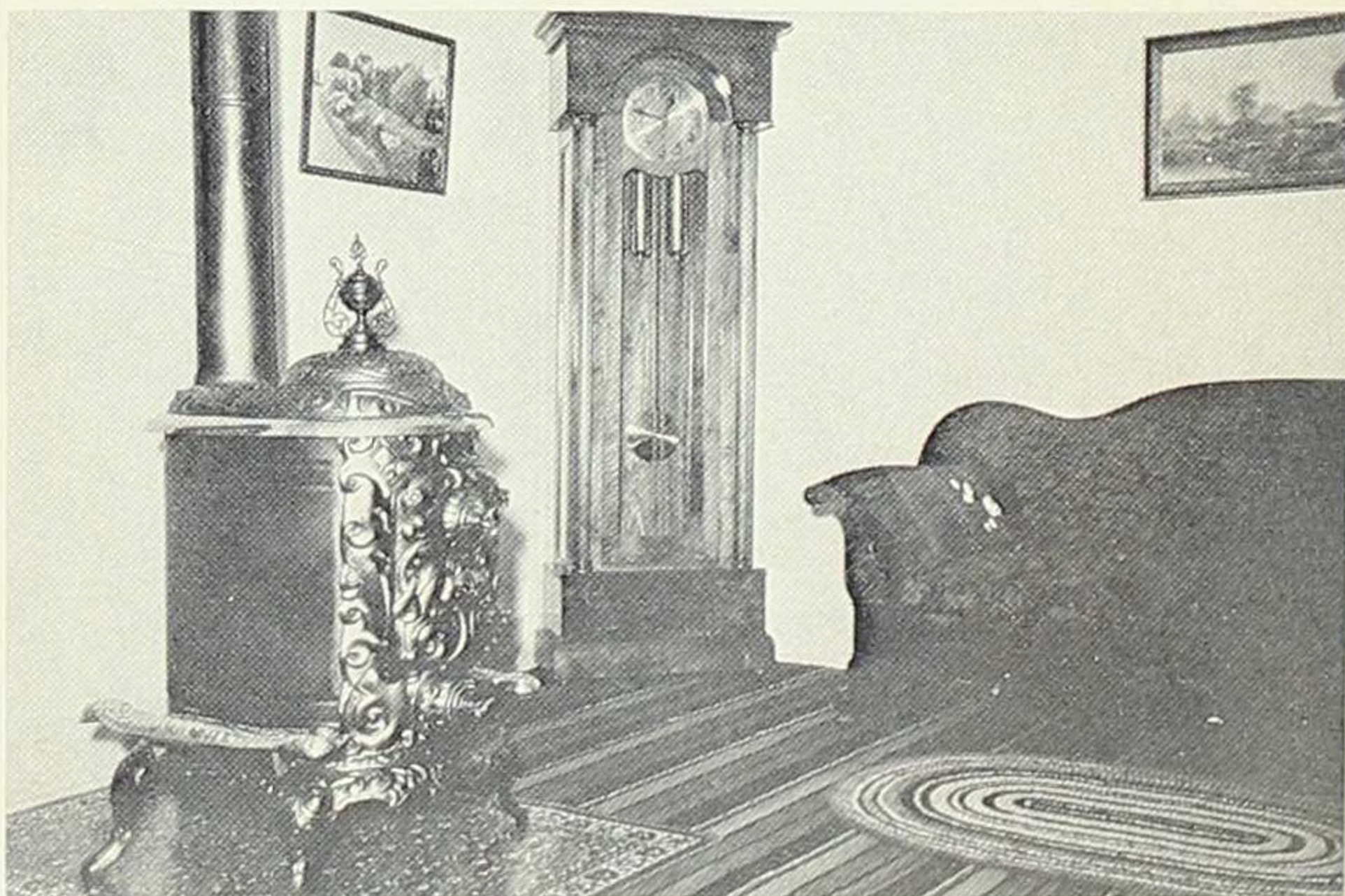
Rudolph Pitz.

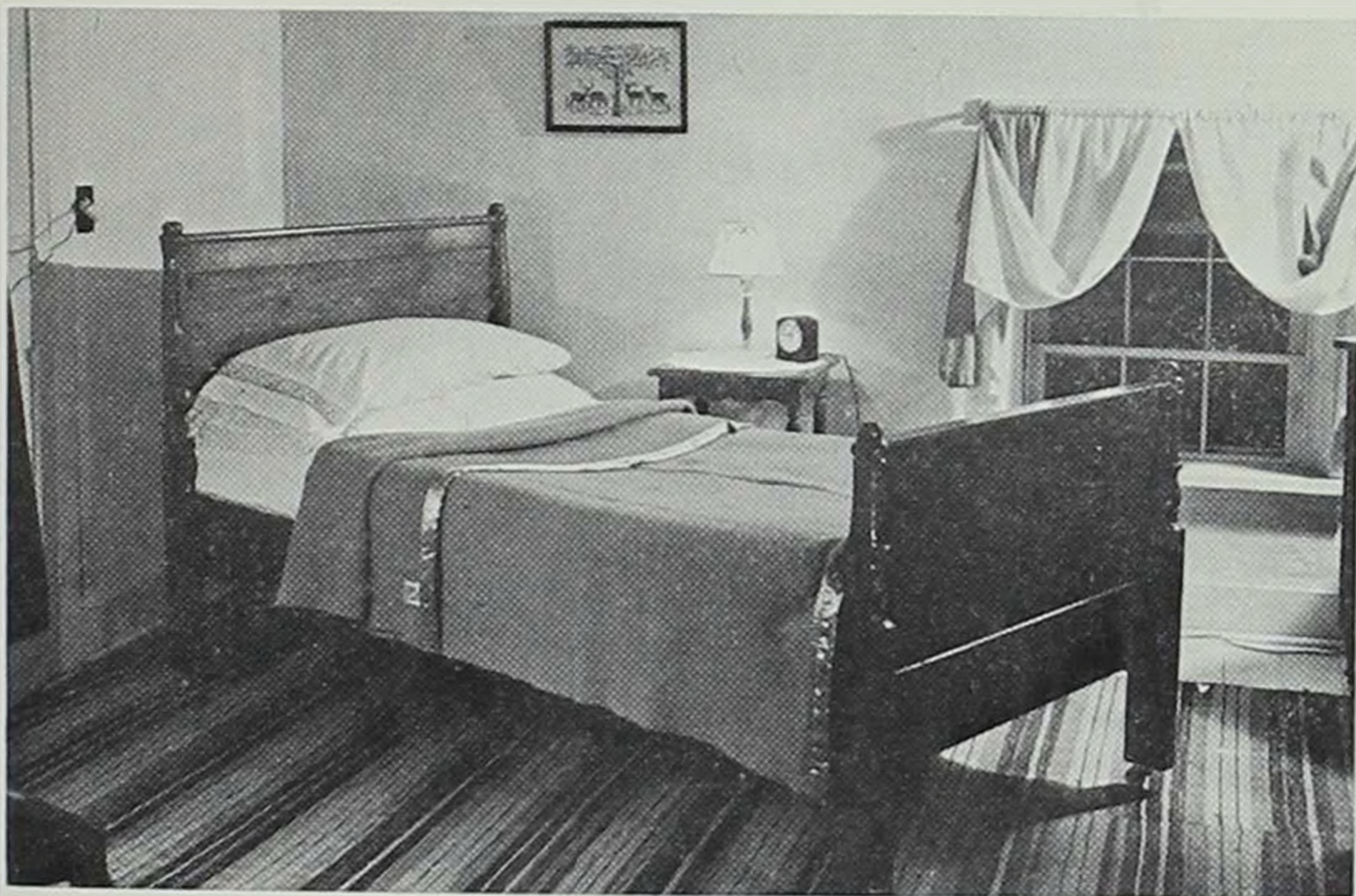


World War I buddies.

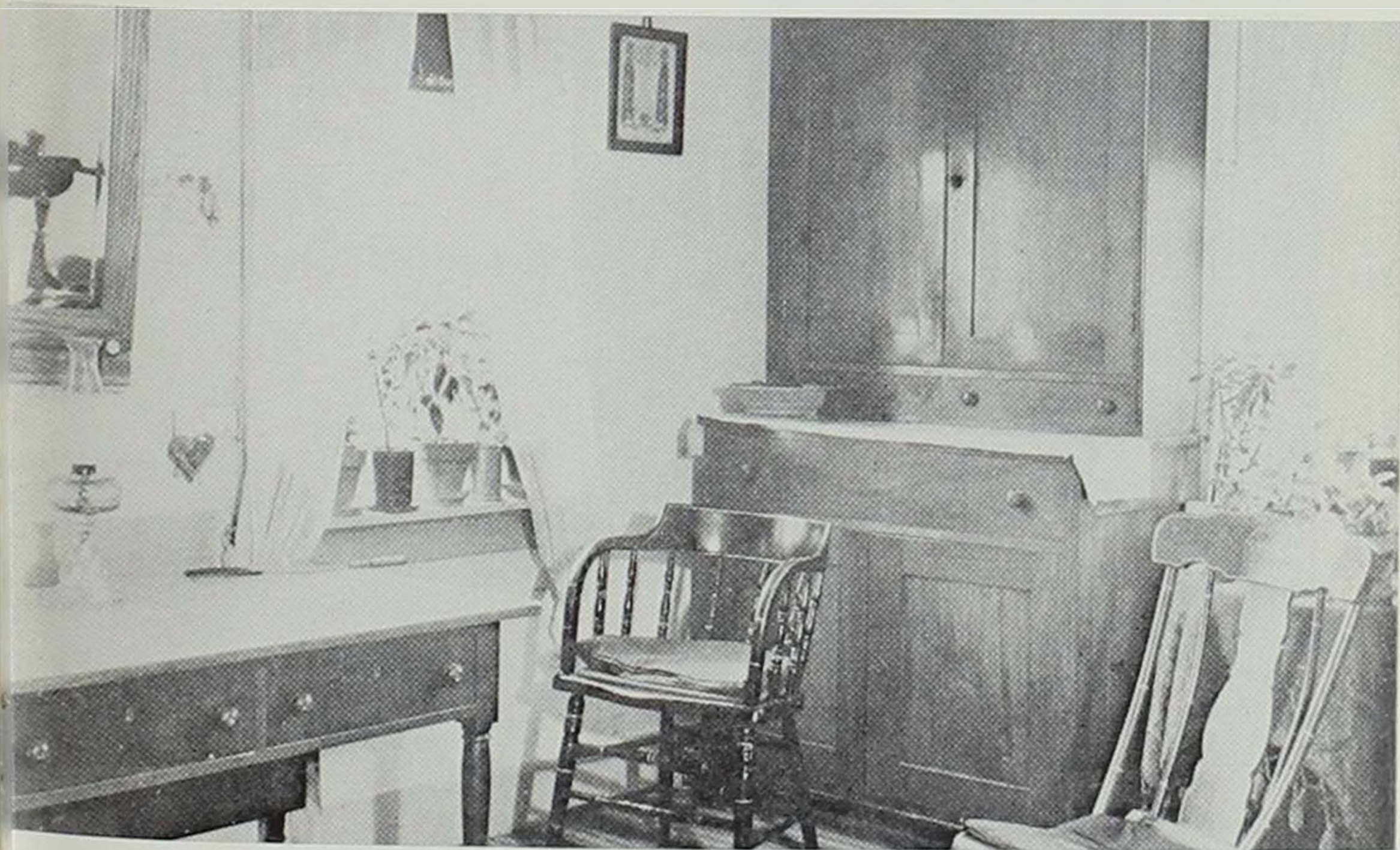


As Lulu MacClure says in her paper, "The furniture of the house is more modern than one would be led to expect from external appearances." As the pictures on these two pages show, the homes were well-furnished, neat, and with a generous supply of wall decorations and plants.





The potted plants in the picture below are an indication of the attention and care given to growing things. This was especially true in the small yards. "The yards about the houses are typically German in the way in which vegetables, trees, and fruit-bearing bushes are intermingled with flowers, all the ground beautifully cared for, and no unutilized land." (Ely)

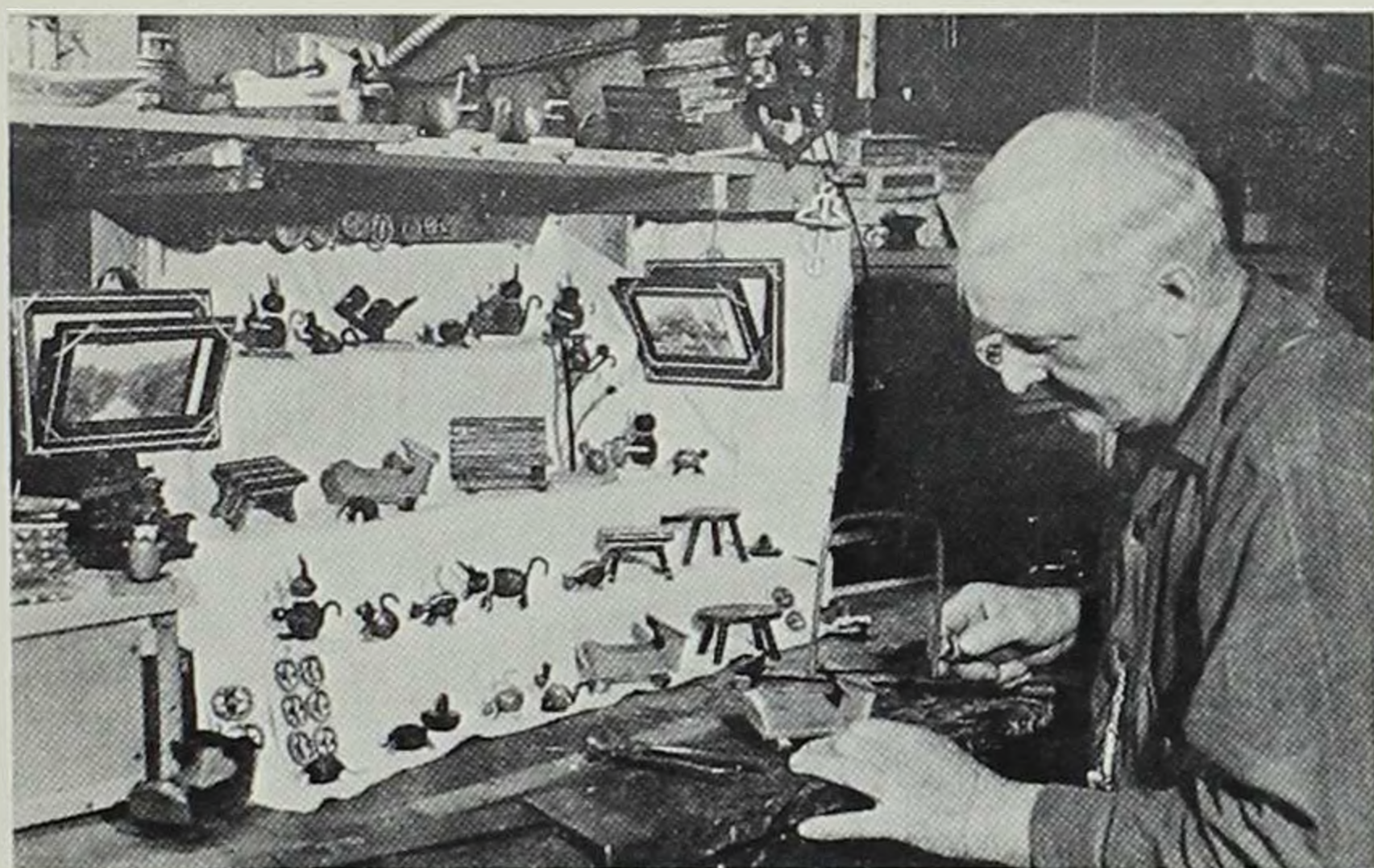




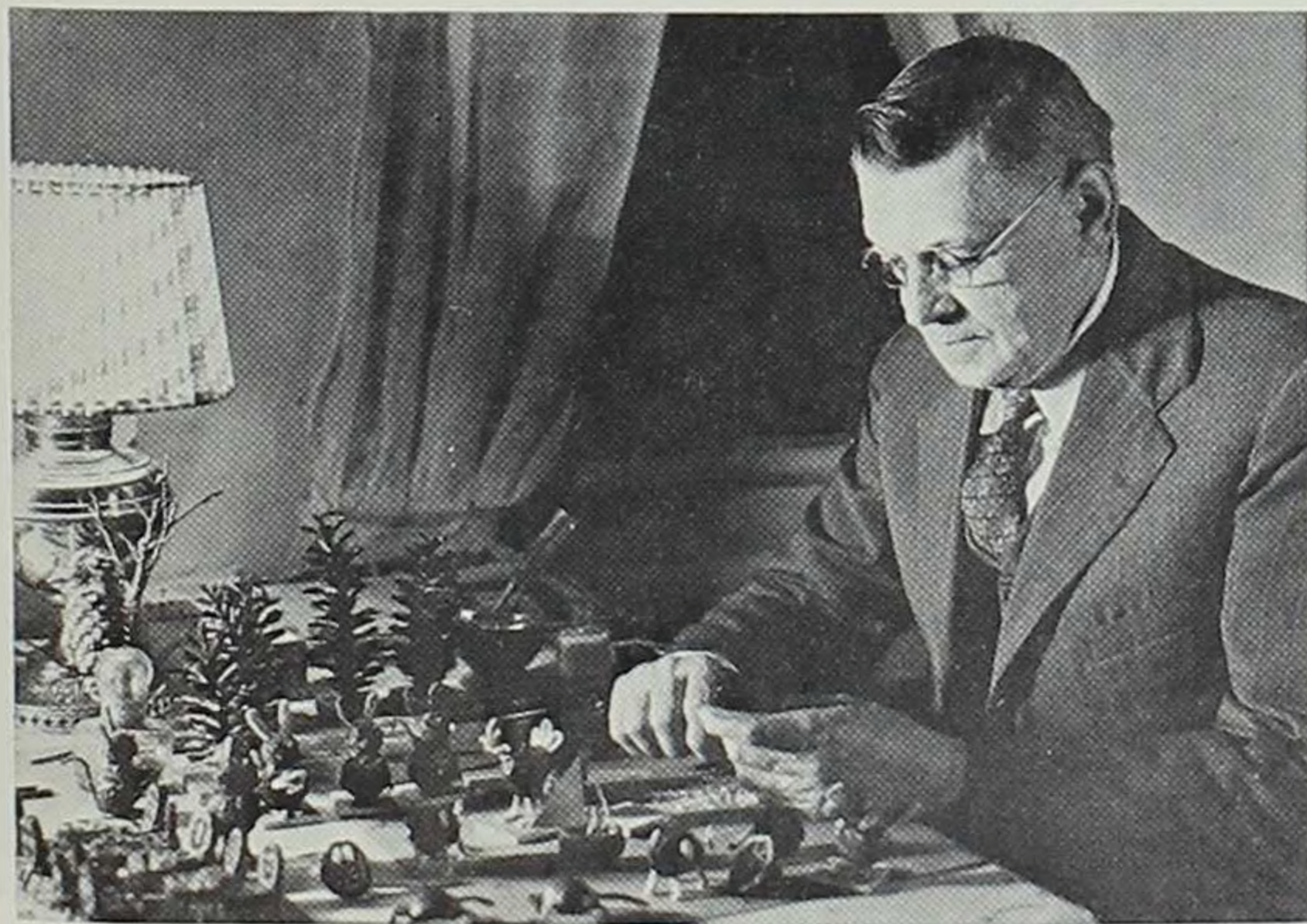
Otto and Dorothy Eichacker in their attractive home.

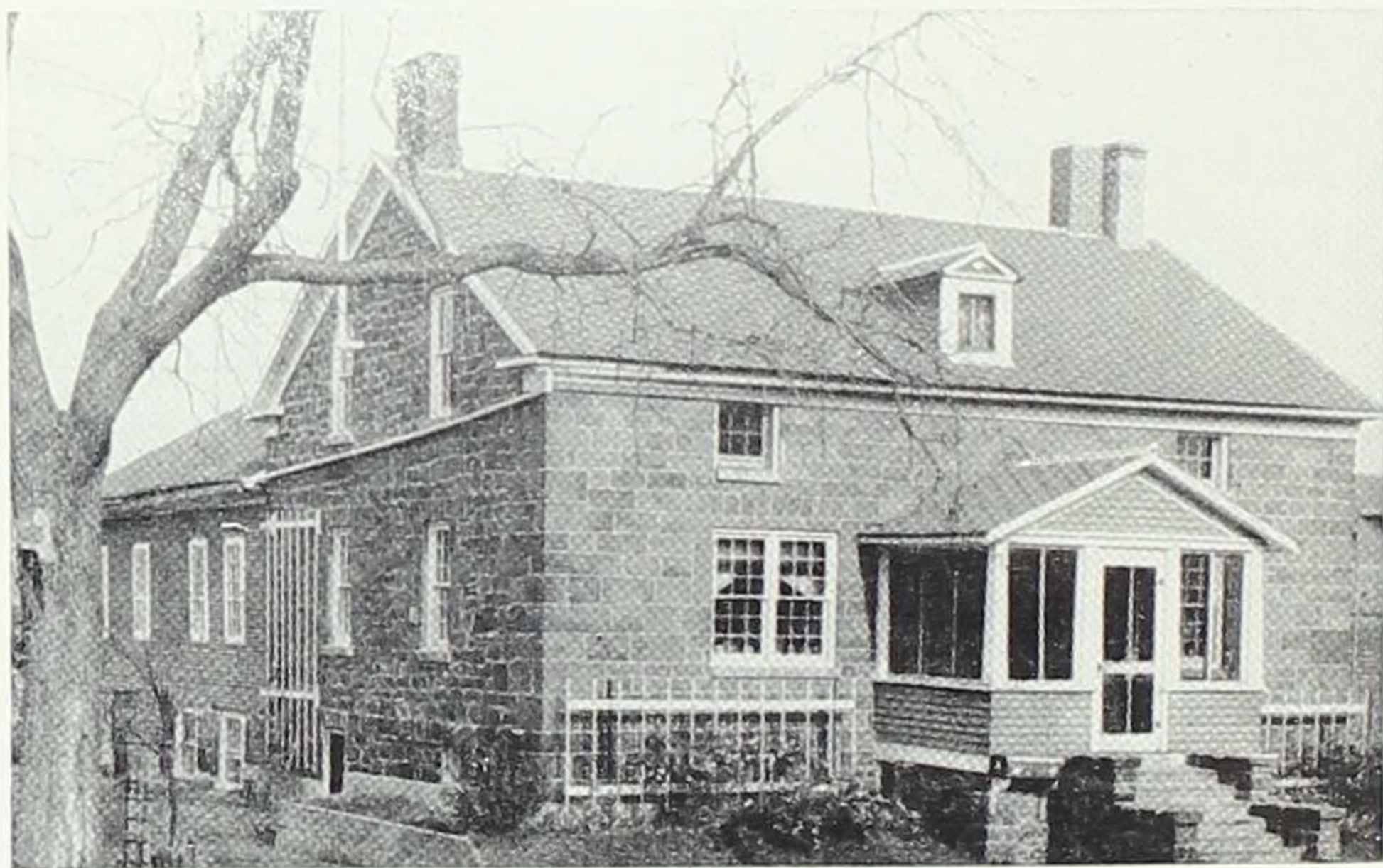


George Schudt visits in the Moershel home in Homestead.

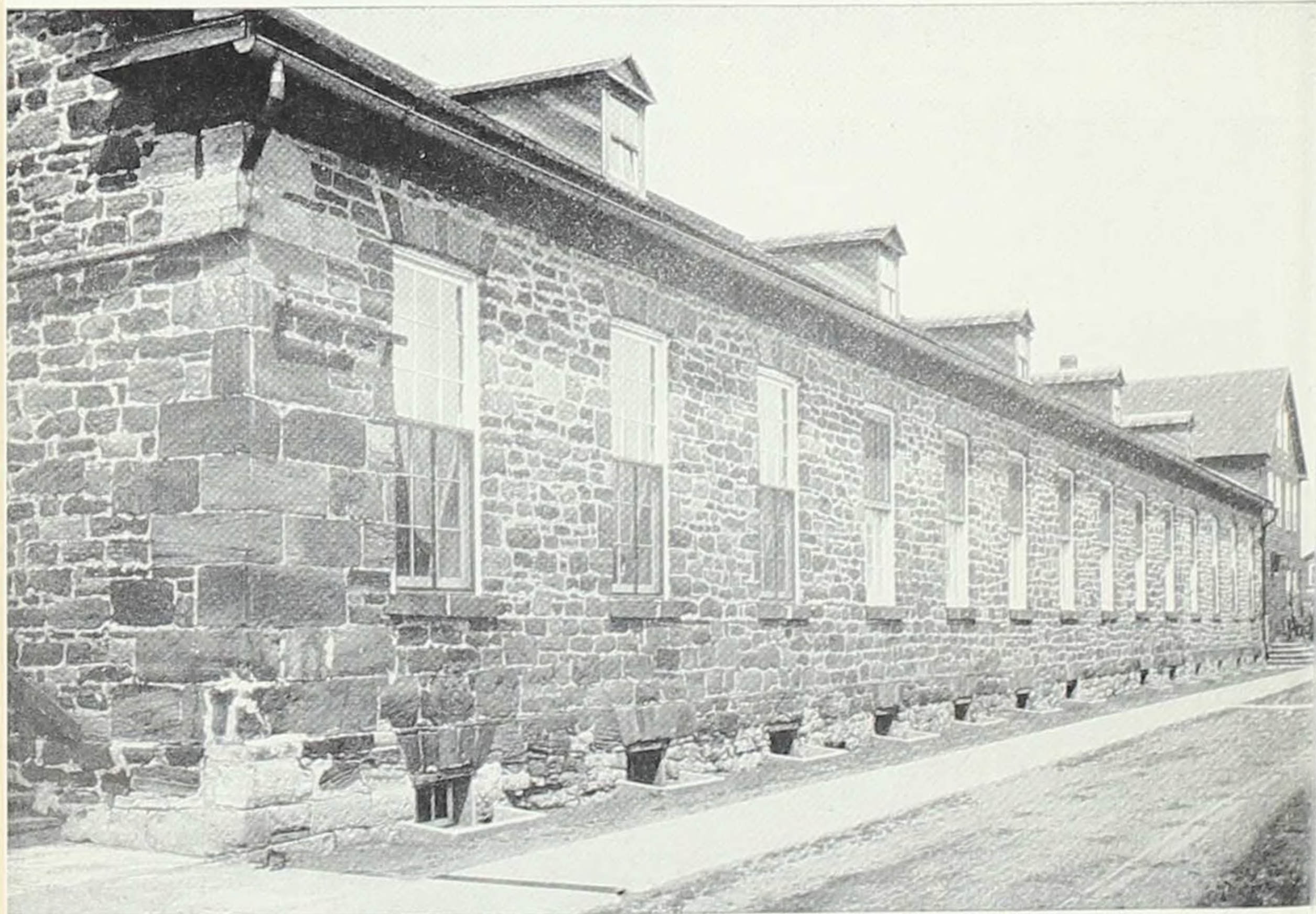


Charles Schinnerling (above), Louise Geiger (right), and Ferdinand Jeck (below) make toys and souvenirs which were placed on sale at various stores in the colonies.





Christian Metz home with modern porch. Metz was the great inspired spiritual leader who brought the Amanaite to America and Iowa.



The Church at Amana—As it was and still is.

Photo by Fred W. Kent

beautiful than any German village I have ever seen. In each village there is a long, straggling street, with a few side streets branching off irregularly. The houses are of brick or stone or wood, but the wooden houses are unpainted. Unpainted houses are generally associated with poverty and thriftlessness, and most visitors to Amana think these unpainted frame houses unattractive or even ugly. The artist, however, will prefer the weather-stain to the white-painted frame houses with green blinds which one so generally sees in the country village. And, indeed, the weather-stained houses are not unattractive when one has learned to dissociate the absence of paint from poverty and thriftlessness. There is no attempt at architecture in the construction of the buildings, but an effort is made to secure simple, solid comfort. The yards about the houses are typically German in the ways in which vegetables, trees, and fruit-bearing bushes are intermingled with flowers, with here and there a tiny lawn interspersed, all the ground beautifully cared for, and no unutilized land. The one particular in which the love of the beautiful finds complete expression among these simple Germans is in their flowers. Flowers abound everywhere in the richest profusion. Probably in no other place of the same size outside of California could one-twentieth as many roses be found as I saw in bloom in Amana in June. All the old-fashioned flowers are cultivated:

roses, geraniums, marigolds, dahlias, peonies, honeysuckles, petunias, phlox, etc. I saw more flowers in Amana than in the two hundred miles and more between Amana and Chicago.

The kindly nature and the benevolence of the people of Amana are shown in many directions. One is in the care and love of animals. In Homestead, which I visited with a friend from the University of Iowa, my friend pointed to a carriage drawn by two horses, with the remark, "That does not belong to the colony." When asked why, he replied, "The carriage is too fine, and the horses not good enough." Oxen, horses, and mules find Amana an earthly paradise. Birdhouses in the yards are also another evidence of love for the lower animals. Tramps and vagabonds are but too inclined to misuse their good nature, while the penitent prodigal, man or woman, is not turned away. They are good American citizens, even if they are unwilling to engage in war, and disinclined to take a very active part in politics. During the civil war they contributed to benevolent purposes some \$20,000. They take a pride in the privileges of this free country, and were pleased when, in response to inquiries, I expressed myself very favorably concerning the University of Iowa and its recent growth and improvement.

Women are treated well in the community, but the association of one sex with the other is not generally encouraged. On the contrary, it is con-

sidered injurious, probably the feeling being that it diverts attention from the higher and more spiritual interests of life. Marriage is not held to be so high a state as celibacy, and yet they generally do marry. It is interesting in this case to see that the control and regulation exercised in the competitive world of private industry by economic conditions must necessarily be replaced by some other force in a different form of society. Most of us are obliged to defer marriage, in order to make provision for the support of a wife and family. This necessity does not exist in Amana, but manifestly the population would grow too rapidly for the means of support if the younger people could marry whenever they chose. On this account, and doubtless also to prevent rash marriages, there must be the age of at least twenty-four on the part of men and of twenty on the part of women before marriage can take place, and even so the intended marriage must be announced at least a year before the ceremony may be performed. After marriage, the parties contracting it apparently suffer loss in their standing in the church, but can gradually regain a high position by evidences of spirituality.

The officers of the law, so far as they are repressive in their activity, have little to do in Amana. Crime does not exist, and pauperism from the very nature of the case is excluded.

At Amana I was impressed with the tremendous, irresistible world-sweep of democracy,

which, for good or for ill, seems destined to carry everything before it. How, then, shall a few villages of eighteen hundred souls in the heart of enlightened Iowa—the Massachusetts of the Mississippi Valley—stand up against it? Ebenezer was left in 1853 because the influence of near-by Buffalo was adverse, but the great American democratic life flows through Amana in a thousand streams. The United States post office connects these villages with all parts of the earth, public roads lead out indefinitely, while the public school does its work in Amana as elsewhere. Now the public library is likely soon to make its advent, and that in its work spares neither youth, middle life, nor old age. The seclusion of Amana is necessarily yielding to the influence of American environment. Carriages with brightly clad young people, devoted to the pleasures of life, are continually seen in Amana; the trains bring excursions into this strange community; on Sunday, people from the outside world take dinner at the hotels in the villages; and bright, wide-open children's eyes see all the teeming life, and the force of imitation cannot fail to be felt. A happiness is imagined beneath gay colors and under flower-trimmed hats which does not exist, while the real substantial comforts and the solid privileges of their own life are not likely to find full appreciation in the minds of youth. Will the solvent of American life destroy this prosperous community? It has lasted

sixty years. It may last sixty years longer. It may follow Zoar inside of twenty years when the founders and those most closely associated with them have passed away. Who is wise enough to forecast the future? Who can fail to admire the quiet heroism of these honest God-fearing German spinners, weavers, and peasants, as they lead their own lives, serving God diligently according to their lights, seeking Him daily in public prayers and loving one another with their substance; going back to Pentecostal days, as they think, and holding all things in common, so that among them there is none that lacks, distribution being made to every man according to his need.

RICHARD T. ELY

Eighty-Nine Years of Collective Living

Most collectivist colonies not practicing physical nudity seem to rest for their challenge on a kind of intellectual or spiritual nudism. If one were obliged to attempt to strike a common denominator of objectives it could probably be stated in the quotation, "The proper study of mankind is man." Collectivists complain of barriers existing between individuals under the competitive system of life, and determine that through a close knit collective life they will break down these barriers and expose the real people behind them. Many of them seem to be searching for a catalyst which will precipitate the essence of human personality, so that they may analyze it and separate it into its basic elements. They appear to object to the complexity of present-day life and yearn for something different and more real and earnest.

Perhaps the best recent brief summary of the aspirations and aims of the advocates of collective living is made by Mr. John Hyde Preston, discussing, in *Harper's* for May, 1938, his own five-months experience in collective living. He declares, "The doctrine of individualism has played havoc with the soul of man. That soul must be set free again. It can be free only when the basic needs of

food and shelter can be met without strain . . . when constructive competition has displaced the old destructive kind, and when the individual feels himself to be a single but integral animation of the greater life force of the community."

There are three principal ideas or ideals round which collective colonies are built. These are the purely physical; the intellectual, which includes the economic and social; and the religious-emotional. Undoubtedly the strongest of these is the religious-emotional. It is stronger either than the purely physical excitement of nudity or the purely reasonable challenge of the intellectual ideal. For that reason, those collective experiments which have endured the longest have been those built around an emotional appeal. Such as these is Amana, in Iowa. The collective ideal survived there for seventy-eight years, and had been established in a prior location eleven years before the colony was moved to Amana for reasons which had no bearing upon the workability of the idea itself.

Amana has frequently been pointed out in the Sunday supplements and elsewhere as the classic example of the failure of communism. That is a superficial view of the matter. Whatever communism was practiced at Amana was certainly not Marxist or theoretical in its origin. It lay deeper than that. It was a pooling of all resources for a common religious purpose, and that it happened

to coincide in part with an economic and social theory was incidental. The ideal here was emotional and religious.

Because Amana colonists abandoned the collectivist ideal in 1932, after eighty-nine years of life under it, it is interesting to trace some of the steps leading to the abandonment. This is admittedly a difficult task for an outsider, and no member of the community has discussed the subject in print. If a religious-emotional ideal such as that which held the Amana colonists together for so long could fade, then the fate of collectivist colonies less deeply rooted must certainly hang by slender threads. Perhaps Amana can serve as a yardstick for measurement of the effectiveness and permanency of collectivist colonies and as an illustration of their actual worth.

The depth of the religious ideal behind Amana is at once apparent from the history of the movement. It began in Germany, in 1714, with the preaching of two fervent souls, Eberhard Gruber and Johann Rock. The kernel of their doctrine was that divine inspiration was a present, living thing; and that to certain pious persons, known as *Werkzeuge*, or Instruments, was given the power of Revelation and Inspiration. Sufficient numbers joined the True Inspirationists, as the groups termed themselves, to attract notice and then persecution by civil and religious authorities.

Death and defection during the first century of

existence reduced the *Werkzeuge* to one good, wise, and able man, Christian Metz. Under him the communities of True Inspiration increased in number and strength in spite of persecutions. But even the nonresistance of the Inspirationists could not, in time, longer endure the persecutions of church and state. A divine revelation through Metz counseled emigration to America, and in 1842 five thousand acres of the Seneca Indian Reservation near Buffalo were purchased. This was given the name Ebenezer.

At Ebenezer, in 1843, the True Inspirationists adopted a constitution which laid the foundation for the collectivist colony which was to continue until 1932. They desired above all else to hold themselves apart from the world so that they might worship as a compact group entirely as they wished. Some of the colonists were well-to-do; some were poor. It was very evident that without mutual aid many of the poorer Inspirationists would be forced to leave, with consequent break-up of the compact organization. So strong was the religious zeal of all, and so great was the feeling of brotherhood engendered by the persecutions all had suffered, that the stronger and more able consented, after some hesitation, to pool all resources for the common good. True, it required a special divine revelation through Metz to accomplish this—a revelation which included an eternal curse of material and spiritual poverty upon all who

should ever advocate the dissolution of the community—and considerable urging based upon the description of the early church in the Fourth Chapter of Acts, wherein all believers are declared to have "had all things common."

However, the colony location near Buffalo left much to be desired, and it was finally decided, again through divine revelation via Metz, to move. After much search, the new location was made in Iowa, in 1854, and given the Biblical name, Amana, signifying "believe faithfully."

Each man and woman was expected, voluntarily, to do a proportionate share of the work of the colony as natural ability made it possible. In return, it was the privilege and right of each to be housed by the collective, fed and clothed by it. Those who had special skills found employment in the woolen mills, furniture factories, and other industrial enterprises which were established. The farmers worked on the land, in the dairies, the vineyards. Bakers baked bread, butchers cut meat, foresters cut and sawed timber; every man found, as nearly as possible, his niche in the life of the community. The products of each man's hands became the common property of all. Food products were prepared by the women in the common kitchens from which all were served. Living quarters were assigned to each family by the elders according to the size and needs of each. Goods made in the factories were sold, and with the pro-

ceeds were purchased those necessities not produced in the colony. Amana woolens are today known and sold nationally; Amana furniture likewise, though it is less well-known.

Under the deep and all-pervading spell of the Amana Church, the members of the community did, for long, do their fair and proper share of the work. The more able and intelligent of the group were educated in the professions or trained as foremen and managers—at the expense of the community—and returned to it to serve their fellows with their special talents. Nor did these stronger brethren expect or receive more than the humblest. Collectivism is the great leveler.

But the prophets passed to their reward and, perhaps inevitably, the religious fervor of the community relaxed. The change came slowly, but it was none the less certain. The old admonition of the founders, "have no intercourse with worldly-minded men," was no longer strictly heeded. The plain garb which for so long had distinguished the True Inspirationists—particularly the women—was gradually abandoned. The shoulder shawl and the little black cap, designed to hide feminine graces and keep pride in subjection, disappeared except at church services. And when plain garb was worn it sometimes concealed such modern adjuncts as bobbed hair, wrist watches, or beads. The innumerable church services were no longer so well-attended. Cameras, bicycles, pianos,

radios, occasional automobiles, and a few private bank accounts had come into Amana—evidence that the old order was passing.

This history and these manifestations of change are in the record. It is much more difficult to get beneath the surface to understand what was going on in the minds of the individual members of the community. For in the end it is the individual who seems to matter most seriously with the collectivists—which is something of a paradox in itself.

It is quite evident, as I have already mentioned, that there was no conscious desire on the part of the True Inspirationists to set up a collective colony purely for its own sake. The collective way of life was set up as a solution to a pressing problem. It had, therefore, a very real purpose and a very definite place in the life of the people it affected. Moreover it had behind it the force of the only constituted worldly authority the colonists recognized—the great *Werkzeug*, Christian Metz. Metz had not only counseled and established the collective life but had placed a curse upon anyone who would dissolve the colony.

If the intimate daily religious records of the community were available to the outsider, it might be possible to trace a subtle change in the life of the colony. But these are not available, and I think rightly so. Therefore, the change which took place was not apparent to the outsider until it became so decided that he might notice it. Were these

people growing a little tired of one another, and hence a little more willing to have intercourse with the "outside?" Was the solemn admonition to have nothing to do with worldly men beginning to seem unreasonable? It seems so, yet this was the essence of the collective idea. The seven villages which compose the Amana colonies had long discouraged automobiles by the effective means of raising their street crossings above the level of the street. These were lowered about two decades ago.

Before these traffic curbs were removed, however, there were other changes apparent. One of these was the employment of "outside" labor. The Amana collective had rested upon the idea that all members of the community would give their best abilities to the community. The Marxist ideal of "from each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs" might be said to define the Amana idea. Indeed, it is doubtless here that the Sunday-supplement comparison of the Amana colonies with Marxist communism has arisen. This employment of outside labor was due to the fact that some colonists were beginning to shirk their responsibilities. The religious ideal was losing its hold, and this lost idealism was reflected in the attitude of some colonists toward their obligations under the collective.

It was a very simple change. More people began going to the doctor to complain of ailments.

They felt themselves unable to perform the labor expected of them. The curve of illness based upon the number of colonists visiting the doctors pointed steadily upward. And yet, since food was dispensed without question at the collective kitchens, the shirkers continued to carry away full baskets. Their ailments were not reflected in their appetites. Since medical service cost nothing the visits to the doctor were not curtailed. One physician said to me that however much he might be convinced that a patient was healthy and sound, he could not exert authority he did not possess and mark out the patient as an imposter. There was no provision for shirkers in the community. It had been established on the ideal that there would be none.

This condition, which began to make itself felt during the last two decades of the last century, was eventually reflected in the finances of the colony. Its deficits began to increase, and by 1931 it was facing either receivership or reorganization on a plan which would compel those who would eat to work. This was true in spite of the fact that at no time did the number of shirkers exceed twenty-five per cent of the entire community. The fact is interesting as illustrating how at the mercy of a recalcitrant minority a collective community may become—or may always be.

It cannot be said that there were any barriers among the colonists at Amana which prevented a complete understanding of the aims and hopes and

personalities of each. The intense religious fervor which steeped the community; its simple, uncomplicated type of life; and the close physical contact among individuals in the work of the day, the community kitchens, the numerous church services, and even in the homes jointly occupied, all should have served to break down those artificial barriers between personalities which are the chief objections of the advocates of collective living. Here, certainly, was no lack of opportunity to understand and become acquainted with every other colonist. Moreover, the intellectual level of life was such that all believed rather implicitly in the semi-divine authority behind the community. Yet all these bonds failed to hold a minority to their duty under the collective system, and that minority proceeded to wreck the colony.

There was another disrupting factor: the desire for personal possession. It seemed to go deeper than the mere possession of an automobile, or a radio, or a bicycle, or a wrist watch, though these desires were natural enough when once they were aroused by contact with persons on the outside who did possess them. There was a desire to possess something which was the result of their own labors. Mrs. Bertha M. H. Shambaugh has been a sympathetic student of Amana for a number of years. In her book on the colonies, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, Mrs. Shambaugh touches upon the subject of personal pos-

session. "Then too," she says, "contact with the outside world had aroused in some of the strong and capable of the younger generation a real desire for the competitive struggle." This is a strange desire to find among people whose way of life is traditionally collective. It is still more strange if collective living is the boon its advocates declare it to be.

I think of my conversation with a husky young fellow one warm summer afternoon at Amana. He was busy at a routine task of manual labor, and I approached him. He seemed willing, even a little anxious, to talk to an outsider. I asked him what he thought of life under the reorganization which went into effect in 1932. "I'm all for it," he said with a slight German accent. "I was for it long before it happened."

I make no effort further to reproduce his exact words, but the gist of what he said was this: He wanted something he could call his own. He had wanted it for a long time. His ancestors and himself had worked hard for the colony, and what had they to show for it? A man wanted to be free to come and go as he pleased. And how could he do that if he had nothing of his own? A fellow, especially a young fellow like himself, didn't want to be shut up too closely with a lot of his neighbors, no matter how good they were.

I asked him how life compared under the two systems. Well, he wasn't sure but that it had been

easier under the old system. Under that system, the elders, or managers, of the community had done all the worrying. Now he had to do his own. But now, also, he owned his own house—or was buying it from the new corporation—and he could do with it as he pleased. He was willing to do some worrying on his own account provided he had something to show for it at the end of a certain period. Moreover, he wanted a chance to live like people on the "outside." He was tired of having his way of life—he didn't use that term, but it was what he meant,—cut out for him.

This statement is perhaps the most significant of any made by this earnest young fellow who was willing to talk in spite of the habitual reticence of his oldsters. The collective community had been established in 1843 so that a way of religious-emotional life might be preserved from change. Yet here was a young man who was the product of years of such life repudiating the very objective which had become traditional with him. He said nothing about the slackers or shirkers. Although he seemed to be ambitious, both in outlook and in action, the shirkers of the community who had actually brought about the reorganization were apparently not uppermost in his mind.

There was no philosophical approach to the subject in the young worker's mind. He was not interested in the finer points of the matter at all. He did not say to me that there is a possessive in-

stinct in men. He merely said that he and his friends wanted something they could call their own. He did not say there is something in men which makes them want to be free from the shackles of other personalities and perhaps not too closely bound to other personalities. He said merely that he wanted to be free to go and come as he pleased; to live his life without having to think too much about what the other fellow was doing. For him, at least, the sharp impact of personalities held no interest.

The philosophical approach came to me from a very different member of the colony. He was one of the elders, the patriarchs of the community. I shall not embarrass him by identifying him too closely. Merely let me say that he is a man whose education had been broad and whom one finds pleasant and stimulating. With his permission I set down here a statement he made particularly for my benefit as summing up the attitude of the leaders of the community. "We are firmly convinced," he said, "that the collective idea is entirely impractical for the reason that it requires too large an element of sacrifice of all personal and selfish ideas. The only way in which collectivism can be practiced is as a religious ideal or a dictatorship."

In deference to his feelings I did not press the point bearing on the religious ideal. He told me that he retained it. He intends to go on living out his life in the community, working for the com-

paratively limited income which he will receive. This he does in spite of the fact that his education and experience are such, and he is engaged in such a type of work that he might go into the "outside" and earn several times what he will receive for his services to the community. By implication he told me that many had lost the religious ideal, which was the reason the community found itself reorganized into a purely business corporation with a high-salaried sales manager from the outside. He realized the completeness with which the religious ideal was at the mercy of a minority in the community, and of course the effect that abandonment of the ideal by a minority had had upon Amana.

What caused the loss of religious idealism? He was not so sure. The possessive instinct ran counter to the ideal as it was expressed in practice at Amana. It would run counter to any collective idea, for the two were natural opposites. Would that wreck every collective effort? He could not say of course, but he felt that it must inevitably unless there was some deep-seated cause for defection which he had overlooked.

Here, it seems to me, is testimony which gets close to the heart of the collective philosophy. This man's belief, based upon his experience, was that collectivism could be made to work only as a great ideal—or under compulsion. But the ideal itself could not withstand—in the minds of at

least a minority of any group—the impact of individualism. He said nothing about the thrill of exploring the personalities of his neighbors; of breaking through the barriers which surround their personalities. There should be no barriers in a community which had been collective for eighty-nine years. If some collectivists can break down these barriers in a matter of a few months, certainly Amana should have had none.

Here I express an opinion based purely upon observation. It is not something I felt I had any right to discuss with the more discerning Amanites. But I distinctly got the impression that there were more barriers of personality in Amana than in any competitive community I had ever seen. The colonists seemed to be trying hard to throw off these barriers, but they had not succeeded. I got the impression that here were a people beset by inhibitions. They were self-conscious. The waitresses who served us our meals, the girl who acted as cashier when we paid our bill, the receptionists at the general offices, the clerks in the stores, the children who sidled toward us here and there—all these seemed to be strikingly self-conscious. They had not, in my opinion, that frankness of approach and naturalness of behavior which one might expect from the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of collectivists.

I would not knowingly do the good people of Amana the slightest injustice, but I cannot help

but record an honest impression. That impression is this: that here is a group the majority of whose youth is nervously maladjusted. (I do not like to use a stronger term.) Allowance must always be made for the effect of a stranger and outsider in any group such as this, but after making due allowance, I cannot shake that impression. The lack of expression in so many faces; the talkativeness before—though not to—strangers; the too obvious playfulness in relationships between the sexes who were thrown together in work; all these and many other indications I translate into the impression I record. If collective living breaks down personal barriers, then these things should not be.

Perhaps, by the law of averages, a community of from fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred members should not normally be expected to produce anything of value in arts in eighty-nine years. But collective living, according to its advocates, is an elixir which liberates the soul. Might not some member, freed from the competitive struggle, imbued with a great religious ideal of humility and brotherhood, have found inspiration for some great religious prose or poem? The fact is that nothing of the kind was produced.

In the face of the evidence, one is justified in wondering whether collective living is—at least after eighty-nine years—the potent tonic its advocates declare it to be.

MILLARD MILBURN RICE

Life In Amana

"Once upon a time," as the children say, a band of Germans left the fatherland, settling near Buffalo, New York. Their advancement being retarded by the rise in the value of real estate, the prosperous community removed in a body some forty years ago to Iowa County, Iowa, occupying a tract of land ten miles square.

The Amana settlement is near the Iowa River, from which extend canals, their ramifications watering the gardens and lending their force to the great mills, whose tall smokestacks are reflected in the calm waters below.

There is really but one street—a rambling affair—meeting other lanes at all possible angles. Not a soul is in sight. You learn afterward that the children are in school, the older people in the fields and mills.

There are a few brick houses in Amana, more stone ones, but the material most used is wood. Often all three are used in the construction of a single house, the result being somewhat remarkable. The style of architecture is the same throughout. Each house has its trellises of climbing rose and grapevine, reaching to the eaves and often to the very peak. The frame houses are never

painted, and years of sun and rain have left them a softened brown, in perfect harmony with the mass of foliage in which they are imbedded. In every nook are beds of foxglove, peonies, pinks, and roses without number. There are porches galore, and tiny windows, like inquisitive eyes, peeping out of the blackened roof.

Many of the houses have the heavily-barred, massive double doors, with immense brass knocker, known in our own colonial days, flanked on either side by broad, low, pew-shaped settees.

The older houses are built of sandstone, which, in color, is a mingling of every conceivable shade of brown from cream to chocolate. This was obtained in the colony, but the supply has become exhausted. There is a brick kiln, but it is not constantly worked, as they manufacture only for local use and the growth of the colony is slow.

The furniture of the house is more modern than one would be led to expect from external appearances. Since no cooking is done at home there is neither kitchen nor dining room. The long, light calico curtains are held back by tin clasps. Upon the walls are numberless mottoes in illuminated script. There is a great display of vases of dried grass and wax fruit. Everything is in pairs. The beds are very high. In the corners, behind the long, low stoves, are comfortable lounges, with numerous fat pillows. The windows are long, horizontal, prettily draped, the sills half covered by roses.

There is a tin shop, paint shop, doctor's office, meat market, harness and watchmaker's, post office and store. They are found, however, with difficulty, being scattered about the town, and in buildings differing in no wise from a private house. The sign, if there be one, is almost illegible from sun and rain. There is also a bakery, dye works, cobbler's, wine manufactory, soap manufactory, flour, calico and woolen mills. There are two large rooms in the soap establishment, in one of which we saw two great vats, half sunk in the floor, one for hard, the other for soft soap. Tar soap is also manufactured. From the vats the boiling soapy mixture is pumped into barrels, where it is allowed to cool, being sent afterward to the woolen mills.

In the woolen mills we saw all the processes which the raw material undergoes, from the time it leaves the sheep's back until it is sent from the looms as flannel blankets and dress goods of every kind and color. The thick, dark-blue flannel generally finds a constant market in the western states as shirting for miners.

We found the calico mills equally interesting. Great bolts of unbleached muslin, printed, encased and labeled, were sent forth on their mission as "Calico—Dutch Blue."

In Amana the cattle are pastured outside and driven in every night to be cared for at the six cow barns—from which the milk is distributed to the

several kitchens where churning and cheesemaking are carried on. These cow barns are immense structures, the lower half of stone, beautifully clean. No sheep are raised here, the woolen mills being supplied from the Homestead ranches.

Though the town be small and your stay lengthened, the artistic resources are inexhaustible. To those in search of rest and the genuinely picturesque it is a veritable paradise. There is a lake that covers 180 acres, and along its margins are pleasant drives and winding, shady bypaths.

To form any idea of the character of the people, you must know them thoroughly. Though courteous, it is not to strangers they reveal themselves. It is not to be wondered at that on slight acquaintance they are entirely misunderstood and misrepresented. They are remarkable for their cordiality and unaffected kindness. The children, too shy almost to lift their eyes, pause in passing to clasp our fingers for a moment. In every circumstance the people show a fineness of good breeding that is often lacking in circles where it is to be expected.

At the farthest confines of the town lie the vineyards, sloping gently toward the canal and the level lands beyond. Opposite the vineyard is the apple orchard, its trees set at wide intervals, the scent of new mown hay beneath mingling with the breath of the sweetbrier clambering over the hedge.

This hedge encloses the colony burial ground.

It is of evergreens—the only kind ever seen here—too high and thick for even a glance to penetrate. Within is neither bush, flower nor tree—only line upon line of small white headstones like corn rows, so narrow and so exactly proportioned are the spaces between. The headstones are of wood, painted white, with black lettering, some almost colorless from the onslaught of sun and rain. The name and date of death—nothing to indicate the age except the length of the hillock, over which grows the long, rank grass. The graves are placed according to the date of death, the latest dead being placed by the side of his predecessor. The earliest date we saw was in 1854. Isolated by its distance from the town, its height and green enclosure beyond reach of sight or sound, this republic of the dead lies upon the summit of a hill, strangers in a strange land, with but a name and a date, the rest known only to the heart of God.

The colonists are distinctly religious. From earliest infancy habits of reverence and of church attendance are inculcated. There is one man who has in his charge the religious affairs of the colony, although he cannot be called a minister in the general acceptance of the term. He presides over the service which is held every Saturday morning at 8:30 in the assembly room. The elders have charge of all other services. There are three places of worship, differing in no way from a house. The largest of these is a long building with four divi-

sions. The first is for children and young girls, the second for boys, the third for young people of both sexes, and the fourth for adults. There is a prayer meeting held every evening at each of the buildings. Everyone is expected to attend the place nearest his home. No distinction is made in regard to sex or age. In the bi-weekly morning services and the four on the Sabbath, these regulations are rigidly enforced.

Upon their twenty-first birthday, however, the girls are allowed to worship with the young men. They are then supposed to have reached the age of discretion. Every room is kalsomined in blue, with a strip of blue rag carpet down the aisle. The large, many-paned windows on the women's side are adorned by long, light calico curtains, held back by tin clasps. The pews are snowy white benches with a railing at the back. The women sit on one side, the men on the other. Psalms are sung, no instrument being allowed. The entire service is conducted with the greatest reverence. They are dismissed by rows, the first row on the women's side passing out first. In mixed assemblies they are seated according to age, the young people on the first seats, the patriarchs at the rear.

We sallied forth to visit the school, but alas! we reckoned on a 9 o'clock opening, whereas each small German was in his place promptly at 7. The hours are from 7 to 11:30, 12:30 to 6. They have no holidays or vacations. There are three teachers

employed—all old men. The children show the effect of careful drill. English is taught from the primaries up. The girls, always arranged on one side of the room, wear black knit caps and high-necked sleeveless aprons. The older girls discard the apron and wear a kerchief crossed in front, the ends brought around the waist and tied. At thirteen, when they are obliged to leave school, the kerchief is simply crossed and the end held in place by a black sateen apron. These dress distinctions are religiously adhered to.

The boys may go to school until their fourteenth year. They are then assigned a trade by the officers of the colony. All day pupils are obliged to knit—boys not excepted. The knitting department is in the hands of several middle-aged women, who shake hands kindly with each newcomer and pass generous slices of bread at regular intervals. The janitor work is always done by the children.

As most of the women work in the gardens, a room has been provided where the little ones may be kept during the mother's absence. This is but a single room, in charge of four women, who take turns in caring for the wee folk. Furnishings are a chair, two tiny tables, high-backed benches, a wire-screened stove, and last but not least, a good Dutch cradle, wide enough to make six children comfortable. At regular intervals, dry bread and little tincups of hot coffee are served. Outside is a wide porch with low benches and in the yard a

grape arbor ten feet square. In its shadow is a great sand pile in which the children dig.

Houses, land and livestock are common property. Each person owns his own clothing and the furniture in his house. All must work and the work of each is definitely assigned. Wages and hours are the same in every department. No piano, organ or other "needless" expenditure is permitted. There are severely enforced restrictions in regard to women's dress, and the men are obliged to go clean shaven. The women sew for themselves and the children, the colony tailor providing for the men. The school children knit all the stockings. The laundry is done in one place, the baking at another.

Girls leaving school at thirteen are placed at once in the kitchens. The first week, cooking; the second, setting tables and churning; the third, preparing vegetables. For the first year or two they are allowed their afternoons free.

In Amana proper there are sixteen kitchens, each caring for about forty persons. The unmarried men are obliged to board at the hotel. Connected with every kitchen is a garden in charge of two gardeners who have the right to ask the assistance of any other woman in the colony. There are five meals a day. Men leave the mills in instalments, so the constant coming and going gives one the idea that life is a continual scramble for something to eat.

However, it is all accomplished with the usual deliberation. No one is ever hurried, worried or careworn. Contentment rests upon every placid face. The simplicity of their lives frees them entirely from mental strain, while regular hours, plain food, simple pleasures and life in the open air tend to promote a strong physical organization.

Social lines are not sharply drawn, since no one is more cultured, more wealthy than his neighbor. So closely have they intermarried, that almost without exception, there is no family that is not connected by family ties to every other family. This engenders a clannishness, a brotherhood, that embraces every individual, follows him out into the world and draws the wanderer back.

The young people, it is true, often become discontented and leave the colony for the great world outside but they return sooner or later. Their education has not fitted them for the professions and they know little of manual labor except mill work. The Amanite's knowledge of English is limited. He is as helpless as an infant. In all his days someone has directed him, planned for him, cared for him. He drifts back to the colony, where wages are unvarying, the market steady, competition unknown, where every want is provided for, and where every man is his brother.

LULU MACCLURE

Amana

From their arrival in Iowa in the middle of the 19th Century the Amana villages have elicited frequent comments. The present issue of *The Palimpsest* contains four eyewitness accounts gleaned from a period of approximately fifty years.

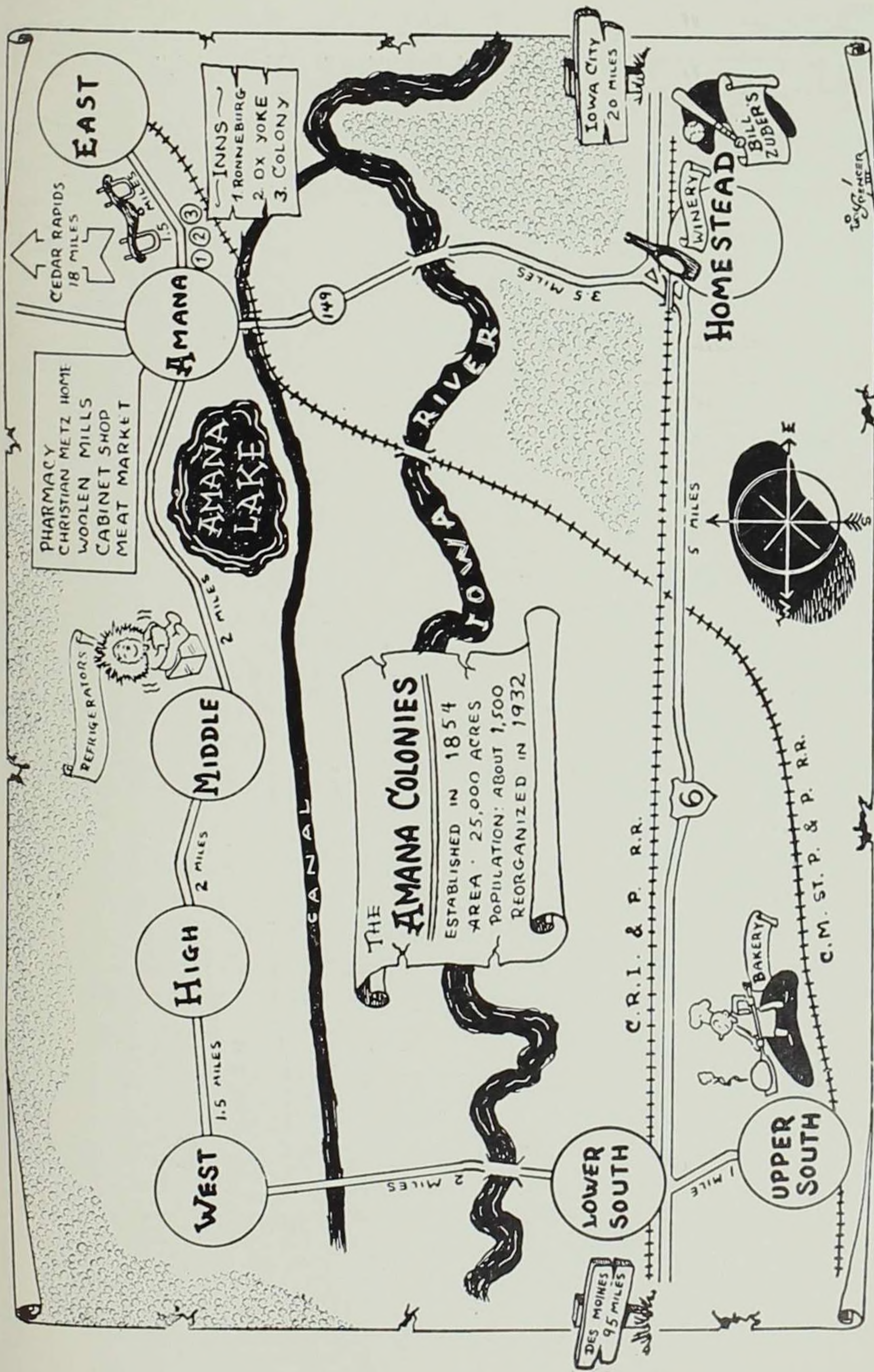
The first article is by Dr. Albert Shaw (1857-1947), who was born in Ohio but received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Grinnell College in 1879 and 1882 respectively. It was while at Grinnell that Shaw visited Amana to gather material for his "Life In the Amana Colony," which appeared in the *Chautauquan* of February, 1888. This article also appeared in 1888 in Volume VI of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies—History of Cooperation in the United States*. Albert Shaw received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1884, and subsequently was closely identified with the leading historical, political, economic, and geographic societies in the United States. He established the *Review of Reviews* in 1891 and served as its editor from its founding until 1937. His contributions to a richer understanding of America continued through a long and distinguished career that ended with his death. He is buried in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Tarrytown, New York.

The second article is by Dr. Richard T. Ely (1854-1943) who stood at the forefront of American economists for half a century. Ely served as professor of economics at Johns Hopkins—1881-1892, head of political economy at Wisconsin—1892-1925, and professor of economics at Northwestern University—1925-1933. He was one of the founders of the American Economic Association, serving as secretary from 1885 to 1892, and as president from 1899 to 1901. His books, monographs, and texts would fill a good-sized bookshelf. Ely's Amana article appeared in *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1902.

The third article on Amana is by Millard Milburn Rice who was born in Jefferson, Maryland, in 1895. Disabled during World War I, Rice moved to Idaho Springs, Colorado, where he engaged in free lance writing. He was a frequent contributor to leading magazines, specializing in political and economic subjects. His article on Amana appeared in *Harper's Magazine* in 1938.

Lulu MacClure represents the distaff side of this foursome. Her observations date back to the mid-1880's, but neither the Society's resources nor Librarian Ada Stoflet at the University of Iowa have been able to track her down. The fact that she refers to the founding of Amana forty years before she wrote her story places the period about 1885.

WILLIAM J. PETERSEN



VOTING FOR THE "GREAT CHANGE."



An Associated Press release from Homestead on May 2, 1932, reported as follows:

"A 90-year-old venture in communism gave way Monday to the capitalistic system as the Amana society became a stock corporation, operating under Iowa laws. . . . All workers whether farming, tending looms in the woolen mills, or directing the society, received the same share of food, clothing, other necessities and such luxuries as the sale of surplus goods provided . . .

"Beginning Monday, however, and during a one-year transitional period all members of the society will receive 10 cents an hour for work done, each family will have a home and garden rent free, and goods will be sold at the colony stores at cost plus handling charges . . ."

The picture above shows elderly women being helped up the church steps so they might cast their vote. The men are, left to right: Carl Eichacker, William Noc, Peter Stuck, and Dr. Henry Moershel, wearing hat.