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## Prospects for Research on the Community of True Inspiration

*By Philip E. Webber*

Review of: *The Inspirationists, 1714-1932*, edited by Peter Hoehnle. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2015. 3 volume set.<sup>1</sup>

A full table of contents for this work is available on line.<sup>2</sup> My objective is not to repeat that information, but rather to explain how material in *The Inspirationists* expands our understanding of this spiritual and social movement, and promotes further research.

Volume 1 introduces the early prophets or *Werkzeuge*<sup>3</sup> and other prominent figures from the early 1800's in the Community of True Inspiration. Hundreds of testimonies by the *Werkzeuge* and various historical compendia have been printed; material from this period continues to be identified and translated, however, and the potential for original investigation is far from exhausted.<sup>4</sup>

Hoehnle shares testimonies from some *Werkzeuge* who will be unfamiliar to many English-speaking readers (1:5). These include the French-inspired<sup>5</sup> Pott brothers (1:6, 9f.), and the female *Werkzeuge* Johanna Margaretha Melchior (1:13) and Ursula Mayer (1:38). We hope these selections will incentivize readers to become familiar with studies by European scholars on these pioneering Inspirationists.<sup>6</sup>

Ursula Mayer's language is replete with imagery of human love, motherhood, and childhood. An excellent complement to her testimonies is the scholarship by Swiss theologian Isabelle Noth on Mayer as a prophetess of "Ecstatic Pietism."<sup>7</sup>

Mayer articulates the doctrine of apokatastasis (German: *die Wiederbringung / Wiederherstellung aller Dinge*), the eventual restoration (restitution, reconstitution, return) of all things to their original state (1:41).<sup>8</sup> This belief enjoyed its own characteristic development in the eighteenth-century Pietism of southwestern Germany.<sup>9</sup>

Included in *The Inspirationists* is a poem about this doctrine by Amana's *Werkzeug*-founder, Christian Metz (3:55). Did the expectation of an eventual return of the world to its state prior to humanity's Fall lead, in some way, to a preference for life in a communal society? Amana looked to Acts 4:32-35 as a model for believers holding all things in common, and in so doing was, in fact, looking back to an earlier time before the church "fell" from an original order of selfless sharing.

In the section on early *Werkzeuge*, Hoehnle introduces Johann Carl Gleim (1:15) and Johann Adam Gruber (1.27).<sup>10</sup> Despite a rich record of his testimonies and their visibly inspired delivery (1:15), Gleim remains an understudied *Werkzeug*.<sup>11</sup> Opinions differ about the fragment of an unidentified "Eastern language" in Gleim's testimony of May 2, 1715 (1:16). Superficially reminiscent of modern-day glossolalia, closer consideration reveals that it served, in delivery of the testimony, an appreciably different function.<sup>12</sup>

At Büdingen on October 20, 1715, Gleim, Gruber and Johann Friedrich Rock (1:75), delivered twenty inspired testimonies during the celebration of a Love Feast with foot washing that lasted sixteen hours. Some of these testimonies were delivered in a trio of alternating utterances by Gleim, Gruber, and Rock.<sup>13</sup> Though not the norm, testimonies by several *Werkzeuge* on one occasion were not rare. At the Love Feast of September 24, 1716, these same three *Werkzeuge* "lifted their voices with and against one another in trumpet-like tone and then, through powerful spiritual motivation, in voices of exaltation...proclaimed the Lord's love" (1:80). Such events were possible until, with the death of Christian Metz in 1867, Barbara Heinemann Landmann became the last and sole *Werkzeug* of the Community of True Inspiration.<sup>14</sup>

Johann Adam Gruber (1:27-38) reveals himself as a man who knew the fiery ecstasy of inspiration and the desperation of feeling separated from the Friend of his soul who was his light and strength. A study is needed on the wrenching extremes of feelings expressed by Gruber and other *Werkzeuge*, as well by prophets of all ages and places.<sup>15</sup>

Another topic deserving consideration is the relationship between the Inspirationists and the Jews. A starting point might be Gruber's testimonies to the Jews of Prague (one of which appears 1:28). At a later date, the Inspirationists shared Ronneburg Castle with a small community of Jews (2:97 n. 8), and Jews and their culture appear in the dreams of Christian Metz (2:193, 2:196). Even in America, the Inspirationists took an interest

in the welfare of Europe's Jews. In 1848, Metz testified that "Christianity's seed and source" had a blessed future, and one day "the temple of God will be firmly founded" and there will be "only one true Church of the God of Israel" (3:52).

Sadly, Johann Adam Gruber's affiliation with the Inspirationists and his inspired testimonies came to a tragic end. 1726 seems to have been a year when thoughts of migrating abroad circulated among the Inspirationists in Germany. At the beginning of that year, Johann Friedrich Rock warned that a miserable end awaited any who attempted such a move before it was the Lord's time for them to do so; in due time, the faithful would enjoy divine leading to a new land (1:115). Johann Adam Gruber was unable to wait, migrated with his wife and children to America, and in December 1726 wrote to his parents recounting the tragic losses that had befallen him and his family (including the death of his children), and repenting for his impulsive act (1:71).

*The Inspirationists* offers the most testimonies by Johann Friedrich Rock ever published in English (1:75-159). Rock's personal account of his spiritual journey is available in an English translation.<sup>16</sup> He delivered some nine hundred testimonies and undertook over ninety missionary journeys.<sup>17</sup> Hoehnle's notes describe Rock's idiosyncratic style of delivery (1:76) and we have the 1745 eye-witness account of Johann Felician Clarus, a Frankfurt merchant who managed the Inspirationists' foreign business affairs (1:161).

Rock is highly quotable: one could envision something like an Inspirationist-themed calendar with selected aphorisms of this *Werkzeug* for each day of the year. "Release yourself into true and passive stillness" (1:95); "He who has the key of David shall unlock and throw wide the door to the throne of God" (1:109); regarding the Kingdom of God, "You cannot push your way in nor pull it toward you" (1:147), etc. Because the corpus of Rock material is so large, textual, stylistic, and genre studies are possible. One example: parables reminiscent of, but not identical to, those in Scripture (e.g. 1:87, 1:93).

Throughout *The Inspirationists*, we encounter more and less formal statements of faith and practice. Among early creedal statements is Eberhard Ludwig Gruber's 1715 report on a small house assembly. Gruber tells not only what those in attendance did, but why they did it, and how inspired utterances and prophesies were tested against Scripture (1:53). Johann Adam Gruber's 1716 *Twenty-Four Rules of True Godliness and Blessed*

*Life* (1:59) is still read in preparation for the Inspirationists' annual Covenant Renewal service. The 1839 *Profession of Faith* (1:281) also continues to the present day.

Communities do tend to create lists of points to observe.<sup>18</sup> In 1733, Rock composed a list of sixteen spiritual benefits that the believer enjoys both in this life and in the life to come (1:127). In 1823, Barbara Heinemann (later: Barbara Heinemann Landmann) identified five spiritual obstacles standing in the way of obedience to God's Word (1:207). Additional examples might be cited.

Other texts on topics of Inspirationist doctrine and practice are so numerous that it is impossible here to give a comprehensive overview. One of Metz's testimonies, however, deserves special note. Delivered in 1840 to recent converts who wished to learn more about the Inspirationist stance on matters such as baptism, communion, observance of holidays, the Trinity, etc. (1:268), it remains useful for anyone wishing to understand the Community of True Inspiration.

In 1866, a dream warned Metz that Amana was headed toward economic disaster. His subsequent *Rules and Regulations of the [Amana] Communities* (3:109) covered topics ranging from the need to conserve fuel and building supplies to the economic burden of hiring outside labor. Though at first glance the *Rules* appear to focus on the material welfare of the community, the Great Council [Board of Trustees] published and distributed them to the membership as an authoritative inspired testimony. Day-to-day and spiritual life in a religiously based communal society were clearly inseparable.

This last statement is essential to understanding Inspirationist history. As early as 1826, when the Inspirationists found refuge at Marienborn estate (and subsequently at other properties of benevolent land-holders) there was a movement toward communalism (1:291). The linchpin, however, was the founding in 1840 of a woolen mill and attendant enterprises by Wilhelm Mörschel and Carl Winzenried (1:291). This provided financial stability for the community, employment for its members, and a capital base when the Inspirationists migrated to the United States. The founders of this corporation also became prominent community leaders in this country, so that—as Hoehnle notes—“of the eighteen men who served as officers of the communal-era Amana Society, all but two were members of either the Winzenried or Mörschel families, demonstrating a continuity of financial control that, in a legal sense, originated with the [woolen mill]

contract of 1840” (1:292).

This is not to suggest that the Community of Prayer envisioned in 1714<sup>19</sup> or the Community of Truth proclaimed by *Werkzeug* Michael Krausert in 1717, in which God “will appear in the midst of their simplicity as a magnificent star of love” (1:189), had become more materialistic. The term “Communal Grace” (*Gemeinschaftsgnade*) is not frequently encountered in *The Inspirationists*, though expressions of the concept are ubiquitous. At the end of the communal era, Peter Stuck was following a long tradition when he called for renewed awareness of the importance of Communal Grace (3:265).<sup>20</sup> This was not merely observing common practice as a means of attaining grace. It was the particular enabling grace imparted to members living in a community according to God’s will. In fact, Stuck was well aware that the communal era was coming to a close, yet felt that reliance upon Communal Grace was as essential as ever. Exploring the nuanced meanings of Communal Grace offers the potential for major advances in understanding the Inspirationists.

One area where significant research has been carried out, but where work remains to be done, is on the hymnal used in Amana (and Zoar), the *Davidisches Psalter-Spiel* (introduction and excerpts 1:167). Hedwig (Hedda) Durnbaugh has updated previous research and published a careful analysis of the hymnal’s content and structure.<sup>21</sup> E. L. Gruber composed thirty-one hymns in the *Davidisches Psalter-Spiel*; J. A. Gruber, nine; J. F. Rock, seventeen; Christian Metz (in the final German edition), eighteen. Other Radical Pietists are also represented. Though not a specifically Inspirationist hymnal, the *Psalter-Spiel* is a rich source of texts by major figures of the Inspirationist movement.

One might expect that Metz would be represented by more texts in the *Psalter-Spiel*, since he commemorated all sorts of events by composing extemporaneous verse. As he felt his end approaching, he confessed: “I simply cannot write anymore / My ability to make rhymes is gone.”<sup>22</sup> Metz’s poetry, so vital to the author, deserves greater attention.

Metz was active in the nineteenth-century revival of Inspirationism, and became the most prolific *Werkzeug* of the movement, delivering 3,654 testimonies during his lifetime. Both a prophet and elder of the church, he also kept a diary and corresponded constantly. Much more information waits to be gleaned from the total corpus of Metz’s writings.

Metz experienced numerous dreams that both reflected and influenced his thinking. Previous analysis of dreams in Metz’s *Diary*,<sup>23</sup>

for example, might now be expanded by citing texts in *The Inspirationists*. Metz apparently had no trouble recalling his “visions in the night” (1:256). When he dreamed about an event, he had no doubt that it would happen (2:208). He worried if he only imperfectly grasped the meaning of a dream (2:228, 2:30).

When dreams involved other individuals, Metz often believed that he had gained insights into their thinking or feeling. He freely discussed his dream and their interpretation in open letters to other members of the Community (2:186, letters of May 17 and 18, 1856). These reports even included what Metz felt were insights into fellow-*Werkzeug* Barbara Heinemann Landmann. From a letter of 1856: “In a vision, I saw Sister Barbara Landmann several times. It was something like this: She had the best of intentions to do her duty but concentrated too much on single, unimportant matters and failed to realize the larger and more important things” (2:190).

Metz exhibited little of the “ecstatic” manifestations of some earlier *Werkzeuge* (3:39). At times he felt urged, almost imperceptibly, to speak (3:64); at other times, Metz waged an inner battle in yielding to the inner urging leading to the “breakthrough” as fellow-*Werkzeug* Barbara Heinemann Landmann expressed it (1:214).

His was not an easy situation: “Those, who desire to appear as *Werkzeuge*, teachers or ministers are, for the most part, deceiving themselves for they must first experience the painful purification and the un-finality of death, if they are to succeed in surviving the death and revocation of their own self during their divinely allotted time.” (3:60).

Despite concurrence that Metz was beloved, he was harsh in his own self-assessment.<sup>24</sup> He found it easier to scold than to keep matters “hidden in his heart” (2:190), and confessed “I cannot love without being stern” (2:276); too often, he believed, he had been rash with his mouth and his pen (2:205). Though averse to precipitous action, he found it better to listen to inner inclination (*innere Neigung*)<sup>25</sup> than to submit to crippling anxiety: “The spiritually hesitant are the Lord’s enemies. They reject religious awakening and deny the power of renewal.” (3:102).

The farther one reads in *The Inspirationists*, the more evident it becomes that the group’s history is one of migration and (re-)settlement: from one safe haven to another in Europe; in 1842, from Europe to the Eben-Ezer settlement outside Buffalo, New York; beginning in 1855, from New York State to Amana, Iowa. The rest of this review surveys information from

both inside and outside the Inspirationist community on its American period.

The first half of volume 2 consists of a rich selection of personal recollections, diaries, administrative documents, etc. By 1840, Metz's testimonies confirmed that the time was fast approaching for the faithful to seek a new home in America (1:273 and *passim*). Various letters from the early 1840's describe the experience of those preparing to move, or who had just done so. In 1843, Peter Hammerschmidt, a tenant farmer, outlines the challenges faced by a tenant farmer trying to satisfy his obligations in Germany before emigrating to Eben-Ezer (2:5). In the same year, Johann Phillip Beck provided terse but specific encouragement and advice in a letter home (2:23). Artist and naturalist Joseph Prestle wrote in 1843 and 1844 to his father Martin in Germany, describing the fauna and flora at Eben-Ezer (2:9). Prestle outlined just what to expect in the new homeland, and what one really did and did not need for life in America.

At this same period, Christian Metz and Wilhelm Mörschel were corresponding between Germany and America about the details of the envisioned communal society (2:1, 2:71). Charles L. Mayer, formerly with the Zoarites in Ohio, came to Eben-Ezer in 1843 (2:77) and brought the fluency in English and understanding of American culture that allowed the Inspirationists to interface with the outside world (2:27). Along with Wilhelm Mörschel and Georg Adolf Weber, he drafted the 1846 Constitution of the Eben-Ezer Society (2:27). Mayer's close association with Metz and contributions to the Inspirationist community are well-attested, and yet there is still no dedicated study of the man himself.

This was also a period of loss for Christian Metz, whose sister died in 1844 (2:83). We have a sample of Johanette's correspondence (2:85), and the testimony delivered by her brother at the funeral service (2:83-89). All this helps us to appreciate Christian Metz from another perspective.

Metz promoted the study of history, and in 1846 proclaimed, "Let nothing be lost, rather guide those of your youth who are willing and able, for the sake of a worthy pastime, to renew and transcribe, particularly that which has not been printed" (2:43). He provided a model for historical documentation in his *Historical Account* of the same year (2:45).<sup>26</sup>

About this time, we encounter the first documented interest in Eben-Ezer from outside the community. In 1847, the otherwise unidentified "G. W. H." published observations and impressions of Eben-Ezer in the Buffalo, New York, *Enquirer* (2:59). That same year, Horace Greeley shared



his assessment (2:65). As we see in Volume 3, this is the mere beginning of non-Inspirationist writings contributing to the group's historical record.

Wilhelm Mörschel, like Christian Metz, figured prominently in the early-nineteenth-century revival of Inspirationism. He experienced life in Europe, at Eben-Ezer, and in Amana. Mörschel's *Diary and Memoir* covers the years 1822-56 (2:91), and breaks off prior to his own move to Amana in 1858. Somewhat eclectic, the content of the *Diary* nevertheless covers an uncommonly broad range of topics that one can only summarize here. Beginning more than two decades prior to the Inspirationists' exodus to America and ending after the choice of Amana as the abiding American homeland, Mörschel records observations on challenges posed by the natural environment, health, income needs of the community, challenges in dealing with difficult personalities, his own change of heart about whether to come to America, the exploration (by others) of land in the Western United States, and more.

A reading of Mörschel's *Diary and Memoir* sets the stage for what follows: Gottlieb Scheuner's *History and Documents Concerning the Relocation of the Community of True Inspiration* (2:137).<sup>27</sup> Scheuner, who was Christian Metz's scribe, collected manuscript material for years, and eventually wrote most of what is regarded as "official" Inspirationist history.<sup>28</sup> The *History and Documents* opens with background on the group's search for a new location, initially in Kansas but eventually in Iowa.<sup>29</sup> For the most part, however, the *History and Documents* reproduces the correspondence between the Inspirationist leaders in Eben-Ezer and those in Iowa.

Anyone interested in economic history and the logistics of human and material resettlement will want to study Scheuner's meticulously prepared account, to which the second half of volume 2 is dedicated. No effort is spared in documenting land prices, sale negotiations, and attempts to obtain contiguous tracts of land. Community members came from Eben-Ezer to Iowa in a sequence that reflected a vision of orderly growth and development at the new site. Rational decisions dictated which machinery, materials, and personal effects were to be brought or shipped ahead, and which needed to be sold in New York State and replaced in Iowa. Revenues from sales at Eben-Ezer were not always forthcoming when cash was most needed in Iowa, and unforeseen adjustments became necessary. Policy matters of every sort received discussion, and leaders traveled between the sites as needed.

Volume 3 begins with a letter by Johann Beyer from December 1854

that summarizes successes to that point (3:1). Gottlieb Scheuner's *Memoir and Diary* for 1855-59 (3:15) deals almost entirely with day-to-day matters of communal life, rather than with the rigors of resettlement. The 1856 broadside announcing the land sale at Eben-Ezer (3:25) concludes the New York chapter of Inspirationism in America. By 1859, the Amana Society had its new Constitution and By-Laws (3:29).<sup>30</sup>

Christian Metz's testimonies 1842-67 (3:39) focus on the spiritual prerequisites needed to establish a communal society, not once but twice, in a new location. The *Werkzeug*-leader inveighs against egotism and lack of trust in God's provision, warning that "absolute power corrupts those who forsake [God's] ways and choose their own" (3:49) and seek to gratify a "selfish need for praise" (3:100). The faithful must embrace compliance, humility, and self-denial: "The Word of Inspiration is a touchstone ... that the unconverted and unrepentant find intolerable ... for often the Word of Inspiration is stern. The unconverted do not willingly endure a complete separation from their duplicity. However, this Word is a comfort to the humble and repentant who yearn for justification through Jesus Christ" (3:76).

Among texts in this section are a testimony associated with the 1854 land-exploration trip to Kansas (3:70), the hymn presented by Metz under inspiration on the occasion of naming the Iowa colony (3:72),<sup>31</sup> and the inspired testimony that inaugurated the practice, still observed today, of the Inspirationists holding their annual Covenant Renewal service on Thanksgiving Day (3:102).

There is a large selection of Civil War-era correspondence translated by Charles Mayer and forwarded to Washington, D.C. (3:79). Peter Hoehnle, editor of *The Inspirationists*, has published a singularly important analysis of the community's response to the Civil War.<sup>32</sup> It is noteworthy that Metz, who condemned commerce in human trafficking, considered the waging of war a still greater evil. There is an excellent brief overview of this correspondence in DuVal and Hoehnle's monograph on Metz.<sup>33</sup>

Volume 3 also contains selections from Georg Heinemann's continuation of Scheuner's historical compendium (3:157).<sup>34</sup> These texts outline development of facilities (a saw mill), infrastructure (a bridge), major equipment (a dredge boat for developing and improving the mill race), arrival of the Milwaukee Railroad, and more.

Of particular interest is the purchase of the town of Homestead (3:162), the only one of the seven Amana villages that predated arrival of the

Inspirationists. The unfolding process of acquiring Homestead illustrates how differing views in the matter held by *Werkzeuge* Barbara Landmann and Christian Metz were resolved in a manner that enjoyed the support of the colony leadership and allowed expansion to move ahead.<sup>35</sup>

Offsetting the chronicle of many positive developments are reports of disasters, both natural and otherwise. We read about the response to the drought of 1894 and the flooding of 1902. There are reports of numerous fires: in barns, grain elevators, and at the Middle Amana Woolen Mill (1874) and the Amana Woolen Mill (1923). It is fair to say that the community never fully recovered from the economic setback of the Amana Woolen Mill fire, and that this catastrophe was one significant factor leading to the 1932 reorganization that ended the communal system.

The remainder of volume 3 is dedicated to recorded recollections and diaries, contact with or by outside groups, and administrative documents.

The first diary is that of George Schumacher for the years 1876-81 (3:115). It presents a thoroughly unvarnished picture of life in Amana at a period that, as the editor notes, is weaker than some in documentary material. Many entries simply record the weather, marriages and funeral, food harvesting and processing, the periodic visit from outside for school inspection, a noteworthy item of world news, etc. There are also records of death by natural causes and otherwise, youthful and adult indiscretions, immoderate use of alcohol, etc. I hope that this section will be read not out of prurient or voyeuristic impulses, but rather to foster an appreciation for the greatest challenge faced by any communal society: dealing with the human nature of its members.

August Koch, one of the Amanites who continued the historical record begun by Gottlieb Scheuner, compiled his *Description of the Main Incidents that have Happened in My Life* around 1900 (3:199). It recounts the challenges overcome by a community member who was determined to pursue higher education at a time when that was not a common option. Despite difficulty in expressing himself in English, Koch eventually received a pharmacy diploma from the institution that today is University of Iowa, and subsequently learned the art of making dentures for the colonists.

The last memoir is by Henry G. Moershel<sup>36</sup> for the period 1903-04 (3:217). A physician and church elder, Moershel helped usher in the reorganization of the Amana Society. The editor lists Moershel's many offices and honors both inside and outside the Amana community. One of his contributions—deserving detailed and serious research—was the

founding in 1919 of the Homestead Welfare Club, an organization that assumed some functions once reserved for village elders, and introduced significant educational and social programs that expanded the world-view of participants.

The 1903-04 diary excerpts were written when Moershel (1891-1971) was a young adolescent. They answer, in a positive and wholesome way, any questions that one might have as to just what young people in the Amana Colonies did in those years.

Moershel appears to have approached his chores and homework with energy and interest. An inveterate diarist, he showed an early appreciation for the fountain pen, and was proud to be recognized as one of a small number of Palmer Method scholars at his school (3:238). There was normal exploration and testing in young Moershel's life, and yet he preferred to devote his free time to trapping, fishing, and other outdoor activities. He enjoyed a broad circle of friends among his peers, and through his family came to know a former German soldier who had served in China during the Boxer Rebellion and at the time was working nearby on the railroad. Life in Amana had its boundaries, but was not altogether confining and certainly not boring.

*The Inspirationists* documents contact between Amana and other communal societies,<sup>37</sup> and also between Amana and interested outsiders. The first of these is the curt response by John Beyer (1876) setting the record straight on the portrayal of life in Amana by William Alfred Hinds in the *American Socialist* and subsequently published in his best-known work, *American Communities* (3:111).<sup>38</sup> The second consists of correspondence between Shaker and Inspirationist leaders, and focuses heavily on theological issues and interpretations (3:181). The third is the record of Richard T. Ely's 1902 visit to the Amana villages, first published in the October 1902 issue of *Harper's Magazine* (3:205). It is good to have access to this latter document, as it is often overlooked in studies of Amana.

Finally, there is the record of Henry A. Wallace's 1914 visit to the Amana Society (3:245). Wallace co-founded the company that became Pioneer International, and later served as Secretary of Agriculture and as Vice President of the United States. Wallace enjoyed his contact with the people of Amana, described their special relationship to the land and its bounty, but took them to task for a system that did not realize maximum efficiency in farm operation (3:250-55). Those interested in agriculture in communal societies will want to read this.

Sad to say, Wallace draws his readers' attention to a long-standing problem in the Amana community: alcoholism, both of its members and of those who came to Amana to obtain alcohol (3:253; 3:255). According to Christian Metz, alcoholic beverages had already caused problems in Europe (2:192). The excerpts from the Great Council (i.e. Trustee) Minutes of 1883-1900 (3:125) repeatedly mention the problem, as do early twentieth-century Minutes.<sup>39</sup> In his "Essay on the Condition of the Amana Society" written in 1928, only four years before the change to a for-profit system in 1932,<sup>40</sup> Peter Stuck listed alcohol alongside such vices as self-centeredness as a noteworthy cause for the impending collapse of the communal system (3:261).

The Great Council Minutes for the early twentieth-century, as a matter of fact, list much the same concerns as they do during the last decades of the nineteenth century, e.g. whether or not to participate in civil elections, attention-catching attire and home furnishings, the ever-present danger of fire, attempts to work fewer hours than had been assigned, etc. Long before Amana voted overwhelmingly in 1932 to change from a communal to a corporate system, indifference toward communal authority and foundational values had become a serious problem.

Hence, when William Noé and Peter Stuck wrote a letter to the Amana Society membership in 1931 (3:267), they made it clear that continuation of the communal system was only possible if there were a general consensus to abide by traditional principles. There could be no use of outside day laborers to do the work that some members did not find attractive. Should that not be possible, the alternative was for each member to be responsible for individual maintenance. A plan or reorganization (3:275) outlined a system that recognized service under the communal system, and made it clear that, while the Amana Church Society would continue to remain faithful to its spiritual heritage, the new Amana Society Corporation would henceforth operate as a business. The overwhelming majority of the membership supported the plan, and soon the *Amana Society Corporation New Bulletin* (3:149) was full of information on distributive stock shares, and details about how members could bid on formerly communal property that ranged from automobiles to apiaries to the stock of various craft shops. Entrepreneurial spirit soon motivated ambitious individuals such as those who, to the present day, have guaranteed the prosperity of the Amana Colonies.

The selection of material in *The Inspirationists* is excellent, and the

annotation by Peter Hoehnle is itself a major work of scholarship. The contributions of this work far outweigh any imperfections that it may contain.<sup>41</sup> Anyone with an interest in the subject will be amply rewarded by reading and referring to this monumental work.

## Notes

1. Sections of interest are cited by volume and opening page number; items of more focused interest and exact quotes are cited by volume and specific page number.
2. When Routledge acquired Pickering and Chatto, it discontinued on-line publication of the table of contents; it can now be accessed via a title search and link on the amazon.co.uk website.
3. Sg. *Werkzeug*, literally “instrument”; under inspiration, the *Werkzeug* delivered testimonies believed to be pronouncements of God’s will, delivered in oral or written form. An attending scribe recorded the oral testimonies.  
A useful survey of testimonies, translated with historical notes, Janet W. Zuber, *The morning star: words of inspiration as presented to the Community of True Inspiration*, Middle, Iowa: Amana Church Society, 2005.  
The translations of Janet W. Zuber that appear in this three-volume work represent years of accurate work and deserve wider appreciation by scholars, whether by those focusing on the group’s religious beliefs or on its communal social structures.
4. December 14, 1714, is considered the beginning of the Inspirationist movement. On that date in Schwarzenau, Johann Adam Gruber issued an invitation to form a Community of Prayer, as confirmed by the testimony of *Werkzeug* Johann Tobias Pott. The invitation and testimony have only recently been translated for the Amana Church Society by Philip E. Webber. The earliest documents in *The Inspirationists* are a 1715 petition by Eberhard Ludwig Gruber to the Count of Ysenburg (1:1) and a 1714 testimony by August Friedrich Pott (1:9).
5. After French Protestants from the Cévennes region were defeated in the Camisard Revolt (1702-10), three of the so-called French Prophets made their way to London and eventually to Halle, Germany, where they met the Pott brothers.
6. Ulf-Michael Schneider, *Propheten der Goethezeit: Sprache, Literatur und Wirkung der Inspirierten*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995 quotes many primary sources in their original form and probes possible influences of the Inspirationists on German literary and intellectual figures.

7. Isabelle Noth, *Ekstatischer Pietismus: die Inspirationsgemeinden und ihre Prophetin Ursula Meyer (1682 - 1743)*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005.
8. The doctrine of apokatastasis is based on Biblical passages such as Acts 3:20-21, Colossians 1:19-20, etc. Some also see a connection with belief in the return of Elijah, cf. Malachi 4:4-5.
9. Friedhelm Groth, *Die „Wiederbringung aller Dinge“ im württembergischen Pietismus: theologiegeschichtliche Studien zum eschatologischen Heilsuniversalismus württembergischer Pietisten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984.
10. Johann Carl Gleim is not to be confused with the literary patron Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim. Likewise, Johann Adam Gruber is not to be confused with his father, Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, who was not a *Werkzeug*, but along with Rock is considered a co-founder of the Community of True Inspiration.
11. In addition to Hoehnle's notes, see [Johann Carl Gleim,] *Das Geschrey zur Mitternacht. Durch den Geist der Weissagung gewürket und verfindiget, und jetzo als ein Zeugniß der wahren Inspiration, jederman, absonderlich denen Glaubigen [sic], zur Prüfung und Erweckung dargelegt*, n. p.: n.p., 1715; Isabelle Noth, *Ekstatischer Pietismus*; Schneider, *Propheten der Goethezeit*.
12. James R. Dow, "Bezeugung als Sprachereignis," Akten des 7. Essener Kolloquiums über „Minoritätensprachen / Sprachminoritäten," eds. James R. Dow and Thomas Stolz, 153-68, Bochum: N. Brockmeyer, 1991, approaches this topic. I concur with Schneider's assessment, *Propheten der Goethezeit*, 58.
13. Schneider, *Propheten der Goethezeit*, 81-94.
14. An example of these last two *Werkzeuge* testifying on the same occasion is recorded in *The Inspirationists*, 1:210f. A source of information on Landmann in English is Gottlieb Scheuner, transl. Janet W. Zuber, *Barbara Heinemann Landmann Biography [and] E.L. Gruber's Teachings on Divine Inspiration, and Other Essays*, Lake Mills, Iowa: Graphic Publishing Co., 1981.
15. E.g., Jeremiah 4:19, "My bowels, my bowels! I am pained at my very heart; my heart maketh a noise in me; I cannot hold my peace, because thou hast heard, O my soul, the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war."
16. Johann Friedrich Rock, transl. Janet W. Zuber, *The Humble Way: An Autobiographical Account of God's Guidance in the Life of Br. Johann Friedrich Rock*, Amana, Iowa: Amana Church Society, 1999. In the same year, the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Rock's death, Ulf-Michael Schneider published the German text in a modern format: Johann Friedrich Rock, ed. Ulf-Michael Schneider, *Wie ihn Gott geführt und auf die Wege der Inspiration gebracht habe: autobiographische Schriften*, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999.
17. I have been unable to consult Rock's account of some of his travels: Johann Friedrich Rock, *J.J.J. aus dem Dunkelen ins helle Licht gestellt, nemlich, Bruder Johann Friedrich Rocks Reise-Beschreibung: von der Ronneburg im hochgräflich-Ysenburgischen : über Bayreuth durch Sachsen-Land bis Breslau und zurück : im Jahr*

*1723 bis im Jenner 1724 : gnädigst und wohl Gottlob! bey munteren Lebens- und Geistes-Kräften angefangen und auch beendiget : nebst denen auf der Reise geschehenen und auch übergebenen Aussprachen und Zeugnissen des Geistes der wahren Inspiration*, n.p.: n.p., 1781.

18. The Society of Separatists at Zoar (Ohio), frequently compared to Amana, had its “Twelve Principles of Separatism.” For this foundational documents on the faith of the Zoarites, see Philip E. Webber, “Jakob Sylvan’s preface to the Zoarite anthology *Die Wahre Separation, Oder Die Wiedergeburt* as an Introduction to Un(der)studied Separatists Principles,” *Communal Societies* 19, (1999): 101-128.
19. See note 5.
20. Stuck, loc. cit., refers to earlier declarations of the doctrine of Communal Grace. The term is used throughout the Trustee Minutes in a call for spiritual renewal at the communal level. See Philip E. Webber, *Minutes of the Brotherhood Council* [Board of Trustee] *Decisions 1901-1932*, Amana Church Society Archives.
21. Hedwig T. Durnbaugh, “Davidisches Psalter-Spiel der Kinder Zions,” *Communal Societies* 34/2 (2014): 151-67.
22. Cited in English translation by F. Alan DuVal and Peter Hoehnle, *Christian Metz: German-American Leader and Pioneer*, [Iowa City, Iowa]: Penfield Books, 2005, 114 and n. 85. A sample of Metz’s varied output in prose and poetry, in particular with reference to the American Civil War, appears 106-114.
23. Philip E. Webber, “The Dreams of Christian Metz, Amana’s Charismatic Founding Leader,” *Communal Societies* 22 (2002): 9-25. I do not claim any special rights to further study of Metz’s dreams.
24. For recollections of Metz’s personal traits, see DuVal and Hoehnle, *Christian Metz*, 116-130.
25. Cited in DuVal and Hoehnle, *Christian Metz*, 97-98 and note 33.
26. Metz did not spare himself in the *Historical Account*: after fathering a child out of wedlock, he faced the agonizing choice between marrying and a life of celibacy dedicated to the Lord’s work. My own opinion is that Metz’s straightforwardness helped to set the tone for subsequent Inspirationist historical writing that often reveals highly personal information.
27. The manuscript of this text is from 1866. It was translated by Peter Stuck and published in the *Amana Society Bulletin* 24. See the editor’s introduction (2:137) for details in publication of the *Bulletin*.
28. Scheuner’s original *Inspirations-Historie* went through 1867. Much of this is available in English: Gottlieb Scheuner, transl. Janet W. Zuber, *Inspirations-Historie* [History in some databases], 3 vols. (1714-1728, 1729-1817, 1817-1850), Amana, Iowa: Amana Church Society, 1977-1987. Later addenda in German by church leaders Georg Heinemann (3:157), Peter Stuck, and August F. Koch exist variously in printed, manuscript, and typescript form.



Some lacunae are filled for English readers by Zuber, *The Morning Star*, and by Zuber et al., *Inspired by God's word: early writings, inspired testimony and the biography of Eberhard Ludwig Gruber from the Community of True Inspiration, 1714-2014*, Amana, Iowa: Amana Church Society, 2013.

29. See also DuVal and Hoehnle, *Christian Metz*, 81-91.
30. The Constitution and By-Laws were amended in 1919 and 1930.
31. Originally, the name was to be *Bleibtreu*, "remain faithful." Due to misunderstanding and distortion of *Bleibtreu* by non-speakers of German, it was decided that Amana "believe faithfully" (Song of Solomon 4:8) would be the better choice.
32. See the analysis of Peter Hoehnle, "With Malice toward None: The Inspirationist Response to the Civil War, 1860-1865", *Communal Studies* 18 (1998), 62-18. For comparison with the reaction of another communal society to the Civil War, see Philip E. Webber, *Zeal in the Civil War*, Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2008.
33. DuVal and Hoehnle, *Christian Metz*, 106-09.
34. See note 29.
35. See also DuVal and Hoehnle, *Christian Metz* 105-7 and notes 57-61.
36. During his lifetime, Moershel consistently used the anglicized form of the family name Mörschel.
37. See the analysis of Peter Hoehnle, "Communal Bonds: Contact between the Amana Society and Other Communal. Groups, 1843-1932," *Communal Societies* 20 (2000), 59-80.
38. William Alfred Hinds, *American Communities: Brief Sketches of Economy, Zeal, Bethel, Aurora, Amana, Icaria, the Shakers, Oneida, Wallingford, and the Brotherhood of the New Life*, Oneida, N.Y.: Office of the American Socialist, 1878 and subsequently republished.
39. Webber, *Minutes of the Brotherhood Council Decisions 1901-1932*.
40. "The Change" is common parlance by Amanites and those familiar with them.
41. My only criticism is that, at spots, the copy editor needed to be more careful. Let that individual who has crafted an opus of this magnitude without error cast the first stone.