The College at Brockport: State University of New York
Digital Commons @Brockport

Education and Human Development Master's Theses

Education and Human Development

8-2007

The Ebenezers, 1843-1859

Elizabeth A. Dilcher
The College at Brockport

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.brockport.edu/ehd_theses

Part of the Education Commons

To learn more about our programs visit: http://www.brockport.edu/ehd/

Repository Citation
Dilcher, Elizabeth A., "The Ebenezers, 1843-1859" (2007). *Education and Human Development Master's Theses*. 396.
http://digitalcommons.brockport.edu/ehd_theses/396

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Education and Human Development at Digital Commons @Brockport. It has been accepted for inclusion in Education and Human Development Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @Brockport. For more information, please contact kmyers@brockport.edu.

The Ebenezers, 1843-1859

by

Elizabeth A. Dilcher
August 2007

A thesis submitted to the Department of Education and Human Development of the State University of New York College at Brockport in partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Education

The Ebenezers, 1843-1859

by

Elizabeth A. Dilcher

Approved by:

Mary E. Crary 8/6/07

Advisor Date

Director, Graduate Studies 8/16/07

Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page 1

Signature Page 2

Table of Contents 3

Abstract.....4

Part I.....5

Part II.....48

Part III.....71

Endnotes.....120

Bibliography.....141

Abstract

Students of history are actively engaged in processes and meanings of memory, heritage and history. The differences between memory, heritage and history generate constructive conflict and inquiry about the past. Contextualization and corroboration of primary sources accesses the past. Contextualization and corroboration of inquiry primary sources, as with other primary sources, informs understandings about the past. Construction of a webpage using primary sources of memory, heritage, history, and contextualized and corroborated inquiry may provide one model for inquiry within memory, heritage, and history.

Part I

The experiences of the Ebenezers, a German pietist group fostered my interest in examining the intersection of inquiry with memory, heritage and history. The Ebenezers, whose beginnings as a sect stem from the 17th century, migrated throughout Europe in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. During the nineteenth century the Community migrated to North American, in Erie County, New York, near Buffalo as well as historic Welland County in the province of Ontario, Canada. Primary and secondary sources were available on the Internet as well as scholarly journals. Additionally, members of the Community, today established at the Amana Colonies in Iowa also provided information and a lithograph, *Wanderung* by Joseph Prestele (circa 1850) that served as a mind-map of abiding ties throughout the Communities' migratory experiences. Part I is a critical review of scholarly literature about the Ebenezers within German trans-Atlantic migratory experience. Part II is original research from primary and secondary scholarly sources. This research is intended to utilize local historical primary and secondary sources to explore and inform the larger framework of trans-Atlantic migration. Part III is a prototype of open-access topic online museum, as a webpage, intended to extend both inquiry and research on the Community.

Historian A. G. Roeber's analysis of immigration studies found that historical migratory studies, interest in immigration and social history of the eighteenth century produced many studies of the English, Scots, Dutch and African-Americans but a lack of work on German-speaking colonists by German historians. There is little about German immigration and settlement outside of the Middle Colonies. [1] Work by German historians

contributing to the bicentennial of the American Revolution was not mirrored by definitive new work on the tri-centennial of German immigration. [2]

German reluctance to address immigration and social history stems from the growth and changes of German social and legal history. That issue emerges past emigrant numbers, flow, and composition of group to the controversies associated with the word culture, in idea, transfer, and adaptation. [3] The two approaches by German historians to German transnational migration are deceptively simple: the microscopic local study, now largely ignored, contained within Albrecht Strobel's work on agricultural policy in Baden and the second prevalent strain, macroscopic, tracing demographic and economic trends over time, of Wolfgang von Hippel. [4]

Within Strobel's work are local and regional traditions with which to clarify understandings of how and to what extent German ways were transferred. Strobel's approach is pioneering and hesitant and contains a sobering lesson about the capacity of the historical tragedy of the Nationalist Socialist Party to control historians, impacting how they write history. Strobel examined the growth of state interest in agricultural reform, the nature of local politics, and peasant land use and custom in eighteenth century Baden. His inquiry used an approach into village and regional customs, practices, and traditions and concentrated on a period of time different from those favored by mainstream historians of German social history. [5] Strobel's essay is almost alone in looking at the issue of local customs and practices and focusing on the eighteenth century. There is a lack of village studies of socioeconomic, religious, and demographic pressures that brought about emigration to America. [6]

Another German historian Hans-Volkmar Findeisen examined church and court records to assess relationships between village customs, pressures of land scarcity and overpopulation, and social criticism hurled at the state and the established church using folk pietism. [7] The pull of economic stability or betterment against the tug of culture, values, customs, kinship, and religious sentiment appears a sensible and familiar framework for examination by American historian was not used by German historians. [8]

Von Hippel explored poverty, emancipation of the peasants, and the onset of industrialization in the German state of Wurttemberg, using quantitative analyses of social, demographic, and economic data, revealing the limited scope of questions using the macroscopic methods of the Heidelberg school, compared to microscopic methods. [9]

German social history had blossomed earlier in the 1920's. [10] Research questions were directed into legal, agrarian and social history. Politically conservative historians at the university of Konigsberg and Jena were interested in Prussia's growth or medieval German settlement patterns. Despite conservative strains, historians did not support the Nationalist Socialist party, from offers of patronage for ideological social history research. 757 Nationalist Socialist propagandists emphasized specific, selected German folk rituals and customs and appropriated insights and techniques of German historians. Because of association with the Nationalist Socialist agenda, folk studies faded from historical inquiry. German social history could not undo the damage of the Nationalist Socialist party. Regional history fell into disrepute as did folk history, village legal history, village custom history and history of uses of village law and custom. The need to address controversial political issues shaped the landscape of mainline German social history. [11] By the 1960's German social history had distanced itself from the study of

local and regional folk society and culture. Issues sprang from the politically safe and temporally remote medieval village, avoiding questions of folk customs or definition culture and its transfer. [12] Little attention was directed to eighteenth-century German social history. Political questions of absolutism, constitutionalism, representation, and the collapse of the Napoleanic era took precedence. Historical questions were studied as preludes to German nationalism. Research on the eighteenth century in Germany remained on political and constitutional questions. [13]

Von Hippel addresses the dimensions of nineteenth century social and emigration history, and reflects the inquiry topics of the Heidelberg school. German social history of demographic increase, agricultural practices and reforms, and the relationship of both to poverty, famine, and the changing status of peasantry follow quantitative methods and exclude examination of German cultural meaning. [14]

The movement of Germans to America was part of a broader migration of people to North America. Roeber agrees with historian Hans Fenske that the central cause of German migration was not the agrarian policies of rulers in the German southwest, or the weather, or overpopulation. It was the letters written by emigrants and edited by promoters of emigration- the pull on ill-informed subjects- that outweighed push factors of poor crops, overpopulation, lack of work, or government harassment. Issues of land partition within broader concerns of property comprised the significant issues which the pull of the letters was addressed. The substance of the propaganda of the letters and the editing was the promise of economic and social betterment. Local and regional cultural values and the impact on stories about the New World defined by local and regional values do not appear central in Fenske's pull or von Hippel's push. [15]

Von Hippel's work systemically searched regional archival materials, quantifying data for origin, occupation, age of individuals, family structure, wealth, and estimates of real numbers of emigrants as compared to official counts. Von Hippel related German emigration inside the movement of peoples from Europe to America, concluding that work and poor diet were the principal motivations for emigration. Von Hippel addresses less attention to the propaganda pull than the social and economic push factors. Von Hippel does regard the private letters and professional agents who stirred up interest in America as significant in Prussia, more than the social and economic factors.[16] Roeber found that the push factors operated as generators of emigration currents that ran along conduits of the pull factors of letters and propanda. Von Hippel did not address religious controversy, property disputes and criminal property misbehavior. Additionally, the ducal government, embarrassed by the migratory numbers, ordered the destruction of official records related to emigration. In contrast, the survival of Nurtingen District records, within Wurttemberg, dominates present day conceptions of eighteenth-century Wurttemberg emigration. [17]

For those who stayed behind, life changed. Emigration relieved pressures of overpopulation on subsistence economies. Only emigration, military service, and growing artisan occupations saved Wurttemburg from social chaos. Von Hippel's work reveals class composition of emigrant villages. Migrants were not from the poorest classes; artisans and propertied peasants emigrated. [18]

Germans emigrating for religious reasons were a diverse group. The world of the Mennonites and Amish, examined by Don Yoder, Klaus Wust, and Leo Schelbert, comprise a minority. It was not sectarians but church Lutherans and Reformed Lutherans

who made up the majority of immigrants. The focus on questions of cultural transfer within sectarian communities contrasts with the lack of attention toward the attitudes, values, customs, and memories that Wurttembergers did or did not carry to America. Lacking that information, it is not possible to fully evaluate how the pull of letters and propaganda by Germans in America operated relative to the cultural values held by the former family and neighbors who remained. [19]

Patterns of land use within southern Germany, inheritance, local customs, values, and attitudes comprise the work of Werner Hacker. Hacker's work reveals trails of hemispheric travels by Germans to Hungary, Poland, Prussia, Russia, France, as well as North and South America. His work focused on the social and cultural context of village life recorded by local officials describing the social and economic conditions of emigrants as well as their political and moral conduct. Hacker includes occupations, religion, marital status, and value of personal and real properties.[20] Hacker shows that large groups of families and neighbors traveled together and arrived at the destination together. Comparisons of Hacker's work to local records of church records, tax lists, wills, estate inventories, and deeds show that groups of German emigrants reestablished ties as immigrants, preserving kinship and social ties. Breaks of personal ties in transit were temporary while social and economic ties were dually retained. Germans in America used their home experiences to property in either sending money, powers of attorney, or various converting retained properties in Germany into cash for additional kin and community members to come to America. [21] The pattern of group emigration and settlement was not unique to southwestern Germany. In northern Kraichgau, historian

Annette Kunselman Burgert found large numbers of migrants left together and settled together. [22]

Studies of Wurttemburg migration have not integrated broad patterns of demographic and economic approaches of von Hippel and the Heidelberg school with local research of folk and village customs, advocated by Strobel. This holds for Hesse as well. Hessian emigration has been considered from a different perspective by historian Wolf-Heino Struck who suggested a three stage pattern, rather than the continuous process of emigration of von Hippel. Struck, unconvinced of economic and social conditions accounting for emigration, emphasized writings, maps, and drawings of the transition to America produced by Hessians as prints and lithographs. In the first of the three periods, the 1540's, Hessians contributed to literature about Columbus' explorations. In the second period, to 1800, Hessian lands were broken apart, as were other Holy Roman Empire Lands, with pull of writings and propaganda balanced equally with economic and political change influencing emigration. The third stage, in the nineteenth century, found writings significantly decreased, migrants had forgotten village sayings and songs about the land of opportunity. [23] Von Hippel looked for the same economic and social conditions for Hessian emigration as Wurttemberg. The west-central state of Hesse had social, legal, and religious traditions different from Wurttemberg. Historian Charles Ingrao's work on emigration from Hesse demonstrates that Hessian leaders showed admiration for Prussian military efficiency in policies protecting peasant lands from the nobility, sending younger sons into military service and preventing fragmentation of small land holdings. Ingrao's work invited further examination of conceptions of family and community land and government policies for social stability as

push factors contingent with pull factors of portrayals of North America in private and published sources.[24]

The tragedy of National Socialism split the work of German historians into two camps of mainstream political and economic history and the work of folklorists. Social historians of the Heidelberg school, using quantitative analysis of aggregate regional data, led them away from studies of the eighteenth century that may have permitted examination of family and village culture.[25] The political perspective of the eighteenth century emerged, but the social upheaval following the Thirty Years' War contrasted with the political and constitutional history as a prelude to the Napoleanic era and nationalism. Emigration studies of the nineteenth century cannot move past Fenske's push-pull theories. Additionally, the concept of a core German experience appears untenable from the lack of number and type of village cultural studies. The concept of pull (factors) lacks analytical precision because it does not use local cultural studies. Push and pull has pointed exclusively to economic and political pressures and attractions, with little regard for the local cultural contexts experienced and understood by German emigrants, from Wurttemberg and Hesse.[26]

The separation of local social history from quantitative aggregate analysis precludes examination of the transfer of culture. To analyze and use push-pull, immigration history will have to be integrated with social and cultural histories suggested by Strobel. Roeber finds three lines of potential inquiry: first the function and significance of language and language making. Words carry metaphors of experience and meaning for peoples: dialog primary sources present possibilities for discourse. Concepts and words are not infinitely transportable. To infer from letters and particularly pull

propaganda of the edited letters about German emigration experience may be erroneous in three ways. First, bitter disputes over education for children and the transfer of state education language, language making, and meaning of language led to splintered proliferated forms of education. Second, disputes in the language and meaning of church worship and evolving language and meaning within clandestine religious meetings in Germany, led to new forms of worship and worship language. Third, the dynamic and fluid property and business language adaptation between Germans, German-Americans immigrants, and settled German-Americans led to local associations and groups. In America, oral histories indicate by 1820 that German words and meaning comprised a kitchen language, because elemental cultural experiences and meanings were especially difficult to transfer into English.[27]

A second area of inquiry is property rights and transmission. German emigrants experienced property issues and legal options for release from state obligations. Families and communities in German states knew local customs, rights, and law. Transition to North America did not obscure that interest. Migration intensified determination to secure property. Facing the barrier of American law and language that was dynamic as well as technical, many Germans used their pastors as intermediaries.[28]

Roeber then identified the third area for inquiry: religious leaders and the values of religious communities. Sectarian and church Germans shared by degrees the tradition of European pietism. The doctrine of pietism and the social and cultural ramifications in German communities and associations in America fostered the struggle to reconcile property rights with pietist beliefs about worldliness within church and Reformed Lutheran communities. [29]

The connection of the cultural systems of language, custom and religion illuminated the world of late eighteen and early nineteenth century communities migrating from Wurttemberg and Hesse. Equally important, migration led to issues, opportunities and problems within rearranged relationships and values within the communities the migrants left. German migratory experiences from Wurttemberg and Hesse cannot be answered solely from local studies within North America. Roeber found the eighteenth century interpretative framework of cultural conceptions and experiences survived migration and configure to reconfigure both Germany and North America. [30]

Historian Walter Grossman analysis provides a religious portrait of the Community. The religious community of the True Inspired at Amana, Iowa recognizes its beginnings in two founders, the Wurttemberg theologian Eberhard Ludwig Gruber and a saddler, Johann Friedrich Rock. Gruber provided religious and organizational leadership while Rock was endowed with the gift of inspiration that characterized German pietist religious experience in the early eighteenth century. [31] Jews and Christians claiming the gift of prophecy had to prove they were inspired by God and not the victims or perpetrators of self-deceit or evil. [32] The outpouring of prophetic utterances in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were accompanied by controversial writings, prints, and lithographs among radical German Pietists, English Puritans, and French Protestants. [33] The lives of Gruber and Rock were influenced by French prophecy during the persecution of Protestants by the government of Louis XIV. [34] In 1685, the government of Louis XIV changed policy from suppression of Protestantism to stamping out the Reformed Church entirely. The government destroyed houses of worship and imprisoned ministers. The majority of Protestants adjured their faith and converted to Catholicism.

In the atmosphere of extreme duress, an epidemic of prophetism spread. Under divine inspiration, prophetism became the voice that guided resistance. 374 In Germany, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, inspiration spread through a personal network of missionary travelers, in that tradition of the French prophets. [35]

In German states, the work of German theologian Phillip Jacob Spener intended to deepen religious life. Increasingly divergent radical practices and teachings emerged, multiplied and radical Pietism took shape. Radical Pietists differed widely among themselves on specific issues and forms of worship, but were united in the desire to regain simplicity and spirit of care and community they believed characterized the first Christian community. The circulation of printed documents in text and image drove an atmosphere of expectation by mystics, spiritualists, and community members. They recognized inner illumination as the work of the Holy Spirit and wished the voice of conscience to take precedence over the order of the state's religious services. Unlike Pietists, radical Pietists separated from the established Church. Radical Pietists were convinced they could not compromise. In many cases, radical Pietists did not seek actual separation but were excluded by dislocations, fines, and punishments. [36]

Proceedings against Gruber by the Consistory, one of two administrative and policy bodies of the Wurttemberg Church, led to a vote within the Consistory for his dismissal for chiliasm, a belief in a coming ideal society, one created by revolutionary action. The charges included Gruber's use of harsh words that alienated peasants, changing the formula of confession, and giving private conventicles after official interdiction. From Gruber's point of view, he had not substantively departed from the fundamental teachings of the Lutheran Church. His patent of departure from the

Consistory in dismissal carried recommendations and good wishes. Later, the Consistory passed the *General Reskript* an act intended to prevent all separatist conventicles. [37]

Following the *General Reskript*, an active religious network developed among the radical Pietists. The individual's spirituality and aspirations were respected above all. The radical Pietist chose according to his/her own inclinations which spiritual imagery would best nourish spiritual life. [38] Gruber and his family with Rock and his mother settled in Himbach in Marienborn, one of few areas where radical Pietist religious life was allowed to flourish. Here Gruber wrote a treatise called the *"inner word"*. It remained an important work for the community of the True Inspired, reprinted in English as recently as 1981, in Amana, Iowa. [39] The *"inner word"* consists of forty-one questions that prepare for concise answers. References to the Bible are listed and quoted. The "*inner word*" was "nothing other than the immediate, friendly speech (talk) of God in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit with his children and all truly faithful in the most inward depth of their soul for their daily instruction and their eternal salvation". 372 Gruber stated the sources for the "*inner word*" are Holy Scriptures and experience. The "*inner word*" is not a new gospel. Gruber assigned the "*outer word*", Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha double roles as sources for the concept of the "*inner word*" and as authority supporting the "*inner word*". Closeness to God gives the "*inner word*" its elevated position. Experience of inspiration gave it authority alongside the Bible. The central element of the "*inner word*" was not to be confined to the apostles. Those who possessed the "*inner word*" in post-apostolic times share with the apostles, the prophets, the authors of the Holy Scriptures both closeness to God and experience. [40]

The gift of inspiration was given second-hand to Gruber's son Johann and to Rock through people who had been in contact with exiled French Protestants. According to *Short History of Inspiration* seventeen members of the community of the True Inspired gathered in Gruber's house to see whether they truly were instruments of inspiration. The starting point was a revelation by each person as to the disposition of their heart, giving an indication of self-awareness of spiritual condition. An opponent of the French prophetic epidemic, Gruber distinguished between true and false voices. The community of the True Inspired differed from the French prophets by testing those claiming to have prophetic gifts. Gruber believed he had received that task from God and carried the responsibility until his death in 1728. The struggles over true inspiration occupied the community more than any other issue in the first year. By accepting restraints and obedience to a communal order, formalized in Budingen on July 6, 1716, the community was able to overcome the danger of division from individualism and anarchic radical spiritualism. [41] After May 1716, informal prayer meetings were organized into ten communities. Gruber held up the community of persecuted Cevennes Hugenots as the ideal community receiving the gift of inspiration, describing it as "United in harmonious praying and struggling, in truly seeking God and therefore ready to bear the contempt and affliction of the world, indeed to train themselves diligently throughout their lives to follow Christ". [42]

Gruber's *Colloquy* addresses two passages from the letters of Paul cited as evidence that women must be excluded from ministry, writing the passages do not apply to women to whom the gift is given and arguing for women to speak. The new prophets of the communities used the strategies of the French prophets. Parties of messengers, or

missionaries, were small groups of unmarried men and women, citing Wisdom (Wisdom, 8:7). [43]

The message and behavior of the Quakers in the mid-seventeenth century, the Cevennes Huguenot prophets, and the descendants of the Cevennes prophets, the True Inspired, were condemned. Gruber addressed the difficult task of understanding the ecstatic behavior of the messengers-instruments, in three ways. First, precedent can be found in both the Old and New Testament. Second, Gruber gave a description of the behavior of the instruments. Third, he provides an analysis of the instruments. Gruber's analysis came from Biblical sources, as did his analogous examples. However, he did not use the traditional hierarchical dichotomy associating the body with the outward and the soul with the inner, nobler part of humanity. Rather, the harmony between movements, choice of words, and content are the proofs of true inspiration. [44]

A secular examination by historian David A. Gerber provides additional meanings. In 1613 the Prussian royal family converted to Calvinism while subjects remained within the state-regulated Lutheran church. A pious theologian, Frederick William III found his subjects to be followers of false rationalism, religious indifference, and the secularism of the Enlightenment. Committed to national regeneration, he found that unity was blocked by a lack of religiosity and the religious gulf between monarch and subject. In 1817, he proclaimed the merger of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. The majority of the people accepted. For a small group, known later as Old Lutherans for their wish to retain the doctrine of the Lutheran Confessions, the ruling was a challenge of conscience into reluctant disobedience and exile to the United States. [45] Within the vastly different social environment of the United States, unity of purpose and conscience

could not be maintained for the majority of the Old Lutheran immigrants. Social, cultural, and emotional strains of exile proved fatal to efforts to reconstruct community under years of persecution in Prussia. The Community of the True Inspiration, of Erie County, contradicts this larger context and reveals strains in both failure and success in making a community in the United States.[46]

Gerber's model of social, cultural, and psychological experience contradicts Handlin's work in *The Uprooted,* of the immigrant experience as uprooted, isolated, and alienated from self, family, and society.[47] Gerber examined the discontinuities of migration and found that Old Lutherans were not immigrants but exiles, not pulled to the United States and Canada, but pushed from the Germanic states. The problems of analysis and interpretation differ from those of voluntary migrants.[48] The Old Lutheran experience raises questions of inferences of continuity and ease of adjustment from outer/outside regularities and regulators of social behavior. Old Lutheran communities of self-conscious exiles energetically began a process of social integration within their communities on arrival. They built communal institutions of churches, constitutions, elder councils, schools, and economic advisory councils that morally, socially, culturally, and politically organized communal life using elder and trustee decisions, establishing themselves in small groups within villages, home-dwellings, linked occupations, kinship groups and family networks. Many Old Lutheran groups, on another level, were fatally divided against themselves. They struggled to orient communal life through their recognition that old habits, values, and meanings were untenable in the face of unanticipated freedom in complex societies.[49]

Old Lutheranism resonated with a particular section of society with a particular historical experience. The Old Lutherans within Prussia were pietistic and biblical literalists, distinctive in religious fervor and in their effort to merge inner moral reform with Lutheran confessionalism. Old Lutherans often represented the working peasant order. Over 60% were farmers, over 35 % were artisans. The remainder were governmental, commercial, and professional workers. [50] People of small means, many Old Lutherans were unable to migrate to the United States or Canada, perhaps within Europe, as well, without going into debt. Others, after selling their possessions for the price of a ticket, had little for passage provisions and resettlement. The majority of Old Lutherans were little more than literate, however, many artisans were self-taught intellectuals given to theological disputation with state authorities. [51] Laymen and underground pastors risked having their properties seized. Families refusing state education, for fear of indoctrination, had the choice of special instruction by designated clergy or paying high penalties. [52]

The possibility of emigration began in 1836. A very few Old Lutherans had left by that time to seek religious liberty in the United States. [53] The image that develops of the emigration of Old Lutherans is of order, unity and piety. Many Germans who witnessed public displays of hymn signing during Old Lutheran trips to emigration ports regarded the public displays with deep suspicion and distrust, as they heard the pietists claim they must emigrate out of enlightened Protestant Prussia for their beliefs. [54] Immigrants had begun writing, by December 1835, to their former communities in Prussia of the advantages of prosperity and freedom of conscience in the United States.

In Buffalo, Johann Andreas August Grabau led the Lutheran Synod in the Trinity Lutheran Church. Grabau contrasts with Shambaugh's narrative of Community of the True Inspiration leaders Chrisian Metz and Barbara Heinemann. There Grabau ruled with unbounded power for many troubled years. [55] Persecution and separation of pastors from congregations in Germany and during the passage to the United States led to fears of Grabau's of pastors losing control in religious matters. Also, the United States was fluid, pluralistic, democratic, and materialistic. To Old Lutheran leader Grabau, little appeared stable, with liberty degenerating into license. In 1830 to the end of the 1840's, Buffalo and the United States were in the midst of a deep depression with mass unemployment and economic speculation. Buffalo, with a significant population of Germans, took on a ramshackle look and appeared as a mix of raw frontier outpost and cosmopolitan commercial metropolis. [56] As these perceptions grew in Grabau's thinking and within his followers, a pattern of distrust of American culture and society developed. The alienation of the Old Lutherans from the surrounding world intensified. [57] In the 1850's, Grabau battled liberals, secularists, and "forty-eighter" refugees among the population of Buffalo German immigrants, especially among the working class. [58] Grabau's authoritarianism and hierarchicalism did not mesh with the republican and democratic aspirations of American culture in Erie County. Distrustful of lay culture, Grabau crushed it using a form of excommunication called the ban, the public expulsion from the church and Christian society, alienating congregants striving for civil and political liberties, as citizens possessing rights within the dynamic American culture. [59] By 1839, another Old Lutheran leader, August Kavel, worked with an Australian synod at Glen Osmond to produce the Apostolic Constitution, or basic law for Old Lutheran refugee communities.

The document was intended to check Grabau-style one-man rule besetting communities in Buffalo. Congregational life was to be in the hands of elected Elders of an individual church. By 1846, Old Lutherans had well-developed and tested rules supported by church-endowed legitimacy on marriage (endogamy) and balancing church and state interests, mandatory church schooling funded by all community members, civil courts, elder-controlled church courts; admission for new members, ordination, excommunication, and debts between community members. American and Australian Old Lutheran communities' growth led to battles in civil courts over church holdings, preventing Old Lutheran hopes for independence from state authority in ecclesiastical affairs. [60]

Gerber finds that a common thread in American and Australian Old Lutheran experience is the experience of exile, estrangement, and alienation, the result of the breakdown of the normative order where the familiar no longer applies, and social groups are torn apart. In neither America nor Australia were the exiles able to sustain unity and clarity of purpose and belief under the reign of Prussian repression and persecution. The brittleness of their beliefs, customs, and institutions degenerated in severe testing within freer social environments. The self-determination they sought in leaving Prussia proved the undoing of institutions, customs, and beliefs they initially sought to defend and preserve. [61]

Local history, in this case written by Community member Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, informs understandings of the Community. The Community of the True Inspiration has origins in the German Pietism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a sect, it dates from 1714 with the writings and teachings of Eberhard Ludwig Gruber

and Johann Friedrich Rock. Gruber, a Lutheran clergyman had denounced forms of organization and practice within the Lutheran Church following the Reformation. Rock was the child of a Lutheran clergyman. They studied the Pietism of Spener, believing in the Inspiration of the Bible. Divine guidance came through the words and acts of select individuals endowed by God with the gift of Inspiration. Through the select *Werzeuge*, or Instrument, God testified and spoke directly to the two believers. [62] Rock and Gruber were accompanied by a *Schreiber*, or Scribe, who recorded the words of the Werkzeug under Inspiration. The recorded words and testimonies (*Zeugnisse*, *Bezeugnisse*, or *Bezeugungen*) are regarded as equal authority with the Bible. Gruber wrote of both true and false Inspiration. Many people considered themselves Instruments of God. A committee, established to examine those individuals, recorded many instances of false Inspiration with subsequent condemnation. [63]

Gruber and Rock traveled through Germany, Switzerland and Holland establishing small congregations. The small groups spoke against the formality of orthodox Lutheranism as well as opposition to various political states in Germany, as well as Holland and Switzerland in refusing military duty and state oaths. [64] Other small communities in German states refused to send their children to public schools, conducted by Lutheran clergy. Members complied with support in taxes and fees and paid fines for non-compliance. The non-compliance of state and church led to prosecution, and persecution in bodily injuries, imprisonment, and loss of properties. [65]

After the deaths of Gruber and Rock, Inspiration ceased. [66] The small communities declined as the original members died and the following generation fell back into the ways of the wider world outside of the communities. This period, at the

beginning of the nineteenth century, was known as the Decline. Although the communities assembled, they did not evidence experience in Inspiration. In the relative tolerance of the German states, Holland, and Switzerland, the established communities no longer endured struggle and trials of religious conscience and practice. The communities elected to struggle for material stability and prosperity over Inspiration during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. Europe suffered war, destruction, and drought and low crop production. For the communities journeying and correspondence stopped and works of grace consisted of "a few fragments and brief remarks". [67] The Decline continued until 1817 when prophesied revival came in the words of Michael Krausert. [68]

A journeyman tailor, Krausert was joined a few months later by Barbara Heinemann, a servant maid. Krausert appears to have suffered persecution the accompanied the revival of the radical unorthodox doctrines of Inspiration. Krausert showed "fear of men" at his trial at Bergzabern and appeared timid before hostile Inspirationist Elders, before he was chastened. He therefore apparently lost his guidance. Astray from divine guidance and with the mercy of God, he fell back into the world. [69] After Krausert's fall, the spiritual affairs were taken over by Barbara Heinemann and Christian Metz, who carried on the works of *Werkzeuge*, in the same way as Rock and Gruber. Although Krausert is recognized for his part in the Reawakening, Metz and Heinemann became the leaders of the Reawakening. [70]

Heinemann, born outside the Community into poverty, was sent to work in a local factory spinning wool at the age of eight. [71] Heinemann had difficulty with the Elders of the Community as *eine ganz geringe und ungelehrte Magd* (a completely small and

unscholarly farm servant). Opposition by Elders banished her to her birthplace. However, after she had been "strengthened and endowed by the Lord...the great wild monster called Dissension" was driven away from the Community and "true harmony" restored between Community members. [72] As an adult, the "Enemy" tempted Heinemann to marry George Landmann, a school-teacher, but God's guidance directed Heinemann's repentance, and she did not marry and grace was restored to her. In 1823, Heinemann did carry out her intention to marry Landmann and again lost her divine calling. After twenty-six years of marriage, God's mercy was again bestowed on Heinemann. In 1849, while in Erie County, New York and continuing in Amana, Iowa, Heinemann reclaimed *Werkzeuge,* until her death in 1883. [73]

During the marriage of Heinemann, the spiritual guidance of the Community fell to Christian Metz. Metz's grandfather was one of the originating members of the small community at Himbach founded by Rock and Gruber. At the age of seven, Metz moved to Ronneberg, a walled enclave housing a large Community of Inspirationists, and was endowed by God with the gift of Inspiration. [74] The attitude of the Community toward Metz was deferential and free of what Community members deplored in the Shakers' "divine reverence and canonization of Ann Lee." [75]

The old questions of military duty, taking oaths, and schooling resulted in appeals to state authorities and the states' responses of "into the fold or out of the country". [76] The little communities migrated to the relatively tolerant state of Hessen. Metz received a message from God of the promise of grace to the Grand Duke for his tolerance. [77] Within Hessen, communities from less tolerant German states, Holland, and Switzerland regrouped in the cloister of Marienborn, the estate of Herrnhaag, the former cloister at

Arnburg, and the former convent at Engelthal. [78] By 1834, the four properties, located within a few miles of one another, fell under common management, as prophesied by Metz.

The unstable political and economic climate in Europe made non-conformity suspect. Citizenship, military exempt status, freedom from oaths, and separate school were no longer rights. Payment of fines, followed by loss of Community privileges, combined with climate changes of heat and drought during this period of oppression. [79] In adversity, on May 20, 1826, Metz prophesied emigration to America. More than one thousand Community members heard the Inspiration from God that "four may prepare". Later, a child of one of the four men was found to be chosen to go with the group. They arrived in the harbor of New York on October 26, 1842. Their purchase of five thousand acres of Seneca Indian Reservation in Erie County established the new home for eight hundred of the Community members. [80]

Shambaugh does not describe or analyze the voyages of groups of migrants or the quarantine at Staten Island of at least one of the emigrating groups within the community, depicted in *Wanderung*, or the initial settlement with the Seneca. The next part of the narrative focuses on the development of the village of Ebenezer, described in terms of town development similar to commercial land offices' planning. Within four months of the purchase of the Reservation, the first village, Ebenezer, was laid out and occupied. The name of the village came from the passage in Samuel that reads, "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."'. The name was given to the acreage prior to the final purchase. Within the year of the establishment of Ebenezer two more villages were laid

out to each side of the first, called Upper Ebenezer and Lower Ebenezer. The name of Ebenezer was then changed to Middle Ebenezer. A "Pennsylvania Dutch" (Shambaugh's quotes) man joined the Community, bringing acreage on present-day Niagara Peninsula to the holdings of the Community. These properties were named Canada Ebenezer and Kenneberg. Each village had a church, school, sawmills, woolen mills, flour mills, factories, and stores. [81]

The Community adopted a provisional constitution under the name Ebenezer Society in 1843. By inspiration, it held that everything, all land and improvements, with the exception of household goods and clothing was to be held in common. Prosperous members of the Community were to lend money to cover the expenses of settlement and receive a proportionate share in the form of a mortgage as security. Management of the Ebenezer Society was vested in a council of thirteen Elders while title of Ebenezer hand and improvements were held by sixteen Trustees. Vacancies of Trustees were to be filled by Elders. At the time of the purchase of the Reservation property the Community was not intentionally socialist or communist. Repayment arrangements were found to be impractical as Community members differed in age, experience, strength, and enterprise. [82] The Elders and Trustees foresaw failure without a permanent Constitution for the instruction, protection, and security of members. The permanent Constitution was translated into English for an unnamed attorney in Buffalo then submitted to the New York State Legislature for approval (perhaps Millard Fillmore, future Presidential candidate of the Know-Nothing Party, who had prepared the paperwork for the transfer Reservation lands from the sale through the Ogden Land Company). The topic of communism fostered discussion among Community members who "were waiting for a

division and desired it..." Elders cited the apostles in Acts "...all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men as every man had need." [83] A revelation on October 23, 1850 in Middle Ebenezer revealed that communism should not ever be abolished and those against communism should be cursed. Brethern, once discontented with the idea and practice of communism, signed the amendment to the constitution providing for communism. Adoption of communism resulted from practical necessity, rather than the interpretation or implementation of the social theories of Jesus. Communism resolved potential problems of re-numeration and provided non-working hours for attendance of the twelve weekly church services, to think about the spiritual life of the Community. [84]

Over eight hundred members of the Community left Germany for Erie County, New York. The majority of those who left were artisans and peasants. Many members with property interests and emotional ties remained in Germany. The former Seneca Indian Reservation, rather than Ebenezer, was not a haven for the Community. The land was purchased with the understanding that the Seneca would leave promptly. According to Shambaugh, with the initial Community settlement efforts, the Seneca were hostile, threatening and thieving. The Community turned to Federal offices to remove the Seneca. After three years the last Seneca left for the Cattaraugus Reservation, assigned to them when they sold their claim to the Ebenezer land. [85]

In material terms, the Community prospered. Members were well-housed and secure in their communistic life of self-denial, brotherly love, mutual protection and helpfulness. Mills and factories were successful in the commercial world and harvests were abundant. The original purchase accommodated eight hundred members, but the

Community grew to the extent that by 1854 more land was required. The growth and expansion of the nearby city of Buffalo, five miles away, made the price of available land out of the question. The proximity of Buffalo brought world attractions and influences to the Community, in the opinion of the Elders. The salvation of the soul on earth, the cultivation of humiliation, obedience to God's will, faithfulness and love of Christ and the preservation of the simplicity of the Community's divinely ordained brotherhood necessitated increased distance from the strife, temptation and anxiety of the world. [86] Without very definite plans, a committee of four men, including Metz started for Kansas. That search failed, but another venture to the state of Iowa presented the possibility of purchasing eighteen thousand contiguous acres, avoiding the problem of the Icarian Community of thirty-two half sections within two townships. [87] One group of Inspirationists prepared to relocate the Community ot Iowa, while another group of Community members sought the profitable sale of the New York property. The land had been laid out in lots within the Community and was resurveyed and sold piece by piece along with the mills, factories, and workshops unique to the Community. [88] During the time of transition, recorded observations by Community members relate that "vacated homes are occupied by the children of the world". [89] Another quote related that Ebenezer "started to become the meeting ground of the world, and will become a wilderness after..." and "One must suffer and endure much to preserve peace. But Jacob, too, had to stoop before Esau..."[90] By 1859, the Community members in the Ebenezer villages had left New York.

Historian David Gerber outlined a conceptual model for understanding international migrations to the United States emphasizes the transnational experiences of

migrants. This framework, outside of conventional categories of analysis of immigration, emigration, assimilation or acculturation, transnationalism assumes the existence of modes of understanding and of behavior that span and link homelands, destinations, challenge conventional time and space, especially in political definitions of national boundaries. [91] Three periods of migrations in American history can be examined using the same set of conceptual tools, locating unity in the experiences of migrants. Those conceptual tools may enrich teaching of American history. [92] This model is useful in constructing understandings about the Community.

The model of a master narrative of ethnic pluralism defined social histories of mid-nineteenth century American immigration. The center of the master narrative was the theme of the established immigrant paradigm, a narrative of the path of immigrants as an ethnic group becoming ethnic Americans. In the path ethnic migrants transformed themselves and widened the mainstream of American politics, society, and culture. Regardless of the period of time of migrations to the United States, immigration was conceived as closing one door and opening another. Within the model, migrants embraced their transported, useful traditions to construct unique identities, working out their destinies on their own terms. [93] History so written addressed positive transnational experiences in the individual and group. It also merged adapting social units of individuals, families, churches, neighborhoods with the evolution of the American nation. However, like consensus history, the effort to infuse the American past with pluralistic and democratic meanings denied moral and political complexity. The principal limitation of the democratic pluralistic synthesis for the narration of immigration history advanced intentionality, a teleology, to the historical process and the actors. International migrants

of the nineteenth century were not engaged in a pilgrimage in search of economic, religious, or political salvation on American terms.

In the effort to attain private, individual and family goals, they met larger circumstances in a variety of public spheres, from organizing to institution-building [94] leading to collective mobilizations that inspired ethnicization, or group and identity formation. [95] Ethnicization and politization moved immigrants, with various degrees of intentionality and reluctance, toward Americanization. European immigrants remained conscious of their homelands and family and individual pasts and the consciousness remained a vital feature of immigrant life. Building and maintaining homeland connections were significant experiences. [96] As a perspective in immigration history, transnationalism included monographs on migrant re-emigration and resettlement in Europe as well as immigrant participation in homeland politics. 66 In those terms, the narratives of migrants have been understood in terms of resettlement, readjustment, assimilation, and acculturation. [97]

The alternative interpretive model challenging assimilation processes rejected an American-focused immigration experience, narrative and history, with the emphasis on the ways in which market economies structured various migrations, resettlements, and re-migrations. Within that model destinations diminished in importance to the value of practical goals in multiple and diverse locations with subsequent migrations and re-migrations.[98] While rejecting the assimilation model, this emigration model did not reflect the rich, complex view of migrant experience or the actual migration. Chain migration, a key concept, meant the process by which migrants settled, then encouraged and subsidized the migrations of related individuals and families, who then do so for

additional kinfolk. Replacing the notion of migration as a chaotic process, the linearity of serial individuals emigrating implied a last link, with severed home ties. The door is closed on the past. [99]

More accurate is the concept of group networks of families, kin, and friends acting in ways to support migration as well as to maintain homeland ties by providing enduring transnational personal and social communication over decades and between generations. Families and friends remained albeit separated in space and time by political boundaries and oceans, but capable of growth and change. Personal identity depended on on-going relationships in relatively small, sustainable and durable social networks. Historical research on transnational migration using massive cohorts of population, market economies and political epic public life of ethnic groups obscure and conceal the narratives of small social networks. [100] Shambaugh's and Grossman's historical narratives of the Community of the True Inspiration reveal linked migrations within a short span of time that did not use not abiding home ties of letters or legal documents.

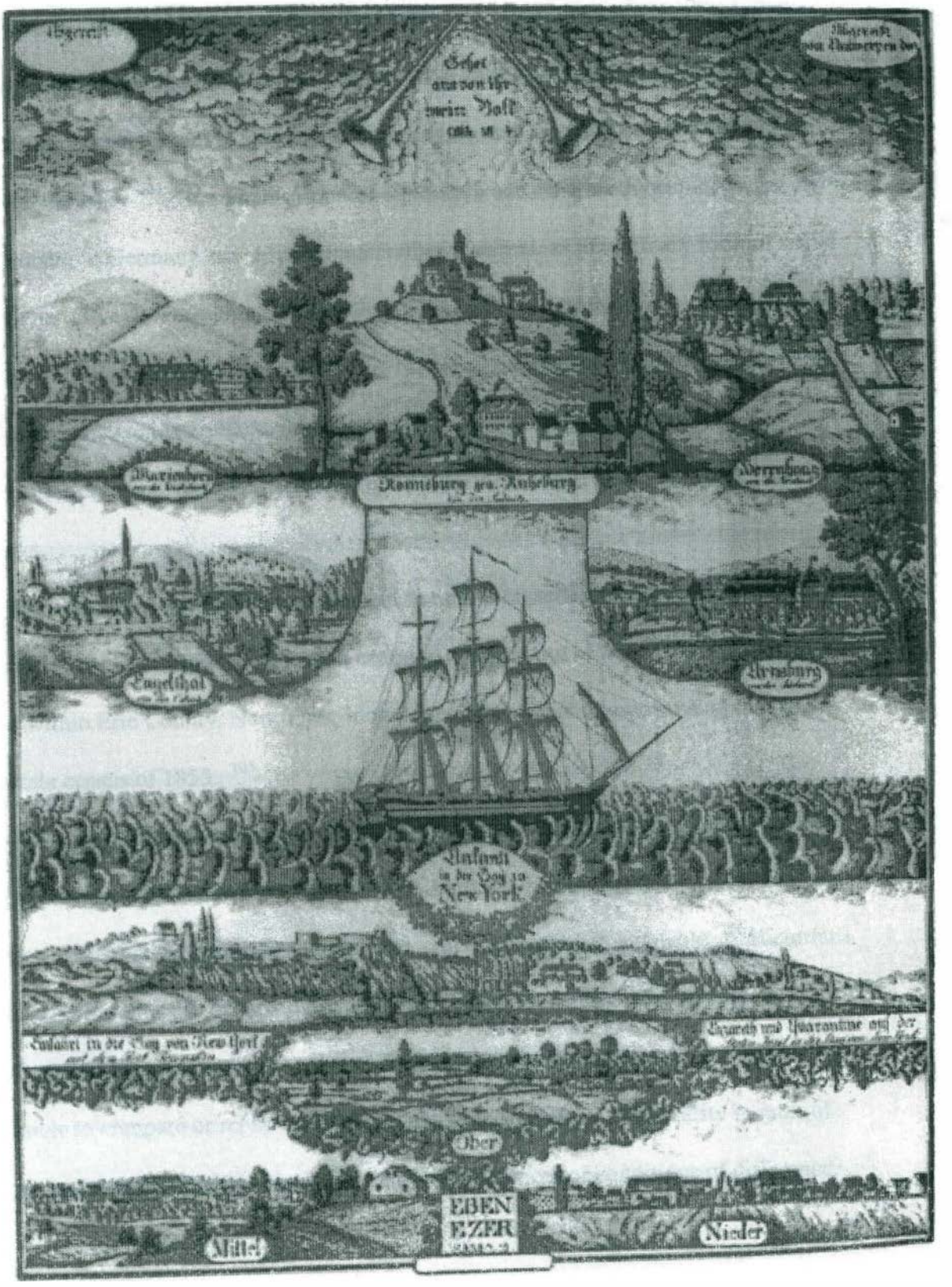
The abiding ties of the Community of the True Inspiration (True Inspired) were spiritually defined by place through Biblical references in Samuel and the Song of Solomon rather than using letters, legal documents, and printed forms of monetary resources. [101, 102]

From 1842-1859 in Ebenezer, NY "Hitherto the Lord hath led us." ("Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."—1 Samuel 7:12.)

From 1855 the colony began to remove to its present home, named from the mountain mentioned in the Song of Solomon, IV. 8 (4:8 "Come with me from Lebanon,

my spouse, with me from Lebanon: look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards.", the Hebrew word meaning "remain true", "fixed "), in the name Amana or believe faithfully.

The primary sources for testing this model is personal correspondence, or source and text. Unavailable methodologies to treat letters as text, with specific conventions and codes, are compounded by the use of letters as sources with which to locate facts proving generalizations.[103]


Kommenburg gen. Ansberg
Ankunft
in der Bay zu
New York
Ober
EBEN
EZER
Mittel
Nieder

Additionally, although this may well be the largest single archive of migrant experience, it does not always represent the experience of migrant culture. German migrants, during the nineteenth century, from Hesse and Wurttemberg did not utilize letters as the primary strategy for supporting, growing and changing social networks. Wolf-Heino Struck [104], German historian of eighteenth and nineteenth century Hesse and Wurttemberg in Germany, identified image, rather than text, as the primary form of social network narrative of late eighteenth and nineteenth century German migrants. The larger question of historically locating letters in the historical experience of migrants whom did not primarily utilize text, but extensively utilized image in drawings, prints, and lithographs may veil the nature, type, and meanings of the local, small, and social ethnic networks.

Within the new homeland, movement in migration settlement areas varied from group to group. Katz, Doucet, and Stern examine the question of transient migrations for groups within Erie County, New York, including transnational migrants using the New York state census of 1855. [105]

The rate of nineteenth century population persistence apparently varied little from place to place or with economic conditions. It is not the differences in the rates of persistence reported by historians but their general similarity that is notable. [106] Historians have used different rules of record linkage to establish the identity between people listed on two or more sources and have not specified the techniques employed. It is therefore impossible to compare or replicate results in any precise way, with similarity in rates of persistence reported by historians rather than the differences or conditions of difference. [107]

Population persistence studies without use of record-linkage are possible by using the New York State Census of 1855. This record of the length of time each enumerated person had lived in town or city permits three types of measures: average length of residence, rates of population persistence, and the social and demographic determinants of length of residence. The census information permits comparisons between a city and the rural area surrounding it. [108]

Rates of persistence in Buffalo were significantly higher than in most cities. [109] In 1855 Buffalo was one of the fastest growing cities in the United States. In the preceding decade population had more than doubled from 35,000 to 72,000. In the mid-nineteenth century not only the canal but several railroads provided an extensive transportation network sustaining economic life. Rudiments of industrial infrastructure were present but Buffalo had not yet become a manufacturing center. [110]

The region surrounding Buffalo, the rest of Erie County, consisted of sixteen villages of varying sizes and rural areas that acted like service centers within the city's agriculturally-based surroundings. Settlement began in most parts of the county in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The flat alluvial plains north of the city comprised grain growing areas while the hilly area south of the city was utilized primarily for livestock grazing. [111]

The extraordinary growth of Buffalo cannot overshadow evidence that rural Erie County was grew quickly from 44,000 to 60,000 during the same ten years. Despite the pull of the city, rural Erie County was an attractive place to live, appealing to grain and livestock farmers because Buffalo provided a huge expanding market and state of the art transportation facilities for exportation of products. [112] Erie County was not a uniform

collection of farms. 64% were farmers, 14 % artisans, 12 % were laborers, 5.5 % non-manual labor, 5 % well-to-do landowners, or "gentlemen farmers", and 1 % semi-skilled laborers. [113]

A comparative perspective is valuable. Demographic differences in household heads existed between Buffalo and rural Erie County. In the county 37% had been born in New York State, 13.6 % within Erie County. In Buffalo, 13% and 2 %, correspondingly. Buffalo and Erie County drew immigrants from different areas of New York State. Buffalo intra-state migrants came from the largest and most heavily urbanized counties in New York State. Erie County migrants from New York State came from agriculturally-based counties in the far east of the state. Erie County probably acted as the intermediate and final stops for people moving westward from settled areas. [114] The next largest group hailed from New England, with 15.9 % in the county and 5.9 % in Buffalo. Striking differences existed between the German and Irish groups. In the county 28.5 % were German and 3.5 % Irish, compared to Buffalo with 39.2 % German and 17% Irish. Irish immigrants clustered in Buffalo, while Germans moved to the rural county area. [115] All data showed men moved most frequently in their twenties and moved infrequently as they aged. For women persistence was higher than that of men, 44 % to 37%. After the age of thirty rates of persistence were nearly identical. Additionally, the number of children increased persistence at 58% within Buffalo with rural Erie County about 10% higher, at 67%. [116] Within Buffalo, 40% of established heads of households with children moved, and within rural Erie County 30%.[117] Substantial numbers of people were on the move, in the ten years between 1845 and 1855. By birthplace New Yorkers and New

Englanders lived longer in Buffalo than Irish and Germans. By occupation, the Irish lived longer in Buffalo than the Germans. [118]

Many students of the nineteenth century argue that transience varied inversely with occupational rank. Unskilled workers moved more, professionals and proprietors, least. Either population movement differed in Buffalo or other studies erred. There was little direct association between occupation and length of residence.[119] Ownership of land formed the most important correlate of length of residence, in both the city and the county. The similarity is remarkable with 5.5 years in the county and 4.4 in Buffalo. Within Erie County, length of residence was greatest for men born in New York or New England, were older than forty-five, and who owned land and farmed. In contrast, a German laborer without property of the same age remained the shortest amount of time.

Within Buffalo, ownership of property was the most important factor, then native birth, occupation, wealth, followed by household characteristics. [120] Social and demographic structure of length of residence was similar in both Buffalo and Erie County.

Out-migration from both Buffalo and Erie County varied by social class. Working, non-propertied people did not remain long. Within Buffalo and Erie County propertied community leaders existed. Small propertied sectors shared a highly developed sense of community in culture and politics. Local decisions reflected the interests of the small groups who vigorously promoted social, political and economic development with the sector. General stability and widespread property ownership characterized Erie County more than Buffalo.[121]

Additionally, massive migration gave significance to forms of culture, different from forms in Europe, differences underestimated by labor and social historians engaged in making North America fit a British model. [122] German and Irish forms of societies of riots, festivals, and parades existed in North America. However, they had never been based on face-to-face relationships out of long acquaintance among members of a long-term, stable community. In North America, festivals brought together strangers or acquaintances. Mutual participation in events shared objective characteristics of birthplace, religion and occupation. The shell of participation was traditional with forms of artisan culture containing kernels of social groups germinating into a modern world and facilitating acculturation to social relations within industrial life. [123]

Transience shaped the way people viewed their world. Friendships were difficult to maintain with tenuous ties to places. Rootlessness bred detachment from community that turned people inward to the conjugal family for migrants and non-migrants. The restless movement of the nineteenth century contributed to insular domesticity, a hallmark of the modern family. [124] High rates of population turnover worked against community integration and cohesion at the local level. The national effect may be opposite: The circulation of peoples through the continent created continuous human contact, networks of communications on a national scale, and a sense of identity that decreased the strangeness of distance of western New York to the Mid-west.[125]

Historian Kathleen Neils Conzen's analysis of settlement in migration areas found that the immigrant neighborhood community had a central role in both the emergence of ethnic identity among immigrants and in the subsequent process of assimilation, and that varied by group. Studies examined the degree of immigrant concentration and the

influence of the neighborhood in impacting the adaptive process. The telling fact is not that the immigrant colony maintained its old-world cultural organization, but that in its new environment it mediates a cultural adjustment to its new situation. [126] Historians shifted emphasis from the process of assimilation to the role of factors including family, church, workplace in maintenance of ethnic culture and social distinctiveness. [127] Changes of economic and social status tended to be registered in changes in location. [128] This was the standard interpretation for historians in the early twentieth century of a gradual and inexorable assimilation process of the immigrant. Ghetto culture was not a direct transfer of Old World culture but a creative response to life unimagined in the homeland village. [129]

Ethnic culture in America was nurtured with shared predicaments and shared institutions in community life. Costs of time and money for movement in the nineteenth century tended to confine community life to people within a shared neighborhood. Immigrants outside of the neighborhood could not maintain a lasting identification with the ethnic culture. Movement from the old neighborhood signaled casting off parts of ethnic identity with inevitable assimilation. Declining residential segregation, length of group residence, higher socioeconomic status, intergenerational mobility, use of English language, naturalization, and intermarriage were orderly and consistent patterns based on the assumption that assimilation and residential segregation were linked. [130]

More recent work by historians challenged linking ethnicity and ghetto ecology as a universal model for the process of assimilation. Not all groups were uniform or impoverished to create ghetto concentrations. Not all immigrant concentrations were characterized by the density and morbidity of the slum. Ethnic concentration of any kind

was impossible until the nineteenth century as changes in scale of employment and the installation of mass transit supported the development of purely residential and segregated neighborhoods. [131] The classic ghetto was limited to some immigrants for some points in their lives. Only where concentrations were insulated from invasion from competing land users and maintained by continual immigration or low levels of social mobility could the ghetto endure. As long as declining levels of residential concentration within ethnic neighborhoods are taken as evidence of increasing assimilation, assimilation preceded apace through the twentieth century. Where residential concentration was never extensive then to link origins or survival of ethnic identity to kinds of residential patterns has little meaning. Foreclosed from clustered residence, immigrants assimilated rapidly without the benefit of community institutions or else found a way to maintain community ties despite distance barriers. [132]

For some German groups the ghetto model may apply. Germans constituted a large proportion of peoples migrating during the nineteenth century from Germany and within Erie County. Residential concentration occurred within some groups. Consequences of concentration may or may not have been the ghetto model. In the absence of the ghetto model, ethnicity as the sense of common identity may or may not have been lacking within the group, or as individuals. [133] The German migrating communities, including Ebenezers, provide some answers. Germans settled in large numbers in American cities between 1840-1890 in mid-western cities, major ports in the Carolinas and Philadelphia, and along the Erie Canal. As late as the turn of the century, they constituted the single largest group of first-generation immigrants in over half of the American cities with populations of 25,000 or more. They were heterogeneous in

regional background, dialect, religion, and occupation. [134] Their arrival in the period before industrial growth and transportation innovation theoretically permitted a high degree of residential segregation would therefore appear to suggest weak community structure and rapid assimilation. By 1865, Germans had established many voluntary associations supported by the German community newspapers and private and parochial schools. Despite regional differences Germans were united about Prohibition, Sunday blue laws, and German instruction in schools. [135]

Despite ethnic identity within German wards and communities, assimilation was high. German language usage fell away; membership in associations dwindled, and by 1910 segregation indices fell well below 30, the accepted standard for significant segregation. Germans demonstrated paradoxical communities or an acceleration of ethnic disintegration already well underway. [136] Understandings of concentration without structural cause, communities without high measures of massive concentration, interest groups pressures despite assimilation can clarify links and conditions between residential patterns and ethnic identity of German groups [137], including Erie County's Ebenezers.

Immigrant ghettos are an outcome of many factors including the desire to remain with others using the same language and sharing the same culture, migration chains, common occupations as well as socio-economic similarity in residential location. As neighborhoods develop an ethnic character, they become less attractive to non-members of equal or higher status. As group members relocate to better locations, lower status recent arrivals use the left residential area. Jobs, housing, and group homogeneity impact residential concentration. In eastern cities, pockets of older housing combined with

distance to job location led Germans to specialize in trades with outcomes of diffuse residential patterns. [138]

The historical relationship between residence and ethnic identity is that of ethnicity as a constant form of identity derived from participation in one set of relationships and exclusion or insularity from other relationships. [139] The development of a sense of group identity, ethnicization, was historically dependant on the formation of residential concentrations providing the structure of organization to an ethnic group. Even where self-identity came from internal religious movements or external conflicts with Indians, in this case Buffalo Creek Reservation, the neighborhood was the sole effective mobilization strategy. To the extent that the neighborhood community structure and values encouraged upward mobility, the ethnic community would foster its own disappearance as well as the social-structural assimilation of its members. German groups' historical existence and organizations endowed cultural traits recognized by the group and non-members, within exclusive as well as insular German communities, fostering the basis for cultural continuity of German community identity. [140] Ethnicity depends on a level of neighborhood concentration, but does not depend equally on neighborhood survival or non-mobility. The existence of residential concentration shapes ethnic identity, but ethnic identity does not predict non-mobile residential concentrations. Structured ethnic communities can maintain close patterns of interaction without residential concentration and ethnicity, as cultural inheritance is independent of residence. Degrees of residential concentration are secondary variables in ethnicization. German ethnic identity and community is less an outcome of the permeability of group boundaries, which belongs in what concentration, as the character and cohesion of the

group nucleus: What and who defines the identity of the group and the consequences and meaning of group affiliation and is dependant on the existence of contiguous non-members. [141]

Numbers, prosperity, and rapidity of German settlement supported the formation of concentrated neighborhoods. The neighborhoods fostered organizations reflecting the diverse German communities, making it possible to live a German life within a microcosm of a whole American society. In spite of assimilation, German biculturalism in old neighborhoods and local organizations remained in craftsmanship, prohibition and pride in the states of migratory origin.[142] With relocation into new communities, traits attributed to German descent remained, passed on within families, but common identity splintered. For some non-German ethnic groups, the neighborhood was a necessary rather than a sufficient cause of ethnic identity. For other non-German ethnic groups, a sense of common identity and shared institutions emerged without clustered residence. The neighborhood was central to the ethnicization of Germans. Among Germans, there was variation in residential concentration with centralization and dispersion of neighborhood clusters, impacting the formation of institutions, organizations, associations, degrees of community identification, relationships with other groups, rates of assimilation and cultural change. The model of a straight-line relationship between residence, assimilation and cultural maintenance multiplied into complex, varied, and changing meanings of ethnicity. [143]

Sociologist and Community member Diane L. Barthel's analysis found that continuation of migratory experience may have fostered retention of migratory experiences for some immigrant groups, but not for the Community. Both the Erie

County, New York experience and the experience in Amana were historically re-written as an act of amnesia, or historical forgetting, inviting questions about memory, heritage and history.

Political conflict stemming from the economic and social upheaval of 17th and 18th century Europe found expression in the Pietist theology and its challenge to state and orthodox Lutheran Church. The Community's form of Pietism included the practice of *werkzeug* or inspired spokesperson for God, to answer for the need for authority within a community founded on the opposition to authority. [144] Communalism, adopted as a practical expediency during the 1840's emigration to America and Canada, became endowed with a religious sanction that continued after the migratory communal organization lost its practical appeal. In capitalist Erie County, New York, the colonists found in the outside world, as well as within the group, support for the group's cultural practices, in spite of the Community's insular nature. In 1932, as the Community responded to membership demands for private identity, lives, and holdings, the American press enthroned the group, now located in Amana, Iowa, as a symbol of the failure of socialism. [145]

Barthel examined the issues of historic examination, preservation and tourism in modern Amana. Tourist Amana serves as material for modern myths of the inevitability of modern institutions and nostalgia for an ideal of elemental simplicity. Examination by historians, unlike preservation or tourism, restores critical content, original voice, with interpretative contributions. [146]

The Community of the True Inspiration rooted and grew in Erie County, within present day West Seneca, New York, as well as Canada from 1843-1860. By 1860, the

entire community from both Erie County and Canada had relocated to Amana, Iowa. The communalism, for which the community later became known, was formally structured into the community at the time of emigration. The 21 Rules guiding the life of the community were already established in Germany. The provisional constitution and by-laws guiding the communalist nature of the community were originally seen as formal rules of a pragmatic and provisional experiment, based upon the group's experiences in Germany and upon fears about what might happen in America and Canada. [147] Communalism became an explicit strategy only at the time of emigration. The provisional constitution called for collective work and ownership under a system of elders (village leaders) and trustees (mortgage holders), headed by the Werkzeugen (plural, werkzeug, singular). Communalism was not required in the original beliefs or in Germany, nor by any radical nature of social experimentation by the group. The community was conservative, acting radically in order to preserve religious beliefs and a village-based social structure dependent on farming and artisanship. [148]

In 1932, the community made a clear choice between two sets of values, two economic structures and two ways of life. The community voted overwhelmingly to embrace American individualism, capitalism, and consumerism. The old values and social structures of communalism represent a negative reference point against which ideas, ideals, and culture are constructed. Descendents of the original families both embrace and reject their communal past. They embrace it in ways more in keeping with American individualism than with German pietism. Amana residents do not wish to go back to the authentic past, *or even to re-enact it with any measure of accuracy* [149] (Bathel's italics). The people hired to re-enact historic roles at historic Plimouth

Plantation pursue a quest for authenticity, in which one is forever approach the complex goal, but never quite achieving it. In sharp contrast, Amana folks do not mind wearing colorful Bavarian costumes that have nothing to do with the heavy, full black garb of their ancestors. Amana Colonies residents do not re-enact the past they have rejected. Amana residents have little interest in authenticity, and the students have even less interest. Barthel finds pretense of authenticity at Plimouth compared to the harsh conditions of 17th century Massachusetts. Similarly, Barthel states the sufficient pretense of authenticity contradicts 19th century Amana life of hard labor, daily and lengthy services, lack of electricity, lack of consumer goods, rudimentary education and health care; tight social control by elders and trustees. Barthel finds that the lessons the cultural landscape might teach lie buried. [150] Barthel states that the only people to benefit from a pursuit of greater authenticity are heritage professionals. [151] Amana residents do not see it in their interests to plant historic crops or raise historic livestock as in Plimouth Plantation. Barthel finds the difference within the fact that Amana is a living community. Benefits for residents mean losses of alternatives. The alternatives imply ways of thinking as social structures. Amana represents an alternative to historic as well as thinking social structures, a different way of being, thinking and thinking about that residents and students might recapture through representation and study. As Amana loses its historic specificity, it no longer serves as a resource for critical thinking and imagination [152]

Part II

In Part II, examination of nineteenth century local migration within Erie County, New York State and Welland County, Ontario, Canada reclaim European, trans-Atlantic and New World migratory and settlement experiences.

Utopian communities, historian Paul Boyer writes, citing historian Paul Conkin, "reflect in reverse, the hopes and fears of an age".[153] A brief examination of the Community of the True Inspiration, a reformed Lutheran pietist group originating in southwestern Germany in 1714, illustrates a divergent German-American immigrant experience in rural Erie County, New York. The Inspirationists migrated throughout Germany, while splintering to Holland and Switzerland, regrouped in Germany, then immigrated in 1843 to Erie County as well as Welland County, Ontario, Canada, finally migrating again to establish a permanent communalist utopian home in Amana, Iowa in 1859.

A brief examination of the turbulent eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Germany suggests motives for the migratory settlements of the Inspirationists in Europe and to the New World. The Community itself provides contrasts to experiences of other German immigrants to the New World during the first half of the nineteenth century. Part II explores several aspects of life within the Community of the True Inspiration. Inspirationist experiences in Europe comprised a divergent response to social events of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The voyage to America for the essentially conservative Community resulted from push factors and forces driving the Community out of Germany, rather than pull factors or the desire for change. The purchase of land

by Inspirationists through the Ogden Land Company contradicted the pattern of land acquisition by German immigrants. The spatial organization of the Community within Erie County reflected unique values and culture from the Inspirationists' experience in Germany. Daily Community life in Erie County reflected communalist rather than specifically utopian goals of the subsequent Amana Community using a constitution designed to retain wealthy and highly skilled members of the Community within Erie County, which had a mobile labor population, and in the avoidance of use of *taglohneren*, or mobile populations of hired hands. *Kulturpessimismus*, or extreme pessimism, intense skepticism, deep apprehension and despair characterized eighteenth and nineteenth century Germany's period of modernization. [154] *Kulturpessimismus* comprised and remained an important part of the cultural life the Community brought to the New World, informing Inspirationist perceptions of mid-nineteenth century life of other German immigrants in western New York and Buffalo, New York. The experience of relocation, settlement and daily life in Erie County, divergent from other German immigrants, fostered the choice to relocate to Amana, adjacent to a well established and relatively sequestered Old Order Amish community. [155] The experiences of relocation coincide with the change from a communalist Community within Erie County to a communalistic utopian Community in Amana, Iowa. [153]

The movement of pietism is defined here as the principles and practices of devotional rather an intellectual ideals in Christian experience. Emerging after the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), pietism grew out of widespread concern that the Lutheran Church was less concerned with saving souls through conversion than debating points of doctrine. Church leadership took the responsibility of religious work away from the

individual, turning authority of spiritual life to the state princes. States' aristocracies appointed ministers and examined subjects for piety. Church buildings had seating areas by group, rank, and class. Ministers addressed artisans and peasants with the familiar pronoun, reserving the formal collective pronoun for the aristocracy. The movement of pietism away from state Lutheranism drew support from guild members and craftspeople, along with peasants. As literacy from the technology of the printing press increased within guild groups, criticism also spread, through print materials, concerning the neglect of the personal experience of justification, the self-initiated terrors of conscience, by individual Christians. In response, worker and peasant interest in pietism developed into two forms. The first joined pietism to orthodox Lutheranism and the divine right of the state, and the second joined pietism to separatist groups. [158]

Between the Napoleonic wars of 1815 and the revolution of 1848, German peasants had been freed in 1820 by land reforms, without new economic structures to support changed social roles, while conservative social reforms in religion and politics protected the aristocratic groups. Craftspeople in guilds faced changing social and economic conditions as well. Artisans had been organized into powerful guilds with controls on admittance, standards, production, and prices. Guilds were linked to town and cultural organizations and institutions in politics, schools, and religious life, as well as business, resulting in a comprehensive communal order. Guilds supported and maintained a stable population with permanent needs within a local market. The result was order and security. Urban industrialization, technology, and mass-production during the years of 1820-1848, combined with Germany's rapid ride of population by 38%, led to social splintering and fragmentation. The end of the war economy in 1816-1817

combined with with competition from foreign factories, minor wars between Germany and other European states, and adverse weather resulted in poverty and famine for the formerly structured and orderly communities. The loss of guild artisan order, the rise of industrialization, changing land reforms and land needs in an increasingly unstable population drove mass migration from Germany during the nineteenth century. [157]

A small group of German men and women illustrate the changed relationships of peasants and artisans to the Lutheran church and state authority within the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1714, the pietist group, the Community of the True Inspiration, objected to the formal orientation of the church, seeking a return to religious practices of early Christianity, similar to the Mennonites, Hutterites, Moravians, and Amish. Community founders J. F. Rock (1678-1749) and E. L. Gruber (1665-1728) sought religious experience outside of established churches. The Inspirationists, faced with increasing industrialization, individualism, economic and religious apprehension withdrew into a private sphere of religion and ideas. Rock and Gruber wished to return to the beliefs and practices of early Christianity through pietism. For the two pietists, religion was a person experience for the believer emphasizing personal and group selflessness through Bible study. Central to Inspiraationist belief and practice was that God spoke through instruments (*Werkzeuge*), or chosen individuals, as with prophets in the Old Testament. Divine statements given through the *Werkzeuge* were hand inscribed into volumes of text. The Inspirationists developed a form and practice of religion that was charismatic, based on devotional revelation of *Werkzeuge,* and conservative in nature. The very existence and acts of *Werkzeuge* can be understood as undoing some of the changes of the Reformation, although not returning to religious institutions prior to that

time: Luther had provided a path of greater individual interpretation and experience of Christian faith while retaining the power and authority of the state. Inspirationists did not comprise a radical group but rather a conservative Reformation Community, returning to early Christian devotional practice. [159]

The Community created a well-ordered society to regulate religious daily life. Faith was founded on the Old and New Testaments, the word of prophecy, twenty-four rules of godliness, and twenty-one rules for daily examination of the lives of the Community members. Faith rested on two kinds of revelations, spoken and written, which were recorded by scribes. Prophets were heads of the church, with elders as pastors, conducting services of confirmation, marriage, and burial. Baptism was not practiced as purification of the spirit was a condition impossible to attain in life. Church services were held Wednesday, Saturday, and Sunday mornings as well as Sunday afternoon. Prayer meeting was held every evening. Attendance was compulsory. The punishment for missed services was exclusion from services, extending to one year. Excommunication or expulsion from the Community occurred rarely for egregious refusal of devotional Community life. [160]

The Inspirationists drew away from both the formal ceremonial state form of worship services in state organized congregations, and the increasingly modernized society in Germany, Holland and Switzerland. Social fragmentation and chaos from wars, industrialization, changes from the guild-based society, and land reform changes fostered Community separation from society. Inspirationist beliefs and practices drew followers and congregants throughout states in southwestern Germany, Holland, and Switzerland within areas of inconsistent religious and civil censure and some degrees of religious

tolerance. Inspirationists refused military duty, state oaths, and state-run church schools. Congregants were often in varying degrees of conflict with state and church authorities in Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. [161]

The lack of charismatic leadership practicing devotional revelation in each of the geographically isolated locations resulted in a loss of interest in Community life. The splintered charismatically-led communities in separate nation-states faltered under the lack of centralized religious leadership. By the end of the eighteenth century most of the membership of the Community had returned to mainstream life of state Lutheran orthodoxy. By 1750, following the deaths of Rock and Gruber, the Community was unstable and lacking leadership in the multiple, isolated Communities. However, peasant farmers and artisans impacted by high rents, taxes, war, and urban industrialization sought renewed Community religious values, including a tailor from Strassbourg named Michael Krausert. Krausert studied the pronouncements of Rock, receiving inspiration by revelation at a Community faith rally, in 1817. Krausert's pronouncements inspired the waning extant Communities and attracted additional peasant farmer and artisan followers.

New followers Barbara Heinemann and Christian Metz joined *Werkzeuge* Krausert. The Inspirationists moved to the walled castle in Ronneberg, Hesse, a liberal German state. The small group within Germany found justification of faith for Krausert has led the resoration of Inspirationist ideals and practices. Impressed by Krausert's revelations, Metz, a twenty-four year old carpenter from Ronneberg and Heinnemann, a farm maid from Leitersweiler, Alsace, France both found the gift of inspiration or revelation. Metz's grandfather Jacob Metz had been exiled by state Lutheran officials for congregational activity with Rock and Gruber. Later, Krausert examined his faith, found

his pronouncements false, declared them false, and withdrew as *Werkzeuge*, leaving Metz and Heinnemann as *Werkzeugen* (plural). [162]

Nineteenth century Germans, including the Inspirationists, viewed modernity with pessissism, intense skepticism, deep apprehension and despair, or *kulturpessimismus*. Late eighteenth century and nineteenth century Germans differientiated both German culture as either culture or civilization as well as distinguished German culture from the civilization of Anglo-Saxon and other nations. *Kultur* and *zivilisation* indicate German ideas were divergent, in German perceptions, experiences, and understandings, from those of other European immigrant groups. [163] Kalberg Stephen The Origin and expansion of Kulturpessimismus: The Relationship between Public and Private Spheres in Early Twentieth Century Germany Sociological Theory 5 no. 2 (1987) 150-164

Inspirationists believed that meaningful life might be preserved through withdrawal into a private sphere of *kultur* or the German intellectual concept and practice of religion and ideas. The German concept of *zivilisation*, or public sphere, included commercial public relationships, democratic values within occupation, economics and politics, from which the Inspirationists sought to separate by withdrawing into their closed Community while in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Erie and Welland Counties, and Amana, Iowa. Occupation, economics, and Community life fell within devotional practice, rather than intellectual ideas, of religious life. [164]

In Hessen, the Community's separation and non-violent defiance of church and state fostered the pattern of migration in the search to practice separate religios ideals, as well as rejection of military service and public schooling from the state. Both church and civil officials ordered the Ronneburg group to rejoin the official church or live in exile.

In 1830, Community members migrated to Hessen-Darmstadt, insouthwestern Germany. The cloister at Marienborn, adjacent to Ronneburg, and property in Herrnhaag fromed three small localized Communities. In 1832, following the eviction from the three communities, the three groups moved to a monastery at Arnburg, with land and a grain mill. In 1834, a large Swiss congregation arried and settled in Arnburg, with the remainder of the Swiss group settling in a former convent at Engelthal. Within the two organized groups the Community reestablished the exclusionary lifestyle. The closed Communities were immediately supported by the wealth of individual Inspirationists. [165] Renewed church and civil action against the Inspirationists resulted in periodically renewed open nonviolent defiance against military service, civil oaths, and public schooling, in a conservative cycle that functioned in direct contradiction to the exclusionary, closed daily Community life. [166]

The Hessen-Darmstadt Communities, housed in the former monastery and convent were not utopian or communalistic while in Germany. That was not the mission or calling of the group. The separation of the Community from state and civil authority into the private sphere of faith resulted from the goal to avoid religious and civil censure as well as penalty from beliefs, practices and consequences of devotional revelation by Rock, Gruber, Krausert, Metz and Heinnemann within European states during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1842, Hesse-Darmstadt state authorities denied German citizenship to foreigners, including the Inspirationists from Holland and Switzerland, on the monastery and convent estates within the state. On the afternoon of the citizenship decree, Metz found inspiration in a revelation that "four may prepare themselves" to leave the Community for the United States. [167] For their religious and

economic survival, the Inspirationists would become communalists, with wealthy members underwriting less affluent members' migration. The Inspirationists became part of a massive on-going migration from Germany, based not on a radical new future, but as a protection of a past closed way of life. [168]

Emigration from Germany had been considered as early as 1826 continuing as a consideration for Community survival for sixteen years. On November 8, 1840, Metz had testified that the time was not right to leave Germany. However, on July 27, 1842, Metz testified that "four may prepare". The four included Metz, William Noe, Gottlieb Ackermann, a barber and blood-letter, and George Weber, a surgeon. An additional revelation revealed that Weber's son should go as well. On September 5, 1842, the group left Arnsburg by stage, arriving in Bremen on September 10. On September 20, the five sailed on the "*New York*". The *New York's* Captain Wachter extended an invitation to share his cabin due to crowded traveling conditions. Crossing the English Channel took nine days, thrity-seven in all to cross the Atlantic. On October 26, 1842, the five disembarked in the port of New York, presenting gifts of wine and tobacco to the crew. [169] After spending the next eight days in New York, the group located the Holland Land Company to begin searching for land for their new home. Company agent George Paulsen recommended 50,000 acres in Chautauqua County. The men boarded a steamer for Albany and paid for barge passage to Buffalo via the Erie Canal. Their cabin on the barge was ten feet by nine feet, shared with ten Irish men, also headed for Buffalo. Nine days and nights of steady rain kept the group off the deck. The barge Arrived at the Buffalo terminus on the evening of November 12. The ten Irish men left the barge immediately upon docking, but as it was raining in Buffalo and the Inspirationists had no

knowledge of local hotels or friends or family for housing, they remained on the barge overnight. [170]

The next day the Inspirationists found lodging at a hotel owned by Philip Dorsheimer, an influential member of the Buffalo German immigrant community. Dorsheimer, born in the Baden region of Germany, immigrated to the United States in 1815, initially settling in Hamsburg, Pennsylvvania. In 1836, Dorsheimer made Buffalo his home, becoming appointed as Postmaster by Martin Van Buren and re-appointed in 1845 by James K. Polk.

After settling in, the men located Holland Land Company agent George W. Patterson who invited the men to examine the 50,000 acres in Chautauqua. After Patterson left, Dorsheimer advised the men to be cautious in new situations that might be risky. Realizing that the men were in Buffalo to buy land, Dorsheimer advised them to examine Buffalo Creek Reservation, close to Buffalo markets. Although Dorsheimer did not stand to profit directly from a Buffalo Creek Reservation land purchase, he would accompany the Inspirationists. Later, George Zahm, a German newspaper publisher, and Dr. Francis Brunk, a doctor, seemed informed about the Buffalo Creek Reservation land and joined the group. [171]

The Inspirationists were profoundly impressed with the sights, the resources, and Seneca culture. The visit to examine Reservation land started at the cabin home of Chief John Seneca. The men crossed Big Buffalo Creek in Chief Seneca's canoe and visited with him in his home, before examining the land. They believed they had located a wilderness home. After a brief inspection, the group re-crossed the creek in the company of Chief Seneca and returned to Buffalo. [172]

By comparison, the trip to Chautauqua, originally recommended by Holland Land Company agent Paulsen, was cursory. Two of the five Inspirationsists, Metz and Noe, traveled to Chautauqua and inspected the land by sleigh. The trip to Buffalo Creek Reservation in the company of the three German Buffalo businessmen had made two indelible impressions: the wilderness home of the Seneca people and the attentive, apparently informed, congenial nature of the three Buffalo businessmen. Again the Inspirationists and the three businessmen made the trip to Big Buffalo Creek on the Reservation, this time to view a village of Seneca cabins and a council-house. Following that visit, after thirty-seven days to cross the Atlantic Ocean, eight days in New York City, nine days to travel the length of the Erie Canal, two days in Buffalo, and three days to tour both locations, the decision to buy and settle on Seneca land held within Buffalo Creek Reservation was made in hours. [173]

The original purchase offer from the Inspirationists was for 10,000 acres, four miles from the city limits of Buffalo, to contain the Indian Church and Mission buildings, sawmills built by the Seneca, cabins occupied at the time by the Seneca, and to include land along Big Buffalo Creek cultivated at that time by the Seneca. The document sent from the Holland Land Company, translated by Dorsheimer from English to German, contained an error by Dorsheimer. The letter of reply from Thomas L. Ogden, in New York City, suggested that the Inspirationists consider land further east in Erie County. The Inspirationists traveled with Dorsheimer and a surveyor provided by Dorsheimer, and agreed to the advice of Ogden, believing it additional land to the original offer. Dorsheimer's error in translation of Ogden's rely to the original offer had concealed Ogden's refusal of the original offer. Land within a few miles of Buffalo was worth

twenty-five to thirty-five dollars an acre, rather than the ten dollars and fifty cents the Inspirationists had offered with the advisement of Dorsheimer. [174]

The Inspirationists then traveled to the Finger lakes area, meeting with Ogden Land Company shareholder Joseph Fellows, who related Ogden's refusal of their offer to the Inspirationists in Geneva, New York. Fellows suggested that the Inspirationists travel as his guests to his Geneseo, New York home. In mid-December the Inspirationists arrived at Fellows' home in Geneseo and addressed the goal for their Community. Fellows replied that he accepted the proposal of the Community but needed the approval of the other shareholders. Weeks passed without news from the Ogden Land Company. Metz and Noe then traveled to New York City to meet with Ogden. In the meeting, Ogden advised them that inorder to meet the purchase terms offered by the Community, the shareholders would be called together. [175]

The final purchase offer by the Inspirationists for the sale of land within Bufflao Creek Reservation, known as the German Purchase, included a boundary six miles from the city of Buffalo and excluded Indian Church and Mission property. The Ogden Land Company name "German Tract" is found on maps of the time. The Inspirationists themselves called the purchased land "Ebenezer" from the verse in the Book of Samuel: Samuel 7: 12 "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it "Ebenezer", saying 'Hitherto, the Lord hath led us'". [176] Subsequent to the purchase, immigration and settlement of the Community, "the Ebenezers" became the standard local name of the Inspirationists for the years of 1843-1859, taken from the name the Inspirationists gave to the German Purchase tract. Payment occurred as follows: 43,000.00 on the day of the agreement; $18,500 on June 1, 1843; $18,500 on October 1,

1843; and $10,000 on January 1, 1844. The Ogden Land Company agreed to Inspirationist requirements that if nine-tenths of the Seneca did not agree to surrender their holdings by March 15, 1843, the Inspirationists had until April 15, 1843 to void the contact. If the Seneca did not vacate the property, the Ogden Land Company was to provide acreage to the Inspirationists within three miles of the original German Purchase for use by the Community for one year. However, while the Ogden Land Company had assured the Inspirationists that the Seneca would be removed, the Inspirationists were unaware that it was legally impossible, by Federal law, to do so. [177]

After the arrival of seventy-five Inspirationists, the Seneca requested that the Community leave the Reservation. The request had the authority of both United States Federal law and Seneca law behine it. The agreement between the Ogden Land Company and the Inspirationists stated that the Seneca were to deliver up the land after the filing of the Ogden Land Company appraisal report, accompanied by payment by the Ogden Land Company, from German Purchase monies. However, the Ogden Land Company did not make the appraisal or payment. Without secure title to the reservation lands, the Ogden Land Company could not convey the title to the Inspirationists. Seizure of timber cut by the Seneca by the Inspirationists caused the Seneca to file a warrant for the arrest of William Noe, although Metz was *Werkzeug*. The Seneca wished to have not only Noe but the entire Community arrested and evicted, with the force of law. Residence on reservations was restricted to Indians, by Federal law. Meetings between Inspirationists and the Seneca led to agreements of difference between the *Werkzeug* testimony of God's plan intended solely for the Inspirationists and the Great Spirit's guidance and protection of the Seneca, with both groups using essentially the same

argument of divine intent. For earthly matters, the Seneca were the keepers of the Reservation and the Inspirationists came under their protection, as would any other non-Seneca on the Reservation.[178] The Seneca gave the Inspirationists three hundred acres for crop production. The waning Ogden Land Company contract with the March 15th deadline required the Ogden Land Company to file the appraisal and make payment with Inspirationist monies by April 1, 1844. Appraisal work by the Ogden Land Company started slowly. The Treaty of 1838 stated that the Seneca receive lifetime leases free of rent on Reservation lands. It is possible that some Seneca resided within the German Purchase tract on the Reservation, since Inspirationists utilized Seneca cabins on that tract. Following a tree-cutting and bark-peeling event by the Seneca in June of 1845, the Seneca agreed on July 9, 1845, in Federal Court in Washington, D. C., not to use the German Tract within the Buffalo Creek Reservation. In that action, the Inspirationists had hired Millard Fillmore, future presidential candidate of the Know-Nothing Party, as counsel. The last of the Seneca left the Big Buffalo Creek Reservation for the Cattaraugus Reservation in 1846. The Ogden Land Compaany abused both the Seneca and the Inspirationists. The Inspirationists chose not to purchase additional lands made available upon the eviction of the Seneca.[179]

Immigration from Hesse-Darmstadt occurred in groups with few individuals traveling separately. On April 28, 1843, fifty-two members arrived. Seventy-five arrived on June 3, 1843. Forty-three arrived on July 26, 1842. Sixty-seven arrived on October 7, 1843. Atlantic Ocean winter weather traveling conditions put a stop to Community emigration until the following spring. On June 24, 1844 two hundred seventeen arrived.

One hundred arrived on August 2, 1845. Eighteen arrived October 16, 1845. Not all Community members left Hesse-Darmstadt.[180] The members of the Community making the trans-Atlantic migration was diverse. Some were wealthy, but many were not. The communalist economic structure of the Community precluded poverty while the religious devotional structure and Community censure precluded acts antithetical to the Community structure. The migrating members included economically stable members seeking devotional harmony and economic success with other members. Occupations of the migrants fell within five categories of doctors, farmers, manufacturers, craftsmen, and mechanics. However, once on the German Tract, the Inspirationist Community assimilated by occupation to meet the needs of the Community. Occupations included elder, or village-based spiritual leader; trustee, or village-based property leader, often holding mortgages of other members; preacher; merchant; farmer; watchmaker; artist; seamstress; manufacturer; dyer; carpenter; butcher; saddler; mason; blacksmith; baker; weaver; teacher; bookbinder; wagon-maker; factory worker; shoe-maker; printer; cooper; miller; tanner; teamsters, or oxen-workers; doctor; pharmacist; chemist; clerk; bookkeeper; soap-maker; cabinet-maker; finisher; millwright; machinist; brewer; tinsmith; coppersmith; painter; woodchopper; gardener; potter; architect; saw-miller; agent; general laborer; tailor; cook; and locksmith.

Communalist strategies for the Community developed within Erie County. In Hesse-Darmstadt, church and civil efforts to stem Inspirationist practices had used economic and political pressures that served as push factors.[181] Within the two walled enclaves, Community members agreed to economic restraint, specifically Community standards in occupation and economic practices as well as limits to individual wealth

along with adherence to Community non-economic ideals and practices. [182] Wealthy members might have economic haven but no spiritual haven outside of the walls of the former monastery and convent. [183] In contrast, in the German Tract, push conditions did not exist. Wealthy and skilled Community members might settle outside of the German Tract within the pull of German Lutheran communities of Erie County and the city of Buffalo. [184] Members lacking wealth, but available as skilled labor, might join mobile workers, including Germans, who moved from job to job within Erie County. [185] That perception of choice generated a high level of awareness of independence among wealthy and skilled Community members with subsequent spiritual, financial, and skills fragmentation of the group. Those perceptions posed risks to the solidarity of the Community.

After migrating, an important first act was the establishment of a provisional constitution of the Ebenezer Society, a name accepted by the members of the Community. [186] The name Ebenezer Society illustrates an economic basis and spiritual relationship of inclusion within the entire Community as well as the relationship of wealthy individuals to the economic and spiritual well-being of the group. The provisional constitution guaranteed secure livelihood and paid interest of that livelihood with land as collateral to wealthy members of the Community. [187] To resolve differences of perception of wealth and skill and to increase solidarity within the Ebenezers, the communal basis of the group was established with the provisional constitution. Inspirationist utopian communalism had its origins in the awareness of difference and choice by the extensive, complex and worldly German community within Erie County and especially the city of Buffalo.

On February 20, 1843, the Ebenezers, organized under the name of Ebenezer, established twenty-four devotional rules for the Community in addition to the provisional constitution addressing economic issues. The twenty-four rules and the constitution shaped the life in the new Ebenezer Community. All land, improvements, existing Seneca cabins and Community built structures were held in common, excluding clothing and household items. Prosperous Community members were to advance monies to cover the expense pf migration and settlement and were to receive a share proportionate to their expenses of the Ebenezer Tract and improvements in the form of a mortgage. Title to the Ebenezer Tract was vested in sixteen Trustees, but management of the Ebenezer Society, Trustees, and all Community members, was held within a council of thirteen Elders, including Metz. Although Heinemann was *Werkzeug*, she was neither a Trustee nor Elder. [188]

Four villages developed on the Ebenezer Tract, within the area of present-day West Seneca, New York. Two more villages followed in Willoughby Township, in the former Welland County (now Niagara County), Ontario, Canada, across the Niagara River, on the opposite side of Buffalo, south of Black Creek and north of Fort Erie. Villages in the Ebenezer Tract followed a layout pattern. Long straight roads guided non-Community migrants to the north and south of each village on the outskirts. Community village development fell in the center of the parallel roads. The first village, Middle Ebenezer, was named using the same verse in the Book of Samuel, "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it 'Ebenezer'", the Community name of the Ebenezer Society, and purchased tract. Within the year, two more villages were laid out, Upper and Lower Ebenezer. New Ebenezer followed the

other three. [189] After the development of the four villages, Pennsylvannia Dutch families joined the Community, seeking to purchase land and the two Communities in Canada were established, Canada Ebenezer and Kenneberg. Each village had its church, school, Community kitchens, and mills for processing timber, wool, and grain. [190]

Following the initial Ebenezer Tract settlement, daily life for the Community fell into a routine. Community members traveled only infrequently to other villages, remaining strangers to each other, identifiable by dialect differences of each village. Community members referred to the unknown Community members as "Sister All" and "Brother All". [191] The mills and factories using the milled products established a solid commercial reputation in the area, including Buffalo. Using oxen, the Ebenezers produced harvests of rye, barley, oats, corn, potatoes, and onions. Women worked in mills, Community kitchens, and harvested crops. [192] The use of *taglohner* [193], or hired hand, later used in Amana, was unknown in Ebenezer villages, despite a large, available, and mobile mostly single male labor in Erie County, including Germans. Articles appearing in the Buffalo German newspapers noted the unique lifestyle in the Community and noted observed women workers in the fields, a role that paralleled that of single women and married women with young children within factories in Germany, at that time. [194] Although after 1859, Community sources, in Amana, Iowa describe the work of women and girls as confined solely to the kitchen, observations of Buffalo press visitors to Ebenezer villages described "great gangs of men and women, fifty to a hundred, engaged in the ordinary avocations of a farm". The Buffalo press also described a harvest scene, "a row, half a mile long, of women, a few yards apart, reaping with sickles". [195] In the communal kitchens, women workers prepared and served food for

from sixteen to fifty people, at a time. Meals were eaten in near silence. Breakfast was served at 6:00 AM in summer and 6:30 in winter. Dinner (lunch) was served at 11:30 AM with supper at 6:30 PM in winter and 7:00 PM in summer to accommodate the long summer days of season farm work. Access to beer and wine, by way of voucher tickets, was provided by the keepers in each village. [196]

Religious services fell within Ebenezer practices of devotional pietist religious life. Prayer meetings and work announcements followed evening meals. In religious practice, confession led to participation in divine services. Community members worshipped in the village church with separate rooms for women and men, or segregated women and men within one room. [197]

Marriage reflected communalist life closed to Lutheran practice and New York State law. An engagement of one year led to marriage. Ebenezer men traveled to Canada Ebenezer and Kenneberg, as well as the other villages to carefully consider marriage choices. After 1854 to 1859, during the transition to Amana, the man remained in the Ebenezer Tract village, while the woman traveled to Amana, to foster considered choices. The Elder of the village consecrated the marriage. The couple then went to the Community kitchen for a wedding breakfast which included pfefferneuse, a German cookie. The couple then went to the groom's parents' house, then to the bride's parents' house for blessings. Houses comprised two room apartments, a large sitting room with a few pieces of furniture and a bedroom with two single beds. Walls and ceilings were painted a shade called Ebenezer blue, at that time. Four to six apartments comprised the domicile buildings. [198] The same shade name was used to characterize the color of cotton denim and calico produced in the mills within the two Canadian villages. [199] In clothing,

Ebenezer blue cotton denim and calico, the pattern produced using an acid bath on raised tiny floral pattern rollers, served as summer clothing fabric while black and gray wool fabrics comprised winter clothing fabrics. Women wore calico dresses with the bodice joined to the full skirt with a wide waistband. A shoulder shawl of the same fabric sewn front and back to the waist concealed the upper body. A cap or bonnet covered women's heads. Men wore pleated trousers, and long sleeved shirts. Beards were common, trimmed, and without moustache. [200]

The differences of culture, ideals, social, religious, and economic practices led to suspicion and disappointment between the Ebenezers and Buffalo Germans as well as non-Germans, leading to mutually critical outsider opinions, within both Ebenezer and Buffalo communities. Growth of both the city of Buffalo and a thirty per cent increase of population in Ebenezer villages (from eight hundred to twelve hundred within the years between 1843 and 1854) brought increased contact between the Ebenezers and Buffalo Germans and non-Germans, changing well established and limited interactions of commerce, with few similarities of culture. [201] The Ebenezers' private sphere was no longer closed to outsiders.

Five push factors emerged for re-migration and re-settlement from the Ebenezer Tract and Canada Communities to Amana, Iowa.[202] First, Ebenezer population grew by one-third in the decade between late 1843 and 1854. The growth of population resulted in both increased contact between Ebenezers and members of the Buffalo community, as well as an insufficiency of land. Second, land values had increased, as Buffalo had grown, to prices prohibitive to Ebenezer Trustees. The Trustees and Elders chose to move west to purchase land more inexpensively. Third, the worldly attractions of the city

of Buffalo tempted Ebenezer young people and compromised Community beliefs that emphasized salvation of the soul. Obedience to God's will, faithfulness, love of Christ, and the preservation of the Community required keeping apart from strife and temptation of the world, the New World forms of the binary circling spheres of *kultur* and *zivilisation*. Fourth, the industrial growth of the city of Buffalo [203] undermined the artisan and small factory work of the Ebenezers, resulting in uneven and uncertain market share of Ebenezer products. In civil and political matters, Community members followed group practices of their insular history, erecting a wall, in abstaining from area civil elections. [204] That Ebenezer wall of civil non-participation failed to provide adequate protection. Fifth, the Ebenezers became increasingly scruntinized and utilized by visitors from Buffalo, including the press, as entertainment and moral landmarks in the world of industrialized Buffalo. Buggies of visitors drove on weekends to the villages to inspect and comment on the "quaint" culture of the Ebenezers, not unlike visitors of the Pennsylvanian Amish today. [205] Additionally, the Buffalo community, including many Lutheran Germans, often regarded the Ebenezers as not only quaint, but strange. German press in Buffalo reported Ebenezer discord following the Community lock-up of a young couple together, in a former Seneca cabin, in Elma, New York, for a period of one year. Reportedly, the couple, using the marriage services of a Buffalo justice of the peace, violated the one year waiting period within the Community marital edit, during a trip to deliver riven, or straight-grain, lath to the Buffalo market. The Ebenezer Community ensured the intent of the edict, if not the customary practice, with the yearlong imprisonment of the young man with the young women, in isolation from the rest of the Community. [206] The press article may or may not have had reasonable possibility of fully

balanced content from the closed Community, yet it illustrates degrees of cultural difference and suspicions between the Ebenezers and the Buffalo community.

In 1854, Metz and three other men traveled west to Kansas to examine land for purchase, returning, unsuccessful, a month later. A new committee went west and purchased eighteen thousand acres on the Iowa River in Iowa County, Iowa, sixty miles from a well-established Old Order Amish settlement. Additional land was purchased, increasing holdings to twenty-six thousand acres. Initially the Iowa location was called *"Bleibe Trall" or "Remain faithful"*, perhaps in reference to the migrations throughout Germany, Holland, Switzerland, to Germany and on to New York State, Buffalo Creek Reservation, to Ebenezer, in Erie County. After a short time, the name was changed to *"Amana"*, or for the Community, "Believe faithfully", 59 taken from the Song of Solomon 4:8. "Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon: look from the top of Amana, from the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the lions' dens, from the mountains of the leopards." [207]

The Ebenezer Tract Community moved the entire Community in the years from 1855 to 1859. Buildings constructed in Iowa followed the sale of individual Ebenezer holdings as reconfigured smaller lots, unlike the large single Ogden Land Company German Purchase tract. The buildings, churches, kitchens, mills, factories, and homes were priced separately, and sold with the properties. [208] In 1859, the Canadian settlements of Canada Ebenezer and Kenneberg were sold and individual buildings taken apart with the ridge beams moved to Amana, unlike the buildings in Erie County, which remained intact to be sold. [209]

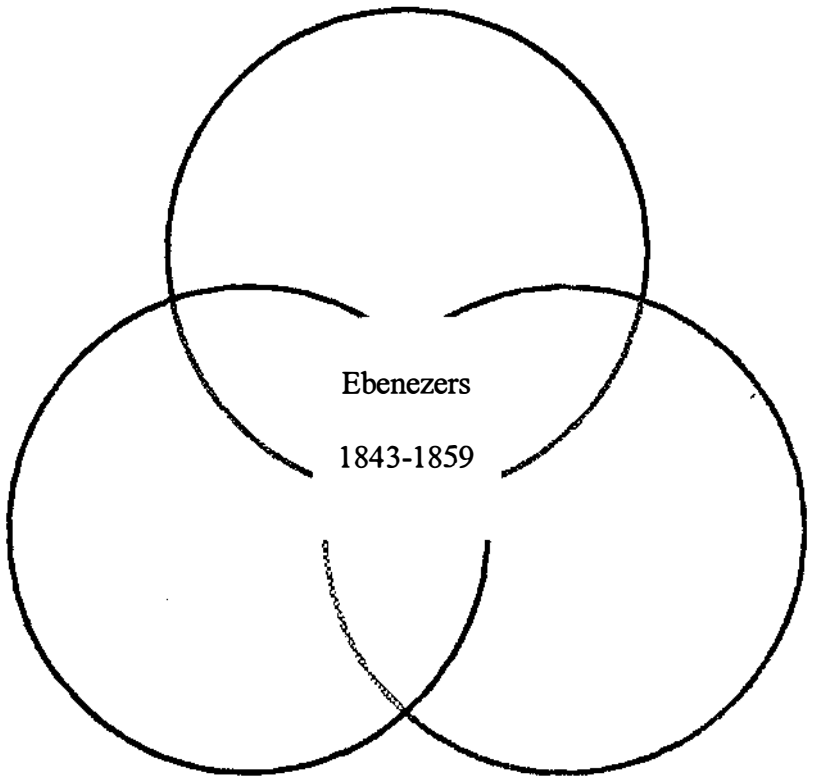
The Amana Community has remained the largest communalist utopian settlement on American soil, with a current population of 1,800. The intent to preserve the Community led to a split between the economic and devotional pietist cultures of the Community, known as "The Great Change", establishing the separate identities of the Community and the Amana Corporation, in 1936. [210] Following an original invention by Community member George Forster of a beverage refrigeration system to keep beer cold, the Amana Corporation remains a major producer of modern appliances. Today, of the communalist and utopian settlements in the United States, only Amana and a settlement of four Shakers in Maine remain. [211] The Iowa Community is identified by the German Embassy in Washington, D. C. [212] as a major immigration settlement center as well as ideal utopian model of German immigration and settlement to the United States. The National Park Service recognizes the Amana Community as a National Heritage Site of German immigrant utopian experience [213] and a comprehensive outdoor living Community museum commemorating the history of the Community. Tourists to the Amana Colonies as well as students of history of German immigrant experience continue to interpret and create Community history.

Part III

If, as historian David Lowenthal states, the past is a foreign country, then contextualized and corroborated inquiry in study may be useful in understanding the past. Construction of a webpage to examine the past is one model of the intersection of inquiry with memory, heritage, and history. Part III is the intersection of contextualized and corroborated primary source inquiry with memory, heritage and history using the topic of the trans-Atlantic migratory experiences of a German pietist community, the Ebenezers, 1843-1859, Erie County, New York and Welland County, Ontario, Canada, from Internet sources.

Diagram I: A model of the intersection of memory, heritage, and history with contextualized and corroborated historical inquiry in a web page on the Internet.
The research topic, the Ebenezers, 1843-1859, is the local name taken by the Community of the True Inspiration from the Book of Samuel, for both the Community and the geographical location of settlement.

Inquiry



Memory
Heritage
History

Internet

Part III comprises a brief overview of memory, heritage, history, and student thinking. Historian Peter Stearns (www.historians.org/pubs/Free/WhyStudyHistory.htm) analyzed the role of historical inquiry in the development of student habits of mind. Historian David Lowenthal, from "The Timesless Past: Some Anglo-American Historical Perceptions", identified four linked historical preconceptions, centered in the present, that misinterpret sources of memory, heritage and history by viewing them through the present. Sociologist Suzanne Vromen, in a review of "Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory", by Lewis A. Croser, addressed the collectively rewritten past to foster identity and continuation of peoples, through rewritten landscape. Historians Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, the Introduction to *Representations* Special Issue on Memory and Counter-Memory, find the collective rewritten past to be a productive negotiated act of tension, with an abiding obligation to remember truly. Historian David Gerber, "Local and Community History: Some Cautionary Remarks on an Idea Whose Time Has Returned", addressed risks and potentials of local history informing larger spatial and social historical understandings. Historian David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory", found historical inquiry into memory, heritage, and history as an approach or process: memory transforms into public history with multiplied, diverse meanings in negotiated historical dialog spaces, both geographical and virtual. Lowenthal, "Fabricating Heritage", (http://iupjournals.org/history/ham10-1.html), analyzed the intersection of memory and heritage within geographical and virtual space, finding heritage as credulous allegiance or catechism rather than a testable version of the historical past. Sociologist Diane Barthel, "Historical Preservation: A Comparative Analyses", found social mapping, or the shaping of social identity, in peoples and places

through the narration of experience in historical preservation. In another work, "Nostalgia for America's Village Past: Staged Symbolic Communities", Barthel analyzes memory, heritage and history within the example of Amana, the National Park Service Heritage Site of the Community of the True Inspiration, finding the culture, history and identity of Amana solely within private social networks, invisible to tourists and preservationists. In a third work, "Amana: From Pietist Sect to American Community", Barthel found negotiated historical dialog mute in the geographical and social space of Amana. Potential understandings of the foreign country of Amana's past weigh against dialog of memory, heritage and history. Educational researcher Samuel Wineburg analyzed students' understandings of collective memory with memory, heritage and history (www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kwin9903.htm). Wineburg provides two concepts, the sourcing heuristic and the corroboration heuristic to understand historical ways of perceiving and thinking. Both contextualization and corroboration can frame historical inquiry, inquiry from the past, with the goal of understanding the foreign country of the past. Historian Linda Pomerantz (www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/ pomerantz.html) finds inquiry can use primary and secondary sources from the Internet, with three areas of interest to historians in sustained examination of Internet resources; differences between linear and associational thinking; and virtual versus classroom interactivity levels. Historian Nancy Fitch (www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch /reflectiveessay.htm) finds that students need to ask and answer questions from primary sources, ask historical questions that can be researched, and think critically about what is presented as history to produce an interpretation meaningful to them. Researchers from Cornell University, IBM, the British Museum, and the National Museum of Ethnology in

Japan, in a collaborative effort (http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618 with www.mcn.edu/index.asp, as an example), created Global Digital Museum (GDM), finding museum scope and location greatly limited access to primary sources. GDM provides electronic access to primary source objects, underlying concepts, such as immigration, through primary source comparison, and construction of teaching collections and dialog spaces by museum curators, educators, and GDM users. Finally, as a caveat, Computer Mediated Communications researchers Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson state (www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html) that, contrary to author Thomas Friedman's argument of a flat world, Internet technology creates pre-selected communities rather than multiplicity of publics within the real, dynamic world. Fernback and Thompson find geographic and historic communities more stable than virtual communities with limits of opportunities for productive conflict for diverse understandings.

The intersection of inquiry from contextualized and corroborated primary sources with memory, heritage and history can foster new questions and meanings. Frictions between memory, heritage and history can generate those questions, enriching inquiry.

Historian Peter Stearns asserts history, as a process of inquiry, uses data to support understandings of communities' pasts to understand change, factors of change, and continuity. [214] History provides verifiable data, in the form of primary sources, for moral contemplation of the questions that individuals and groups faced in the past. History provides identity. Historical data includes sources of how families, groups, institutions, and peoples were formed and changed while remaining connected. History

provides data about the emergence of peoples and institutions, values and issues and includes how peoples interacted with other peoples. [215]

Stearns continues [216] that students of history develop broad habits of mind. Students develop the ability to assess primary source evidence, distinguishing between the objective and self-interested narration. Students learn to evaluate and combine different kinds of evidence and sources, public states, private and community statements, records, numerical data, visual and media materials in order to make original narratives. Students identify and evaluate conflicting interpretations, supporting citizenship within their community. Engaging in the assessment of narrative in debate and perspective can conflict with narrower uses of history to establish identity. Stearns states that students assess past changes of perspectives and narrations. Analysis of change determines the magnitude and significance of change as some changes are more fundamental than others. Identifying continuity that accompanies change presents the possibility of examining issues and values of peoples. The benefits of history derive from the kinds of history, whether individual, community, peoples or global. [217]

As Stearns states [218], developing habits of mind requires repeated experience in historical inquiry, using a wide variety of materials, including those on the Interent, as well as diverse questions. Facts are essential as historical analysis depends on data. The facts can come from personal, family, community, or global history. Assessing different magnitudes of historical change, multiple evidences, and conflicting interpretations within a question supports the development of historical habits of mind although core or essential historical episodes and experience in historical inquiry remain crucial for historical study. The role of historical inquiry expands knowledge of the past. In the

process, students acquire habits of mind, basic data, skills of inquiry, and the capacity of informed citizenship and critical thinking.[219]

Historian David Lowenthal asserts that the ways that people recall, shape, omit, distort, and reshuffle memory narratives resembles the ways in which historians keep, interpret, and transmit social memories. However, the study of history is collective and is testable against accessible sources. [220]

Lowenthal continues that other factors differentiating memory from the study of history is the focus on processes of recollection and the motives and biases that reshape memory. [221] The collective past is personal, a deeply held extension of the present, with events and understandings of the past perceived and evaluated with today's perspectives. Lacking a true past to be accurately reconstructed, memory and history are socially constructed, rather than an objective record to be collected. Everyone uses the past creatively, uniquely and differently. When history students construct a historical dialog, they must be aware of the filters through which historical ideas, events and information is screened. [222]

Lowenthal identified four linked perspectives in popular historical preconceptions. The first is the notion of a timeless, perhaps cyclical, past, devoid of change. The second, a past that mirrors the present, read back from it and reflecting eternal, universal or cyclical understandings. The third is an unprogressive, traditional past. The fourth comprises perspectives that differentiate one's own past from that of other peoples' to extol or deplore lack of progress. These perspectives are centered in the present. They misinterpret historical sources by viewing them through the experience and values of the present.[223] Custodians of public history, preservationists, managers of

heritage, teachers, social scientists and historians risk articulating presentist perspectives as tenets of faith, in dragging the past out of context into the present. [224] Americans who inflate the past with the present reflect nineteenth century historians, preservationists, and park curators, obliterating time and the strangeness of the foreign country of the past. Preservationists of the nineteenth century emphasized stable local regularity. Where change is rapid, cumulative and transformative, nineteenth century preservationists focused on remnants of the unchanged past, aligned to then contemporary life. [225]

Lowenthal states that the past has an advantage over the present: it lacks the uncertainty of the present because it is over. Because the past is completed, it can be retold with a narrative with rational shape compared to presentist experience. Students of history are partly responsible for confirming, if not generating, the illusion that the past has patterns. The patterns of the past, in memory or history, are patterns fabricated by the narrator on the frameworks of previous narrators. Historical narration is deeply antithetical to traditional ways of accessing and using the past, ways that celebrate the role of memory. [226]

Sociologist Suzanne Vromen asserts that in *The Social Frameworks of Memory* Halbwachs argued against considering memory to be exclusively an individual effort. Remembering uses collective frameworks made up of social reference points that coordinate memory to time and place. Memories are acquired, recalled, recognized, and located to time and place. Memory negotiates experience and ensures the continuation of social groups. Object and idea derive from the present experience; collective memories are not recollection but reconstruction. Remembering is construction of social relation, a form of presentism: the past is a reflection of present concerns. [227] Memory is the

relationship with the past, linked through the present. Identity depends on memory in that memory narratives construct and deconstruct identities. [228]

Historians Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn assert that memory is made from myth, ideology, and narrative strategy. The gap between memory and history is negotiable, through the historical study of memory. Commemorative place, primary source object, and time supports rememberances of origins and how memories overlap and collide. That layered collision may suggest ways in which memory can challenge the biases, omissions, exclusions, generalizations, and abstractions of history.[229]

David and Starn continue that local micro-histories are sources for writing larger narratives, as well as the local histories not located in the official memory of public heritage and historiography. Memory, like body, may not speak in the language of reasoned inquiry. Rather than opposition between memory and history, however, there might be interdependence. The tension between memory and history may be productive. An obligation to remember truly is as abiding as historical analysis of ties to kin and place of the past. [230]

Historian David A. Gerber asserts many Americans are engaged in separate searches into their roots and writing histories of their towns, families, communities, and churches. There appears to be a parallel shared core of attitudes, emotions and goals among history teachers.[231] History teachers utilize familiar local and community materials and bring objectivity and analysis into the study of change and continuity of human experience. However, Gerber warns, an unexamined plunge into popular local and community history may present false or incomplete views of the past. [232]

Gerber states that the study of small functional spatial units of human settlement, such as local communities, and of social solidarity of local groups, such as ethnicity, kinship and religious groups sharing experience and common identity reflects an understanding of human social developments over time. Historical continuity and change is linked in content, causes, and consequences to those local understandings, with the potential to change understandings of the past. [233]

Gerber continues that as in traditional societies, pre-twentieth century migrating groups oriented their lives around their locality, their sense of place. In the search for personal and group histories, Americans seek a spiritual return to the presumed and unknown securities of the most elemental units of experience, family, kin, ethnic group, church, and neighborhood. Rather than reinforcing cultural consolation, romantic ethnicity, and sentimental populism, local communities' histories can provide an objective analysis and understanding of the past. [234]

Gerber states that local community history of the nineteenth century celebrated a world that was white, male, Protestant, bourgeois, acquisitive, individualistic, self-reliant, and deeply rooted in rural and agrarian memory. [235] The first generation of academic historians, largely Ango- and Germanophiles, were influenced by germ theories of civilization with a goal of Euro-centric and Anglo-Saxon origins of American culture. [14] The accompanying democratization of technique of nonacademic historians, historic preservationists, museum curators, and producers of documentaries do not necessarily provide effective keys to the past. That work, characterized less by highly sophisticated methodology and technique, uses evocative and persuasive image, object, and text, as forms of primary sources. [237]

Gerber finds that community history is local, minimizing regional, national and international influences. Community history evokes the subjective, emotional, and experiential aspects of social life in human interactions. People are visited historically in their foreign lands not in terms of measurable and comparable social status, wealth, or power but in terms of how they conceive of themselves and how they are perceived by those around them with whom they may or may not interact. This search for self-conceptions uses memory, heritage and history. [238] People talking candidly about their community experience creates an emotional, richly evocative understanding of the past. [239]

Gerber also finds that within community history, emigration and ethnicity, including white immigration and ethnicity, are studied not as a single class, but as subgroups in society, with careful examination of subtle cultural disorientation during assimilation and settlement. [240] The focus upon a single location and individual ethnic group evokes a rich, unique past in contrast to preoccupation with ideology or hegemony. Using a group's history of common issues, experiences, and problems in immigration, assimilation and cultural change to illustrate identity and group life may not address other powerful identities of gender, social class, age group, race, and religion. [241] Shared, exclusionary or insular American cultural values may be features absent in the landscape of the local past, remaining invisible to the historian and student alike.

Gerber finds that in a culture based upon competition for resources, group identification has been a source of tension and fragmentation. Diversity in a competitive environment made collective behavior difficult. Group values and loyalties strengthened the group in identity and self-determination, but also impeded a sense of larger common

good necessary to tie Americans together in shared histories and mutual patterns and concerns. [242] Focus on lack of mutual patterns and concerns in historical understandings of the social system in which identities are integrated may foster a parochial community history. A narrow focus on individual localities in the absence of different historical epochs, regional, national and global markets, social and political realities in migration can foster parochialism, as well. [243]

Gerber states that histories comprised solely of oral histories can be profoundly evocative, perhaps at the cost of describing and analyzing larger social contexts. Additionally, oral history is the product of memory. Memory is not history. [244] It is less that memory may or may not be correct as it is memory makes no pretense to bring a view from outside of the individual.[245] Memory, unlike analytical history, lacks examination, evidences, bibliography and footnotes, to check errors. Memory does not know and cannot know it is in error. [246] Memory does not know it is not history. [247]

Gerber addresses local evocative oral history. An emphasis on the experiential, emotional, and subjective produces an understanding of individual lives as historical change, deepening the capacity for empathy, choice, and responsibility, important goals of social studies. Community histories that rely on oral testimonies let ordinary people tell their stories from their perceptions in their own way. Emotion and evocation tests the dispassion, objectivity and analysis of the scholar. Each kind of history poses a contradiction for the other, inviting mediation and dialog. [248] Local histories using oral testimonies combined with traditional historical analysis provides analytical descriptions and understandings of the larger social contexts of the individual or local group, integrating community history into larger space and social contexts. [249].

Gerber concludes that the interaction between local social processes of migration, assimilation, and mobility, and communities illustrates the interconnectedness and complexity of social process phenomena. Social processes are dynamic, continuous, local and global. Social processes occur generally throughout a society at a given time, varying in content, shape, and consequence community by community within the society. Social processes are constructive historical tools providing the framework to study continuity and change vital to students' lives as responsible citizens and social beings connected to others. [250]

Historian David Glassberg asserts that new scholarship on memory offers a way to think about public history. [251] Public history offers a way to understand how historical knowledge is created, institutionalized, disseminated and understood. The difference between scholarships on memory is not the topic but the approach. Earlier inquiry sought to characterize a single narrative about a past. Recent inquiry seeks to understand the interrelationships between different versions of public history. History, as a social organization of tradition with various versions of the past, is communicated in society through many forms of institutions and media, including school, government, recreational history, art, landscape, literature, community and family stories. [252]

Glassberg finds that historical inquiry is one of several versions of the past within public and private experience in a particular time and place. [253] Earlier inquiry assumed participants understood the history forms more or less the same way. Present inquiry emphasizes many different meanings from the same representation or narrative, derived from diverse social backgrounds. Oral historians explore how individuals recalling the past place historical events combine the recollection of events with how the individual or

group thought the events should have turned out. How individual memories of the past are established and confirmed through dialogue (face-to-face and media) discover the relationship of memories to historical representations circulating within public technology. [254]

Glassberg states that whose version of history gets institutionalized and disseminated embodies not only ideas about history, the relation of the past, present and future, but also ideas about the relationship of diverse groups. [255] Inquiry of history reflects and is reflected by war memorials, civic celebrations, museums and historical places. Historical imagery provides myths and symbols that hold diverse groups together. Shared history, through image and object as well as textual sources, are elements of a remembered past as well as a forgotten past. This is crucial in the construction of an imagined community with which disparate individuals and communities envision themselves as members of a collective with a common present and future. Consensual history embodies civic faith under ethnicity and class. Narrative imposes control. Historical narrative disseminated by the government, media and technology advance narrative may suppress authentic local memory and identity. Historical narrative of the National Park Service or the military contrasts in form and content with the multiplicity of vernacular memories individuals, families, groups, and communities use to create and sustain ties. A civil-religion approach overlooks dissenting voices, historical views of minorities, and conflict within the construction and dissemination of public history. [256]

Glassberg continues that there are multiple public histories as well as multiple vernacular histories. [257] Peoples' histories appropriate and transform individual

vernacular memories into public history. National history imagery acquires diverse meanings distinct from and multiplying local contextual meanings. Public history initially reproduces then serves as an instrument through which those relationships are transformed. As inquiry between local and peoples' inquiry frameworks exhibits, museums, memorials, celebrations and historical places are examples not of collective memory but collected memory, shared and conflicting memories converging in shared public and virtual spaces. A task for teacher-historians is to create spaces for dialogue about events and history, itself, in memory, insuring various voices are heard in those spaces, as well as providing basic events facts, inquiry, and interpretations within scholarly research. Historical dialog is evident in historical imagery in commercial mass media, forms of technology, and tourist destinations. [258] Participants neither passively receive nor actively challenge historical imagery within the narrative space. They negotiate between narrative space, history, and their own experience. Historical dialog spaces, whether geographical or virtual, contain suppressed collective memories of groups embedded within it. Participants can recover, investigate and construct memories and meanings within the historical narrative space. Historical narrative spaces, both geographical and virtual, within mass media, technology and geographical location, communicates multiplicity of alternative versions. Historical dialog space represents successive contexts authored with multiple meanings within particular historical narratives.[259]

Glassberg finds that history orients identity within environment. Historical consciousness and place consciousness are intertwined, attaching history to place, through memory and historical association. Community places that define special place

and event provide both historical narrative and dialog space. Additionally, abandoned place gains intelligibility in memory, through the process of destruction or forgetting and subsequent construction. Historical narrative then becomes depictions of continuity and discontinuity with the immediate or consensus memory even within a group. [260]

Glassberg concludes that conflicting meanings among social groups is part of the struggle of social hegemony. The multiplicity of perceptions, values, and meanings restore and remodel character of place as well as the versions of community meanings. Versions vary from migrant to local resident. Migrants construct meaning of place to carried meanings to recover, investigate and construct memories and meanings within the historical narrative space. Local residents understand place as webs of memory sites and social events. Within historical narratives new meanings emerge. [261]

Historian David Lowenthal [262] asserts that devotion to heritage is a spiritual calling. Heritage fosters piety. The creed of heritage answers needs for devotion. [263] Heritage relies on revealed faith rather than rational proof. Heritage is not history. History seeks to persuade or narrate by proofs.[264] Heritage, in contrast, exaggerates, omits, invents, and forgets, thriving on lack of knowledge and error. Heritage is immune to critique because it is catechism, not verifiable event but credulous allegiance. Heritage is not a testable or plausible version of the past, rather it is a declaration of faith about the past. Biased pride is the essential aim of heritage, attesting identity and affirming worth. Heritage diverges from history not in bias, but in the view of bias. Historians aim to identify and critique bias, heritage sanctions and strengthen it. Heritage endows us alone, benefiting us by withholding from others. Sharing or even showing legacy to outsiders vitiates its power and value. [265]

Lowenthal continues that a mountain of false information, monumental, sustains all societies. [266] To tamper with the past is dangerous because it disturbs the sanctified version that makes the present bearable. Getting history wrong is crucial for the creation of a nation. The desire to rewrite the past to conform with group pride is too universal to be dismissed. Falsified legacies are integral to group identity. [267] Heritage reshapes a past making the past easy to embrace. While heritage experts create artifice, the public neither seeks historical veracity nor minds its absence. Memory and heritage preserve individual and collective identities. Those who share communal legacy must accept some agreed notion of its nature. Like memory, heritage is meant to be opaque to outsiders. Heritage is not the opposite of history, but its complement, reshaping our lives. The issue is ownership and control. To inherit is not enough. People are heirs to the past, heirs to the collections they own, free to decide for themselves what they are going to do with the past, what it means to them now, and in the future. [268]

The choices what to do with the past and what that means includes historic preservation. Sociologist Diane Barthel asserts that historic preservation takes different forms in different societies. Two factors determine those forms of historic preservation. The first is the larger social structure of social classes and groups. The second is social mapping, or the physical remains that are candidates for preservation, territorial distribution, and the preservationists' consciousness of history and their understanding of their role in the symbolic interpretation of history. [269] In the United States preservation is institutionalized at every level of political organization, from the local village to the national level of the Department of the Interior, specifically the National Park Service.

Barthel continues that historic preservation is part of a larger consciousness that includes preservation of manuscripts, art, and other material culture, monuments, battlefields and wilderness preservation. Beyond structure is the cultural content representing how concepts of the past are incorporated into both narrative and mythic interpretation. [270]

Barthel states that in America the motive behind the earliest preservation was patriotic. While patriotism was the primary force behind nineteenth century preservation efforts, a second was a culturally specific response to industrialization. The first motive was political, the second was economic, a response to the market economy. Henry Ford's passion for Americana, the relics of the earlier American past, was the counterpoint of a historical figure whose mission in Dearborn was to take America away from the American past as quickly as possible. The creator of assembly line American life venerated old European handicraft civilization. A second example, the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, reflected the efforts of A. R. Goodwin, Department Chair of Bible Literature and Religious Education at the College of William and Mary to influence John D. Rockefeller to finance and support restorations identified by Goodwin. [271] Financial backing for the showcases addressing history, heritage, and memory stemmed from wealthy individuals with a vision to communicate their image of past American society. While each local crusade had specific symbols and goals, the crusaders were drawn from the same class. [272] The historic villages established or preserved by Ford, Rockefeller, and others, were complex gestures of several meanings. The acts communicated trans-Atlantic seigniorial rights anchored to the other side of the Atlantic, but migrating through a social class of the dynamic American market economy. The

industry and business leaders created the manor and the village, reflecting the ability of social class to impose symbolic interpretation on the American landscape. [273]

Barthel continues that American preservation did not remain restricted by class. It underwent a process of professionalization and bureaucratization. [274] Until 1930, federal involvement was minimal, split between the War Department, responsible for monuments and battlefields, and the National Park Service. After 1930, the NPS won support for the Historic American Buildings Survey. A second achievement, the passage of the Historic Sites Act in 1935, set terms for properties acquisitions, with a national survey to be completed every decade. The NPS recommended a National Board on Historic Sites to advise the secretary of the interior. The localism that characterized American preservation from the beginning made coordination difficult. Professionals and activists in government and the private sector established the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1949. [275] In the United States, preservation became one means of social integration of classes as well as racial and ethnic groups, helping to construct diverse civic identities. [276] The local and regional emphasis in American preservation reflected embedded diversity and pluralism embedded in the social structure as well as in the ideology of preservation. Americans constructed society afresh, in contrast to suffering the weight of omnipresent, enduring society. American preservation draws upon the wish and strength to construct the past anew as well. [277] Barthel states that social mapping is more than the presence of structures distributed or allocated for landscape. It is the preservationists' own perceptions of their history, the significance of that perception, and their roles as the guardians of history. [278] In the United States, first efforts of preservation supported political efforts to construct a narration for a dynamic,

emerging nation. The first emphasis on patriotic sites stemmed from three sources: The first, a wider mid-nineteenth century fascination with the revolutionary era and the founding of America. Second, the political changes of the Civil War period, in an effort to recapture the narrative of political unity of the first days of the Federal government. Third, preservationist efforts derived from a changing socioeconomic order as immigrants migrated, assimilated, grew within and changed America. The efforts of preservationists were directed to inculcating political virtue. [279]

Barthel continues that the second wave of preservation at the turn of the century reflected social dislocation from transition, as America moved from one set of values associated with local rural communities, religion, kinship, tradition, to values associated with urban modern life, social mobility, geographical mobility, and competitive market economies. That broad transition required integration into the narrative of American experience. Preservation was part of the narration as Americans constructed presentations of their pasts..[280]

Barthel concludes that while preservationists guarded the past, they also shaped the future. Through selectively communicating the past they articulated the present, shaping the social identity of place and peoples through social mapping. The interpretive process of preservation grew the nation's symbolic order. From the inception of preservation as a critical act of symbolic interpretation, structures were valued, by status groups, for their political, social, economic, cultural instructional significance. [281] Preservation goals and symbols reflect the process of social mapping in landscape, structures, and cultural consciousness. Preservation emerged as an American socially

specific response to societal change and the significance of change of the nineteenth century. [282]

Barthel asserts that within public memory, tourists, like history students, may search for authenticity. [283] It is negotiable how for historic sites can or should try to achieve historical authenticity. Only heritage professionals appear to have an interest in approximating historical reality through accurate historic representations. By contrast, the short-term interests of both the residents of the living community of historic Amana and tourists lay in translating historic religious and communal narrative of the sect into consumerist narrative. This provides essentially an entertainment experience while references to religion serve to guarantee the quality of the marketed experience in the tradition of fine craftsmanship.[284]

Barthel continues that staged symbolic historical communities symbolize real communities of the past with distinctive identities, where they existed at all, impacting the identity of the community and outside communities' interpretive experience, retaining insularity and community identity. [285] The example of Amana allows examination of memory, heritage, and history within identity. The living community of Amana became increasing liberated, that is separated and distinct, from earlier strictures of social control found in the historic community and church. The creation of a heritage site of the living Amana community created new pressures associated with urban life. The changes from the historic community to the living community impacted the social construction of Amana heritage and illustrate differences between history and heritage. [286]

Barthel cites David Lowenthal in her examination of the relationship between history and heritage. [287] Both are socially constructed, essential processes in structuring

social thought and motivating social actions. History and heritage are linked but separate phenomena differ in significant ways. History explores and explains the past grown opaque over time, transforming narratives through updating. Heritage clarifies the pasts to infuse them with present purposes. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose. History is for all. Heritage is for self, alone. Lowenthal emphasizes the importance of the public that often cares little about historical accuracy when it views heritage. While conflict is intregal and endemic within heritage, Lowenthal views the whole process of heritage as a creative act, one in which we can learn from each other's efforts and experiences. [288]

Barthel states that in 1932 the Amana community had the choice between two sets of values, two economic structures, and two ways of life. They voted overwhelmingly to embrace American individualism, capitalism, and consumerism. [289] The old values and social structures of communalism represent a negative reference point against which heritage choices are made. What this means in practice is that Amana residents are even less likely than other Americans to put blocks on themselves or their neighbors as to what they can and cannot do with their lives or their history. The result is that the descendants of the original families both embrace and reject the communal past. They embrace it in spirit, and in voluntarist ways more in keeping with American individualism than with German pietism. [290] Because of overlapping social connections and networks, much of the old habits and patterns of socializing, a primary source invisible to visiting students of history as well as tourists, remains intact today. The true culture, history, and identity of Amana, within social networks, are invisible, occurring within private homes and private interactions. The history of the old Amana, *Werkzeugen* (inspired leaders), elders and

trustees has been romanticized away, leaving the myth of a simple, devout people forced to leave by circumstance, modernize by choice, but who retain the same original values. [291]

Barthel states that a common set of values and a strong system of centralized social control of *Werkzeugen* Heinemann and Metz, Elders, and Trustees forged the Amana identity. The objective appearance of the community was not a facade but a cultural landscape that could be read and understood. In the post-communal period, community members have learned how to package their identity of consumption in a competitive tourism market. Amana residents do not wish to go back to the authentic past or even to re-enact it with any measure of accuracy. [292] Rather than the personal and community quest for accuracy in which one forever approaches the goal without achieving it, Amana people do not mind putting on colorful Bavarian costumes that have nothing to do with the heavy black wool or Ebenezer blue cotton denim outfits that concealed their ancestors. They find no meaning in re-enacting the past that their vote in 1932 rejected. Amana residents have little ideal or material interest in authenticity, and neither do tourists. [293] Few tourists, states Barthel, would want to experience Amana life (and even less, Ebenezer life in Erie County, New York) with the hard labor, daily and lengthy church services, lack of electricity, lack of consumer goods, little education or health care, or the tight social control of two charismatic leaders, and the autonomous, hegemonic, and male entities of elders and trustees. The sufficient pretense of authenticity, provided by the Welcome Center and Amana museums, serves as legitimization to elicit historical tourism business. [294]

Barthel states that the only people to benefit from a pursuit of an authentic past are the heritage professionals.[295] Amana residents do not see it in their interest to plant historic plants in their gardens and fields, to raise historic livestock varieties, or to limit tourist development. Amana represents a way of thinking and being that residents experience differently from heritage tourist or professionals. As Amana loses its historic specificity, as it becomes a heritage site, Amana serves less and less as a resource.[296] Amana represents community choice of social control within immigration; colonization, religion tradition, and heritage narration. Residents embrace new forms of social control of capitalism and consumerism. Ironically, Amana tourist management requires resident management. Periodically, residents agree to be managed and controlled if they see a clear profit. The problem in the history equation is that greater authenticity does not always result in greater profits yet requires greater social control over heritage, historic representation and interpretations.[297]

Sociologist Barthel asserts that the intersection of Amana heritage, memory and formal historical scholarship is visible in Community experience.

Barthel recaps Community history briefly.[58] Political conflict stemming from the economic and social upheaval of 17th and 18th century Europe found expression in the Pietist theology and its challenge to state and orthodox Lutheran Church. The Community's form of Pietism included the practice of *werkzeug* or inspired spokesperson for God, to answer for the need for authority within a community founded on the opposition to authority. Communalism, adopted as a practical expediency during the 1840's emigration to America and Canada, became endowed with a religious sanction that continued after the migratory communal organization lost its practical appeal. In

capitalist Erie County, New York, the colonists found support in the outside world, as well as within the group, for the group's cultural practices. In 1932, as the Community responded to membership demands for private identity, lives, and holdings, the American press enthroned the group, now located in Amana, Iowa, as a symbol of the failure of socialism, rather than utopian communalism, akin to New York State's historic Oneida Utopian Community, or the Amish next to whom the Community chose to settle in 1854.

Barthel examined the issues of historic examination, preservation and tourism in modern Amana. Tourist Amana serves as material for modern myths of the inevitability of modern institutions and nostalgia for an ideal of elemental simplicity. Examination by historians, unlike preservation or tourism, restores critical content, original voice, with interpretative contributions. [300]

Barthel states that the Community of the True Inspiration rooted and grew in Erie County, within present day West Seneca, New York, as well as Welland County, Ontario, Canada from 1843-1860.[301] By 1860, the entire community left from both Erie County and Canada and relocated to Amana, Iowa. The communalism, for which the community later became known, was formally structured into the community at the time of emigration. The 21 Rules guiding the life of the community were already established in Germany. The provisional constitution and by-laws guiding the communalist nature of the community were originally seen as formal rules of a pragmatic and provisional experiment, based upon the group's experiences in Germany and upon fears about what might happen upon emigration.

Communalism became an explicit strategy only at the time of emigration. [302] The provisional constitution called for collective work and ownership

under a system of elders (village leaders) and trustees (mortgage holders), headed by the *Werkzeugen* (plural, with *werkzeug*, singular). Communalism was not required in the original beliefs or in Germany, or by any radical nature of social experimentation by the group. The community was conservative, acting radically in order to preserve religious beliefs and a village-based social structure dependent on farming and artisanship. [303]

Barthel continues that in 1932, the community made a clear choice between two sets of values, two economic structures and two ways of life. [304] The community voted overwhelmingly to embrace American individualism, capitalism, and consumerism. The old values and social structures of communalism represent a negative reference point against which ideas, ideals, and culture are constructed. Descendents of the original families both embrace and reject their communal past. They embrace it in ways more in keeping with American individualism than with German pietism. Amana residents do not wish to go back to the authentic past, *or even to re-enact it with any measure of accuracy* (Barthel's italics). [305] The people hired to re-enact historic roles at historic Plimouth Plantation pursue a quest for authenticity, in which one is forever approaching the complex goal of an historical authenticity, but never quite achieving it. [306] In sharp contrast, Amana folks do not mind wearing colorful Bavarian costumes that have nothing to do with the heavy, full black garb of their ancestors. Amana Colonies residents do not re-enact the past they have rejected. Amana residents have little interest in authenticity, and the students have even less interest. Barthel finds a pretense of authenticity at Plimouth compared to the harsh conditions of 17th century Massachusetts. Similarly, Barthel states the sufficient pretense of authenticity contradicts 19th century Amana life of hard labor, daily and lengthy services, lack of electricity, lack of consumer goods,

rudimentary education and health care, tight social control by elders and trustees. Barthel finds that the lessons the cultural landscape might teach lie buried.[307] Barthel states that the only people to benefit from a pursuit of greater authenticity are heritage professionals. Amana residents do not see it in their interests to plant historic crops or raise historic livestock as in Plimouth Plantation. As Amana loses its historic specificity, it serves as a different kind of resource for critical historical thinking.[308]

Barthel finds the difference within the fact that Amana is a living community. Benefits for Community members mean losses of alternative histories. The alternatives imply ways of thinking as active social structures. Amana represents an alternative to historic social structures, a different way of being a historic community and thinking about historical meaning that both Amana residents and students of history might narrate through study. [309]

Amana; as an alternative to both historic Community structure and history student narrative, invites use of memory, heritage and history resources. Use of memory, heritage, and history resources on the Internet can foster narrative understandings. It may be useful to examine contextualized and corroborated inquiry in the same way that primary sources are contextualized and corroborated in answering historical inquiry.

Educational Researcher Samuel Wineburg [310] asserts that presentist thinking finds that the past becomes a useful resource in everyday life, a storehouse of materials to be endlessly reshaped for today's needs. As viewing the past as familiarly useable, it becomes another commodity for consumption. Vast regions of the past that contradict needs or do not align easily are discarded. The encounter is not likely to change meanings and understandings. [311]

Wineburg continues that the strangeness of the past offers the possibility of encountering peoples that encourage us to reconsider how we see ourselves and our study of ourselves, expanding understandings of what it is to be human. [311] The less familiar past provides membership in the entire human race. The relevance of the past lies in its apparent initial irrelevance. Historical thinking is opposite of the false sense of proximity to people of the past. The more that is uncovered about the mental universes of the past, the more cultural difference separates us. Meaningful history begins with strangeness. [312] Past primary source inquiry, contextualized and corroborated, informs understandings of the foreign country of the past.

Returning to historian Peter Stearns' question of why study history at all, in "Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past", on the other side of the desk, Wineburg notes there is little agreement by those in the profession what history is and whose history should be taught. [313] Wineburg's work focuses on the thought processes of individuals engaged in reading and reasoning about historical documents, uncovering how they how they make sense of the past. Wineburg states that "questions of historical reasoning carry implications well beyond the curricular borders of history". [314] Wineburg also notes that new technological tools and databases, including the Internet, will continue to greatly enhance historical understanding. [315] Wineburg addresses the role of popular culture as a filter for historical perception. The impact of popular culture can make it difficult for the student to differentiate between collective memory and historical memory, heritage and history. [316]

In "On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy" [317], Wineburg analyzes differences between high school students and

historians, arguing that each brings a unique epistemological perspective that guides meanings taken from text. The historian cannot see the event itself, it is seen through witnesses. The historian depends on their recollections and emotions, understanding bias within the event. The call to understand bias is shared among historians. Wineburg used the metaphor of the courtroom. Historians worked the documents like prosecuting attorneys, putting documents side by side, locating discrepancies, questioning sources, and examining overt and unconscious motives. Students read the documents as jurors, listening to testimony, not questioning or cross-examining witnesses. For students, the locus of authority and meaning was in the text, for historians it was in the questions about the text. In discourse analysis of textbooks, meta-discourse or indications of emphasis, judgment and uncertainty appeared rarely. Although historians rely on informed inquiry, textbooks avoid hedges, fostering historical fundamentalism. Student critical readers read for content, paraphrasing and summarizing rather than analyzing. Here if students understand the words and can paraphrase the content of text, they have read it.[318]

Wineburg used thinking aloud, asking historians and students to report thoughts, verbalizing the content, not the process. Wineburg also asked the two groups to rank documents for trustworthiness. Wineburg found that the importance of the document lay not in what it says, but what it does. It is not the literal text, nor the inferred text but subtext, hidden and latent meaning that the historian understands. Subtext of historical documents can be divided into two types, text as rhetorical artifact and text as human artifact. Within rhetorical artifact, historians reconstruct the author's purposes, intentions, and goals. Subtext goes past intentions and use of language as linguistic technology for persuasion. Subtext includes elements that contradict the author's

intentions, yielding meanings the author may have been unaware of or wished to conceal. Subtext falls within the second area, text as human artifact, relating to how texts frame reality and disclose information about the author's worldview and beliefs. This reading moves from words authors use to people authors are, reading text not as a way to describe a world, but as a way to construct that author's world. The literal text is the shell. Texts do not only convey information, construct national identity, tell stories, or set the record straight. Texts, as speech acts, social acts on paper are understandable by reconstruction of social contexts. [319]

Wineburg compared the work of historians to the work of high school students who self-monitored comprehension, debugged with backtracking, formulated periodic higher–order summaries, and connected content to previous knowledge. Although students answered literal and inferential questions, they failed to see texts as crafted social instruments to achieve a social end. Wineburg cites Collins and Smith, Taxonomy of Comprehension Failures, of failure to understand words, sentences, relationships between sentences, and the meaning of the text. Within historical texts, additional skills of understanding the intention of the author; polemic of the text, connotations, denotations, placing the text within the matrix of timelines, cultures, and location are required. As historical texts become rich, readers slow not because they fail to comprehend, but because comprehension demands the reader stop to talk with the text. Roland Barthes analyzed the talking as two areas of text, the readerly and the writerly. Readerly text conforms to ordinary expectation of meaning, processed passively and automatically. Writerly texts challenge the reader to enter the text and to fabricate the

meaning to be taken away. Readers of history write text while reading, participating in the construction of meaning, by talking to themselves. [320]

Wineburg identified two readers, an actual reader and a mock reader. The actual reader monitors meanings, while the mock reader allows him/herself to feel rhetorical effect and experience associations of text. Where text is probative, the distance between the two readers is short. Another way to describe the process is that of an eavesdropper trying to understand the thoughts and feelings of the author and audience, as well as their own reaction. Texts are not lifeless strings of facts but rather unlock the lives of human beings. Their words have shape and texture; within the tactile quality of linguistic technology readers sculpt meanings. [321]

Wineburg continues as readers decode text, text decodes readers. Text presents potentialities, not fixed sets of meaning. No less than the people studied, the reader, too, is historical, perhaps revisiting text for complexity of self meanings. Wineburg cites educator John Holt's process of unlearning, undoing the impression, that history is a fixed story, and recommending students receive primary documents, as museum curators, annotating for an exhibit. Acquiring knowledge from text is more than moving the words into the mind of the reader, and more than knowledge constructed by students from a fixed text, but is developed through inquiry in questioning the text through contemporaneous events and people. [322]

Historians Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown [323] assert Wineburg uses two key concepts, the "sourcing heuristic" and the "corroboration heuristic" to explain how historians think as they read documents. When historians examine primary sources, they engage in the sourcing heuristic in asking questions about the author's credentials,

motivation, and participation in events at the time a document was written and the audience for whom the document was intended. In contextualizing the document, historians appreciate ways of perceiving and thinking that are different from ways of perceiving today. When historians use the sourcing heuristic, they can create distance between their own views and those of other peoples in earlier eras. Historians use the corroboration heuristic to compare information from several documents, making inter-text links, noting corroboration between primary sources and historians' interpretations as they read. Historical thinking is enhanced by the quality and extent of discipline background knowledge. [324]

Drake and Brown continue that Wineburg states that the monitory reading strategy, with the emphasis on literal interpretation and comprehension, neglects the primary distinction of historical thinking, the use of the sourcing heuristic. [325] Teachers can use primary sources in one of two ways. Teachers incorporate primary sources into studying a historical topic, to verify for the students that the information they have presented is correct. Teachers also provide students with multiple primary sources to support inquiry. Wineburg's conception of learning and teaching history includes the sourcing heuristic and corroboration heuristic, applications of historical thinking to reading and interpreting primary sources, including texts, and internet resources for teachers of historical thinking. [326]

Drake and Brown find that historians also use the corroboration heuristic to compare information from several sources. Historians make inter-source links while examining sources, noting the corroboration among primary sources as well as among historians' interpretations. [327] Wineburg argues that monitory reading, emphasizing literal

interpretation and comprehension, neglects the primary distinction of historical thinking, the use of the sourcing heuristic before beginning to read for comprehension. Analysis guides to the sourcing heuristic initiate historical thinking. [328]

Drake and Brown state that analysis guides include five tasks: identify the source, analyze the source, determine the historical context, identify the narrative of the source, and indicate the relationship of the source to social studies before examining for content comprehension. In the corroboration heuristic, one source is related to another, contextualization, the description of time and conditions, local and greater, at the time the source was created, and comparison. [329] Both contextualization and corroboration can be used to locate inquiry primary sources and guide Internet use. [330]

Historian Linda Pomerantz [331] asserts that inquiry can utilize primary source and secondary sources on the Internet. In 1998 the American Historical Association began the project "Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age". [332] A primary task in the project was to focus on using primary sources. Pomerantz found her colleagues believed that the Internet has little to offer as a research tool, because they work with either textual materials not presently available on the web or they specialize in types of research , such as close reading of text, that make the web irrelevant. There is little incentive to explore the use of new technologies, nor any interest in technology for its own sake. Within the AHA project itself, Pomerantz found that, within the work of her core group, work required much more time and literacy than anticipated. The technological aspect was the most challenging aspect of the project. Simple use of the Internet is transparent, that is easy to access and user friendly. However construction of web pages is not so

transparent. Construction of web-based sites requires much more than minimal computer literacy, as well as expensive equipment. [333]

Pomerantz states that the charge of the task group was to focus on the role of new educational technologies in the teaching of world history. Core group faculty considered the use of technology to address problems in teaching. Most of the project's core faculty reproduced the structure for in-depth class discussion and group work on the web. Pomerantz examined four problems, student motivation, covering material, integrating skill development, and content delivery. [334]

Pomerantz found analysis of primary source materials, interpretation of historical events, and construction of historical narratives all require knowledge of basic historical facts. A contradiction lies in the anecdotal evidence that the majority of facts will not be retained in the students' memories for very long. Pomerantz states that names and dates that have to be learned have little or no intrinsic meaning to the lives of the students. [335]

Pomerantz also found that faculty did not address technology-based solution. A technology-neutral approach to the motivation of students focuses on three types of classroom tasks, those that personalize history, those that present a certain number in depth(post-holing)and those that emphasize active learning or "doing history" through investigation of primary sources. [336]

Pomerantz states that the core project group addressed use of new technologies to facilitate critical thinking skills through use of different types of primary sources. This included integrating image sources with text, experimentation of audio files, and use of hyperlinks, web-based dictionaries, multi media encyclopedias, and organizational writing software. [337]

Pomerantz found that from teacher focused instruction, work shifted to student-centered work. As the group underwent transformation from a teaching-centered to a learning-centered model, from passivity to activity on the part of the student, and from information-centered to analysis-centered , the role of the instruction with asynchronous Internet use resulted in students more actively involved in the class material through virtual discussion groups and greater student-student and student-instructor inaction. [338]

Pomerantz concluded that there are three areas of concern to historians in the classroom regarding the impact of computer technology on student learning. These include sustained examination of materials and concepts, the distinction between linear and associational thinking, and interactivity in the classroom environment as opposed or in conjunction, in a lab, with the Internet environment. [339]

Pomerantz also concluded that real and virtual texts have distinctively different modes of linear and associational thought. One important part of historical thinking, or historical habits of mind, is chronological thinking development. Chronological thinking is linear in nature and is regarded as one logical thought pattern in critical reasoning. Hyperlink technology facilitated associational thinking; the way links are structured on the Internet enables the student to break out of the instructor's linear progression into avastly fluid world of associations. [340]

Historian Nancy Fitch [341] asserts that students make meanings within an electronic and digital world. Raised on the hypermedia of the Internet, students have learned to expect that information will be in chunks of text with images, videos, and sounds. Fitch, citing historian David Trask [342], finds that what we may think of as poor skills, in fact, demonstrate the student's capacity for negotiating in his/her world, one

different from the one we grew up in. Trask compared this moment in history with the dramatic change in technology and communication, from linear to associational that occurred after the invention of Gutenberg's moveable type in the fifteenth century. [343]

Fitch continues that the advent of hypermedia and the Internet in the late twentieth century has interesting parallels to the knowledge/communication paradigm shift of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hypermedia represents a radical departure from the linear form of the book. While the linear form of the book can be reproduced in hypermedia, studies have shown that people do not read Internet pages in the same way that they read a book. [345] They scan the pages to find interests, clicking on hyperlinks or new web-sites. Web readers do not expect long linear texts like those in books. Making a long text readable for the Web distorts it. Digitizing primary sources for online research and teaching confronts the problem of preserving the full nature of the text while thinking how students are reading and thinking online. Texts written for hypermedia can be confusing or disorienting. Hyperlinks mimic critical thinking by linking to related material. Hyperlinks between ideas or world suggest relationships or connections that may not be evident to the reader. Multiple narratives are made possible in hypermedia through associational thinking, rather than linear thinking. Additionally, the modularity in presenting text, image, video, and sound may produce not only associational thinking but fragmented thinking. If the relationships of words and ideas are not validated through hyperlinks, critical thinking can become undermined by invalidating the students' thinking processes. Yet, hypermedia permits linking text with image. When the images are well-chosen, this improves historical texts by providing students with a sense of how people visualized and experienced their world. As with hypermedia, understanding how

to read the images is not self-evident. Visual literacy, or seeing critically differs from skills in reading printed texts. Lastly, Internet footnotes are ephemeral as web-pages disappear. [346]

Fitch also finds that the internet is rapidly changing communication and expectations of text and image. Students have come to accept hypermedia as the conventional way in which knowledge and skills is presented and may think in the non-linear and associational fashion that contrasts with the linear and chronological fashion historian use and wish students to develop. [346]

Fitch continues that grafting hypermedia exercises or tasks based on primary sources to the beginning of the curriculum builds bridges between the skills and knowledge students bring to school and the skills and knowledge that are essential for developing historical habits of mind. Multimedia and hypermedia cannot be taken gratuitously. Providing non-linear reading of text and images supplements students' critical thinking skills. [347]

Fitch states that one type of student-centered learning is the mode of inquiry approach, using primary sources. Mode of inquiry supports students understanding the material by understanding how professionals ask and answer questions. Students need to ask and answer questions and produce history before they will intuitively understand the material within the curriculum. Having the student ask a historical question that can be researched, having the student research the question and producing an interpretation is a way to begin historical instruction in a way that invites students to be critical thinkers about history in print, media, and the Internet. [348] Using mode of inquiry, students do history in order to learn history. The range of sure facts within student question topics

means there are no sure answers. Students explore, discover, interpret and conclude, examining primary sources and questioning secondary interpretations, connecting world histories to their own histories. Texts with hyerlinks reconstruct learning processes for new users. Hyperlinks mimic critical thinking by linking to related material. A hyperlink between two text elements suggest or create a connection that may be obvious to the web page designer but not to the web page reader, with or without primary source knowledge. The modularity of page design to fit material into monitor screen dimensions may fragment primary source text and image, producing fragmented thinking or associative thinking, rather than the linearity of historically chronological thinking [349]

Fitch finds that the use of hypermedia on the Internet returns the user to historic aspects of the codex and oral tradition of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hypermedia permits the production of the twenty-first century version of an illuminated manuscript in digital imagery. When the images are well chosen and digitally optimized, using specialized software to seam together primary sources with three dimensions, permit zooming, and link to related primary sources, historical primary sources are enriched by supporting construction of how people understood their experience in the past. [350] As with hypermedia, however, understanding how to read primary source text, image and object cannot be assumed to be self-evident. Although students are bombarded with images everyday, many students never encounter a visual literacy requirement as part of their learning experience. Students invest skills and knowledge in text reading, but little in learning to see critically. [351]

Fitch states that supporting access to primary sources available on the Internet, including GDM, facilitates students' connecting world history to their own histories and

their own experience. Various student-centered skills support the development of hypermedia skills. One kind of student-centered learning is inquiry. One inquiry approach is that students cannot understand the material without understanding how professionals inthe discipline of history asked and answered questions. Students need to ask and answer questions from primary sources in a way that is meaningful to them. [352]

Fitch concludes that having a student think about how to ask a historical question that can be researched, researching the question, producing an interpretation is one way to begin historical learning and instruction in such a way that the students thinks critically what is presented as history. Using the mode of inquiry model, students must do history in order to learn history. A mode of inquiry history research question based upon primary sources grafted onto the beginning of the class supports student acquisition of skills and knowledge of history work in the rest of the class. In using primary sources, students, encouraged to question, explore, discover, interpret and conclude. [353]

The mode of inquiry model using primary sources develops the following student skills:

- Recognition of the difference between primary and secondary sources
- Recognition that secondary sources differ from one another
- Understand the difference between fact and interpretation and their interrelationship
- Understand continuity and change of interpretation of meanings of primary and secondary sources over time
- Appreciation of multiple historical perspectives and conflict from culture differences
- Acquire a knowledge base of historical and social science concepts such as gender, ethnicity and class.
- Comprehension of the work of historians, questions historians ask and how historians answer questions. [354]

Researchers Junichi Takahashi, Takayuki Kushida, and Jung-Kook Hong of IBM Research, Tokyo; Robert Rieger, Wendy Martin, and Geri Gay of Cornell University; Shigeharu Sugita and Yasuyuki Kurita of the National Museum of Ethnology; and John Reeve and Rowena Loverance of the British Museum [355] assert that the Internet created new paradigms for museum education and information services that complement school programs. The benefit of the information society includes free access to worldwide cultural heritage resources for all citizens as well as educational resources for schools. Global digital museum permits easy access to the cultural heritage stored in museums around the world. The system provides a single virtual museum enabling global search and edit of museum content on the Internet. The most common method of getting information on the Internet is by serving HTML documents on the Web. However, it is usually a one-way distribution by creators of Web documents and distributed to Web clients. In contrast, in the GDM, users can search and access multi-media contents of museums as a single user without knowing file types, names, data types, site names, or museum curator identification terms in order to search and access. When a user sends a query to the GDM, the query is distributed to all GDM servers. Each server processes the query locally and returns the results to the original server with the results merged into a results list. [356]

The researchers state [357] in spite of a profusion of cyberspace museums, interactive multimedia technologies for imaging with text are not well aligned with conventional museum education methods. Geographical distances, scope, and cultural heritage collections distribution limit accessing museum content. In contrast, within GDM cross-cultural database and heritage software references for a museum collection facilitates the

understanding of the underlying concept with the object by comparing the object with other objects around the world, of particular interest in terms of immigration. To facilitate accessing the object and multiple meanings, GDM education on the Internet eliminates large Internet search results. [358]

The researchers state [359] there are two kinds of museums in the virtual museum, public museums and personal museums. The difference between the two is related to the level of quality of content. Public museums include contents created by museums, authorized by experts such as museum curators and educators. They cannot be updated by users once they are created. Private museums by contrast are museum contents created by museum users. The user can create her own personal museum on the Internet, local network, or computer by authoring contents with the resources of public museums and other private museums. The private museum can be updated by museum experts and authorized museum users as well as the creator of the private museum. [360]

The researchers identify objectives of the virtual museum as textbook and notebook. [361] Textbook is teaching materials for museum experts. According to the target reader, the textbook is categorized into textbook for teachers and textbook for students. Textbook for teachers is created by museum experts to show what information the museum can provide for museum education. Textbook for students is created by teachers who want to teach by using the virtual textbook. These textbooks are searchable by other teachers and by students. Notebook is a working space for students. The notebook is a tool of communication between teachers and students and between students. [362]

The researchers state that in addition to textbook and notebook, book is a personal collection of museum materials for users. Users create a book by copying and can add

annotations. The book is different from the original digital cultural heritage materials in that the book is created and updated by the user. Individual books are identified even if they are based on the same digital cultural heritage materials. Users construct multiple meanings by using global annotations to the same cultural heritage material. Users construct multiple meanings by using global annotations to the same cultural heritage material. The researchers conclude that in the GDM, museum experts, teachers, and students collaborate in creating unique multiple meaning contents with globally-based inquiry. [363]

Computer Mediated Communications (CMC) Researchers Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson [364] assert that the development of new communication technologies provide one context for examining changing community. The development of electronic communication abrogates space and time creating a boundless global village. Communication technology binds peoples in a new cohesive interests-based community. Contrary to Friedman's argument of flatness, economic access to technologies of platforms, computers and software as well as training/education access to use technologies creates a pre-selected community. Virtual communities remain essentially a class phenomenon. [365]

Fernback and Thompson find that community is a public concept, a collectivity. [366] Virtual community has a private quality of interests, despite the nature of community as a social bond. If few form social relationships on platforms, the rest of the population will be less able to participate fully in all aspects of the society. As communities develop on the Internet, discourse within the public sphere changes. As time is a zero-sum entity, those peoples in virtual communities will be differently educated, financially endowed,

with time to commit. [367] There are therefore limits of opportunity to building community, limits to the potential for virtual communities to represent the multiplicity of publics that comprise the world's peoples. Virtual communities are communities of interests rather than place or historical communities. [368] Although communities may be formed to reinforce social interests, those groups will decreasingly need to interact with members of the non-virtual community. Instead of increasing community bridges, virtual communities will have the opposite effect on the non-virtual groups. With multiculturalism, diverse views can be assimilated into the non-virtual society, but because virtual communities hold essentially private accesses and interests, they cannot share differing views in the non-virtual society in a changing world. In virtual communities of interests, members drift in and out. One key aspect of non-virtual communities is confronting and resolving conflict. Virtual community does not foster non-virtual conflict skills and is less stable than geographic, historic, or ethnic communities. [369] Virtual communities reinforce the fragmented landscape of the non-virtual world: conflict may be more difficult to resolve. [370] Within virtual communities, the precise words of a member can be preserved, locking the member. Ideas become concretized before they are fully developed in the flowing virtual world. [371] Members drift in and out, or construct a new fragment community. [372]

We all need a "sense of place", geographical or cyberspace, in addition to history, for a sense of self. The nature of the virtual community may appear transcultural, as Friedman argues. With no preconceptions of appearance, gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion, politics, and apparent equal access and use, the virtual experience may support the formation of community skills and knowledge. Cyberspace may support access to

primary sources and secondary sources to advance actual participation in constructing historical understandings, using inquiry. Part III Project is a prototype webpage using page building resources at www.bravehost.com. The webpage is one prototype of Internet resources intersecting inquiry with memory, heritage, and history. Memory Heritage History is a collection of primary and secondary sources with six online historical narratives from various sources about the Ebenezers, from 1843-1859. The website facilitates collection and use of primary source images and text as well as video and audio files where actual primary source objects may be difficult to access. Memory Heritage History is an open access site for students.

Each page of the Webtrunk contains four frames. The large frame contains the primary object. The three frames to the right contain supporting information for the primary source object or objects. The top frame, Links, contains web addresses relating to the page. The middle frame, Notes, contains information about the primary source object(s). The third frame, Notebook, provides a space for the access user to make notations about the primary source object and history of the Community.

Like the Global Digital Museum pages, Memory Heritage History page is a concise online museum created by a museum user. The user can create her own personal museum on the Internet, local network, or computer by authoring contents with the resources of public museums and other private museums. The private museum can be updated by museum experts and authorized museum users as well as the creator of the private museum. Objectives of the virtual museum include notebook and notes. Notebook is teaching materials for museum experts. According to the target reader, the

notebook is categorized into notes for teachers and students. For Notes for students is created by teachers who want to teach by using the virtual notebook. Notebook is a working space for students. The notebook is a tool of communication between teachers and students and between students.

Open a browser window

1. Type www.bravehost.com in browser window address bar
2. In username window (at upper right) type: memoryheritagehistory
3. In password window (at upper right) type: inquiry
4. Click on websites tab near the top of the screen
5. Click on memoryheritagehistory.bravehost.com link near the center of the screen
6. Click on website wizards near the center of the screen
7. Click on manage website near the center of the screen
8. Under Manage your Website Pages are the pages of Part Three
9. Locate Home and click on preview (to the right of Home)
10. Click to enlarge the window
11. Click on pages 1 through 5 to access each page
12. Click on 1 for page one
13. In Primary Source: Memory & Social Narratives, click on link after Go to:
14. Open a second browser window by clicking on File. A drop-down menu with New and Window will open. Click to open a duplicate window. Resize the browser windows so that each copy is half the monitor screen, horizontally or vertically. In one browser window click on link marked View Transcript. Resize screen. In the other browser window click Play.

15. Close out window and return to Manage your Website pages

16. Return to Home page and click on edit content (to the right of Home)

17. Click on the red area of the image of the page or on Edit Content Block 1 (or 2,3,4)

18. Edit the page

19. Click on Edit and Save Changes and Continue

20. Click on done editing this page

21. Click on publish website

22. Click on Finish Building and Publish Website

23. Click on maintain your website to return to Website Wizard.

24. Click on manage website to continue to make changes, view the website, or logout.

Historian David Lowenthal asserts [373] that awareness of the past is founded on memory. Through recollection consciousness of past events is recovered, confirming the experience of the past. The range of meanings commonly attached to memory can veil relations with the past. [374] Most of remembering is private, public recollection cannot be fully shared: knowing about memory is not the same as having it. [375] Instrumental recall, is functional, task-driven. Unlike instrumental recall, memorial knowledge of memory highlights remembered feelings within the present moment.[376] Memory distills the past rather than reflecting it and supports comparisons of the past with present moment states of being.

Lowenthal states [377] that the prime function of memory is not to preserve the past but to adapt it to enrich and manipulate the present. Memory helps to understand previous experience Memories are not ready made reflections of the past but eclectic selective reconstructions based on subsequent actions and perceptions to delineate, symbolize and classify the world [378] Memories are altered by revision, undergoing continual change, interpreted in subsequent experience and present need. Memory is the great organizer of consciousness. Actual experience is a welter of sights, sounds, feelings, expectations, and perceptions that memory simplifies and composes, transforming the experienced past into what we later think it should have been.

Lowenthal continues [379] that memory and history are two processes of insight. Unverifiable by observation or examination, memory is indubitable while history is empirically testable. Knowing occurs in the present no statement about the past can be confirmed by examining facts. [380] Memory, heritage, history, and primary sources best travel the past together. Relics trigger recollection and mean what history and memory

convey. 381 The need to use and reuse memorial knowledge, to forget as well as recall, forces selection, distillation, distortion and transformation of the past. [381]

Lowenthal finds that history extends and elaborates memory by interpreting relics and synthesizing reports of past eyewitnesses [382] The most detailed historical narrative incorporates a minute fraction of the relevant past, sheer pastness of the past precludes total reconstruction, the impossibility of history. No account can recover the past; the past was not an account, but a set of events and situations. As the past no longer exists, no account can be checked against it, only against other accounts. Veracity is assessed through correspondence with other reports, not with the events themselves. Historical narrative is not a portrait of what happened but a story about what happened [383]

Lowenthal concludes that historical consensus of collective memory provides real knowledge of the past. Cumulative experience give present judgments meaning for without it there could be no answer to questions, or questions, for there would be no discourse. [384] The process of communicating the past demands creative change to make the past intelligible and evocative. Like memory, history conflates, compresses, exaggerates. Moments of the past stand out, uniformities and minutiae fade. Time is foreshortened, details, selected and hi-lighted, actions concentrated, relations simplified, not to alter or distort but to make them approachable, meaningful. Subjective interpretative, while limiting knowledge, is essential to communication of history. [385] The better the narrative exemplifies a point of view the more credible the account. History is persuasive because it is organized and filtered by individual minds; subjective interpretation gives history life and meaning. [386] Memory plays the role of transmitting heritage. As time distances events beyond personal recall, memory within any society

gives way to history and relics gain increased significance. [387] Once events pass beyond memory and oral verification, the participant mythologizes history, preserving relics, to reanimating memory beyond remembrance. [388]

Endnotes

Part I

1. A. G. Roeber, "In German Ways? Problems and Potentials of Eighteenth-Century German Social and Emigration History," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1987): 750

2. Roeber, 752

3. Roeber, 753

4. Roeber, 754

5. Roeber, 754

6. Roeber, 754

7. Roeber, 755

8. Roeber, 756

9. Roeber, 756

10. Roeber, 757

11. Roeber, 758

12. Roeber, 759

13. Roeber, 759

14. Roeber, 760

15. Roeber, 760

16. Roeber, 760

17. Roeber, 761

18. Roeber, 763

19. Roeber, 764

20. Roeber, 764

21. Roeber, 765

22. Roeber, 768

23. Roeber, 768

24. Roeber, 769

25. Roeber, 769

26. Roeber, 770

27. Roeber, 772

28. Roeber, 772

29. Roeber, 773

30. Roeber, 774

31. Walter Grossman, "Gruber on the Discernment of True and False Inspiration," *The Harvard Theological Review* 81, no. 4 (1988): 364

32. Grossman, 364

33. Grossman, 364

34. Grossman, 364

35. Grossman, 374

36. Grossman, 364

37. Grossman, 367

38. Grossman, 368

39. Grossman, 370

40. Grossman, 372

41. Grossman, 377

42. Grossman, 379

43. Grossman, 386 (Wisdom 8:7. And if a man love justice: her labours have great virtues: for she teacheth temperance, and prudence, and justice, and fortitude, which are such things as men can have nothing more profitable in life.)

44. Grossman, 387

45. David A. Gerber, "The Pathos of Exile: Old Lutheran Refugees in the United States and South Australia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, no. 3 (1984): 498

46. Gerber, 499

47. Gerber, 499

48. Gerber, 500

49. Gerber, 501

50. Gerber, 503

51. Gerber, 504

52. Gerber, 505

53. Gerber, 505

54. Gerber, 507

55. Gerber, 507

56. Gerber, 510

57. Gerber, 511

58. Gerber, 512

59. Gerber, 513

60. Gerber, 521

61. Gerber, 522

62. Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, *Amana That Was and Amana That Is* (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1971), 24

63. Shambaugh, 27

64. Shambaugh, 28

65. Shambaugh, 29

66. Shambaugh, 31

67. Shambaugh, 33

68. Shambaugh, 34

69. Shambaugh, 35

70. Shambaugh, 36

71. Shambaugh, 37

72. Shambaugh, 40

73. Shambaugh, 40

74. Shambaugh, 41

75. Shambaugh, 42

76. Shambaugh, 43

77. Shambaugh, 46

78. Shambaugh, 50

79. Shambaugh, 52

80. Shambaugh, 55

81. Shambaugh, 57

82. Shambaugh, 57

83. Shambaugh, 60

84. Shambaugh, 61

85. Shambaugh, 63

86. Shambaugh, 65

87. Shambaugh, 67

88. Shambaugh, 69

89. Shambaugh, 70

90. Shambaugh, 70

91. David A. Gerber, "Forming A Transnational Narrative: New Perspectives on European Migrations to the United States," *The History Teacher* 35, no. 1 (2001): 61

92. Gerber, 62

93. Gerber, 63

94. Gerber, 65

95. Gerber, 66

96. Gerber, 66

97. Gerber, 66

98. Gerber, 66

99. Gerber, 67

100. Gerber, 67

101. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations* 26 Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (1989): 7-24

102. Maurice Halbwachs, "Individual Consciousness and Collective Mind," *The American Journal of Sociology* 44, (1939): 812-822

103. Gerber, 68

104. Roeber, 770

105. Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet and Mark J. Stern, "Migration and the Social Order in Erie County, New York: 1855." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8, no. 4 (1978): 669

106. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 670

107. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 671

108. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 671

109. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 672

110. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 672

111. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 673

112. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 674

113. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 674

114. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 677

115. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 676

116. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 680

117. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 681

118. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 687

119. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 689

120. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 694

121. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 699

122. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 700

123. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 700

124. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 701

125. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 701

126. Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic identity: Historical Issues," *The Journal of American History* 66, no. 3 (1979): 604

127. Conzen, 603

128. Conzen, 604

129. Conzen, 604

130 Conzen, 605

131. Conzen, 605

132. Conzen, 606

133. Conzen, 608

134. Conzen, 609

135. Conzen, 609

136. Conzen, 609

137. Conzen, 610

138. Conzen, 610

139. Conzen, 611

140. Conzen, 612

141. Conzen, 613

142. Conzen, 614

143. Conzen, 614

144. Diane L. Barthel, *Amana: From Pietist Sect to American Community* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 579

145. Barthel, 579

146. Barthel, 580

147. Barthel, 580

148. Barthel, 580

149. Barthel, 581

150. Barthel, 590

151. Barthel, 590

152. Barthel, 590

Part II

153. Paul Boyer, "A Joyful Noyes: Reassessing America's Utopian Tradition," *American History* 3, no. 1 (1975): 27

154. Stephen Kalberg, "The Origin and Expansion of Kulturpessimismus: The Relationship between Public and Private Spheres in Early Twentieth Century Germany," *Sociological Theory* 5, no.2 (1987): 157

155. Diane Barthel, *Amana: From Pietist Sect To American Community* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press (1984), 23

156. Barthel, 23

157. Barthel, 51

158. Barthel, 57

159. Barthel, 40

160. Shambaugh, 178

161. Barthel. 17

162. Barthel, 171

163. Kalberg, 157

164. Barthel, 73

165. Karl H. Wegert, "Contention with Civility: The State and Social Control in the German Southwest, 1760-1850," *The Historical Joumal* 34, no. 2 (1991): 354

166. Bertha M. H. Shambaugh, *Amana: The Community of True Inspiration* (Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1988), 22

167. Frank Lankes, *The Ebenezer Community of True Inspiration* (Buffalo: Keisling Publishing Company, 1963), 34

168. Lankes, 34

169. Lankes, 41

170. Lankes, 43

171. Lankes, 45

172. Lankes, 47

173. Lankes, 49

174. Lankes, 53

175. Lankes, 54

176. Lankes, 57

177. Lankes, 58

178. Anthony Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Knopf, 1970), 129

179. Lankes, 60

180. Lankes, 64

181. Lankes, 36

182. Lankes, 37

183. Lankes, 33

184. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 673

185. Katz, Doucet and Stern, 673

186. Lankes, 62

187. Lankes, 61

188. Lankes, 65

189. Lankes, 71

190. Lankes, 75

191. Lankes, 77

192. Lankes, 78

193. Lankes ,79

194. Kathleen Neils Canning, "Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History," *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 3 (1992): 747

195. Lankes, 80

196. Lankes, 83

197. Lankes, 85

198. Lankes, 88

199. Lankes, 89

200. Lankes, 93

201. Lankes, 104

202. Shambaugh 117

203. David A. Gerber, *The Making Of An American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-1860* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 36

204. Kalberg, 157

205. Lankes, 107

206. Lankes, 119

207. See: www.htmlbible.com/sacrednamebiblecom/kjvstrongs/B22C004.htm

208. Lankes, 127

209. See: www.dannerhouse.com/history.html

210. Shambaugh, 77

211. See: www.boston.com/news/globe/magazine/articles/2006/07/23/the_last_ones_standing/

212. See: www.germany.info/relaunch/info/publications/infocus/german-americans/g-a_in_us.html

213. See: www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/amana/

Part III

214. Stearns, Peter, *Why Study History,* <www.historians.org/pubs/Free/WhyStudyHistory.htm> (2007).

215. Stearns, Peter, *Why Study History,* <www.historians.org/pubs/Free/WhyStudyHistory.htm> (2007).

216. Stearns, Peter, *Why Study History,* <www.historians.org/pubs/Free/WhyStudyHistory.htm> (2007).

217. Stearns, Peter, *Why Study History,* <www.historians.org/pubs/Free/WhyStudyHistory.htm> (2007).

218. Stearns, Peter, *Why Study History,* <www.historians.org/pubs/Free/WhyStudyHistory.htm> (2007).

219. Stearns, Peter, *Why Study History,* <www.historians.org/pubs/Free/WhyStudyHistory.htm> (2007).

220. David Lowenthal, "The Timeless Past: Some Anglo-American Historical Perceptions," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (1989): 1263

221. Lowenthal, 1263

222. Lowenthal, 1264

223. Lowenthal. 1264

224. Lowenthal, 1267

225. Lowenthal, 1277

226. Lowenthal, 1280

227. Suzanne Vromen, review of *Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory*, by Lewis A. Croser, *The American Journal of Sociology* 99, no.2 (1993): 510

228. Vromen, 511

229. Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolf Starn, "Introduction," *Representations* 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (1989): 5

230. Davis and Starns, 5

231. David A. Gerber, "Local and Community History: Some Cautionary Remarks on an Idea Whose Time Has Returned," *The History Teacher* 13 no. 1 (1979): 7

232. Gerber, 8

233. Gerber, 10

234. Gerber, 12

235. Gerber, 14

236. Gerber, 14

237. Gerber, 16

238. Gerber, 17

239. Gerber, 17

240. Gerber, 18

241. Gerber, 20

242. Gerber, 22

243. Gerber, 22

244. Gerber, 23

245. Gerber, 23

246. Gerber, 23

247. Gerber, 23

248. Gerber, 23

249. Gerber, 24

250. Gerber, 26

251. David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18, no.2 (1996): 7

252. Glassberg, 9

253. Glassberg, 9

254. Glassberg, 11

255. Glassberg, 14

256. Glassberg, 16

257. Glassberg, 16

258. Glassberg, 17

259. Glassberg, 19

260. Glassberg, 19

261. Glassberg, 21

262. Lowenthal, David, *Fabricating Heritage,* <http://iupjournals.org/history/ham10-1.html> (2007)

264. Lowenthal, David, *Fabricating Heritage,* <http://iupjournals.org/history/ham10-1.html> (2007)

265. Lowenthal, David, *Fabricating Heritage,* <http://iupjournals.org/history/ham10-1.html> (2007)

266. Lowenthal, David, *Fabricating Heritage,* <http://iupjournals.org/history/ham10-1.html> (2007)

267. Lowenthal, David, *Fabricating Heritage,* <http://iupjournals.org/history/ham10-1.html> (2007)

268. Lowenthal, David, *Fabricating Heritage,* <http://iupjournals.org/history/ham10-1.html> (2007)

269. Diane L. Barthel, "Historical Preservation: A Comparative Analyses," *Sociological Forum* 4, no.1 (1989): 88

270. Barthel, 88

271. Barthel, 93

272. Barthel 94

273. Barthel, 98

274. Barthel, 95

275. Barthel, 95

276. Barthel. 97

277. Barthel, 98

278. Barthel, 100

279. Barthel, 101

280. Barthel. 101

281. Barthel. 102

282. Barthel. 103

283. Diane L. Barthel, "Nostalgia for America's village past: Staged symbolic communities," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 4, no. 1 (1990): 79

284. Barthel, 80

285. Barthel, 80

286. Barthel, 81

287. Barthel, 83

288. Barthel, 84

289. Barthel, 85

290. Barthel, 86

291. Barthel. 87

292. Barthel, 88

293. Barthel. 89

294. Barthel, 91

295. Barthel, 91

296. Barthel, 92

297. Barthel, 93

298. Diane L. Barthel, *Amana: From Pietist Sect to American Community* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 57

299. Barthel. 58

300. Barthel, 59

301. Barthel, 60

302. Barthel. 62

303. Barthel, 63

304. Barthel, 64

305. Barthel, 67

306. Barthel, 67

307. Barthel. 69

308. Barthel, 73

309. Barthel 75

310. Wineburg, Samuel, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts,* <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kwin9903.htm> (2007).

311. Wineburg, Samuel, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts,* <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kwin9903.htm> (2007).

312. Wineburg, Samuel, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts,* <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kwin9903.htm> (2007).

313. Wineburg, Samuel, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts,* <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kwin9903.htm> (2007).

314. Wineburg, Samuel, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts,* <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kwin9903.htm> (2007).

315. Wineburg, Samuel, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts,* <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kwin9903.htm> (2007).

316. Wineburg, Samuel, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts,* <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kwin9903.htm> (2007).

317. Wineburg, Samuel. *On the Reading of Historical: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy* <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/2c/500/91WineburgReadingHistTexts.pdf > (2007)

318. Wineburg, Samuel. *On the Reading of Historical: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy* <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/2c/500/91WineburgReadingHistTexts.pdf > (2007)

319. Wineburg, Samuel. *On the Reading of Historical: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy* <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/2c/500/91WineburgReadingHistTexts.pdf > (2007)

320. Wineburg, Samuel. *On the Reading of Historical: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy* <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/2c/500/91WineburgReadingHistTexts.pdf > (2007)

321. Wineburg, Samuel. *On the Reading of Historical: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy* <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/2c/500/91WineburgReadingHistTexts.pdf > (2007)

322. Wineburg, Samuel. *On the Reading of Historical: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy* <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/2c/500/91WineburgReadingHistTexts.pdf > (2007)

323. Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, *A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking*, <www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.4/drake.html> (2007).

324. Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, *A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking*, <www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.4/drake.html> (2007).

325. Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, *A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking*, <www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.4/drake.html> (2007).

326. Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, *A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking*, <www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.4/drake.html> (2007).

327. Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, *A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking*, <www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.4/drake.html> (2007).

328. Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, *A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking*, <www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.4/drake.html> (2007).

329. Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, *A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking*, <www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.4/drake.html> (2007).

330. Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, *A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking*, <www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.4/drake.html> (2007).

331. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

332. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

333. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

334. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

335. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

336. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

337. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

338. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

339. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

340. Pomerantz, Linda, *Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html> (2007).

341. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

342. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

343. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

344. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

345. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

346. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

347. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

348. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

349. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

350. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

351. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

352. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

353. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

354. Nancy Fitch, *AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age,* <http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm> (2007).

355. Junichi Takahashi, and all. <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007).

356. Junichi Takahashi, and all. <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007).

357. Junichi Takahashi, and all. <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007).

358. Junichi Takahashi, and all. <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007).

359. Junichi Takahashi, and all. <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007).

360. Junichi Takahashi, and all. <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007).

361. Junichi Takahashi, and all. <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007).

362. Junichi Takahashi, and all. <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007).

363. Junichi Takahashi, and all. <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007).

364. Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson, *Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?* <http://www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html> (2007).

365. Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson, *Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?* <http://www.well:com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html> (2007).

366. Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson, *Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?* <http://www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html> (2007).

367. Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson, *Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?* <http://www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html> (2007).

368. Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson, *Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?* <http://www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html> (2007).

369. Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson, *Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?* <http://www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html> (2007).

370. Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson, *Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?* <http://www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html> (2007).

371. Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson, *Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?* <http://www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html> (2007).

372. Jan Fernback and Brad Thompson, *Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?* <http://www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html> (2007).

373. David Lowenthal, *The Past Is A Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 193

374. Lowenthal, 195

375. Lowenthal, 202

376. Lowenthal, 204

377. Lowenthal, 210

378. Lowenthal, 206

379. Lowenthal, 187

380. Lowenthal, 249

381. Lowenthal, 194

382. Lowenthal, 215

383. Lowenthal, 216

384. Lowenthal, 218

385. Lowenthal, 255

386. Lowenthal, 256

387. Lowenthal, 256

388. Lowenthal, 256

Bibliography

Andelson, Jonathan. "Routinization of Behavior in a Charismatic Leader." *American Ethnologist* 7, no. 4 (1980): 716-733.

Barthel, Diane L. "Nostalgia for America's village past: Staged symbolic communities." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 4, no. 1 (1990): 79-93.

Barthel, Diane. "Historical Preservation: A Comparative Analyses."*Sociological Forum* 4 no.1 (1989): 87-105

Barthel, Diane L.. *Amana: From Pietist Sect to American Community.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Boyer, Paul. "A Joyful Noyes: Reassessing America's Utopian-Tradition," *American History* 3, no. 1 (1975): 27

Canning, Kathleen Neils. "Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History." *The American Historical Review* 97, no. 3 (1992): 736-768.

Conzen, Kathleen Neils. "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic identity: Historical Issues." *The Journal of American History* 66, no. 3 (1979): 603-615.

Davis, Natalie Zemon, Starn, Randolph. "Introduction." *Representations* 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (1989): 1-6.

Drake, Frederick D.; Brown, Sarah Drake. "A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking." www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.4/drake.html (2007).

Fernback, Jan; Thompson, Brad. "Virtual Communities: Abort, Retry, Failure?." http://www.well.com/~hlr/texts/VCcivil.html (2007).

Fitch, Nancy. "AHA Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age." http://www.historians.org/tl/LessonPlans/ca/Fitch/reflectiveessay.htm (2007).

Friedman, Thomas L. *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century.* New York: Farrar,.Straus and Giroux, 2006

Gerber, David A. . "Forming A Transnational Narrative: New Perspectives on European Migrations to the United States." *The History Teacher* 35, no. 1 (2001): 61-78.

Gerber, David A. *The Making Of An American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-1860.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Gerber, David A.. "The Pathos of Exile: Old Lutheran Refugees in the United States and South Australia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, no. 3 (1984): 498-522.

Gerber, David A. "Local and Community History: Some Cautionary Remarks on an Idea Whose Time Has Returned."*The History Teacher* 13 no. 1 (1979): 7-30

German Embassy Washington D. C., "US Regions Keeping Alive Their German Heritage." http://www.germany.info/relaunch/info/publications/infocus/german-americans/g-a_in_us.html (2007).

Glassberg, David. "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18, no.2 (1996): 7-23.

Global Digital Museum <http://delivery.acm.org/10.1145/280000/276703/p244-takahashi.pdf?key1=276703&key2=2766604711&coll=&dl=ACM&CFID=15151515&CFTOKEN=6184618> (2007)

Grossman, Walter. "Gruber on the Discernment of True and False Inspiration." *The Harvard Theological Review* 81, no. 4 (1988):·363-387.

Halbwachs, Maurice. "Individual Consciousness and Collective Mind." *The American Journal of Sociology* 44, (1939): 812-822.

Kalberg, Stephen."The Origin and Expansion of Kulturpessimismus: The Relationship between Public and Private Spheres in Early Twentieth Century Gennany," *Sociological Theory* 5, no.2 (1987): 157

Katz, Michael B., Doucet Michael J., and Stern Mark J. "Migration and the Social Order in Erie County, New York: 1855." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8, no. 4 (1978): 669-701.

Kazal, Russell A. *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004

Kazal, Russell A. "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History." *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (1995): 437--471.

Lankes, Frank. *The Ebenezer Community of True Inspiration.* Buffalo: Keisling Publishing Company, 1963.

Lankes, Frank. *The Ebenezer Society, Part Three.* West Seneca, N.Y.: West Seneca Historical Society, 1963.

Lowenthal, David. "Fabricating Heritage." http://iupjournals.org/history/ham10-1.html (2007).

Lowenthal David "The Timeless Past: Some Anglo-American Historical Perceptions" *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (1989): 1263-1280

Lowenthal, David. *The Past Is A Foreign Country.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Museum Computer Network, "Resources." http://www.mcn.edu/resources/index.asp (2007).

National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, "The Amana Colonies." www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/amana/ (2007).

Nolt, Steven M. "Becoming Ethnic Americans in the Early Republic: Pennsylvanian German Reactions to Evangelical Protestant Reformism." *Journal of the Early Republic* 20, no.3 (2000): 423-446.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire." *Representations* 26 Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (1989): 7-24.

Pomerantz, Linda. "Bridging the Digital Divide: Reflections on "Teaching and Learning in the Digital Age"." http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/34.4/pomerantz.html (2007).

Roeber, A.G. "In German Ways? Problems and Potentials of Eighteenth-Century German Social and Emigration History" *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (1987): 750-774

Shambaugh, Bertha. *Amana: The Community of True Inspiration.* Iowa City, Iowa: State Historical Society of Iowa, 1988.

Shambaugh,Bertha M.H.. *Amana That Was and Amana That Is.* New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1971.

Smith, H. Perry, ed. *History of the City of Buffalo and Erie County.* Syracuse, New York D. Mason and Co., 1884.

Stearns, Peter. "Why Study History." www.historians.org/pubs/Free/WhyStudyHistory .htm (2007).

Thelen, David. "Memory and American History." *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (1989): 1117-1129.

Vromen, Suzanne. "Maurice Halbwachs on Collective Memory", by Lewis A. Croser. *The American Journal of Sociology* 99, no.2 (1993): 510-512

Wallace,Anthony. *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.* New York: Knopf, 1970.

Wegert, Karl H. "Contention with Civility: The State and Social Control in the German Southwest, 1760-1850," *The Historical Joumal* 34, no. 2 (1991): 354

White, Hayden. "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory." *History and Theory* 23, no. 1 (1984): 1-33.

Wineburg, Samuel. "Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts." http://www.pdkintl .org/ kappan/kwin9903.htm (2007).

Yox, Andrew P.. "Bonds of Community: Buffalo German Element, 1853-1871." *New York History* 66, (1985): 141-163.