

"The Age Demands It": Progressivism in Zion City, Illinois, a Conservative Protestant Theocracy

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Recommended Citation

Kiszely, Gayle A., ""The Age Demands It": Progressivism in Zion City, Illinois, a Conservative Protestant Theocracy" (2018).
Dissertations (2009 -). 795.
https://epublications.marquette.edu/dissertations_mu/795

"THE AGE DEMANDS IT": PROGRESSIVISM IN ZION CITY, ILLINOIS,
A CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANT THEOCRACY

by

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School,
Marquette University,
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

August 2018

ABSTRACT
"THE AGE DEMANDS IT": PROGRESSIVISM IN ZION CITY, ILLINOIS,
A CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANT THEOCRACY

Gayle A. Kiszely, B.S., M.A.

Marquette University, 2018

Historians have periodized the last decade of the nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth centuries as the Progressive Era. The Era is characterized by booming industrialization, unregulated corporate capitalism, rapid urbanization, and immigration from countries other than northern Europe. These developments unleashed an explosion of reforms intended to solve the social problems that emanated from these unsettling developments. Reformers beseeched the courts and state and national legislatures to regulate banks and big businesses. Urban reformers and liberal religious leaders established settlement houses to uplift immigrants morally and socially. Other reformers espoused religious or secular communitarian philosophies to dignify labor, or to provide model communities that others could emulate.

This is a case study of one such communitarian model, founded on conservative Protestant principles and intended to be an industrial city that would attract Christians to live, to work, and to prosper. Founder John Alexander Dowie developed a physical environment that encompassed many of the progressive priorities of the era, such as orderly neighborhoods, parks, and playgrounds. City ordinances forbade alcohol and other vices inherent in urban centers. Within a few years, Dowie was forced into bankruptcy, and died shortly thereafter. Progressive members of his congregation emerged to re-create the city as a modern, yet moral industrial city. In spite of their progressive vision, their success was thwarted by a powerful antagonist whose goal was to return the city to a conservative theocracy.

Using multiple regional newspapers, trade journals, magazines, and institutional records, this project analyzes the strong progressive elements evident in the physical layout of the city and the labors of progressive businessmen who worked to advance the benefits of the city to industrialists, and to connect the city to the burgeoning Chicago market while maintaining the moral precepts vital to the era, and central to their own faith, assumptions, and values.

"Progress has not followed a straight ascending line,
but a spiral with rhythms of progress and retrogression,
of evolution and dissolution."

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Gayle A. Kiszely, B.S., M.A.

Writing a dissertation is a solitary endeavor, however, it cannot be successfully completed without the advice and encouragement of many others.

Dr. James Marten, I laud you for your years of patience, and I heartily appreciate the many suggestion, recommendations, and challenges through those years.

Thank you, Dr. Thomas Jablonsky for your insights into city building and your critical reading of the paper. Thank you, Fr. Steven Avella for contributing key insights into Progressive Era conservatives' motivations for reform.

I am immensely grateful to all the professors and the advisors, both undergraduate and graduate, from whom I benefitted. Your encouragement and challenges have been invaluable.

There have been many others along the way who aided my research through their willingness to share resources. This includes volunteers at the Zion Historical Society, librarians at the Zion and Waukegan Public Libraries, and clerks at the Lake County, Illinois Recorder of Deeds. I appreciate what you did.

Several friends have patiently awaited the completion of this project—I thank you for that. And Stephan—thank you for everything.

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ABBREVIATIONS, DEFINITIONS, CHARACTERS

ABBREVIATIONS

Council Minutes Zion City Council Minutes

CT *Chicago Daily Tribune.*

LOH *Leaves of Healing* - Dowie's and Voliva's primary publication of the church

ZB *Zion Banner* (1901-1906) Dowie's semi-secular newspaper

ZH *The Zion Herald* (1907-1910) Voliva's newspaper

ZCN *Zion City News* (1907-1910) The receivers' and the Independents' publication

ZCI *Zion City Independent* (1910-1925) The Independents' publication

ZI *The Independent* (1925-1927) Successor to the *Zion City Independent*

SELECTED CHARACTERS AND DEFINITIONS:

Visscher Vere Barnes aka Judge Barnes

Barnes was a distinguished attorney prior to joining Dowie's Zion movement in 1902. Barnes was the first city judge and later the city attorney. He became a leading member of the independent movement in opposition to Voliva.

Daniel Bryant

A missionary in Dowie's mission to South Africa. He was called back to be the ecclesiastical head of the independents' church.

Omer W. Davis

Davis had been a deacon in Dowie's church. After bankruptcy was declared, Davis was appointed by the receiver to be the editor of a newspaper independent of Voliva's influence.

John Alexander Dowie (1847-1907)

Founder of the Zion movement, the city of Zion, Illinois, the Christian Catholic Church, and the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church.

John C. Hatley

The first receiver appointed by Federal District Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis to handle Dowie's bankruptcy.

Gus D. Thomas

Successor Receiver appointed by Federal District Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis to handle Dowie's bankruptcy.

Wilbur Glenn Voliva (1870-1942)

Successor to Dowie as the General Overseer of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church / Christian Catholic Church.

CCAC

Christian Catholic Apostolic Church (1904-1934) Headed by John Alexander Dowie and his successor Wilbur Glenn Voliva. Voliva removed the word Apostolic in 1934.

CCC (Christian Catholic Church)

Established by Dowie in 1896. He renamed the church the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in 1904.

Christian Catholic Church also was the name of the Independents' church organized in 1910. They renamed it Grace Missionary Church in 1920.

Independent Party

Organized in 1909 as political opposition to the Theocratic Party.

Independent

The general term for all who opposed Voliva's plans to rule Zion as theocracy. Nearly all independents had followed Dowie and had helped to establish the city of Zion. A few independents had not been members of Dowie's Zion movement, but were members of the Methodist Church, or affiliated with industries or businesses not owned by Voliva.

Theocratic Party

Organized when Zion City was incorporated in 1902. The Party was intended to be the sole political entity in the city.

Candidates were handpicked by Dowie and by his successor Voliva.

Zion Estate

Dowie's real and private property that was administered during the bankruptcy by federal Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis and the receivers.

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Introduction

John Alexander Dowie intended Zion City, Illinois, to be a refuge from the evils of society. He embraced modern ideas of city planning. He understood the necessity of industry for employment and for income. Yet, under his plans, Zion City still would be heaven on earth—free from all intoxicants, from tobacco, from all sins of the flesh. He attracted tens of thousands of followers worldwide, and nearly seven thousand followed him to his city north of Chicago. Because of their faith in him, and through their investments, he held sole title to more than six thousand acres of land, and was the sole owner of all industries. He fell into financial ruin within five years, driving the city into bankruptcy by 1906. From the ruins, however, two primary groups, both of whom claimed to be following the ideals of Dowie, emerged with opposing visions of how the city should be revived while remaining a “clean city for a clean people.”

One of those groups, who later became known as the Independents, worked to recreate Zion as a viable and modern city. Many of these Independents had been successful businessmen prior to following Dowie to Zion, and claimed that Dowie’s original plan included individually owned businesses. The bankruptcy, devastating as it was, provided the Independents with an opportunity to revive

that prior promise. Acting on this, dozens leased or purchased property from the court-appointed receiver and established stores, service industries, and factories. Understanding, however, that they would need commercial enterprises from beyond Zion, they appealed to outside businessmen who would appreciate the industriousness and efficiency of a temperate workforce. They capitalized on the original ideals of Zion, which coincided with many Progressive ideals. Zion had passed ordinances that banned drinking, billiard rooms, theaters, and tobacco. Dowie had forbid pork as an unclean meat, and while the foundation for his rule was biblical, it coincided with national movements to regulate the quality of food and drugs. The Independents additionally stressed a core belief of the Progressive age, that a clean and safe environment as well as a good education could cure many of the ills of society. Zion was that clean and safe environment. From 1906, when the receivership began, until 1913, when they lost all political power, these Independents sought to connect Zion with the burgeoning economy of Chicago and the North Shore while maintaining the fundamental values of Zion and aligning them with Progressive era ideals.

Their antagonist was Wilbur Glenn Voliva, the ecclesiastical successor to Dowie, whose ambition was to return Zion to a theocracy. He would be the leader for life. He would become a demagogue.

From shortly after he arrived in Zion in the early spring of 1906, conflict raged between the Independents and Voliva. Intimately aware of the economic boom in Chicago and throughout the North Shore, the Independents saw Voliva as archaic, holding Zion back from its potential. While Voliva tried to retain private control of utilities, the Independents sought to link Zion to regional gas, electric, and telephone service suppliers. Like other progressive-minded Americans, the Independents realized the need for clean water and sought to be included in a regional sanitary district. As Voliva's exploits to halt the Independents' course became more strident, including resorting to election fraud, the Independents turned their attention to election reform and eliminating government corruption, following other state and local efforts to do the same.

Despite his claim to be the religious leader of Zion, Voliva assumed the role of a political boss. Like other bosses, Voliva paid the legal expenses of those who fronted his lawsuits, and provided powerful offices to those in his elite cohort. He promised jobs to his masses of followers if they supported his plans. Unlike other political bosses, however, he fed into the hope of heaven on earth if he prevailed in his quest to rule Zion exclusively, and he threatened the eternal fires of hell to those who opposed him. Since his followers had believed so strongly in the Zion ideals as formulated by the original

founder of the city, many were willing to believe Voliva's exhortation that it was worth any and all sacrifices in order to save Zion from the "hosts of hell."

The Independents experienced some successes during the years of the receivership, in that two major Chicago manufacturers moved to Zion. One purchased an existing industry, the other relocated its factory to town. The owners and the workers of these companies were welcomed within ranks of the Independents and established coalitions between and among them to defeat Voliva. These coalitions organized merchant groups to foster the Independent businesses within town. Under the leadership of the receiver, they organized a state bank to counter Voliva's private bank. They sent representatives to regional and state conferences that promoted Progressive Era priorities such as good roads, which would improve access to town for farmers and for consumers from nearby towns. While the "outsiders" who worked or lived in Zion in the new industries did not necessarily hold to all the ideals espoused by Dowie, all Independents were interested in economic success. Ultimately, the Independents failed to make Zion a viable economic center that embodied many progressive ideals. Yet, from 1906 to 1913, they initiated multiple programs to recreate the city, to make it financially successful while retaining many of the

original ideals for which they had moved there in the first place—a clean city for a clean people.

This is not the story that has been told about Zion by previous historians. They have, instead, focused on the religious facets of Zion's early history and its reactionary leader, John Alexander Dowie. Scholars who have studied the Zion movement have concentrated primarily on Dowie's seemingly charismatic influence on thousands of people, and on the international impact of his religious movement. An important and fair study of the social and the cultural life in Zion can be found in Philip L. Cook's *Zion City, Illinois: Twentieth-Century Utopia* published in 1996.¹

A number of graduate students have explored Dowie's career. Wendy Blezek examined the symbolism of Dowie's rhetoric through the lens of his life's experiences, while Warren Jay Beaman argued that Dowie's congregation changed from a sect to a cult, then returned once again to a sect.² He employed the definitions of theologians Ernst Troeltsch and Rodney Stark who defined a sect as a group who holds some hostility to mainstream religions and shifts away from that mainstream. In contrast, a cult is a group that initiates a new religion.

¹Philip L. Cook, *Zion City, Illinois: Twentieth-Century Utopia* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996).

²Wendy C. Blezek, "Prophet or Profit: The Rhetoric of John Alexander Dowie and the Christian Catholic Church" (Masters Thesis, Northern Illinois University, 1999); Warren Jay Beaman, "From Sect to Cult to Sect: the Christian Catholic Church in Zion" (PhD diss., Iowa State University, 1990).

Other scholars and graduate students who have analyzed Dowie's theological beliefs include Jonathan Baer, James William Opp, and John David Foxworthy, all of whom traced Dowie's fervent belief in faith healing to the advent of Pentecostalism.³

William Kostlevy linked Dowie's Zion to Pentecostalism in his study of the Metropolitan Church of America (MCA), a "radical" offshoot of the Holiness Movement, which was itself a conservative offshoot of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Holiness Movement seceded from the Methodists, fearing that the latter had become too accepting of worldliness such as playing cards and going to theaters. According to Kostlevy, Chicago was a "center of Holiness Movement radicalism" around 1900, concurrent with Dowie's organization of his Zion movement in Chicago.⁴

A number of scholars writing about Zion have addressed the complexity underlying the Progressive era's matrix of social, economic, political, and religious causes. The contradictions of the era are

³Jonathan R. Baer, "Redeemed Bodies: The Functions of Divine Healing in Incipient Pentecostalism." *Church History* 70 (December, 2001):735-71; James William Ott, *The Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine and the Body: Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880-1930*, McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); John David Foxworth, "Raymond T. Richey: An Interpretive Biography" (PhD diss., Regent University, School of Divinity, Virginia Beach, VA, 2011) Note: Raymond T. Richey was a healing evangelist whose father was Eli N. Richey, an ordained officer in Dowie's organization and an Independent mayor of Zion in 1909. Eli Richey converted to the Pentecostal movement when Charles Parham arrived in Zion in 1907.

⁴William Kostlevy, *Holy Jumpers: Evangelicals and Radicals in Progressive Era America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 24, 35.

apparent in individuals as well. Grant Wacker, professor emeritus of Christian Ministry at Duke Divinity School, did not entirely dismiss the anxiety created by the unsettling events of the era, but shifted his argument to emphasize the role of religion in Dowie's organization of Zion. More specifically, Wacker emphasized the "perfectionist motivations," which attracted thousands of followers to Dowie's visions of a perfect city. Wacker cited several of Dowie's progressive tendencies while he lived in Australia, such as public ownership of utilities, compulsory and free education, as well as prohibition, while historian Timothy Gloege argued that Dowie's faith healing was outdated by the turn of the twentieth century.⁵

Gloege linked the rise of medical professionalism during the Progressive age as well as its acceptance by orthodox Protestantism to the decline of "respectability" of Dowie and other faith healers. Gloege argued that Dowie was driven from Chicago by young medical students and by the State Board of Health to prevent Dowie from practicing divine healing in the city. Both forces provided part of the impetus for Dowie to establish Zion City.⁶

⁵Grant Wacker, "Marching to Zion: Religion in a Modern Utopian Community." *Church History* 54 (December, 1985):511, 498.

⁶Timothy E. W. Gloege, "Faith Healing, Medical Regulation, and Public Religion in Progressive Era Chicago." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 23 (Summer, 2013):185-231.

Dowie's administrative skills would be put to use to plan distant revivals, to organize his church in Chicago as well as to establish the future city of Zion in pursuance of establishing a comprehensive institution, including educational, industrial, religious, and social departments. While these activities might resemble spectacle more than an emphasis on order, efficiency, and reliance on expertise, several scholars have placed similar campaigns by contemporary evangelists within the spectrum of progressivism. Jennifer Wiard saw evidence of the progressive emphasis on professionalism and the corporate business model in Billy Sunday's revivals. Like many of Dowie's followers, Sunday's evangelists were educated men and women. They organized their mission work in the cities into "specialized departments" through which "they created rationalized revivalism by subdividing densely populated areas into districts and demographics. Their actions reflected Progressive Era evangelicals' faith in efficiency, rational planning, and corporate solutions." Wiard also asserted that Progressive era American evangelicalism was shaped by, and helped to shape, the "formative stages of urbanization and consumer capitalism."⁷

⁷Jennifer Wiard, "The Gospel of Efficiency: Billy Sunday's Revival Bureaucracy and Evangelicalism in the Progressive Era," *Church History* 85 (September 2016):590-91.

In a perspective similar to Wiard, Thekla E. Joiner referred to the Progressive era's continuance of the Third Awakening, during which more conservative evangelical revivalists continued to rely on salvation as the cure for social ills rather than joining the Social Gospel movement, or uniting with more secular reformers. Joiner focused on three revivals in Chicago, including Dwight L. Moody's 1893 World's Fair Revival and Billy Sunday's 1918 revival. She asserted that the revivalists of the era willingly and skillfully employed the orthodox "tools of modernity (organization, advertising, communication) to further their religious cause." Like Wiard, Joiner connected evangelical beliefs with the burgeoning capitalistic economy. Evangelicals "personal righteousness" easily translated "into economic profit" and their fervent "honesty, frugality, and diligence in the work world led to commercial and capitalist success."⁸

Evangelicalism emerged in the 1600s as a reaction against excessive "formalism" in orthodox Christianity. While an international movement, the rise of evangelicalism in the United States is associated with Charles Finney, a primary leader of the Second Great Awakening beginning in the 1700s; with Dwight L. Moody in Chicago, Dowie's primary competitor in evangelistic missions during the last decade of the nineteenth century; and later, with Billy Graham. By the turn of

⁸Thekla Ellen Joiner, *Sin in the City: Chicago and Revivalism, 1880-1920* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 4, 13, 18.

the twentieth century, Protestant evangelicalism was at its apex in America. This coincided with the acceptance by many of scientific theories that challenged the supremacy of God as the Creator. It coincided with the rise in industrialism, with urbanization, and with crusades by Progressive Era reformers of all manners to solve the problems of society.

A number of scholars have traced the rise of evangelicalism and its offshoot fundamentalism as responses to quickly changing economic and social conditions, which left some groups of people feeling uneasy with, or left out of, the increasing affluence of the market or the industrial revolution. One of those scholars is David Bebbington who identified four basic principles of evangelicalism, all of which can be found in Social Gospel evangelists as well as in more conservative evangelical theologies. These include beliefs in the Bible as the inspired word of God, that Jesus's death on the cross was central to redemption (crucicentrism), that conversion was to be a personal experience as well as a "supernatural intervention," and finally, that activism was essential. Activism created the impetus for world-wide missions, for revivals, and for personal testimonies. Fundamentalism grew out of evangelicalism in the early twentieth century and shares its foundational doctrines. The distinction between

the two lies in what George Marsden identified as the fundamentalists' militancy against secular humanism.⁹

Conservative evangelical Protestants were convinced of the literal truth of the scriptures, believed in biblical prophecy, and emphasized the imminence of the Second Coming. In *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, George Marsden studied the emergence of both evangelicalism and fundamentalism during the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. According to Marsden, dispensational premillennialism (often referred to as dispensationalism) emerged as a "conservative innovation" for evangelicals to meet "the challenges of the day." Dispensation refers to historical eras of humankind based upon biblical interpretation. The first ended with the fall of Adam and Eve into sin. In each of a total of seven dispensations, God would test his human creation. At the turn of the twentieth-century, dispensationalists were pessimistic about modern culture, were critical of liberal theologians, disapproved of established denominations, and believed humankind on Earth was headed inevitably towards "catastrophe." In some cases, conservative

⁹David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 22-40; George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); See also Mark A. Noll, *American Evangelical Christianity: An Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Inc., 2001); Mark A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003); and George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991).

evangelicals organized separatist movements. Dowie believed that his Zion movement was a divinely inspired impulse for reform, and he gathered together like believers in what would be a perfect Christian community. His church was the restoration of the true Apostolic Church, the congregation was the "Messenger of God's Covenant." Their diligence would usher in the "Millennial Reign of the Prince of Peace."¹⁰

Robert Wiebe remains an authority on the Progressive era. His critical work *Search For Order* analyzed the progressives' increasing reliance on bureaucracy; on efficient, scientific management; and on experts in response to industrialization, to urbanization, and to immigration. Still, he contended that there were old style moral reformers who were aware of the changing events and who, to keep up on their own terms, surrounded themselves with "zealous and well-trained" men advancing modern ideas. This is something that Dowie certainly did.¹¹

Progressive Era order has been exemplified by reformers' emphases on city planning, the City Beautiful movement, and the parks and playground movements. Historian Paul Boyer termed this

¹⁰ George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1991), 7, 41, 67, 71, 100; "A Week's Stay in Zion," *LOH* 6 (March 31, 1900):746: "Editorial Notes," *LOH* 7 (June 9, 1900):198-99.

¹¹ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 172-3.

“positive environmentalism,” which both secular and religious reformers implemented in order to uplift those poorer or less educated than themselves. Boyer traced the evolution of the increasing professionalization of moral reformers, and their greater reliance on legislative action throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Specific to Zion, graduate student Jan Jansen argued that Zion, not Radburn, New Jersey, was the first Garden City in America to be built according to plans developed by Ebenezer Howard. Howard developed city plans to include green spaces and well-ordered streets and neighborhoods in response to the chaos of urbanization.¹²

A number of scholars have addressed the moral reform campaigns that Progressives fought to remake or, in some minds, to return America to the superior values ascribed to the white, Protestant culture. Dowie’s plans for Zion embodied these values. Their various campaigns included crusades to ban tobacco, gambling, and alcohol. James Marone argued that a strong “moral urge” in society and in politics has been intrinsic to American culture since the Puritans’ arrival. Other historians agree that while the legislative victory over alcohol had its roots in a century-long battle, in the Progressive age,

¹²Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Harvard University Press, 1991); Jan Jansen, *Battle for the Garden City: Zion Illinois in the Twentieth Century* (Green Bay, WI: My Sister Publishing House, 2011.) See also: Lee Hardy, “Nature and Nature’s God: The Religious Background of the Garden City Movement,” *Christian Scholar’s Review* 38 (June, 2009):435–56.

reformers organized strategies for political activism and welcomed governmental interference to achieve that victory.¹³

While the battles against alcohol dominated the moral reforms of the era, tobacco was an important target as well. Cassandra Tate analyzed the motives for the anti-tobacco campaign in *Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of "The Little White Slaver."* Not only did cigarettes offend the moral sensibilities of some reformers, the mass production of cigarettes that began during America's industrial age was associated with the influx of immigrants. Industrialists as renowned as Henry Ford believed they were a detriment to industrial efficiency. The Independents, who lived in Dowie's well planned Zion City, also sought to attract outside industrialists by capitalizing on Dowie's rules that banned such substances that interfered with worker productivity.¹⁴

Historians have examined the tensions between capitalism and progressive trends, and the tensions between the perceived tradition of individualism and an increasing push for governmental impositions on that individualism. These tensions are sometimes apparent in Zion. Michael McGerr underscored this tension and argued that Progressives

¹³See Jack S. Blocker, *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989); Thomas R. Pegram, *Battling Demon Rum: The Struggle for a Dry America, 1800-1933* (Landham, MD: Ivan R. Dee, 1999); James Marone, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History* (Yale University Press, 2003), 4.

¹⁴Cassandra Tate, *Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of "The Little White Slaver"* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999).

comprised a “radical movement.” The various progressive programs were, in fact, a “condemnation of individualism” that was strongly connected to socialistic inclinations, but not so socialistic as to condemn the ownership of private property. Neither did most progressives desire to do away with capitalism. According to McGerr, the underlying goal of progressive era reformers was to “change other people.” The Social Gospel and settlement movements exemplify this goal through their efforts to educate the masses and to change their environments. Another goal was to “end class conflict,” which was manifested most commonly in labor strife. McGerr referenced various utopian visions whose adherents sought to dignify the worker, including William Morris’s and John Ruskin’s Arts and Crafts movement. The theories of Ruskin were used as a foundation for the Ruskin Colonies, which were short-lived, socialist communitarian experiments in the South. Like Zion, the Ruskin experiments and dozens of others in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were responses to, and claimed to have solutions for, the immense changes taking place in the country.¹⁵

Zion women joined forces with national women’s organization to fight for progressive reforms. Many of their activities fit within the

¹⁵Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003); W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *A Socialist Utopia in the New South: The Ruskin Colonies in Tennessee and Georgia* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

concept of “municipal housekeeping” whose adherents sought to “scrub the nation clean” through civic reform and city beautification. In what Maureen Flanagan termed the “public forums movement,” these women organized gender acceptable activities whose missions included working for better governments, for educational reforms, and for city beautification.¹⁶

Dowie’s planning for and building of Zion City began amid the decades-long development of Chicago as an industrial, commercial, and cultural hub. As Chicago developed, its suburbs and satellite industrial cities emerged, connected to the larger metropolis through commerce and transportation networks. In *Creating Chicago’s North Shore*, Michael H. Ebner analyzed the development of eight suburban cities along the Lake Michigan shoreline. Each of those communities maintained a distinct identity. Evanston, for example, was a temperance town. Wealthy Chicago industrialists fled the city for serenity in Lake Bluff and in Wilmette. Yet each were bound intrinsically to Chicago and to each other by what Ebner maintained was a “network premised upon common assumptions and shared

¹⁶Maureen Flanagan, *America Reformed: Progressives and Progressivisms, 1890s- 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Agnes Hooper Gottlieb, *Women Journalists and the Municipal Housekeeping Movement, 1868-1914* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2001).

values.” On a practical level, they were linked by railroads and as the automobile age emerged, by Sheridan Road.¹⁷

While Zion was not a wealthy North Shore suburb, Zion Independents looked to progressive improvements made to the infrastructure in those suburbs as models to emulate. For their goal to revive the city’s industrial potential, the Independents relied on the convenience of railway networks to market the city. In *Chicagoland*, Ann Durkin Keating emphasized the importance of the railroads in the development of the region surrounding Chicago. The railroads helped to shape industrial cities, agricultural regions, and commuter suburbs.¹⁸

Scholars have analyzed the complex and sometimes contradictory priorities embraced by reformers during the Progressive Era. The Zion Independents, living in a very conservative city, considered themselves to be Progressives. They espoused the progressive campaign in the mission statement of their organizations including a clean government, a City Beautiful, and municipal ownership of utilities. They called themselves Progressives after the national party formed. While they had appreciated the ideals espoused by Dowie and had settled in Zion in anticipation of a clean, Christian

¹⁷Michael Ebner, *Creating Chicago’s North Shore: A Suburban History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), xvii-xix.

¹⁸Ann Durkin Keating, *Chicagoland: City and Suburbs in the Railroad Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

community, Dowie's financial failing provided the Independents with the opportunity to maintain many of the values that coincided with the era's progressive priorities while turning the city into a profitable industrial city that still would provide solutions to the problems of the era.

There has been no study of these threads of progressivism evident in Dowie, and more clearly manifested in the Zion Independents. In their pursuit of an effective recovery of Dowie's bankrupt system, those Independents worked to connect Zion to the economic growth of Chicagoland. While their prosperity remained elusive, the Independents joined with regional progressive-minded individuals and organizations in order to unite the city with the broader progressive movement.

This dissertation is a case study of a small town founded as a theocracy, a seemingly unlikely candidate for a study in progressivism. Nevertheless, Progressive Era influences can be found in the plan of the city and more significantly in the goals of the Independent men and women who had staked their economic and spiritual futures on the dreams of Dowie.

I trace the tensions between the theocratic origins of Zion and its brief Progressive period in nine chapters, organized chronologically. Within the chronology, certain themes dominate. Chapter One lays out

John Alexander Dowie's plans to create a model city under his theocratic rule, while at the same time using experts to construct legal documents and to implement the city plan. It also focuses on the city's incorporation and the formal organization of the city government. Chapter Two addresses Dowie's financial failure and the initial endeavors by individual businessmen to establish commercial enterprises.

Chapters Three and Four cover the period during which Zion was in receivership. The unity of the Dowie's original church had disintegrated, and Voliva took a strong stance to combat the Independents' progressive plans. Still, the Independents initiated organizations to attract outside businesses and to connect to outside commercial associations. Chapters Five and Six show how the Independents succeeded in their endeavors to dominate the city council, but experienced limited success in their attempts to improve the physical infrastructure of the city, and in their pursuit to provide cultural amenities for residents. Their efforts were hampered by the settling of the receivership, during which Voliva successfully purchased nearly half of the real estate of the city.

The remaining chapters recount the Independents' continuing optimism to organize a progressive city, despite increasing adversity from Voliva. The Independents' political platform underscored their

crusade for an industrial base while maintaining a clean, moral environment. The Independents sought to connect Zion to regional utilities and to the Good Roads movement, in order to entice industries to relocate to the city. Confronting the increasing need for clean water, they joined with regional efforts to improve sewage facilities. Combating election fraud from their political opponents in town, the Independents turned to political reform measures. Unfortunately for them, their political defeat in 1913 spelled the end of their efforts to create Zion as a model city founded on progressive ideals.

Chapter 1

City Plan and Incorporation

Near the end of March 1901, John Alexander Dowie addressed his congregation at the Central Zion Tabernacle in Chicago and told them of the latest news of his new city. By this time, investors had made applications for nearly 6,000 lots, and Dowie enthusiastically told his audience that the plat soon would be ready, and lots available for selection by the middle of July. While the boulevards and streets had not yet been completed, which he would have preferred, Dowie was buoyed by the fervor of his followers throughout the world, whose cries to "not wait any longer We are aching to come" inspired Dowie to open the city to residents earlier than he had planned. Caught up in the excitement, he enthused that while he originally had planned to build the Zion Temple to accommodate 20,000 congregants, perhaps he might have to make it large enough to hold 25,000 or even 30,000. Encouraging his followers to invest in the city and in the Zion movement as a whole, Dowie promised that he would turn those millions of dollars back into the land so that those investors' funds inevitably would increase. "Poverty is a curse," he said. Rather,

he wanted "God's people under his overseership to be healthy, to be happy, to be wealthy."¹⁹

In the previous two years, Dowie had acquired nearly 6,500 acres located halfway between Chicago and Milwaukee and along two major railway lines. Dowie combined his evangelical Protestantism with the thriving capitalistic economy spurred by the astonishing growth of Chicago at the turn of the twentieth century. He intended for his city to be free from the evils that many feared were inherent in cities, evils such as corruption, filth, disease, and immorality. He eschewed monopolistic businesses as indicative of modern greed. He rejected unions because they created strife and because they were indicative of populist movements, which he abhorred.

Dowie could not be considered a progressively minded individual in this era of contradictions, yet he held contemporary progressive values in that he espoused an environment conducive to moral living, and he was attracted to the appeal of successful entrepreneurial ventures. With no reference to the term progressive, he was willing to use the expertise of others to plan a city befitting the ideals of the City Beautiful movement. The roots of City Beautiful lie in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries efforts by the middle-classes to uplift those less fortunate and to preserve the dominance of white, Anglo-

¹⁹"Afternoon Service," *LOH* 8 (April 6, 1901):748-9.

Saxon, Protestant culture. The City Beautiful ideals included emphases on good sanitation, order, urban reform, and civic pride.²⁰

Dowie was fortunate enough to have attracted a multitude of experts from a multitude of professions to his cause. He convinced an English lace manufacturer to relocate to the United States to provide the initial industry on which to build Zion's economy. He hired a Chicago engineer and his assistants to survey the land, to plan for proper drainage, and to lay out the streets, neighborhoods, and parks in an orderly fashion. He utilized the expertise of attorneys who ensured the legality of documents, deeds, and the leases, and who wrote the rules for his followers to obey, which mirrored the efforts of many reform leaders of the era—no alcohol, no tobacco, no gambling, and no businesses open on Sundays. These rules created for his Zion movement were turned into the first ordinances when the city of Zion was incorporated.

As the dreams of his utopian city began to take shape, Dowie warned his followers that they were not free to do with their property in Zion City as they wished. The land would be leased to the people for a yet undecided term, perhaps 1,000 years, 1,200 years, or even

²⁰William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1989), 41.

3,000 years. Citing Leviticus 25:23 ("And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity; For the land is mine") Dowie told his adherents that the long leases would "endure for your children, and your children's children for a hundred generations." However, to those who transgressed against the restrictions in the leases, by keeping pigs, using tobacco or liquor, "Zion will say . . . get *get* GET!" Anticipating their obedient responses, Dowie asked the congregation if they wanted those conditions. They voiced their assent, as was typical. Even with their approval, Dowie responded by telling them that those conditions would be imposed whether they wanted them or not, at which they laughed in submission. Without a doubt, Dowie was an autocratic leader, although in the troubles that followed, many also remembered him as being kind. His authoritarian style, coupled with the willingness of thousands to follow him, was a harbinger of what was to come.²¹

Proclaiming his control by divine right, and because his people acquiesced to his authority, Dowie delineated additional rules for the governance of the Zion City. There would be no political parties, no elections, and no competition between candidates. While decidedly authoritarian, this plan was meant to avoid tyranny by political bosses. Additionally, no man should entertain the thought that he could run a department within the city. Comparing the rule of his new city with

²¹"Afternoon Service," *LOH* 8 (April 6, 1901):750.

Washington, D.C., in which no citizen voted in national elections and was “better managed and kept than any other city in this country,” Zion would be ruled as a theocracy with authority given to Dowie alone by God.²²

By June 1901, there were more people in Zion City than there were houses, and Dowie predicted that the city soon would be “a city of tents” as more and more congregants arrived for the Feast of Tabernacles in mid-July and lots were made available for leasing. While a number of the first offices and industries occupied temporary quarters, Dowie expected that new buildings for the Zion City Bank, the Land and Investment Office, the livery stable and the blacksmith shop would be ready in time for the arrival of thousands. The building for the Zion Lace Industries was under construction to employ the lace workers for whom a dormitory had been built the previous year. A machine to build roads already had arrived to aid in the construction of a one-hundred foot wide boulevard that would run from the platted “lake shore parks” to the Temple Site.²³

²²“Afternoon Service,” *LOH 8* (April 6, 1901): 750; Historical Society of Washington, D.C. Website. Washington D C Historical Society. (<http://www.dchistory.org/publications/dc-history-faq/> (accessed July 12, 2016). The citizens of Washington, D.C. could not vote for the President until 1964, and continue to have minimal say in local politics and limited representation in national politics.

²³“The Coming City: May-Day at Zion City,” *LOH 9* (May 11,1901):88-91.

Dowie's reference to "lake shore parks," with the implication that, as parks, they would be available for public recreation rather than private property, later became a source of conflict in the dispute between the Independents and the Volivites over the Zion Estate. More than once, Dowie referred to the importance of the lakefront to the city. In 1904, as he continued to promote investments, he spoke again of the future value of dredging a portion of the lakefront for harbor use, and of reserving adjacent land to the harbor for factories. To benefit a section near the lake earmarked for residences, he proposed building a lakeshore drive to connect them to the city's interior parks.²⁴

The layout of the city itself primarily was assigned to Burton Ashley, a civil engineer who first met Dowie and became a congregant while in Chicago in 1894. Ashley had established an impressive reputation for himself there, having worked on the Merchandise Mart and the Chicago Art Institute. He also had attained national standing as the consulting engineer of a waterworks and electric plant in Ohio. On learning of Ashley's expertise, Dowie remarked that if ever he decided to found a city, he would hire Ashley to design it.²⁵

²⁴Note: The "Zion Estate" was the term commonly used to describe the personal property and real estate held by Dowie that became the bankruptcy estate. "The Coming City" insert, *Zion Banner* June 1, 1901; "Potential Value of Zion City Lake Front Real Estate," *LOH* 15 (August 20, 1904):587.

²⁵Philip L. Cook, *Zion City, Illinois" Twentieth-Century Utopia*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 47; Supplement to "Engineering News," 35

As Dowie continued to formalize the church organization while still in Chicago, he also established a committee from his congregation to search for land on which to build his new city. Over the next several years, Ashley and others had sought available land to the southeast in Indiana and to the south and southwest of Chicago in Illinois. However, the optimal site was found in 1899, 40 miles north of Chicago, where successful negotiations led to the acquisition of approximately 115 parcels of land, comprising about ten square miles. By the time Ashley wrote a report in the summer of 1900, in response to Dowie's request, a team of engineers had prepared a topographical survey of the plot and had entered into a contract for the preparation of an artesian well. It was expected to yield 200 to 300 gallons of water per minute.²⁶

In addition to his professional role, Ashley was appointed a deacon in the church. He believed in its mission. At a February 1900, church service to report the progress of the future city, Ashley told the congregation that he envisioned Zion City as a "clean and pure City to which people can go and feel that their greatest enemy is not mankind." This new city would provide a significant contrast to what Dowie referred to as the "sin-smitten" city of Chicago where the Zion

(February 20, 1896):57.

²⁶Burton Ashley, "The Engineering Department," *The Coming City*, c. 1900.

movement was centered at the time. It was only natural that Ashley would want to see that the development of the city sustained a clean and orderly environment.²⁷



Sharon Park



Shiloh Park

Postcards ca. 1910 of two of the many parks in Zion City. The nearly two hundred-acre Shiloh Park surrounded the 10-acre tabernacle site in the center of the city.

Zion Benton Public Library: Zion Photo Gallery,
<https://zblibrary.info/info-services/history-and-genealogy/zion-photo-gallery/> (accessed March 21, 2018).

A City Beautiful

This early development of Zion City coincided with the height of the City Beautiful movement. Indeed, the term first was coined in 1899, just as the development of Zion City gained momentum. While not specifically cited as Ashley's inspiration, it is reasonable to conclude that Ashley was strongly influenced by the ideals innate in that movement. First, Ashley had extensive civil engineering experiences in Chicago during and after the 1893 Columbian Exposition, as well as during the formulation of Daniel Burnham's

²⁷"Tuesday Afternoon Service in Central Zion Tabernacle, Chicago," *LOH* 6 (March 17, 1900):680.

Chicago Plan, which was recognized as the apex of the City Beautiful movement. Second, the term "City Beautiful" would be used in the Zion Independents' mission statement first formulated and published in 1910.²⁸

The roots of the City Beautiful movement lie in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with efforts by the middle classes to uplift those less fortunate and to preserve the dominance of white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture. Again, the ideals of the movement included emphasis on good sanitation, on social order, on urban reform, and on civic pride. These priorities were pillars of the development of Zion City, although the focus shifted to include a theological foundation that all was for the glory of God. The physical manifestations of City Beautiful included professionally designed parks and playgrounds. In some cities, urban reformers fought for civic centers to be the central gathering place for all citizens. Ashley held a significant advantage in Zion City in that he worked with real estate that primarily was farmland as opposed to officials in other cities who battled existing infrastructure and recalcitrant politicians and taxpayers.²⁹

²⁸Wilson, *City Beautiful*, 281, 36.

²⁹Wilson, *City Beautiful*, 41, 60, 217, 234.

As Ashley labored over the layout of the city, he devised a beautifully ordered, symmetrical plan. As a shining symbol of the city's theocratic ideals, the Zion Tabernacle would be situated in the center of the City, encircled by a drive. In this theocracy, the Tabernacle would serve as the city's civic center in which the central activities of Zion's citizens would revolve around the church. Outside the circle drive, the grounds of the Tabernacle would be sheltered by the beautiful 200-acre Shiloh Park. The plan included additional parks, but all were to be left in their natural state until "they [could] be made yet more beautiful at the hands of experienced and trained artisans." Four dominant, diagonal streets led to the tabernacle; all other streets, avenues, and boulevards intersected at right angles.³⁰

Ashley's emphasis on orderly neighborhoods and parks embraced the principles of Progressive Era urban reformers' endeavors to impose order amidst chaos as well as with the ideals of the City Beautiful movement. Ashley initially planned that the houses would be constructed only on the avenues or the boulevards so as to face either east or west, to take advantage of natural light. The laboring classes were allowed forty-foot width lots, the middle class, fifty-foot lots. The wealthier classes would be afforded lots of either eighty- or 100-foot

³⁰*Zion-Benton News*, May, 22, 1952 in "Zion History: Various Articles and Documents from 1900-Present," Collection located in the Zion-Benton Public Library, Zion, Illinois.

widths. The homes ideally were to be constructed of brick or concrete, indicative of stability and prosperity, as well as being fire proof. However, most of the early houses were frame and built at the rear of the lots. The optimistic residents intended for these structures to be temporary until more time and more money became available for grander and more permanent homes to be built. In the rush to construct Zion City, lumber shortages were common, and bricks were in short supply because the brick factory itself still was under construction. After Zion fell into receivership in 1906, and construction stagnated, a number of these "temporary" homes became permanent and were moved forward to the legal lot lines.³¹

Ashley paid minute attention even to the alleys. He designed their widths to be twenty-five feet to provide access to all city services, specifying that city services for the laboring classes be equal to all others. In a presentation in Chicago to future Zion residents about the city site, Ashley reminded them that one could hardly travel "five blocks in the city of Chicago at any time of the year without finding a hole and some men working in it. Engineers everywhere know that this is a menace to the best management of cities." Alleys in the strategically located industrial areas would be wide enough to

³¹*Zion-Benton News*, May, 22, 1952; *Zion-Benton News*, May 29, 1952 in "Zion History: Various Articles and Documents from 1900-Present," Collection located in the Zion-Benton Public Library, Zion, Illinois; "Hand in Milwaukee," *Brick and Clay Record* 50 (April 24, 1917):837; Cook, *Zion City*, 68-69.

accommodate multiple railroad tracks in order to provide efficient train service to the industries. Ashley acknowledged that it might seem odd that the alleys were so meticulously planned, but argued that “the very key to cleanliness and convenience in this City lies more largely in the manner with which we have treated the alley economy than with any other feature which enters into the design.”³²

Many city planners had been inspired by Frederick Law Olmsted, landscape architect for the Chicago fair and designer of Central Park in New York City. As early as the 1870s, Olmsted rejected the condemnation of cities based upon perceptions that they inevitably led to moral corruption, but contended instead that crowded physical conditions endemic to cities stifled self-contemplation as well as empathy towards others. He was convinced that parks would provide to urban dwellers a “harmonizing and refining influence . . . favorable to courtesy, self-control, and temperance.” As the process of urbanization intensified during the 1890s, more cities developed parks to serve as a means to promote good character. Consistent with Progressive and City Beautiful philosophies, these parks would require professional management; hence park boards. Because of the peculiar circumstances in Zion, there would be no park board for years to come, although there were many parks. Unfortunately, the parks

³²“A Voice to Zion and God’s People in Every Land,” *LOH* 6, (January 6, 1900): 339; *Zion-Benton News*, May, 22, 1952.

became entangled in the later struggles between factions over the question of whether they were public or private, and the Zion Park District would not be established until 1946.³³

Washington, D.C., landscaper George Burnap defined the ideal parks symbolic of the era. In 1916, he advised city planners that parks should be “both striking as focal points for the street system and possessed of personal and livable interest to the many residents of the immediate neighborhood.” This translated into parks must be constructed differently for the different social classes. For the poorer classes, who had not yet learned to recognize the value of property, park spaces should be simple and minimal in design. While the “character of the park should be a grade higher than that to which they are accustomed” to give them something to strive for, it should not be pretentious. The privileged classes, who presumably did not require as much environmental modification, would benefit from more natural settings. This did not mean that a park should not have purposeful design. Burnap emphasized “balance and symmetry, a striving for pictorial composition that will give a sort of formality to the most informal groupings.”³⁴

³³Boyer, quoting Olmstead in *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 238-40; Wilson, *City Beautiful*, 1.

³⁴George Burnap, *Parks: Their Design, Equipment and Use* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1916), 9, 104, 110.

For the middle classes, which comprised the majority of Zion's population, Burnap suggested shade trees, ornamental shrubs, fountains, pools, and "ample provisions for seating," the latter to be arranged in such a way as to "recognize design as well as service." This orderly mastery over nature was evident in Ashley's plans for Zion's parks to be improved eventually by "the hands of experienced and trained artisans." Although financial hardships would delay major improvements, Zion workers had planted shrubs in the parks and lined the streets with more than five thousand saplings by 1902.³⁵

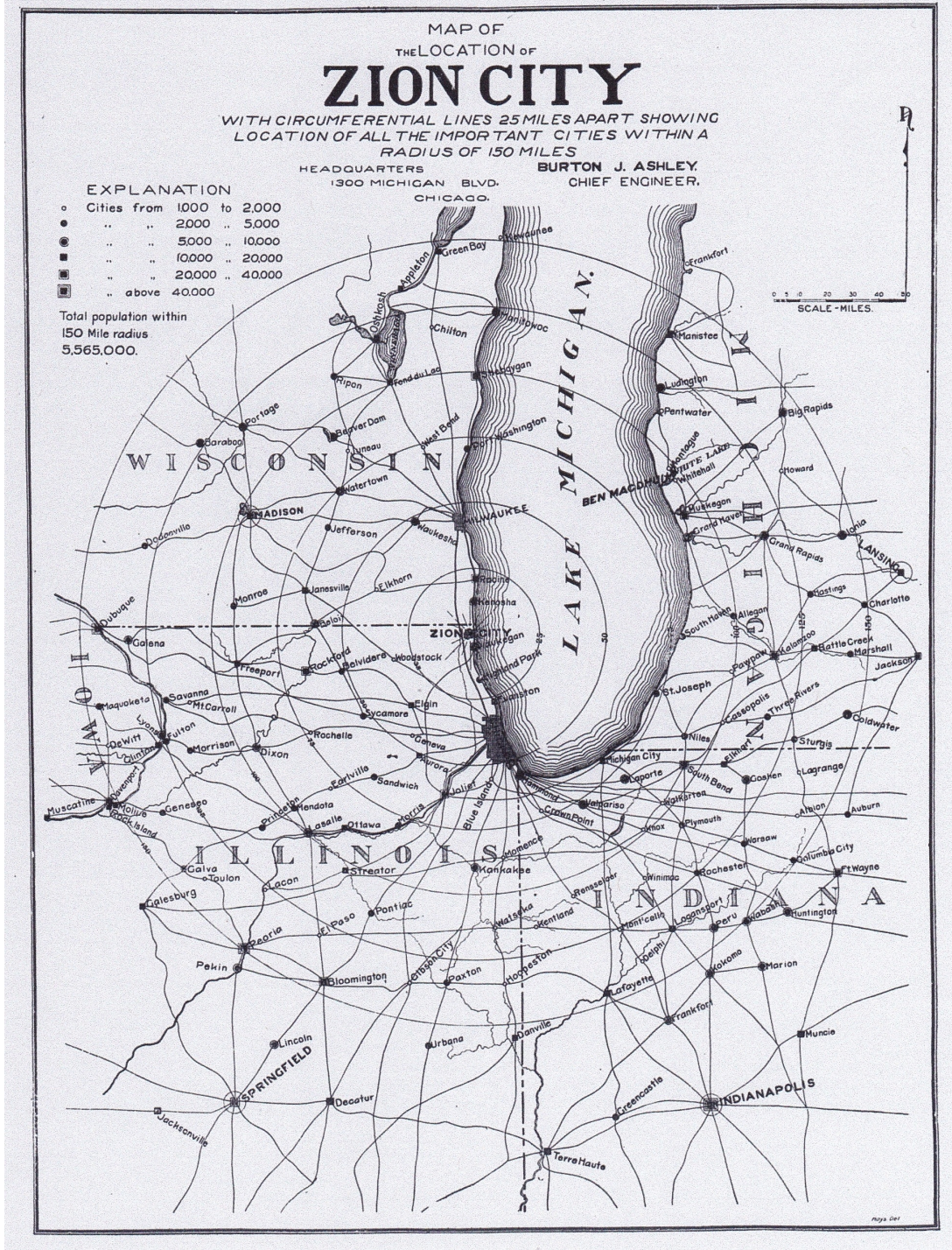
Ashley designed a diagram of the location of Zion in relation to urban centers within a radius of 150 miles. He developed his diagram in the midst of a slew of concentric zone theories beginning with Johann Heinrich von Thünen's treatise *The Isolated State* in 1826. In this economic theory, the isolated city lay in the center zone as the commercial heart for various types of agriculture. As the West became more industrialized, Thünen's theory was replaced by those that took into account modern transportation systems that could easily connect products and their markets.³⁶

³⁵Burnap, *Parks*, 106; *Zion-Benton News*, May, 22, 1952; Cook, *Zion City*, 133.

³⁶Edward L. Ullman "A Theory of Location for Cities," *American Journal of Sociology* 46 (May, 1941):853-54; Chauncy D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 242 (November, 1945):7-17.

Ashley, with his training in civil engineering and his experiences in Chicago, surely would have been influenced by the works of such experts as Charles Cooley who published "The Theory of Transportation" in 1894. Cooley linked the sustenance of civilization to efficient transportation. Transportation not only served an economic function, but also the "need for the movement of things and persons [which] underlies every sort of social organization, every institution whatever." Churches were included. In the concentric zone diagram generated for Dowie, it is clear Ashley intended for Zion to be the commercial as well as the ecclesiastical center of the region.³⁷

³⁷Charles H. Cooley, "The Theory of Transportation," *Publications of the American Economic Association* 9 (May, 1894):40-41.



Burton Ashley's "Map of the Location of Zion City"
The Zion Banner, March 26, 1902

Experts and Scientific Methods

Ashley's orderly layout of Zion reflected an emerging emphasis characteristic of the Progressive Era, in that there was a growing reliance on experts and their scientific methods. No longer should cities be allowed to explode organically. Instead, engineers, architects and urban reformers sought to plan new urban settings precisely, and to improve the environments of existing urban areas. Daniel Burnham, the chief architect for that acclaimed, but transient, White City built for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, had campaigned since then for city leaders to enact policies that would reshape their cities. He believed that modern, efficient urban spaces would remold society. More than a decade later, the Merchants' Club, an organization of Chicago's wealthiest businessmen, hired Burnham to prepare a city plan. Published in 1909, Burnham's *Plan of Chicago* presented a comprehensive plan to better the commercial prospects for businessmen, to make transportation more efficient, and to shape Chicago into a "well ordered, convenient and unified city." The parks and the layout of Zion City, planned during the late 1890s and for which the primary physical foundations were laid in 1901 and 1902, were on the cutting edge of these national trends. Dowie's planners

had adopted innovative ideas and had implemented them in Zion in the early years of the Progressive Era.³⁸

Less than a decade after Burton Ashley expertly designed Zion City, U.S. Steel Corporation, through its ancillary Gary Land Company, laid out the city of Gary, Indiana, to house its workers. The site was located in an undeveloped area east of Chicago, on the south shore of Lake Michigan. *Engineering World*, published weekly in Chicago to promote engineering proficiency and professionalism, lamented the Corporation's lack of a holistic vision when planning the city while holding up Burton Ashley's design of Zion City as an exemplary model for what Gary's planners should have done. The unidentified author maintained that well-planned industrial communities were difficult to develop and to sustain, and cautioned that a corporation's emphasis on its own profit while allowing "their employees to live in ignorance and squalor," inevitably would lead to labor organization and to long strikes. This was neither sanitary nor efficient, and contradicted the priorities of the era. Rather, the "modern experience and skill," evident in the professional design of Zion City, should be emulated by future city planners.³⁹

³⁸Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 271-73; Daniel H. Burnham and Edward H Bennett, *Plan of Chicago* (Chicago: The Commercial Club, 1909):4.

³⁹"The Planning and Designing of a Model Municipality of Today," *Engineering World* 4 (July 27, 1906):168-172.

Lauding the expertise of Ashley, the author of this article explained in great detail the methods used for the initial topographic survey, which would determine later drainage and sewer needs. Ashley had relied on other experts from forty-seven other cities, asking them for their counsel. He received responses to his queries about whether sewers should be installed in the streets or in the alleys; the proper width and depth of lots for working class, middle-class, and "highest" class residences; and the best type of surface materials for residential and commercial streets. He queried whether or not the planting of trees should be controlled by the municipality or left to the individual residents. Even the central location of the "civic center," the tabernacle, was noted in the article. The author recognized the organizational efficiency of Ashley's plan, even highlighting his choice to number and to name streets. The numbering of east-west streets began at the Wisconsin state line, through the village of Winthrop Harbor, to the southern boundary of Zion. The north-south avenues were alphabetized, beginning with Antioch nearest the lake on the east, and continuing four miles west to Tabor. Interestingly, the article that emphasized expertise and order did not mention that all but a few of the named streets had biblical names.⁴⁰

⁴⁰"The Planning and Designing of a Model Municipality of Today," *Engineering World* 4 (July 27, 1906):171.

In a study of satellite industrial cities written nearly a decade after developers dug the first shovelfuls of sand to create Gary, Graham Taylor labeled the city as “probably the greatest single calculated achievement of America’s master industry.” Yet, while applauding the well-planned layout for the most efficient industrial usage, Taylor was critical of the lack of professional consideration that went into planning the town for the workers. Modern cities, he claimed, should include diagonal streets to break up the rectangular grid and to reduce crosstown travel time. Epitomizing Taylor’s modern city, the original plat of Zion included these diagonal streets for efficient travel, and to emphasize the centrality of Shiloh Tabernacle. In Gary, the steel plants occupied “eight consecutive miles” of valuable lakefront property. Their proximity to the lake benefitted the companies, affording easy delivery of supplies and easy access for strikebreakers should they become necessary. The steel plants’ separation from residential areas by the Calumet River was intended to provide a watery distance from the threat of mob violence. It was only after the industries were running, and many workers in residence, that the Gary Commercial Club was organized and proposed a lakefront park. In contrast to the piecemeal design for Gary, Zion’s initial design

by Ashley included the holistic principles of the era to create an environment that promoted good character.⁴¹

Notwithstanding the accolades, Burton Ashley was asked to resign in November 1902. No details were provided in the official records, although Dowie habitually expelled people from Zion who disagreed with him. Several weeks prior to his resignation, Ashley had sent a letter to the city council requesting from Dowie an ordinance in which duties of the city engineer would be defined, so as to "not unwittingly assume to perform duties which it is not your intention." This odd request suggests a conflict, given the length of time Ashley had been working with Dowie. Ashley's resignation may have been out of his own frustrations with the job, but it is more likely that Dowie considered the query to be a challenge to his managerial skills. The latter conclusion is born out by the response of engineer Harry E. Beidinger, hired by Ashley as an assistant. Beidinger was thoroughly surprised and disappointed by Ashley's dismissal. To Beidinger, Ashley's involuntary departure "appeared as injustice and ingratitude." Beidinger himself soon received word that he and others were to be

⁴¹Graham Romeyn Taylor, *Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs*, National Municipal League Series (1915, repr. Arno Press, Inc, 1970) 165-176. Date of the organization of the Gary Commercial Club unknown, but the organization is listed in *Commercial and Agricultural Organizations of the United States* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907):31, although not listed in the 1907 *List of National, State, and Local Commercial Organizations and National, State, and Local Agricultural Organizations* (Washington, D.C., The Interstate Commerce Commission).

laid off as well. Beidinger maintained a diary of his activities, and it was apparent that he had grown increasingly disillusioned with Dowie and with Dowie's closest officers. Beidinger, however, continued sporadically to do survey work in Zion City, and he visited the city regularly.⁴²

Zion City Incorporation

Less than a year after the official opening in the summer of 1901, Zion City was incorporated under the municipal statutes of Illinois. This incorporation was not in the original plan and no reasons for the decision were stated specifically. The perceived advantages for incorporation include such things as the ability to enact laws for its citizens, to control land use or to subdivide land, and to establish fire or police departments. Dowie had provided for all these benefits in his theocratic community through his fee simple ownership of the acreage, through the previously established Zion Guards, and through the residents' willingness to volunteer their time for the holy cause in which they believed. However, a church's laws would not be legally controlling over a territory. Successful enforcement would depend in part on the cooperation of visitors and non-church member residents.

⁴²Council Minutes, November 3, 1902; November 20, 1902; Cook, *Zion City*, 179, 183, 198; Diaries of Harry E. Beidinger, Diary Entries September 4, 1901, November 19, 1902, March 26, 1903, May 30, 1903, Harry E. Beidinger Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

The explosive construction of Zion required additional laborers from the outside, and the restrictions governing their behavior conceivably would be difficult to enforce. Several years later, during the contest for dominance between Voliva and the Independents, Voliva or one of his followers declared that Zion City was incorporated “for no other purpose than to guard and perpetuate Zion principles.” The Theocrats furnished this reason in 1908 to support their condemnation of their opposition within the city, which Volivites deemed to be enemies of Zion. By 1910, after Voliva had “redeemed” several parcels of Zion property from the receiver, he referred to the incorporation as the “first instance [of] selfish apostasy” by enemies of Zion.⁴³

Dowie may have been trying to add legitimacy to his theocracy. In the first edition of *Leaves* that announced the results of the inaugural election, Dowie reprinted a complimentary article from the *Chicago Evening Journal* that reported in part that “no matter how chimerical it may have seemed heretofore in the eyes of the unbelieving public, . . . Zion City now exists.”⁴⁴

On a practical level, the proximity of Zion City to its secular neighbors also may have been an impetus for incorporation. A city’s ability to assess taxes to pay for infrastructure and services would

⁴³“Menace to the Public,” *ZH*, January 24, 1908; “Victories Zion’s Again,” *ZH*, April 20, 1910.

⁴⁴“City That Dowie Built,” *Chicago Evening Journal*, April 12, 1902, reprinted in *LOH* 11 (April 26, 1902):6.

supplement the expected tithes and voluntary donations from church members. Additionally, the possible annexation of Dowie's private estate by a municipal neighbor could well have been perceived a threat to Zion's established ban on liquor and its other moral laws. Those fears would have been well founded. In the previous decade, Chicago had extended its borders through a spate of aggressive annexations, spreading north, south, and west. Concerned over the loss of their autonomy, the residents of the North Shore suburb of Evanston soundly defeated an 1894 proposition to become one with Chicago, halting this urban expansionist power from moving further north along the lakeshore. Like Zion, Evanston prohibited liquor and considered itself to be a genteel community. Unlike Zion, Evanston boasted multiple denominations, although the Methodists were the most influential in the founding of both Northwestern University and the city. Dowie's Zion would provide a moral alternative to existing sinful conditions, including what he considered to be Methodist apostasy.⁴⁵

By 1900, other municipalities near Zion were increasing in population and expanding in territory. In particular, nearby Waukegan was quickly industrializing, and between 1900 and 1910, its population had increased from 9,400 to more than 16,000. Incorporating Zion City would protect it against the threat of annexation from without.

⁴⁵Michael H. Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore: A Suburban History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 48, 54, 96, 101.

Later, in the years that followed Dowie's downfall, the fact that Zion City was incorporated under Illinois statutes, and was not simply a privately owned estate, provided the Independents with one plank of their platform in their contest with Voliva over what would be the future of the city. They would have legal recourse if Voliva enacted laws that violated the state or the federal constitutions. Although Voliva occasionally regretted the incorporation, it did little to hamper his eventual political control over the city.⁴⁶

Theocratic Party: "No disorder, no scheming"

Immediately following the city's incorporation, the Zion City Theocratic Party was born in a momentous convention held at Shiloh Tabernacle on April 7, 1902. Dowie wrote that, unlike political conventions elsewhere, in Zion there was "no disorder, no scheming," and certainly no cigars or "spewing of tobacco juice." Instead, there was an air of dignity, prayers, and singing of hymns. The Committee on Platform and Resolutions read the Party's platform to the assembled crowd.⁴⁷

⁴⁶*McGraw Electric Railway Manual: The Redbook of American Street Railway Investments* (Eighteenth Annual Number, 1911):71.

⁴⁷"The Theocratic Party," "News of Zion City," *ZB*, April 9th, 1902.

PLATFORM OF THE THEOCRATIC PARTY.

The citizens of the City of Zion, Lake County, State of Illinois, being assembled in their first Convention, held in Zion City, on the night of Monday, April 7, 1902, for the purpose of nominating the first officers of their City, do so on a Theocratic Platform, and desire to set forth their position and their reasons for the formation of this new party in political affairs of the United States of America, in the manner following:

First– We declare our loyalty to the Constitution and Laws of the United States of America.

Second– We affirm that both the Constitution and the Laws are capable of amendment and improvement in a Theocratic direction and we simply propose to advocate the making of such alteration in the manner provided by the Laws of the United States.

Third– We declare the motto of our party to be the unalterable and unassailable truth that WHERE GOD RULES, MAN PROSPERS.

Fourth– Our object is, therefore, the establishment of the Rule of God in every department of Government, by the free will of the people.

Fifth– We declare our conviction that the Holy Scripture, which contain the Ten Commandments, and the inspired Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, constitute the principles of all righteous government for the individual, for the Nation, and for the whole World.⁴⁸

Following the unanimous acceptance of the Party platform, Deacon H. Worthington Judd read the certificate of incorporation for the city, which had been registered in Springfield on April 5, 1902. The list of Dowie's sanctioned candidates for the city offices then were

⁴⁸"News of Zion City," ZB (April 9, 1902).

read and approved. These men, with no opposition, would be elected on April 23, 1902 at election headquarters in the Zion City Livery Stable. A single political party and no contests between candidates remained the rule until the April 1908 elections. That year, the annually repeated phrase, "no votes in opposition," disappeared from the city council minutes.⁴⁹

There was a glaring contradiction between the loyalty declared to the U.S. Constitution in the Theocratic Party platform of April 1902 and the loyalty declared to Dowie by a vow instituted in May 1902, which required all church officers to accept Dowie as Elijah the Restorer. This vow, later referred to as the Restoration Host Vow, also would be required by members of the Restoration Host organized in the fall of 1902. The Restoration Host was the most recent name for Dowie's army of missionaries that previously had been called the "Seventies." On Sunday, September 21, about 3,000 promised, in part, "to obey all rightful orders issued by [Dowie] . . . to proceed to any part of the world, wherever he shall direct, . . . and that all family ties and obligations and all relations to all human government shall be held subordinate to this Vow." In time, this vow would work against Dowie's followers.⁵⁰

⁴⁹"News of Zion City," *ZB*, April 9, 1902; Council Minutes, April 23, 1902; April 22, 1908.

⁵⁰Editorial Notes: Vow of Zion Restoration Host, *LOH* 11 (September 27, 1902):748.

Soon after the bankruptcy case was filed in July of 1906, and the appointment of a receiver and a trustee became necessary, the complainant Holmes and the defendants asked the court to appoint the existing General Financial Manager Alexander Granger to handle the finances. Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis emphatically differed, not because he lacked faith in Granger's financial acuity, but solely because Granger had taken the vow mentioned above. Quoting the damning words, Landis declared that he simply could not trust a man who "would serenely vow his readiness at all times to give up his family and betray his country." Granger also held title to all of Dowie's property in 1906, the result of a legal maneuver to remove control from Dowie. Ironically, in one of Dowie's many condemnations of secret societies, he declared that the Masonic oath was anarchistic and that it was "directly contrary to the Constitution of this land for anyone to administer an oath, unless he is a properly appointed officer, under the law."⁵¹

The official ratification of the first city election, held on Wednesday, April 23, 1902 in Shiloh Tabernacle, was the combination of a political rally and a church service. The choir sang, the brass band played, and there was a procession of two thousand citizens of the city

⁵¹"Opinion of the Court. By Hon. Kenesaw M. Landis, Presiding Judge" in *William B. Holmes vs. John Alexander Dowie, Wilbur Glenn Voliva, Alexander Granger, et al*, Chancery 28335, LOH 19 (July 21, 1906):123; "Apostolic and Prophetic Messages: Administration of Oaths and Imposition of Penalties by Secret Orders is Anarchistic," LOH 16 (December 31, 1904):342.

joined by several hundred members of Zion from Chicago who had arrived by train. Dowie, referring to Zion City as a respite from urban blight, poetically described the relief that those from Chicago must have felt once they had “left the smoke and dust and roar of the great metropolis behind them and stepped out into the sweet, cool evening air at Zion City.” After Dowie’s sermon, the new Zion banner was rolled out, displaying the city’s motto on one side (“Where God Rules Man Prospers”) and “The Theocratic Party” on the opposite side. Those newly elected officers in the Theocratic Party pledged to support and to enforce the platform and pledged “to carry out the wishes of our General Overseer.”⁵²

The technicalities of organizing the city unfolded amidst a flow of ornate rhetoric and folksy storytelling. A National Committee of the Theocratic Party was declared, chaired by Deacon Charles J. Barnard, to affect reform in an era Dowie proclaimed as “a critical point in American history,” an era in which America “must have a new baptism.” Dowie argued that it was the right of the Theocratic Party to seek amendments to the U.S. Constitution in order to “fulfill the purposes for which all government has been established—the protection

⁵²Council Minutes, April 23, 1902.

of life, liberty, property, and the prosperity, progress and happiness of the people."⁵³

Aligned with national progressive movements, Dowie's National Theocratic Party sought to prohibit the traffic of liquor, nicotine, and opium. The traffic of these poisons were "destructive of Purity, . . . of Peace, . . . of Health and Happiness and Wealth." Picking up the mantle of the then current anti-trust movements, Dowie argued that Theocrats would support the nationalization of railways and water as well as of the gas, oil, and coal industries "for the public good in an efficient, economical and progressive manner . . . under a non-partisan Civil Service System."⁵⁴

There is no evidence that Dowie's National Theocratic Party flourished, although the following year, Dowie maintained that the Party was being "quietly organized" throughout the United States and in Canada. Tangentially, a half century later, Church of God Bishop Homer A. Tomlinson founded a unrelated Theocratic Party and ran for president on its platform numerous times. This was another era in which "traditional" American society was perceived to be under attack, although in the 1950s, the threat was from godless Communism.⁵⁵

⁵³"News of Zion City," *ZB*, May 14, 1902; Council Minutes, April 23, 1902.

⁵⁴"News of Zion City," *ZB*, May 14, 1902; Council Minutes, April 23, 1902; "Where God Rules, Man Prospers," *LOH* (April 16, 1902):29.

⁵⁵ "Editorial Notes," *LOH* 12 (January 3, 1903):334; William Whitworth, "On the Tides of the Times," *The New Yorker* (September 24, 1966):67.

Expounding on children's need for education, Dowie advocated a common tenet of the Progressive era, that education should be provided by the state and it should be secular, compulsory, and free. However, Dowie continued, the Bible still remained the "most reliable book on ancient history and Laws" and should be included in the curriculum. Despite Dowie's promotion of "secular" common schools, he previously had excoriated education in public schools for the "infidel influence" it had on children by teaching them mythology, such as the German epic Siegfried and the dragon. The Zion movement did include parochial schools organized while the movement still was in Chicago. Despite Dowie's conservative approach to education, the first superintendent, H.D. Brasefield, incorporated progressive ideas about a child-centered education, an education in which the children would be freed "from the bondage of textbooks," and instead be taught "how to use books." Brasefield, a Presbyterian minister before turning to education, had attended the University of Chicago where John Dewey had taught his progressive educational theories in the 1890s. While the early vision of Zion's educational principles sought to teach each student that "God is his father and all men are brothers," in years to come, a vote to make the elementary schools part of the state system rendered those schools pawns in the struggle for control of the city.⁵⁶

⁵⁶"Where God Rules, Man Prospers," *LOH* 10 (April 16, 1902):29; "Conference of the Christian Catholic Church in Zion, Subject: Women's Work for Children," *LOH* 9

For young adults, Mayor Richard Harper announced that Zion needed a manual training school, to which Dowie responded he already had selected a man to head it who was connected with a Chicago University. Indeed, there was to be an entire series of schools from kindergarten through adulthood, so the ideals of Zion would “take charge of humanity from the cradle to the grave.”⁵⁷

John G. Speicher, M.D., was appointed to be the Commissioner of Health, and Visscher V. Barnes was appointed as City Attorney. Barnes also would head Zion’s Court of Arbitration to handle disputes within the city and between Zion followers around the world. Those who disagreed with the court’s decision could appeal their case to the General Overseer. Keeping any legal problems that arose in Zion within the jurisdiction of Zion pleased both Dowie and Barnes at the time.⁵⁸

Dowie’s Zion movement attracted many educated professional people as well as a decidedly middle-class citizenry. The men who served on the city council, in the city court, and as heads of various commissions were all educated, and some had been successful businessmen prior to moving to Zion City. While they believed

(June 15, 1901):247; Cook, *Zion City*, 128-129.

⁵⁷Council Minutes, April 23, 1902.

⁵⁸John H. Halsey, ed., *A History of Lake County* (Chicago: Roy S. Bates, 1912), 752; Council Minutes, April 23, 1902.

ferently in Dowie's spiritual message, they also had been schooled in the era's reform movements and had faith that a community set up to enforce certain of those reform ideals was the answer to the ills of society. Zion's first mayor, Richard Harper hailed from Ontario, Canada, where he had taught school before entering into the construction business. He moved to the U.S., eventually landing in Chicago, where, converting from Methodism, he became the first deacon in Dowie's newly organized Christian Catholic Church in 1896. Visscher Vere Barnes, who authored "Zion City Civil Life" for the 1912 edition of *The History of Lake County*, was born in New York and educated in Wisconsin and at Oberlin University in Ohio. He received his law degree from Chicago Law School. Barnes entered politics in South Dakota and in Illinois, usually representing a prohibition ticket.⁵⁹

Commissioner of Health in a Divine Healing Community

Zion's first Commissioner of Health John G. Speicher was a medical doctor, a profession banned by Zion rules; hence, initially he appears an odd choice to become a member in the Zion movement. Speicher had received his medical degree in Iowa where he practiced for a decade before being ordained as a Baptist minister. In 1893, he earned a theology degree from the University of Chicago. His

⁵⁹Halsey, ed. *History of Lake County* (Chicago: Roy S. Bates, 1912), 402-06.

association with Dowie began at that time, and he later managed the Divine Healing Home on Michigan Avenue in Chicago. As Commissioner of Health, Speicher was responsible for containing infectious diseases and for reporting to the State Board of Health. Evidently he did his job well. He received a commendation in the September 1906, edition of the *Illinois Health Bulletin*. The article included a circular from Speicher to Zion citizens in which he stated that as "the cleanest city in the whole world," Zion was nearly free of water borne diseases, such as typhoid and cholera, and one could sink a well anywhere without concern for clean water. This was due to the cooperation of the people and the "efficient Scavenger Service," the department responsible for collecting trash and night soil. Yet, he continued, vigilance must be maintained. Reminding residents that night soil legally could be removed from neighborhoods only by the Scavenger Department, and thus, to support good health and to abide by the laws, the City had to assess fees. He urged prompt payment for those who could afford to pay and offered assistance to those who could not. "Would that there were fewer cess pools to contaminate wells," the *Bulletin* bemoaned, "and 'efficient scavenger service' in more of the cities and villages of Illinois."⁶⁰

⁶⁰Halsey, ed., *A History of Lake County*, 410; "Public Health in Zion City," *Illinois Health Bulletin* 2 (September, 1896), 187.

As Commissioner of Health, Speicher was responsible for reporting cases of contagious diseases within the city and complying with state health regulations as those regulations developed and were enforced. First established in 1877, the Illinois State Board of Health had passed a resolution in 1881 requiring children in the public schools to be vaccinated against smallpox, although enforcement was spotty at best. After the turn of the century, as immigrants increasingly moved to crowded tenements in cities, as government officials increasingly became aware of the quality of the water and of the air, and as reformers increasingly turned to governments to regulate businesses and society in general, the Illinois' State Board of Health passed regulations to diagnose and to govern the health of the citizens for the common good. As an example of the era's movement to rely on experts and in science, the Board opened a laboratory in 1901 to diagnose such diseases as diphtheria and typhoid.⁶¹

In 1907, the State Board of Health was given jurisdiction over investigating and recording the causes of contagious diseases that required quarantine. Smallpox was one of those diseases. An outbreak in Zion in 1902, in 1904, and again in 1906, caused considerable concern in neighboring communities because of the strict Zion proscription against vaccinations. Indeed, in a 1906 official report

⁶¹"Public Health in Illinois: a Timeline," Illinois Department of Public Health, <http://www.idph.state.il.us/timeline/history.htm> (accessed July 7, 2016).

by the Board of Health, Zion was listed as the origin of cases reported in Waukegan. The friction between those who believed in faith healing and those who relied on modern medicine was apparent in the notes of the State Board of Health report in reference to Zion City: "Religious settlement—the cult not believing in vaccination." Accusations of the source of infections traveled in both directions. In the same year, the then Health Commissioner N. J. LaRose warned of an outbreak of scarlet fever and measles in neighboring Waukegan. He feared that the many Zion men who worked outside of the city might come into contact with the infected and carry the diseases back to the city. A quarantine was imposed for two weeks in Zion following his words of caution.⁶²

All infectious diseases were potentially fatal, but the stance against smallpox vaccinations made Zion a lightning rod for official attention when outbreaks occurred or when epidemics seemed imminent. Because of the instability within the city's church and politics in 1907, the Health Commissioner from Waukegan, as a representative of the State Board of Health, was sent to Zion to investigate the procedures for containing the disease. He met with leaders of the various factions and strongly suggested that the practice

⁶²"Contagious Diseases. Reported to the State Board of Health from May 1, to July 1, 1906: Smallpox," *Bulletin of the Illinois State Board of Health* 2 (June-July, 1906):86; Dr. N. J. LaRose, "Timely Advice on Health," *ZH*, January 10, 1908; "Epidemic of Measles," "Quarantine Proclamation," *ZH*, January 24, 1908.

of vaccinating be adopted, not only for the protection of Zion's citizens, but "for the protection of its more worldly visitors who place more reliance on vaccination than on spiritual protection." Such admonitions were ineffective and no change in policy occurred at that time.⁶³

By 1915, State requirements for reporting contagious diseases capable of causing epidemics became far more stringent. "Reportable diseases" were classified by their seriousness. Class I included smallpox, poliomyelitis and bubonic plague. Class II included German measles and trichinosis. Local Commissioners of Health were required to maintain records of the infected and to report cases to the State Board of Health. The successful passage of those enforceable new regulations may have been motivated in part by events in Zion City the year before, in 1914, when smallpox was first diagnosed in May. By early November, members of forty-nine families suffered from the disease and the epidemic appeared to be spreading quickly. Given the seriousness of the situation, and given the refusal of most in Zion to be vaccinated because of religious tenets, the State Board of Health took control of the procedures within the city. Two inspectors set up an office in Zion to implement the control of quarantine measures and required that the resources of the city be at the disposal of the

⁶³"Public Health in Illinois: a Timeline," Illinois Department of Public Health, <http://www.idph.state.il.us/timeline/history.htm> (accessed July 20, 2016); "Contagious Diseases Reported to the State Board of Health from May 1, to July 1, 1906," *Illinois Health Bulletin* 2 (June-July, 1906):87.

inspectors to ensure compliance. Several Zion students who attended high school in Waukegan were prohibited from attending school for the recommended twenty-day quarantine period because Waukegan Schools required vaccination.⁶⁴

For the same reasons, Zion men were banned from working at the Great Lakes Naval Training Base. By the time State authorities left Zion on December 31, 1914, 146 inhabitants had contracted smallpox, most of whom were school-aged children. An additional 182 unvaccinated had been kept in quarantine, and of those, eighty-three developed the disease. The *Illinois Health News* bulletin that reported the event lauded the actions taken by the State Board of Health in Zion, a city which they claimed proved to be a valuable example of the

⁶⁴"Public Health in Illinois: a Timeline," Illinois Department of Public Health, <http://www.idph.state.il.us/timeline/history.htm> (accessed July 20, 2016); "81 Years Ago in IDPH History," Illinois Department of Public Health, <http://www.idph.state.il.us/webhistory8.htm> (accessed July 20, 2016); "New State Rules for the Control of Communicable Diseases," *Illinois Medical Journal: The Official Journal of the Illinois State Medical Society* 27 (January to June, 1915), 313-314; "Local Happenings," *ZCI*, December 10, 1914, December 18, 1914.

(Note: There is precedence for the presumption that the unique beliefs of Zion resulted in the passage of state regulations. In 1901, Dowie, Elder H. Worthington Judd, and two deaconesses prayed for the divine healing of Mrs. Judd. She died. Charges of failure to call for medical aid for a seriously ill person were dropped because there was no specific law on the books that had been violated. Disturbed by what they referred to as "Dowieism," the jury sent a recommendation to the judge that the General Assembly should pass legislation to protect children younger than twelve. Their report read in part, "We strongly recommend that the Legislature enact a law making it a crime for the parents, guardians, or persons charged with the custody and control of such children who fail and neglect to call medical attendance in such cases." "Grand Jury Frees Dowie," *CT*, June 2, 1901. Also see: Rita Swan, "On Statutes Depriving a Class of Children of Rights to Medical Care: Can this Discrimination be Litigated?" HeinOnline, <http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/qlhj2&div=10&id=&page=> (accessed March 18, 2018).

wisdom of strict and enforceable measures. The 1914 smallpox outbreak was not the first time Zion was subjected to outside civil authorities. A short note in a 1902 *Leaves of Healing* expressed appreciation for the courtesy extended by the Commissioner of Health in Chicago. He had taken charge of the Zion College and Divine Healing Home on Michigan Avenue in Chicago after Dowie had been compelled to turn the building and its infected inhabitants over to the City to manage the contagion.⁶⁵

Municipal Organization and Ordinances

While many of those health crises were yet to be confronted, the organization of the Zion City government continued. Following soon after the official incorporation, the first Zion City council meeting was held on May 6, 1902. Few of the members had any political experience and their excitement as well as their apprehension were palpable. Mayor Harper, not quite certain how to begin these pioneer proceedings, told the assembled that he had read an article years earlier in a Chicago newspaper that described how various city council meetings might open. Some sang, some prayed, and in some, the clerk read the minutes of the last meeting. Choosing an appropriate

⁶⁵*Lake County Independent and Waukegan Weekly Sun*, December 11, 1914; "Small Pox in Zion City," *Illinois Health News* 1 (February, 1915):21-22; "Editorial Notes," *LOH* 11 (April 26, 1902):7.

opening for Zion City, the Mayor suggested prayer and perhaps singing or a reading from the scriptures. W. O. Dinius, a church elder and an investor in Zion, was appointed to be the chaplain to conduct those devotions.⁶⁶

General Overseer Dowie entered as the Mayor spoke of the city's unusual mission as a theocracy and of the council's blank slate on which they could now formulate "a system of politics and government for the world, such as it has never been seen in the history of the race." Their Zion was to be an experiment in moral political reform. The council's immediate responsibilities were to set the foundations of their meetings, i.e., to establish their rules of order, to determine the place in which regular meetings would take place, to specify their fiscal year, and to adopt a city seal. Dowie added the pomp and circumstance to the proceedings by presenting a gold star to the Mayor, inscribed with his title, and the Mayor presented to the aldermen stars symbolic of their authority. Deacon Peters, as a member of the Zion Guards, presented a golden star to the Chief of Police, Carl F. Stern, symbolic of transferring the private power of the Guards to the newly organized municipal law enforcers. The Zion Guards had been organized in 1895 while the Zion movement still was in Chicago and during what was referred to as the "year of

⁶⁶Council Minutes, May 2, 1910.

persecution.” Evidently, there were rumors that year of a plan to destroy the property used by the movement. The Guard’s job was to protect Dowie, the various buildings, as well as to maintain order at meetings. Stern, a former Chicago policeman and saloon owner, was the first captain.⁶⁷

The General Overseer also presented the official seal of the city to the council. Emblematic of the city’s Theocratic ideals, the seal included images of a cross, a dove, and the words “God Reigns.”

In his address to the council at this momentous first meeting, Dowie reaffirmed the Theocracy’s commitment to one party and “no contending parties.” And in a remarkably prescient statement, Dowie maintained that “danger to Zion from without is [not] worth considering The only real danger that can ever come to Zion is from within.”⁶⁸

Dowie’s weekly newspaper, *The Zion Banner*, began its second year of publication just as the city was incorporated. Dowie announced that, as the new city was now a concrete enterprise, the paper would adopt a new format to concentrate on local news, but also would include domestic features that would appeal generally to housewives and gardeners. National and world events would continue

⁶⁷“News of Zion City,” *ZB*, May 14, 1902; “The Story of the Zion Guard,” *LOH* 8 (April 6, 1901):761-64.

⁶⁸“News from Zion City,” *ZB*, May 14, 1902; Council Minutes, May 6, 1902.

to be reported. National news items often included articles about efforts to improve tenement construction in Chicago or about legislation to ban trusts. As the official city paper, it published the resolutions and the ordinances passed by the council.⁶⁹

At the second meeting on May 19, the council continued to confront the challenges of organizing a new city. Judge Barnes and Attorney Samuel Packard, who had been General Counsel for Dowie, wanted to ensure that there were no “loopholes for any possible enemy” in the event of later challenges to the theocratic municipality. The council unanimously passed resolutions concerning the proper filing both of the election results and of the incorporating documents in the Lake County Courthouse and with the Secretary of State. They took the necessary legal steps to ensure that the “streets, alleys, avenues, and boulevards” included on Dowie’s plat of the city were dedicated to public use and that plat duly recorded in the office of the County Recorder of Deeds.⁷⁰

At the May 26, 1902, meeting, the council heard, but deferred passage to the next meeting, of the first six ordinances adopted by the council that would begin to define the moral order within Zion City via statute:

⁶⁹*ZB*, June 5, 1901; “Beginning of the Second Volume of the Zion Banner,” *ZB*, May 14, 1902.

⁷⁰“City Council Meets,” *ZB*, May 23, 1902, August 18, 1902.

"An Ordinance Relating to Offenses against Public Morals and Decency.

An Ordinance Relation to Offenses Affecting the Public Safety and Convenience.

An Ordinance in Reference to Offenses Relation to Vagrants and Paupers.

An Ordinance Relation to Offenses Concerning Public and Private Property.

An Ordinance Defining Offenses Relating to Sunday.

An Ordinance Relating to Offenses Affecting the Public Peace and Quiet."⁷¹

None of these ordinances were particularly revolutionary, nor were subsequent ordinances passed in succeeding council meetings. Along with the necessary ordinances regarding the establishment of prisons, of procedures needed to collect fines, to establish salaries for officers, and to define building codes for fire safety, the physical and moral health of Zion citizens were monitored by laws typical of the era. Sunday closing laws commonly were enacted by many municipalities as were laws against the use of, manufacture of, or distribution of intoxicating liquors. The two often were related and usually were pushed by religious or temperance groups. In 1905, a Congregational publication reported the ongoing efforts of the Sunday Closing League to close saloons on Sundays in Chicago. The reformers had applied to

⁷¹Council Minutes, May 26, 1902; "Important Ordinances Considered," ZB, May 27, 1902.

the Illinois State Supreme Court to compel Mayor Edward F. Dunne to uphold the existing city law, but their case was denied because closing laws were deemed to be local laws and the State lacked jurisdiction. This was not the first confrontation over Sunday closings in Chicago, nor were saloons the only targets. Pool halls, sporting events, and a variety of amusements that might attract a drinking crowd also were curtailed by Sunday laws. In 1893, when Dowie was in Chicago, a group of ministers had argued that the Columbian Exposition held in that city should be closed on Sundays, perhaps fearing a loss of attendance at their church services. They took the case to court, but a compromise was reached and the fair remained open on Sundays. All of these offences considered to be damaging to one's moral health would be proscribed in Zion City from its inception.⁷²

Ordinances for Health and Morality

The Zion City ordinance that addressed "Offenses Against Public Morals and Decency" included penalties for spitting on sidewalks and other public surfaces. This was a local extension of an increasing national anti-spitting campaign to reduce the spread of tuberculosis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The same ordinance

⁷²"The Sunday Closing Meeting," *The Advance* 50 (December 14, 1905):733; "New Notes," *The Public* 8 (February 10, 1906):749; David F. Burg, *Chicago's White City of 1893* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 90-91.

also banned smoking in public places, which similarly followed a national movement and which had begun in earnest by the 1890s. Anti-tobacco sentiment can be traced back to King James I of England who wrote a treatise in 1604 entitled "Counterblast to Tobacco" in which he described the use of tobacco as "loathsome" and "stinking." Like James I, Dowie aspired to absolutism.⁷³

Zion's proscriptions against tobacco can be placed squarely within Progressive Era reforms. While Zion prohibited all tobacco, cigarettes in particular were targeted by anti-smoking groups throughout the country. By the 1880s, machines churned out masses of standardized, relatively cheap cigarettes. This mechanization coincided with rapid increases in urbanization and in immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. In fact, immigrants from these parts of Europe, accustomed to rolling their own, quickly took to the convenience of machine made cigarettes. In addition to health concerns, through the eyes of Protestant, middle-class Americans, cigarettes were guilty by association with the numerous vices inherent in the cities.⁷⁴

⁷³Nancy Tomes, *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1998), 97, 98; "An Ordinance Relating to Offenses against Public Morals and Decency," *ZB*, June 3, 1902.

⁷⁴Cassandra Tate, *Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of "The Little White Slaver"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999):18-19.

By the turn of the century, twenty-one states and territories had outlawed the sale of cigarettes to minors, usually defined as those under the age of sixteen. Between 1893 and 1921, fifteen states passed a multitude of laws banning the sale, the manufacturing, the advertising, or the giving away of cigarettes. According to critics, cigarettes corrupted morals, sapped the intellect of young boys, and led to alcohol abuse. Progressives also had linked cigarettes to inefficiency. Influential businessmen, such as Andrew Carnegie, donated money to the Anti-Cigarette League. A Pittsburgh Railways Company official refused to hire smokers because "they were careless and prone to accidents." More relevant to Zion City, the Chicago & Northwestern Railway, which ran through the city, issued a new rule in 1902 prohibiting its employees from using tobacco when working in or on passenger cars. Henry Ford held similar convictions and published *The Case Against the Little White Slaver*, a collection of opinions written by a variety of experts. The first book of this four-volume, anti-smoking treatise reprinted an article from *Efficiency Magazine* written by physiologist Dr. A. D. Bush who found that "tobacco smoking causes a decrease of 10.5 per cent in mental efficiency." Zion's authorities, in enforcing its tobacco prohibition, cited the deleterious health effects, smokers' lack of a "decent regard for appearance," and the flagrant violation of a government's increasingly

accepted right to legislate social behavior. Predicated on this right, Dowie's successor Wilbur Glenn Voliva would proclaim that "the law that makes a man a responsible creature should hold him responsible."⁷⁵

Many of Zion City's ordinances reflected values common to other Progressive priorities, such as local efforts to prohibit or limit gambling or to outlaw houses of ill-repute. Yet other ordinances reflected sanitary or nuisance laws adopted in other communities to prohibit livestock from roaming freely or requiring homeowners to remove stagnant water from the property, especially if it posed a danger to the public health. Another ordinance embodied the growing national sentiment that the government should pass laws for protecting public health by ensuring "fresh, sound, and wholesome, fit and safe" food. The national movement would result in the Federal Food and Drugs Act of 1906. In Zion, these protections were written into the ordinance that created the Health Department. It prohibited the sale for consumption of any animal that died of disease and, specific to the laws of the church and city, prohibited the sale of any pig or pig products in Zion.⁷⁶

⁷⁵Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 30, 45, 47, 54-5, 159; "Tobacco Must Go," *ZB*, May 23, 1902; *The Case Against the Little White Slaver*, (Henry Ford: Detroit, MI, 1914), 10; "General Overseer's Notes," *LOH* 30 (May 4, 1912):68-69.

⁷⁶"An Ordinance Relating to the Enumeration of and Penalties for Nuisances and Restraining Sale of Intoxicating Liquors," published in *ZB*, June 6, 1902; "An Ordinance Creating a Health Department and Providing for the Protection of the

In a May 1902, issue of the *Zion Banner*, John G. Speicher, M.D., the Commissioner of Health published "Bulletin No. I." The bulletin was introduced by the editor, none other than Dowie, who explained that while the directions for sanitation were common, Speicher's introduction affirming the Zion doctrine of divine healing made the city "unique in the history of civil government." Speicher gave God the glory for keeping His people healthy and asserted that sanitation was merely obedience to God. He began with the proverb: "What cannot be endured must be cured, but prevention is better than cure." While Zion relied on faith and prayer for healing, Speicher admonished Zion citizens not to become careless. As long as there was sin, there would be illnesses. Even if Zion City reached "a stage of perfection," its citizens still remained in danger from outsiders. In his bulletin, Speicher explained the function of the City Health Department, which was to prevent the incidence and the spread of communicable diseases by educating the populace about healthful living and by enforcing isolation when necessary. Speicher promised that he soon would provide information about the proper disposal of garbage and night soil, and he told the readers that ordinances were being considered to protect the public health. These included requiring all builders to request approval from the Commissioner of Health for septic tanks and

Public Health," cited in N. J. La Rose, "Public Notice and Warning," *ZH*, March 11, 1908.

the prohibition of shallow wells, which were prone to attracting harmful organisms.⁷⁷

Speicher's efforts to educate Zion's citizens about cleanliness and sanitation supplemented a series of articles written earlier by Chief Engineer Burton J. Ashley entitled "The Question of Sanitation," which were published multiple times in a number of Zion publications. Ashley had written that vigilance and attention to detail were absolutely vital to the new city. Citing an old axiom modified by Dowie to "Cleanliness is Godliness," Ashley had urged Zion citizens to wash one's self, one's food, and any utensils used to prepare it; to keep houses clean and well-aired; and to remove wastes from close proximity to the house. In multiple articles, he tackled the problem of what to do with household wastes. This was a problem faced by authorities in many growing cities, and Zion certainly was expected to grow. Acknowledging that not all in Zion, as in other cities, thought it necessary to maintain a high standard of hygiene, Ashley urged patience towards that "ignorant class" until they were sufficiently trained. He emphasized the proper disposal of rags, of garbage, of slop, and of excrement. He included statistical studies of the composition of garbage in English and German cities and compared the statistics with the composition of American garbage. The latter

⁷⁷"For the City's Health," *ZB*, May 30, 1902; Speicher, "Health Department of the City of Zion," *ZB*, May 30, 1902.

included more vegetable and “unburned coal,” unlike the “thrifty Germans” who separated ashes from unburned coal and used the unburned coal until it was ashes.⁷⁸

Zion Lace Factory, and an Omen of Things to Come

While the progress of the city continued, Dowie became embroiled in a serious lawsuit with deacon of the church and lace expert, Samuel Stevenson, who claimed, among other things, that Dowie had cheated him out of a great amount of money. This lawsuit should have been a serious warning to businessmen who had chosen to invest their money in Zion and to invest their faith in Dowie.

Stevenson was a lace manufacturer from Nottingham, England, who had been interested in Dowie’s ministry since the mid-1890s, from whence they maintained a correspondence. As Dowie began to formulate his vision of an industrial heaven on earth, he urged Stevenson to move to Zion City. By some accounts, Stevenson was reluctant to relocate to the United States, but Dowie convinced

⁷⁸Burton J. Ashley, “The Question of Sanitation,” *ZB*, November 20, 1901; December 18, 1901; December 25, 1901; reprinted May 30, 1902, May 14, 1902; “The Progress of Zion and the Possibilities of the Future,” *LOH* 7 (June 1, 1900):240.

In June, 1900, Dowie pressed Ashley to predict the size of the population of the international Zion movement as it would increase over the next 12 years. Given that Zion began with one (JAD) in 1888, and using a “Common Ratio of Increase, 2.45, Ashley calculated that the Zion movement would reach 2,187,300,000 in 1912. This included those who lived in Zion City, would eventually move to the city, or supported the movement throughout the world. Presumably, that number included the population of future Zion Cities, since the goal was to create multiple theocracies. By November 1902, Ashley had been asked to resign.

Stevenson that he was necessary to help develop the new city. Tellingly, Dowie told Stevenson that, while they already held similar religious views, in person, Dowie would have no "trouble . . . getting you into my mind and my way of thinking."⁷⁹

Stevenson arrived in the United States for a lengthy visit in January 1900. In April, Dowie and Stevenson entered into a contract for Stevenson to sell to Dowie most of his machinery as well as his patents for \$50,000. He later sold an additional \$35,000 worth of machinery to Dowie. Dowie provided Stevenson with the power of attorney to make contracts and to buy machinery and other materials. Dowie also appointed Stevenson as a deacon during those months. As part of their agreement, Dowie instructed his attorney to draw up incorporation papers for the "Zion Lace Factory" in which Stevenson would hold \$100,000 in stock as an incentive and over which he would be the general manager. Soon after that, Stevenson returned to England to organize the removal of the machinery and to enlist workers to emigrate to the United States. The number of workers and their families numbered nearly a hundred, including two of Stevenson's brothers. However, there were obstacles to this effort. In 1885, Congress had passed a nativist Alien Contract Labor Law to restrict certain types of immigration to the United States. That law prohibited

⁷⁹Evidence cited by Judge Tuley, *Stevenson vs. Dowie*, 3 ILL C. C., 167.

corporations from contracting with and paying the passage for an “ignorant and servile class of foreign laborers.” However, skilled workers could immigrate providing they intended “to perform labor in the United States in or upon any new industry not at present established in the United States, [and] provided that skilled labor for that purpose cannot be otherwise obtained.”⁸⁰

Zion’s legal counsel successfully convinced federal authorities that the lace making immigrants of Stevenson’s factory were indeed skilled, that the men were not under contract, and that the lace factory was a new industry in the U.S. By some accounts the latter assertion was not accurate, but Secretary of the Treasury Lyman Gage accepted counsel’s argument that the newly designed machines constituted a new industry.

To complicate the business relationship between Dowie and Stevenson, the latter became engaged to Dowie’s sister-in-law, Mary Ann, who also was Dowie’s cousin. (Dowie had married his cousin, Jane.) Mary Ann’s nickname was Methie, and Dowie often referred to her as his sister. Stevenson and Methie were married on July 24, 1900, after Stevenson returned to Illinois. On the day of the marriage, Stevenson signed a note for \$50,000 over to Dowie as trustee for

⁸⁰*Stevenson vs. Dowie*, 3 ILL C. C., 166-170; “Zion’s Fourth Victory in Lace Experts’ Cases,” *Coming City*, January 23, 1901; Cook, *Zion City*, 35, 38.

Methie, representing Stevenson's entire interest in the lace factory. Judge Tuley later referred to this as the "ante-nuptial note."⁸¹

Between the April 12 agreement and August 1900, Dowie's plans for the lace factory had been altered drastically. This should have sounded an ominous warning for some of his more enterprising followers. Dowie had held to part of the April agreement with Stevenson in that he incorporated the factory as "Zion Lace Industries," but no stock was sold initially. Dowie held all but four shares. Moreover, neither the lace machinery purchased by Dowie, nor the twenty-five acres of land allotted for the factory was transferred into the corporation's name. By the time of the July wedding, Dowie told Stevenson that the new plan for the lace factory would mimic the organization of Dowie's private Bank of Zion and other industries already established in which he had ownership and control.⁸²

The new agreement entitled "Articles of Agreement, Zion Lace Industries" was signed by Dowie and Stevenson on August 4, 1900. In this document Dowie referenced his purchase of Stevenson's lace factory and spelled out the need for extra capital to expand the venture. Shareholders, limited to members of the church, were

⁸¹*Stevenson vs. Dowie*, 3 ILL C. C., 141,142, 201.

⁸²*Stevenson vs. Dowie*, 3 ILL C. C., 140-142, 171, 174.

encouraged to purchase shares for \$100 each on which they would earn generous dividends, but the Agreement stipulated that “all the assets and property of the Zion Lace Industries, including the capital contributed by common and preferred shareholders, shall be held, owned, possessed, and controlled by John Alexander Dowie.” This Agreement was published in the *Leaves of Healing* and posted in the Dowie’s offices. It was meant to provide clarification to potential creditors that the Zion Lace Industries was a different business entity from the Illinois corporation of the same name, although Dowie controlled them both.⁸³

Over the next year, the relationship between Samuel Stevenson and Dowie soured. To make matters worse, Methie had died after a short illness during the return journey from a European excursion they had taken together in the fall of 1900. She was buried at sea. This personal loss for both Stevenson and Dowie, and for which Dowie evidently blamed Stevenson, intensified the hostility between them. In mid-1902, Samuel Stevenson no longer was the manager of the lace factory and no longer a member of Dowie’s church. Curiously, Stevenson’s brother Arthur replaced Samuel as the acting manager.⁸⁴

⁸³“Articles of Agreement of the Zion Lace Industries,” *LOH* 7 (August 25, 1900):572-74; *Stevenson vs. Dowie*, 3 *ILL C. C.*,183.

⁸⁴Cook, *Zion City*, 76.

By late fall of 1901, Samuel Stevenson had brought suit against Dowie for fraud, and had asked the court to appoint a receiver for the Zion Lace Industries. Judge Murray T. Tuley heard the case. His reputation as a reform-minded judge who resisted corruption in business and in city politics was well known. He ruled that the accusation of fraud was not been proven, but emphasized the extraordinary influence that Dowie exerted over Stevenson. Tuley ordered that the August 4 agreement be set aside. He appointed a receiver, ordered the Zion Lace Industries be incorporated, and ordered that Stevenson be paid the \$50,000 and provided with \$100,000 worth of stock. Interest, money for time spent working in Zion City, and Stevenson's expenses to move the machinery raised the total to a little more than \$193,000. Tuley's lengthy opinion of this complex case can be readily summed up by his words to describe the August agreement to form an association of the Zion Lace Industries in lieu of treating it as a legal corporation. The association had, he said, "but three assets to wit: (1) The credulity of human nature, which appears to be an inexhaustible asset; (2) The avarice of investors; and (3) The blind faith of members of his church in John Alexander Dowie." The suit apparently was settled out of court, and Stevenson awarded around \$175,000.⁸⁵

⁸⁵"Fraud Charged to Dowie," *CT*, November 19, 1901; "News," *The Public* (Chicago, February 4, 1905):697; Sidney Roberts, "The Municipal Voters' League and

The following summer marked the one-year anniversary of the opening of Zion City. True to the movement's tradition of spectacle and celebration, nearly 2,000 people marched in a parade to mark the occasion, pausing on their way to give a "loving salute" to Dowie, his wife, and his son, who watched from the balcony of the Administration Building. Dowie later addressed the congregation in the Tabernacle, lauding the success of Zion City to date and lauding himself for that success. Citing Stevenson's recent lawsuit, he referenced Judge Tuley's order that the lace industries be incorporated. "We did so," he said, "I am the corporation," at which the congregation compliantly laughed. Indeed, he held the controlling interest in that June 5, 1900, incorporation of the Zion Lace Industries.⁸⁶

While Stevenson's resort to court over the change in his business plans with Dowie should have been a portent, it appears that Dowie had altered his economic plans for the city over a short period of time, actually within six months after opening the city on July 15, 1901. Apparently, no one publicly questioned the changes, although much

Chicago's Boodlers," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 53 (Summer, 1906):136; *Stevenson vs. Dowie*, 3 *ILL C. C.*, 206; "Dowie Must Disgorge," *Indianapolis Journal*, December 21, 1901, reprint from the *Chicago Record-Herald*; *Stevenson vs. Dowie*, 3 *ILL C. C.*, 181; Cook, *Zion City*, 76.

⁸⁶"First Anniversary of Opening the Gates of Zion City," *LOH* 11 (July 26, 1902):450; "Advantages of Making Zion Lace Industries a Corporation," *LOH* 11 (July 26, 1902):455.

later the Independents would refer to Dowie's original plan that included independent businesses in defense of their vision.⁸⁷

An article written by a "stranger" to Zion was proudly published in the *Leaves of Healing* that described Dowie's November 1899 address in which he described the concept of the "primitive Christian Commune." The author wrote that Dowie's plan resembled that of French businessman Maison Leclaire, supposedly the "Father of Profit-sharing," which was held up as an example to others by John Stuart Mill. Dowie's Zion City plan for profit sharing, as was done in the "early Hebrew Theocracy," would counter the growing economic disparities between the working classes and the robber barons. In the fall of 1900, the rhetoric of associate editor Arthur W. Newcomb described "Christian Cooperation" in appealing terms for the era, that the inherent "mutual helpfulness" would alleviate the affliction of "strikes and lockouts, boycotts, 'corners,' 'squeezes,' trusts and combines." Philip Cook, in *Zion City Illinois*, described these ideas on profit-sharing as "semisocialistic," resembling a mix of contemporary views from such writers as Lester Frank Ward who criticized economic

⁸⁷"Zion's Holy War," *LOH* 6 (December 2, 1899):181; V. V. Barnes, "Zion City Civic Life," in *A History of Lake County*, edited by John Halsey (Chicago: Roy S. Bates, 1912), 753; Cook, *Zion City*, 63.

and social *laissez faire*, and Thorstein Veblen who observed the socio-economic classes and coined the term “conspicuous consumption.”⁸⁸

By June 1901, as Dowie changed his mind about the Zion Lace Industries, he preached about the Christian Commune, declaring that “if any of you say now that everything that you have is your own, you are mean liars, because you said it was all Christ’s [W]e must pool our interests, every man, every dollar, must stand together.” This pronouncement followed on the heels of Dowie’s revelation to his flock earlier that month that he was the prophet Elijah III, the Restorer. He increasingly had become convinced that his was a calling from God. God’s commission charged him with restoring true marriage, restoring the true church, and with restoring the “Principles of Theocracy,” the latter to replace democracy, which merely was “an embodiment of selfishness.” Any who disagreed with him “has fallen short of the Standard for True Christianity.” They “had better go to the Methodists . . . to the Baptists . . . to the Presbyterians . . . to the Church of England . . . to these apostate denominations.” Dowie required total acceptance of this appointment, which was the catalyst for some Zionites to leave the movement at that time. Their exit was

⁸⁸Dowie claimed this article was sent to him by General W. H. Parsons, “A City of God: The Ethical, Economic, and Spiritual Basis of Zion City, the New Commonwealth to be Established on Lake Michigan, Midway between Chicago and Milwaukee,” *LOH* 6 (February 24, 1900):565; Cook, *City of Zion*, 82, 83.

due more to Dowie's remarkable claim as a prophet than to any of his actions regarding the business of Zion.⁸⁹

A few months later, one of the building contractors committed suicide reportedly out of shame and guilt. In the rush to build houses in the city, he had underbid, could not finish the houses, and fell into substantial debt. As a result, the congregation was warned about the "evils of competition." It was not "Zion's way." And a week later, the General Overseer declared that while Zion was destined for great prosperity, within the city "competition must be forever banished from our midst." In further response to the suicide, Dowie announced a new organization in January 1903. The Zion City Building and Manufacturing Association would combine all departments necessary for construction, whether lumber, heating, or plumbing. There would be no private contractors seeking a competitive edge over someone else. Rather, under this "God-given" policy, the Association could more economically and efficiently build what needed to be built. By this time, it was apparent that all was not well in Dowie's Zion.⁹⁰

Dowie sought to manifest his evangelical Protestant doctrine by creating the perfect environment. Zion was to be the solution to the era's fear of urban blight, of smoke, of sin, of political corruption.

⁸⁹"The Messenger of the Covenant," *LOH* 9 (June 8, 1901):214-216; "A Christian Commune," *LOH* 9 (June 29, 1901):301; Cook, *City of Zion*, 57-63.

⁹⁰Overseer Speicher, "Evils of Competition," *ZB*, August 19, 1902; "No More Competition," *ZB*, August 29, 1902; "Policy is God-Given," *ZB*, January 9, 1903.

Although a conservative Protestant, Dowie nevertheless embraced the progressive ideals that one's environment affected one's behavior, that one should rely on the expertise of others to help create the ideal environment, and that capitalistic industries were necessary as well as desirable for prosperity for all.

Chapter 2

Grand Plans and Financial Woes

On Sunday, December 25, 1904, General Overseer John Alexander Dowie told his congregation in the Shiloh Tabernacle in Zion that democracy was dead. Zion had arisen, he proclaimed, as the "Working Model" for leaders in business, in politics, and for all who were "grappling with the social problems of the world." Later that Christmas day, Dowie reopened the Central Zion Tabernacle on Michigan Avenue in Chicago. Dowie and his Zion movement had leased a former Episcopal Church in 1897 while organizing his movement, and had used it until he forfeited the lease in 1901. This grand reopening was heralded by Dowie's White-Robed Choir and the Zion band and orchestra. About 1,000 Zion residents traveled in special trains to the ceremony with another thousand or so members of the church from various Zion congregations in the region.⁹¹

Despite the continuing optimistic prophecies for his theocracy as the solution to the world's problems, his praise for the Zion movement around the world, and the reopening of the Central Tabernacle in Chicago, the ominous clouds of the impending storm were gathering.

⁹¹"Early Morning Meeting in Shiloh Tabernacle," *LOH* 16 (December 31, 1904):345; Cook, *Zion City*, 26; "Message to Central Zion Tabernacle," *LOH* 16 (December 31, 1904):337-340.

A rift had grown between Dowie and his closest advisors who questioned his handling of the finances in the city. Within a year of his 1904 pronouncements of a bright future, Dowie's health would fail, his empire would be in financial ruin, and he would be disgraced in the eyes of the majority of his followers. Dowie's disastrous financial crash and bankruptcy, along with his poor health and death a year later, culminated in a protracted struggle for the future of Zion City. On one side were a group of former Dowie followers who envisioned the city as a prosperous industrial center free from the vices perceived to be inherently a part of most cities. They would become the Independents. Initially, they had supported the theocracy, but had become disillusioned by the changes Dowie had made in the city's business organization as well as by his financial mismanagement. They were pitted against an antagonist whose rhetoric was committed to maintaining Zion as a theocracy, and whose actions evoked the specters of both a political boss and a demagogue.

Dowie's Zion was not the only utopian or cooperative plan to emerge and to fail in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The intentions of virtually every one of them was either to withdraw from or to solve the problems facing the country. Most strove to produce what Paul Boyer termed "positive environmentalism," which could be accomplished in an existing city through implementing City

Beautiful ideals or through expert city planning, but also created from the ground up in virgin environs. According to Boyer, the goal of “positive” reformers was to forge a “physical environment that would gently but irresistibly mold a population of cultivated, moral, and socially responsible” citizens. Dozens of both secular and sectarian groups organized in response to the financial crises of the 1890s, to industrialization, to urbanization, or, in the case of some religious groups, to what they perceived to be the dilution of holiness in orthodox denominations.⁹²

At least two communitarian groups existed in close proximity to Dowie’s Zion movement. The first, organized in Chicago in the 1890s, was the Metropolitan Church of America, the radical “Holy Jumper” outgrowth of the Holiness Movement. The members purchased the Fountain Spring hotel in Waukesha, Wisconsin where they hoped to live free from the greed associated with personal property. Jacob Beilhart, who developed “Universal Life,” or Spirit Fruit, a philosophy that emphasized “good works,” organized the second. He had lived in health food proponent John Harvey Kellogg’s Battle Creek Sanitarium, but left Kellogg in the early 1890s. By 1901, Beilhart and a small group of followers purchased a farm in Ohio. Criticized by neighbors

⁹²Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 190; Brian J. L. Berry, *America’s Utopian Experiments: Communal Havens from Long-Wave Crises* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1992), 139-143.

for their liberal views advocating “free love,” the group moved to Chicago in 1904 where Beilhart gave lectures on Universal Life. Within a year, the group moved to a farm in Lake Country, northwest of Chicago, and lived communally while keeping their personal possessions.⁹³

Zion was, however, a rarity in that Dowie created his spiritual utopian city out of more than 6,000 acres of farm and fallow land. This was open territory on which a thriving city would be built from the ground up. In Dowie’s plan, spirituality was not the city’s only purpose. Zion was intended to be an industrial city, to be linked economically to the quickly developing industrial Chicago region. Dowie’s motto for Zion, “Where God Rules, Man Prospers,” affirmed his belief in the compatibility of Christianity and material abundance.

Dowie shared the vision of some of his contemporaries, especially the Chicago industrial leaders who organized cities that combined industry with moral environments. Dowie was in Chicago in 1889 when lumber magnate Turlington Harvey organized the Harvey Land Association to build an industrial community. Harvey was a charter member of the Chicago Evangelical Society and a strong supporter of evangelist Dwight L. Moody. Like Zion, the city of Harvey was touted as being the ideal community, beautified with tree-lined

⁹³H. Roger Grant, *Spirit Fruit: A Gentle Utopia* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1988), 21, 67-70, 90-103.

streets and parks. Also like Zion, Harvey was to be a temperance town, designed to attract manufacturers who would reap profits from five railways, from the booming Chicagoland real estate speculation, as well as from a sober workforce. However, unlike Zion, Harvey welcomed a multiplicity of churches. By 1894, ten churches had organized congregations in the city, and all but one of them were Protestant. Also unlike Zion, the Harvey Land Association encouraged home ownership. One advertisement boasted that Harvey would provide “the chance for the hard working man who is toiling in hot, dirty city factories, living in crowded rooms without a breath of fresh air, to work in large roomy buildings and OWN a house in a purer atmosphere.” However, the ordinances that banned alcohol were enforced only until the mid-1890s, when the city council and a public referendum ended prohibition in Harvey.⁹⁴

At the same time that Dowie held revivals and healing services across from the main entrance to the Chicago World’s Fair, George Pullman transported thousands of fair goers by train directly from the fair to his industrial company town south of Chicago. It is not unreasonable to conclude that Dowie visited Pullman and adapted

⁹⁴Thekla Ellen Joiner, *Sin in the City: Chicago and Revivalism, 1880-1920* (University of Missouri Press, 2013), 58-9; Ray Hutchinson, “Capitalism, Religion, and Reform: The Social History of Temperance in Harvey, Illinois,” in *Drinking: Behavior and Belief in Modern History*, eds. Susanna Barrows and Robin Room (University of California Press, 1991), 193-97, 202, 205; Harvey Land Association, *The Town of Harvey, Illinois: Manufacturing Suburb of Chicago, Aged Two Years* (1892), n.p.

ideas from the industrial city to implement in Zion. Dowie, like Pullman, was paternalistic, and like Pullman, Dowie attempted to dictate the morality of a significant portion of his employees' personal lives. Pullman provided what he deemed to be moral entertainments, such as reading rooms and the Arcade theater in which there would be no bawdy plays. The city included an athletic field for ball games and a lake for rowing. The sole house of worship, Greenstone Church, was intended to be an ecumenical meeting hall for all denominations, although Pullman expected to receive rent from those using it. There were no taverns for the residents, although visitors could drink liquor at the Florence Hotel.⁹⁵

Pullman lauded his town in a pamphlet distributed at the fair's Pullman exhibit. It glowingly reported that each house and flat were "equipped with the modern appliances of water, gas, and internal sanitation." His expert engineers and architects had created a landscape of bright flowers, "velvety stretches of lawn," shady trees, parks, and "pretty water vistas . . . where all that is ugly and discordant and demoralizing is eliminated." He believed his planned

⁹⁵Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 144; Stanley Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 64-9; Wilma J. Pesavento, "Sport and Recreation in the Pullman Experiment, 1880-1900," *Journal of Sport History* 9 (Summer, 1982):44.

city would inspire greater efficiency and middle class values in his employees, and would preempt labor strife.⁹⁶

However, during the Panic of 1893, Pullman cut wages, but did not lower rents. His workers erupted in a strike in the summer of 1894, supported by railway workers nationwide. The ensuing violence destroyed Pullman's vision of harmony between capital and labor. In 1898, the same year Pullman died, Illinois courts declared company towns illegal, and representatives of his company were forced to sell all land not used directly for manufacturing.⁹⁷

Although he did not want the city's economy to depend on just one industry, Pullman essentially became a company town. Similarly, while Dowie organized a theocracy, Zion became a de facto company town once Dowie reversed his policy about individual ownership of businesses and consolidated all industries under his Zion Institutions and Industries. More than a decade later, Wilbur Glenn Voliva attempted much the same thing after he purchased most of Dowie's estate from the receiver and re-invigorated the Zion printing company, the apron and handkerchief factory, and the baking industry, all of which supplied products to a national market.

⁹⁶*The Story of Pullman* (Chicago: Blakely and Rogers, c. 1893), 27-8; Pesavento, "Sport and Recreation," 39.

⁹⁷Buder, *Pullman*, 190-92, 199, 213.

Grand Excursions

While still at the helm in 1903, John Alexander Dowie, the self-proclaimed Elijah the Restorer and the General Overseer of the Christian Catholic Church in Zion City, Illinois continued to launch expansive revival and building schemes for the future, despite the fact that financial difficulties had become apparent. Indicative of his willingness to rely on his professional congregants in select situations, Dowie engineered additional dazzling and expensive events, similar to Billy Sunday's and Dwight Moody's revivals in the same era. As Jennifer Wiard and Thekla Joiner assert, both evangelists used Progressive Era corporate models "to further their religious cause" by staging elaborate revivals. Dowie did the same.⁹⁸

In October of 1903, three thousand Zion Restoration Hosts and Dowie converged on New York City to "destroy the works of the devil" in that sinful "Gotham." The devout followers of Dowie had poured their energies into preparing this revival mission for nearly a year. This enormous undertaking required the administrative talents of Overseers, Elders, Evangelists, Deacons, and Deaconesses, all of whom were instrumental in organizing the Zion City Band, the Zion Guard, the Zion Bugle and Drum Corps, and the five hundred members of the Zion White-robed Choir for the journey. Under Dowie's

⁹⁸Joiner, *Sin in the City*, 18.

direction, these administrators arranged transportation, lodging, and meals for the multitudes who funded their own trips by sending their checks payable to John Alexander Dowie.⁹⁹

Dowie primed the Zion Restoration Host for the efficient coverage and the spiritual conversion of the city. Corresponding to Sunday's and Moody's organizational methods and to ensure efficiency, the missionaries were given guides to study while en route to New York, including a map that divided the city into districts. Each Host "Company" was assigned a district and given additional information about the nationalities and socio/economic statuses in those districts. Upon his return to Zion, Dowie reported that the Host had visited 40,000 homes on the first day.¹⁰⁰

Dowie led the missionary expedition to New York from his private Pullman car while another eight trains carried the foot soldiers. This was a meticulously planned nineteen days of tightly scheduled grand processions, Restoration messages, divine healing meetings, baptisms, and consecrations to be held in Carnegie Hall and at Madison Square Garden, the latter of which could seat 16,000 people. Such was his optimism that Dowie declared that even the Garden's auditorium would

⁹⁹*Leaves of Healing* 12 (December, 27, 1902): 308; *Leaves of Healing* 13 (July 25, 1903):429; *Leaves of Healing* 13 (October 10, 1903): 799-806.

¹⁰⁰"Visitation of Elijah the Restorer And Zion Restoration Host to the City," *LOH* 13 (August 29, 1903):604; "New York Visitation," *LOH* 14 (October 31, 1903):47.

be insufficient to hold the crowds. For Saturday evening entertainment in the big city, business managers of the Zion Bureau of Stocks and Securities and of the Zion Land and Investment Association planned to entice converts and prospective investors with a "Stereopticon Exhibition of Views of Zion City, showing its Religious, Educational, Industrial, Commercial and Social Institutions and Homes." The harsh reality was that this lavish spectacle to cleanse New York attracted only one hundred and twenty-five new members. A more severe blow to the Zion movement was that the crusade cost between \$250,000 and \$350,000. This substantially contributed to the future crisis.¹⁰¹

The extravagance of the New York trip was coupled with an additional costly grand plan announced by Dowie just before he left for the East Coast. He revealed his designs for a larger and more awe-inspiring edifice in Zion at the cost of \$400,000 to \$500,000. The wood frame tabernacle that had been constructed quickly the previous year to seat 5,200 had served its purpose. He had acquired an earth moving steam shovel for \$5,000, and had constructed a railway spur to carry gravel from the lakefront to the Temple Site. The new "Shiloah Tabernacle" was to be built of steel, limestone, and red brick, and would be 330 by 340 feet. The imposing structure would have multiple towers and stained glass windows, and the glass and steel

¹⁰¹*Leaves of Healing* 13 (October 10, 1903):799-806; *Leaves of Healing* 14 (November 21, 1903):118, 14; Cook, *Zion City*, 155.

dome in the auditorium would soar to 160 feet. In reality, the construction never progressed past the initial excavation for the foundation, as the steam shovel was repossessed, contradicting Dowie's claims that donations from his flock had paid for it.¹⁰²



The Zion Tabernacle, 1902

LOH 13 (July 25, 1903):417
 Zion Benton Public Library: Zion Photo Gallery,
<https://zblibrary.info/info-services/history-and-genealogy/zion-photo-gallery/> (accessed March 21, 2018)



"Shiloah Tabernacle, as planned,
 Shiloh Park, Zion City, Illinois"

In the fall, Dowie returned home from New York to creditors' summonses for his unpaid bills. In a nearly full-page article, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* itemized the claims filed against Dowie for more

¹⁰²"Zion's Figures Constantly Grow," *LOH* 13 (July 18, 1903):393; Photograph of Consecration of Shovel *LOH* 13 (August 15, 1903):547; "Immediate Improvements," *ZB*, October 18, 1904; "Shiloah Tabernacle," *LOH* 13 (July 18, 1903):413, 414; Cook, *Zion City*, 167; Rolvix Harlan, *John Alexander Dowie and the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion*, PhD. diss. University of Chicago, (Press of R. M. Antes, Evansville, WI, 1906), 13. (Harlan quoted an unnamed "official" who, in an interview, accused Dowie of "willfully misrepresenting the facts and misleading the people" about the shovel and the plans for the tabernacle. Philip L. Cook noted that Dowie repeatedly had criticized the University of Chicago Theology Department and posited perhaps that was the reason for Harlan's criticism of Dowie. See Cook, *Zion City*, fn8, 232.)

than \$67,000. Soon, a number of the forty creditors, including Marshall Field & Co., initiated bankruptcy proceedings. The District Court in Chicago appointed receivers on December 1, 1903, but by the middle of the month, Dowie's attorneys successfully had convinced creditors of his worth and the receivership was dissolved. During those tense days, an Illinois newspaper reported Dowie's pleas to his congregation for \$100,000 to satisfy the creditors. Evidently, they responded enthusiastically and left the meeting in high spirits, marching in the streets shouting "Praise be to Zion," and "Down with Receivers." There is no official record of the amount collected. Reportedly, much of what was given came from pledges from congregants, but the collection taken in church included cash as well as household goods that could be sold for cash. While Dowie long had a contentious relationship with the press, this type of ebullient response to Dowie's rhetoric was commonly reported both from within and without the city. At the same time, the faithful who worked in the city already had agreed to take a portion of their wages in cash and the rest in coupons. This practice continued from its inception in November of 1903 to early 1906.¹⁰³

Still, Dowie spent money extravagantly, ignoring the crisis. On New Year's Day, 1904, he, his wife, his son and an entourage

¹⁰³"Crusade Reacts; Builds a Storm," *CT*, December 2, 1903; Cook, *Zion City*, 155-58, 195; "Declares All Will Be Paid," *True Republican*, December 5, 1903.

embarked on a world tour. This journey was both a preaching and healing tour as well as a promotional tour for Zion City and future Zion Cities. Dowie envisioned establishing other cities in warmer climes where the labor of Zionites would not be constrained by the cold, Illinois winters, thereby solving seasonal unemployment that afflicted those who worked outside.¹⁰⁴

As he planned this tour, Dowie originally had considered a stop in Salt Lake City. He had met Mormon missionaries years earlier while still preaching in Australia, and had visited Salt Lake City as he traveled eastward across the United States in the late 1880s. Dowie believed that the Mormons “were the best organized and the most clearly scripturally organized of all churches” and once asserted that he would take good ideas from wherever they came. According to historian D. William Faupel, Dowie did indeed borrow heavily from the Mormons when planning the organization of his church and the city. By 1903, after Dowie had borrowed organizational strategies from the Mormons, he claimed he could convert the Mormons to Christianity.¹⁰⁵

For unknown reasons, Dowie and his entourage did not stop in Salt Lake City, but traveled to California. They journeyed by train, in a

¹⁰⁴Cook, *Zion City*, 158, 195.

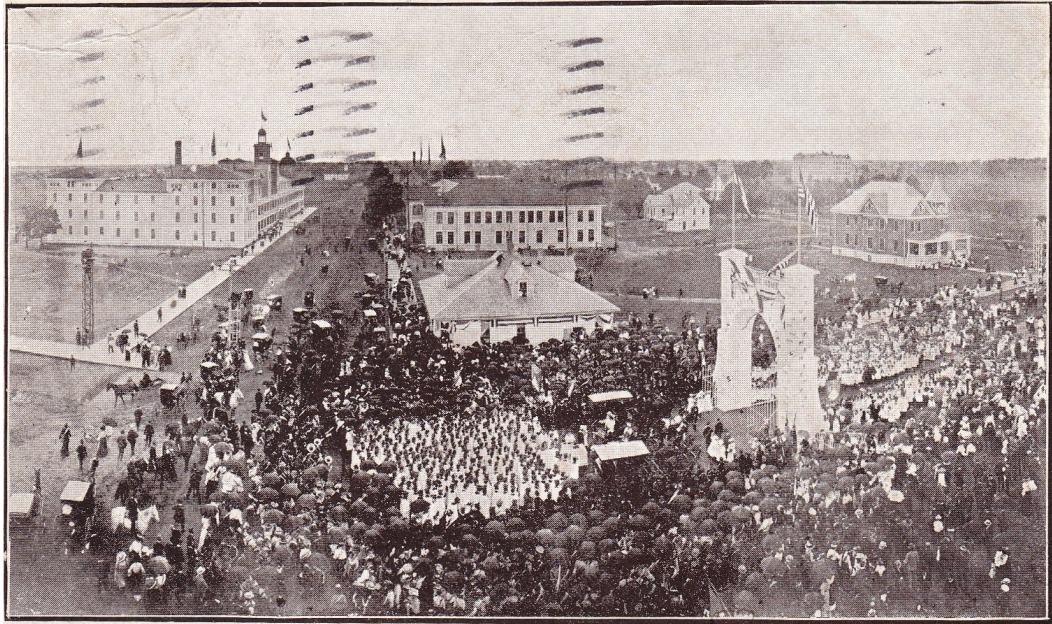
¹⁰⁵D. William Faupel, “What Has Pentacostalism to do with Mormonism?: The Case of John Alexander Dowie,” in *New Perspectives in Mormon Studies: Creating and Crossing Boundaries*, eds. Quincy D. Newell and Eric F. Mason (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), n.p.; *ZB*, August 8, 1902; “The Training of the Three Thousand,” *LOH* 13 (August 29, 1903):595.

private car owned by the president of the San Antonio and Arkansas Railroad. Dowie and a smaller group sailed for New Zealand and then to Australia. This was where Dowie had sent Wilbur Glenn Voliva in 1901 to head the Zion mission. Several of his officials returned to Zion City via Salt Lake City where they met with officials of the Mormon Church, including the founder's son Joseph Smith, III, and received a copy of "Doctrines and Covenants" to give to Dowie.¹⁰⁶

As Dowie continued his world tour, he sent brief cablegrams from Colombo, British Ceylon, and from Aden, Arabia, before he arrived in France in May. From there, he traveled to Switzerland, to Germany, and to England while those left in charge in Zion City had to implement wage cuts and to close the furniture store and the candy factory. While in Zurich, Dowie had received a cautionary statement from several of his top officials, Overseer John Speicher, and Deacons Charles Barnard and Visscher V. Barnes. Barnes also served as the city attorney. He and Speicher later would be primary members of the Independents' movement. They tried to warn Dowie about the consequences of "borrowing" too much money from the Zion City Bank, which left it dangerously low in funds for regular business needs.

¹⁰⁶Cook, *Zion City*, 159-64, 169; "A Feeble Echo of the Splendor of Alexander Dowie's Reign Is Awakened in Sale of \$60,000 Library to Chicago Dealers," *CT*, February 20, 1910.

They also criticized what they considered to be misrepresentations in Dowie's campaigns for stock sales.¹⁰⁷



"Reception to the General Overseer and Party on his return to Zion City, Illinois from his around-the world visitation, July 30, 1904"

This photograph is taken from just north of Shiloh Boulevard looking south along Elijah Avenue (Sheridan Road). The Zion Hospice is in the upper left. The Administration building is across the street and to the west of the Hospice. The ceremonial arch straddles Shiloh Boulevard, which leads from the Chicago & Northwestern railway to the Tabernacle.

Postcard in the possession of the author

After Dowie's return to much fanfare in the early summer of 1904, he castigated his doubters, calling them "miserable, wretched creatures." He dismissed the warnings of Speicher, Barnard, and Barnes as being unwarranted. This was contrary to the evidence. The city's bookkeeping methods were irregular at best. All funds derived

¹⁰⁷"Notes from the Overseer in Charge," *LOH* 15 (April 23, 1904):6; "Notes from the Overseer in Charge," *LOH* 15 (April 30, 1904):33.

from investments or other assets were deposited in a single bank account. There were no separate accounts for the various industries, which at the time included the lace factory, candy factory, box company, a printing enterprise, and a general store. The pooling of funds, coupled with Dowie's control of those funds, deprived the industries of money with which to purchase raw materials. Without materials, at least two factories closed and workers were laid off. Additionally, investors were paid their dividends not from industry profits, but from money received from other investors. While Barnes and Speicher remained in Zion, Overseer Barnard would leave within the year.¹⁰⁸

Elijah the Prophet

Dowie's grandiose campaigns for the expansion of the Zion movement continued, as did the grandiose visions of himself as the leader of that movement. In September 1904, Dowie declared once again to his world congregation that the "office" of apostles appointed by Jesus "was perpetual and should be continued." He first declared this in 1896 when he organized the Christian Catholic Church. In 1904, in front of a congregation of nearly 7,000, Dowie assumed the office of the "First Apostle of the Lord Jesus, the Christ, in the Christian

¹⁰⁸Cook, *Zion City*, 159-64, 169-70, 178, 180-82.

Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion, who is also Elijah, the Prophet of the Restoration of All Things.” Consistent with his title, the word “Apostolic” was added to the name of the church, and it would remain there until Voliva dropped it in 1934.¹⁰⁹

While still advocating an undemocratic theocracy as the ideal future for the world, Dowie long had been an ardent proponent of the Republican Party and of Theodore Roosevelt. Having met Roosevelt during his first term, Dowie supported Roosevelt’s re-election in 1904. Citing Roosevelt’s reformist successes in New York as the Commissioner of the Civil Service and of the Police Department, as well as his bravery in defeating the Spanish in Cuba, Dowie claimed that Roosevelt was the only choice for Zion voters. While informing his congregation that each enfranchised Zion man should “exercise his right as an American citizen [and] should vote for the man of [his] choice,” clearly, Dowie expected all to vote for those he endorsed.¹¹⁰

Interestingly, Dowie did not support Silas Swallow, the Prohibitionist candidate. A vote for him, claimed Dowie, would be a vote to maintain “the shackles of liquor traffic upon this nation.” Several years earlier, Dowie had declared that humankind could not be

¹⁰⁹“The Declaration of John Alexander,” *LOH* 15 (September 24, 1904):796-87; Cook, *Zion City*, 222.

¹¹⁰“General Apostolic Letter,” dated 2/19/1905, *LOH* 16 (March 4, 1905):627-28; “Roosevelt and Fairbanks,” *ZB*, November 1, 1904.; *The National Crisis: How Christians Ought to Vote on November 3rd*,” *LOH* 3 (October, 30, 1896):5,6.

"elevated," or freed from the curse of alcohol through national legislation. In contrast to the progressive reformers who eventually turned away from concentrating on the local option to strive for national legislation, Dowie did not believe that prohibition could be enforced by the federal government. Prohibition must be fought and won, he argued, "in the counties, villages, towns, and cities."¹¹¹

Dowie had criticized some members of the Prohibition Party as "incarnate devils," "malicious schemers," and "infidels." Dowie's particular vitriol against Swallow may have been because the latter was a Methodist minister, a denomination denounced by Dowie as apostate. His castigation of Swallow may also be attributed to Dowie's style of moral reform, in that he relied on spiritual conversion, not on legislation, to change one's behavior.¹¹²

Mexican Venture

Early in 1905, Dowie, his wife, his son and a number of officers traveled to Florida, to islands in the Caribbean and then to Mexico.

¹¹¹"The National Crisis: How Christians Ought to Vote on November 3rd," *LOH* 3 (October, 30, 1896):5,6; "Apostolic and Prophetic Messages," *LOH* 16 (November 12, 1904):107.

¹¹²"Zion's Onward Movement," "Report of the First General Conference of all Believers Interested in the Organization of the Christian Catholic Church," held in Chicago, January 22, 1896, reprinted in *LOH* 15 (September 10, 1904):711; "The Nation's Choice of a President," *LOH* 16 (October 15, 1904):897-902; "Silas Comfort Swallow: Presidential Candidate, 1904," Prohibitionist Website, http://www.prohibitionists.org/history/votes/Silas_Comfort_Swallow_bio.html (accessed 10/28/2016.)

Dowie's motivation was to enjoy a much needed rest, but also to organize a new site for a Zion settlement in Mexico. This had been under consideration since the previous summer, despite the questionable finances and continuing unemployment in the Illinois city.¹¹³

While in Mexico, Dowie felt compelled to respond to questions sent to him in an Associated Press telegram that challenged the finances in Zion and Dowie's intentions. He admitted that he planned to establish a plantation in Mexico, but denied the implications in those questions that he was in poor health, that he did not plan to return to Zion City, that there was considerable dissension within that city, and that the city was in dire financial straits, among other insinuations. His responses were published in the *Mexican Herald*, and abstracts of that article were reprinted in *Leaves*.¹¹⁴

One report of dissension arose from the resignation of Deacon Charles Barnard, the general financial manager. Barnard, according to a Chicago newspaper, had overreached his authority by mortgaging several hundred acres of lakefront property for \$100,000. Dowie claimed that he himself had authorized "this comparatively small, temporary loan," although borrowing money from outside lending

¹¹³"General Apostolic Letter," dated 1/14/1905, *LOH* 16 (January 21, 1905):526; Cook, *Zion City*, 174.

¹¹⁴Extracts from the *Mexican Herald*, March 8, 1905 as printed in *LOH* 19 (March 11, 1908):658-662, 665.

institutions was supposed to be incompatible with the principles of Dowie and Zion. Still, Dowie asserted that there was no problem between the two of them, but admitted that Barnard had resigned. Rather than accepting the resignation, Dowie "relieved him from office for the present" and appointed Deacon Alexander Granger to be the temporary financial manager.¹¹⁵

It was no coincidence that Dowie's son Gladstone returned to Zion City from Mexico that same month to ease fears about the city's finances and Dowie's ill health, and to point out the advantages of the proposed Mexican Colony to Zion men. For those who were seasonably unemployed during the winter, Mexico was but a convenient train ride away. For black converts from Zion's missions in South Africa, Mexico's climate would offer them more familiar conditions.¹¹⁶

Curiously, Dowie did not support the segregation of the races as did the majority of white Americans. He welcomed blacks not only as converts in the distant missions, but as residents in his Zion City. By 1906, black residents numbered around 200. He repeatedly preached against the oppression of the "black skinned race," denounced lynch

¹¹⁵Extracts from the *Mexican Herald*, March 8, 1905 as printed in *LOH* 19 (March 11, 1908) 658-662, 665; "Dowie Cheers Up Zion," *CT*, March 14, 1905.

¹¹⁶"Dowie Cheers Up Zion," *CT*, March 14, 1905; "Dowie's Message Given in Secret," *CT*, March 6, 1905; Cook, *Zion City*, 97, 175.

laws, and vowed that in his Christian commune, there was to be “no race prejudice.”¹¹⁷

While in Zion, Gladstone Dowie also announced that John A. Lewis was to be the general manager of the Mexican Plantation project. Lewis had been a successful businessman in Mississippi, and after maintaining he was healed by Dowie in 1903, gave up a sizable income to join the Zion movement.¹¹⁸

Diminishing Power

Dowie returned to Zion in April, and, over the spring and early summer of 1905, announced important material changes to be made to the financial program. All stocks, except the bank stock, were to be consolidated and a substantial portion to be sold, offering from 7 per cent up to 12 per cent interest. They would be offered on the open market, which was a drastic reversal of previous policies. By August,

¹¹⁷Cook, *Zion City*, 97, 175; “Afternoon Service,” *LOH* 3, (June 19, 1897):531, 538-39; “A Christian Commune,” *LOH* 15 (June 29, 1904):301; Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 196.

Dowie’s philosophies about race placed him in line with more liberal reformers of the era such as W.E.B. DuBois and Jane Addams who believed that “segregation made it harder . . . to improve the welfare of African Americans. Dowie and Addams were the exceptions to the national norms. By 1900, Jim Crow laws controlled society in the New South. In the North, segregation was rampant in its social institutions, its residential laws, and in economic opportunities. Michael McGerr considered the enforcement of segregation to be one facet in his “radical” white Protestant progressives’ agenda to remake American society “in their own middle-class image.” Segregation was easier than trying to force blacks into a white-defined “social unity.” McGerr, *Fierce Discontent*, xiv, 196, 202.

¹¹⁸Cook, *Zion City*, 175.

he essentially reversed the plan to sell stock to the outside world and announced a new "Business Policy." This included a call to the world movement for \$500,000, to be a one year loan at 7 per cent interest. An additional fund, the "Zion Paradise Plantation Seven Per-cent Interest-bearing Land Warrants" was set up specifically to fund the Mexican colony.¹¹⁹

Dowie planned to leave for Mexico in September 1905, to finalize negotiations for the land. On a Sunday, two days before his departure, Dowie suffered his first stroke while delivering a lengthy sermon on Zion's goals. Still, he traveled to Mexico, but failed to finalize negotiations. After returning to Zion, Dowie suffered a second stroke on December 3, 1905, which seriously affected his mobility. Consequentially, he decided to take a long rest in Jamaica in order to recover. To carry on the administration in Zion while he was gone, Dowie appointed a "Triumvirate," comprised of Judge V. V. Barnes, newly appointed Financial Manager and Deacon Alexander Granger, and Overseer John G. Speicher to head the commission. Then on December 18, Dowie left for the warmer climes of Jamaica.¹²⁰

The three immediately took action to relieve the financial woes of the city. These early measures to recover the financial solvency of

¹¹⁹Cook, *Zion City*, 185-86.

¹²⁰"Editorial Notes," *LOH* 14 (January 16, 1904):394-95; Cook, *Zion City*, 188.

Zion were the first steps in what later became the Independents' programs to modernize business methods in the city. Acting on tentative solutions that some had discussed even prior to Dowie's departure, the triumvirate moved away from Dowie's centralized management, leaving him to concentrate on his health. In a general letter sent to the congregation throughout the world, the three laid out their policies to decrease costs and to increase efficiency. This included attracting new industries to Zion and encouraging all Zion men and women to find employment in Zion if possible, but outside of Zion if necessary. All Zion stocks and securities were to be consolidated into a single common stock called Consuls, a move affirmed by Dowie. They sold the original Zion headquarters in Chicago. They leased unused farm land in Zion to individuals.¹²¹

Soon, Dowie's original plan for individually owned businesses began to take shape, although not with his blessing. Several industries in Zion, including the soap factory, were leased to individuals. Within two months, the soap factory became the first Zion enterprise to be incorporated in Illinois under the leadership of Charles A. Hanson, Gus D. Thomas who later was appointed as receiver, and Alexander Granger. Within a year, the Hanson Manufacturing

¹²¹"General Letter to the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion Throughout the World," *LOH* 17 (December 23, 1905):302; Cook, *Zion City*, 190, 194.

Company advertised its need for 500 agents to sell its pure soaps outside of Zion City. By fall, advertisements for businesses other than those owned by Zion Industries appeared in the *Leaves of Healing*. H. N. Kistner Pen & Co. sold fountain pens from his home on Gilboa Avenue. Later, Kistner, a leading member of the Independents, opened a jewelry store on Sheridan Road. S. H. Brown sought investors for a piano manufacturing company to be built on a site along the railway. William Brown drew attention to his new, three-story paint factory, and the Johnson and Smith corporation took over the lumber department of the Zion Building and Manufacturing Association.¹²²

Early in his trip to Jamaica, Dowie became alarmed by what he saw as a revolt against him and his Zion movement. To halt any further degrading of his authority, Dowie contacted Overseer Wilbur Glenn Voliva in Australia where he had been posted since 1901. Voliva was to return immediately to Zion to serve as Deputy General Overseer with full Power of Attorney over financial and ecclesiastical matters until Dowie recovered. Historian Phillip Cook described Voliva's methods to attract converts as similar to those of Dowie in that both employed "bombastic tirades" to their congregations and in revivals, both strongly criticized the apostasies of Christian

¹²²"Trade Gleanings," *The National Provisioner* 34 (February 17, 1906):17; Advertisement, *ZCN*, June 7, 1907; *LOH* 18 (October 20, 1906):vi -viii.

denominations, and both repeatedly railed against prevailing social ills. Both were dictatorial theocrats who convinced the masses they held the answers to all questions and demanded unquestioning obedience from the congregation. Unfortunately, Voliva's authoritarianism was not immediately apparent to those living in Zion.¹²³

Voliva, his wife, and young daughter arrived in Zion on February 12, 1906. He delivered his first sermon on the February 18. Voliva reiterated a major tenet of Dowie's faith healing doctrine that illnesses were the result of sin, an insinuation pointing to the underlying cause of Dowie's strokes. He emphasized obedience and self-sacrifice to save Zion from financial and moral ruin. Accordingly, at the end of his sermon, two tables were brought forward to receive worldly goods from the congregation that could be redeemed for cash. Voliva added to the abundance of jewelry, coins, checks, china, unredeemed coupons, and various other symbols of material wealth with a watch, claiming it was given to him by his mother.¹²⁴

Conspicuously rejecting Dowie's increasingly lavish lifestyle, Voliva refused to live in the mansion that Dowie had built. Instead, Voliva took up residence in rooms at the Zion Hospice and in other private homes within the city. He continued to condemn self-

¹²³Cook, *Zion City*, 192-93, 196.

¹²⁴Cook, *Zion City*, 196-97; "Give Their All in Zion's Cause," *CT*, February 19, 1906; *LOH* 18 (April 14, 1906):455-59.

indulgence in later sermons, censuring women who wore gold jewelry as being vain. Vowing that he would never take "one cent above a bare living," Voliva declared that a "true man of God has no desire for position or money." He also claimed he never would be "a partner at any time to tyranny" or "to domineering methods." The two last claims were cited wryly by the Independents multiple times in later years.¹²⁵

In the weeks following his arrival, Voliva examined the accounts and determined that Dowie had grievously mismanaged the financial affairs of Zion. He and important officials in the church proceeded to take steps to remove Dowie from leadership. Given his appetite to dominate, Voliva must have recognized an opportunity to fulfill his ambition for personal power. In time, even Dowie would see that. In his response to his removal from power, Dowie claimed that Voliva's "greed and ambition to rule seemed to blind him to every sense of honesty and justice." Although Voliva moved quickly to solidify his power base, during the first several months after his arrival he had the support of those in Zion who feared for their financial future and wanted to believe that Voliva would help them recover their investments. If any had doubts, their fears would have been allayed by Voliva's words in his April 1906 sermon. He declared to the

¹²⁵Early Morning Meeting, April 1, 1906, *LOH* 18 (April 7, 1906): 441.

congregation that he wanted them to have "liberty," to not be "mere puppets," and to not "be in a place where you do not dare to call your bodies, souls, or spirits your own."¹²⁶

Voliva, supported by some church officers, accelerated the attacks against both Dowie's financial mismanagement and his personal extravagance. In testimony given to the bankruptcy court, Voliva provided a detailed report on the businesses, including that Dowie's bank showed deposits of \$300,000, but there was not a single dollar in the bank to pay to depositors. The losses for other industries included a \$450,000 deficit for the printing company and a \$173,000 deficit for the hotel. These funds had all been diverted to pay for one or more of Dowie's schemes. They added one additional egregious charge, that Dowie advocated polygamy.¹²⁷

Voliva's next step was to depose Dowie. Within six weeks of his arrival in Zion, he and other officers sent a telegram to Dowie informing him that he was "suspended from office and membership for polygamous teaching and other grave charges." The charges of polygamy never were substantiated, but since Dowie had visited and

¹²⁶"Statement by Rev. John Alexander Dowie, Concerning Conditions in Zion City, Illinois, August 28, 1906," Zion City (Ill.) Records, 1890-1974, Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.; "Early Morning Meeting, *LOH* 18 (April 7, 1906):442.

¹²⁷"John Alexander Dowie Rebuked for Sin and Suspended from Offices and Fellowship," *LOH* 18 (April 7, 1906):437-39; "Dowie Wrecked Zion and Workers Starved," *New York Times*, June 21, 1906; "Dowie and Voliva," *Herald of Gospel Liberty*, 99 (August 2, 1906):489-491.

talked about the Mormons, it was easy to suggest guilt simply by association. Certainly, that charge would shock his followers into questioning their beloved leader. That same week, a notice was published to the international community in the *Leaves of Healing* that detailed the charges that led to the deposition of Dowie.¹²⁸

Dowie, now well enough to leave Jamaica in March for the proposed site in Mexico, received Voliva's telegram dismissing him on April 2, 1906. He sent a lengthy telegram to Voliva, his appointed agent, vainly admonishing him to remember his temporary status and to reverse all actions taken, to urge support of the Mexico plantation, and to encourage officers in Zion to ready the city for his return. By the time Dowie arrived in Chicago on April 10, 1906, Voliva had transferred all real estate in Zion held in Dowie's name to Financial Manager Alexander Granger for one dollar.¹²⁹

The ousting of Dowie as the supreme leader rent the fabric of unity within the church and the moral utopia Dowie had promoted. Several hundred remained loyal to Dowie, while thousands followed Voliva and those officers of the church who endorsed the attempt to reorganize the finances. Even Dowie's wife and son vacillated,

¹²⁸Cook, *Zion City*, 198: "John Alexander Dowie Rebuked for Sin and Suspended from Offices and Fellowship," *LOH* 18 (April 7, 1906):437-39; "Plan Is Complete to Expose Dowie," *CT*, April 7, 1906.

¹²⁹"Post Communion Address by Deputy General Overseer Wilbur Glenn Voliva," *LOH* 18 (April 7, 1906):445; "Important Events in Zion During the Week April 1 to 7, 1906," *LOH* 18 (April 7, 1906):450-53; Cook, *Zion City*, 198-99.

sometimes supporting him and at other times joining Voliva's camp. Those officers aligned with Voliva attempted to allay the confusion and the fears of the worldwide congregation, while simultaneously they emphasized the need for continued contributions, investments, and subscriptions in order to have working capital for the industries in Zion. All contributions now were to be made payable to the financial director Alexander Granger. For all, this chaotic era was not just a crisis for their spiritual well-being, but also for their financial well-being.¹³⁰

The *Leaves of Healing* was published and mailed only sporadically in the early spring of 1906 because the printer, the Zion Printing and Publishing House, had been separated from the collective industries in February, and as a result, lacked the immediate capital to purchase paper. Once funds were available, waiting for the delivery of the paper caused further delay. Throughout the early spring, notices in *Leaves* indicated that the printers' output could not meet the number of subscriptions. Swindlers took advantage of the disarray. A Zion lace salesman traveling in Pennsylvania learned that a woman, unrelated to the city, was collecting donations in the name of Zion. These circumstances added to the general feeling of insecurity among the Zion community.¹³¹

¹³⁰"Important Notice to Members and Friends of Zion Throughout the World." *LOH* 18 (April 14, 1906):465.

¹³¹"A Word to all Readers of the *Leaves of Healing*," *LOH* 17 (March 10, 1906):1; "Announcements," *LOH* 17 (May 19, 1906):77.

In early April 1906, Voliva repudiated a letter he had written the previous December from Australia assuring Dowie of his support.

Later in April, Voliva addressed the congregation, assuring them that the transfer of the property out of Dowie's name had been necessary to save the Zion Estate from Dowie's financial mismanagement, which he blamed on Dowie being "in possession of the Devil."¹³²

At this point in the spring of 1906, there appeared to be a sense of agreement between Voliva and the officers. Their confidence was emboldened by Voliva's rhetoric when he described his philosophy of leadership and his intentions for the future of Zion. He claimed that as Overseer in Australia, he had not been "domineering" nor a "tyrant," and contrary to any practice employed by Dowie, Voliva had formed advisory councils and cabinets. Dowie's habit was to vigorously rebuke his officers if they disagreed with him, or if they offered alternative suggestions. In contrast, Voliva told his audience that once he arrived in Zion, he decided to "adopt a pacific policy." He declared his intent to re-energize the theocracy and the cooperative policy. He further proposed incorporating the various industries under Illinois laws, asserting he had no fear of independent inspectors examining any books. Voliva assured all that he would work with them. He emphasized that, while he believed that Zion must have an "executive

¹³²"Letter from Voliva" *LOH* 17 (December 16, 1905):262-64; "Lord's Day Afternoon, April 22, 1906," *LOH* 18 (April 28, 1906):25.

head . . . , that executive head should be subject to a Cabinet; they ought to have the power over that executive head to undo anything he does that is wrong.” At this same meeting, Voliva reinstated Deacon Alexander Granger and Overseer John G. Speicher, both of whom had been summarily dismissed by Dowie for disregarding his instruction while he was in Mexico.¹³³

The most pressing problem faced by the new leaders in Zion in the spring of 1906 was to reorganize and to salvage the financial ruins of the city. A handful of individually owned businesses had materialized, either as entrepreneurial endeavors or spin-offs from the Zion Institutions and Industries. These individual businesses established the first step toward a re-creation of Zion according to the Independents’ vision. Zion still would be a clean city, a well planned city, in which like minded residents could prosper financially and spiritually. It would, however, no longer be a theocracy whose leader dictated the social, political, and economic conditions, or so thought many in Zion.

¹³³“Post Communion Address,” *LOH* 18 (April 7, 1906.):446-47.

Chapter 3

Financial Woes and Grand Plans

John Alexander Dowie was shorn of power. His failing health confined him to his grand residence, built just four years earlier. His original plan for this house was to serve the needs of the Christian Catholic Church “for all time to come” in a venue “to provide for hospitality which shall be in keeping with the wealth, power, and authority of Zion.” In the final year of his life, personal assistants provided most of his care. His wife and son sometimes resided with Dowie and sometimes found refuge in his Ben Mac Dhui summer home in Michigan.¹³⁴

While Dowie, his family, and all investors hoped to avoid bankruptcy, by the summer 1906, the federal bankruptcy court in Chicago had taken control of the Estate. The bankruptcy, however, provided investors, especially those residing in Zion City, with an opportunity to recreate the city and join the burgeoning economic growth in Chicago and along its North Shore. Their faith in Dowie had faltered, but their faith in the foundations on which Zion had been built was steadfast. Given this new, yet uncertain beginning, many looked forward to profiting from individual businesses and to attracting new

¹³⁴“News of Zion City,” *ZB*, October 9, 1901.

industries. They eagerly anticipated prosperity, while still providing an environment that was free from the vices that plagued many cities, such as corrupt politics, labor unrest, impure foods, and intemperance. This group of Zionites, who would eventually refer to themselves as "Independents," were true Progressive era reformers. They sought to improve the infrastructure in the city whose construction had been put on hold because of financial difficulties. They desired to establish ties with civic minded leaders of nearby communities, which would broaden the commercial and cultural base of Zion.

A City Divided

The Independents faced formidable challenges to their goals. Dowie's successor Wilbur Glenn Voliva sought to perpetuate the Theocracy, with him at the helm. He had proposed more representative administrative plans shortly after his arrival, but reversed those after he was elected as General Overseer. Voliva became the antagonist against whom the Independents fought. He tried to suppress their efforts to be independent of his authority, to modernize the city on their terms, or to attract outside industries. Financial success eluded the Independents because of Dowie's bankruptcy, because of Voliva's obstructionist policies, and because of the Panic of 1907. This worldwide financial crisis caused a spike in the

number of bankruptcies and the national unemployment rate increased from less than 3 per cent to 8 per cent. As a catalyst for progressive action, the depression propelled reform that culminated in the Federal Reserve Act passed in 1913. However, the Act did nothing to help the Independents in 1907, and the Panic contributed to the difficulty in finding industrialists willing to invest in Zion. Intensifying the general dissension within the city, Pentecostal evangelist Charles Parham arrived in Zion and his revivals successfully attracted many Zionites.¹³⁵

The cooperation between Voliva and many of his officers ostensibly continued for several months after his February 1906 arrival in town, although dissension within the congregation was overt. Much of the dissension was between those few who remained faithful to Dowie and those who had deposed him. In mid-May, the city's general counsel and former Dowieite, Visscher. V. Barnes, also known as Judge Barnes, addressed the congregation in the first of three speeches to inform them of the legal situation. All official speeches and sermons were then printed in the *Leaves of Healing* and distributed to interested parties throughout the world. At the May 10, 1906 meeting, Barnes assured the people that "We have a wise leadership." At this point, Barnes and others still hoped to settle the financial crisis peacefully and with minimal expense. Interestingly,

¹³⁵Robert F. Bruner and Sean D. Carr, *The Panic of 1907: Lessons Learned from the Market's Perfect Storm* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2007), 142.

while many in the upper echelon of the church seemed to be cooperating, Barnes did ask that no one cause any disturbances in the meetings. He was challenged by "A Voice," evidently someone loyal to Dowie, who asked if that did not also "apply to Dr. Dowie's meetings?" Evidently, there had been some disruption during Dowie's sermons. Barnes replied that he hoped that all members of the Christian Catholic Church would refrain from interrupting "any religious meeting."¹³⁶

In the meantime, Dowie, who had been staying in Chicago, was given permission by Circuit Court Judge Robert Wright to return to his Zion home, the Shiloh House. Initially, Dowie received permission to hold services in the Tabernacle on select days. Only a few hundred loyal congregants attended. Then Dowie attempted to regain title to the Zion property through the Lake County Circuit Court, claiming that the conveyance of that property by Voliva to Granger was fraudulent. Voliva, church officers, and Zion investors who opposed him countered with the claim that Dowie held the property as trustee for those investors. The conflict over the property ownership ultimately would be decided by Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis in the United States District Court in Chicago. Awaiting Landis's decision, V. V. Barnes explained the legal situation to the congregation, while maintaining

¹³⁶"Zion's Affairs Before the Courts," *LOH* 18 (May 19, 1906.):65-69.

that there would be no receiver, which would prolong the financial recovery of Zion.¹³⁷

While Landis considered the case, very little information was publicly disseminated. In early July 1906, V.V. Barnes addressed the congregation to urge them to be patient, to avoid bitterness, and to pray. Finally, in mid-July 1906, Landis ruled that he would appoint a receiver to take possession of and to administer the Estate. The petition was filed under the name of Deacon William B. Holmes, a resident of Kentucky who had invested about \$3,000 in Zion industries.¹³⁸

In his order, Judge Landis ruled that Dowie did not own Zion. Indeed, Landis declared that Dowie held the property as trustee for his congregants, citing a fundamental "principal of Equity that where a person accepts money or property to be used [for others] such money or property constitutes a trust account." As evidence, Landis cited several statements made by Dowie. In 1901, as the future city still was being gloriously lauded, Dowie told his congregation that the acreage to which he held title, including miles along the lakefront, was held "in behalf of Zion." Again, in 1904, Dowie told his congregation

¹³⁷Cook, *Zion City*, 206-09; "Zion's Affairs Before the Courts," *LOH* 18 (May 19, 1906):65-69; "Judge K. M. Landis of Federal Court to Decide," *LOH* 18 (May 26, 1906):81-84.

¹³⁸"Zion's Case in Federal Court," *LOH* 18 (July 7, 1906):106-109; *Holmes v. Dowie, et al* 148 F. 634 (Circuit Court N.D. Illinois E.D. 1906).

that "Zion is not mine; I am Zion's. Zion is not my personal property."¹³⁹

That summer, Landis appointed Chicago businessman John C. Hately to handle the financial end of the Estate, but left the decision as to who was to be the ecclesiastical head of the theocracy up to a vote by church members. This separation of the church from the remaining industries in the city effectively ended Dowie's theocracy and raised the Independents' hope for a prosperous future. Landis set the election for September. All men and women who were over twenty-one, who were members of the church, and who had lived in the city since January 1, 1906 would be eligible to vote. In a final attempt to alter the course of events, Dowie changed his will in August, cutting Voliva out and naming John A. Lewis, the head of the Mexico venture, to be his successor. He also urged those few hundred who still supported him not to participate in the mandated fall election.¹⁴⁰

Lewis had been a successful businessman prior to joining the Zion movement. However, he was a relative newcomer to the movement and not intimately familiar with the problems in the city, nor with the officers of the church. He unsuccessfully challenged

¹³⁹"Opinion of the Court" in *Holmes v. Dowie, et al* as printed in *LOH* 8 (July 21, 1906):123; "Afternoon Service, March 31, 1901," *LOH* 8 (April 7, 1901):749; "Early Morning Meeting in Shiloh Tabernacle November 27, 1904," *LOH* 16 (December 3, 1904):217.

¹⁴⁰"Practically Unanimous," *LOH* 19 (September 22, 1906):137; Cook, *Zion City*, 211.

Voliva for the General Overseership and for the rights to publish the *Leaves of Healing*. In February 1908, Judge Landis appointed Voliva to be the "duly accredited editor" of *Leaves*, at least temporarily. Lewis later took his conflict with Voliva over who should be General Overseer of CCAC to the Illinois Supreme Court. In 1910, they ruled that this was an ecclesiastical matter, and as there were no property rights to settle, they did not have jurisdiction.¹⁴¹

John Lewis and many Independents eventually would sever their friendly relationship with one another over both theological disagreements and the practical belief that Lewis should cease his protracted legal appeals to replace Voliva as the rightful successor to Dowie. Of great importance, this would bring to an end further legal costs to the investors. Throughout this time, Lewis would serve as General Overseer to a splinter congregation in Zion, which also used the name Christian Catholic Apostolic Church. These events helped create discontent, and even violence, between and among factions within the congregations. While there long had been problems in the financial affairs of the city, the events of 1906 destroyed the unity of

¹⁴¹"Life of John A. Lewis," *ZCN*, June 7, 1907; "Anybody Can 'Be It,'" *ZCN*, July 1, 1910; "Voliva Loses First Round in Battle With Opponents," *CT*, June 7, 1907; "Monday in the U.S. Courts," *ZCN*, February 21, 1908.

Dowie's movement as each faction claimed to be the legitimate heir of Dowie's ministry.¹⁴²

One of those factions turned to Pentecostalism that sprang into exultant existence in 1906 across the nation. In the year that Dowie was deposed and Zion City's future was tenuous, Charles Fox Parham arrived in Zion. Parham did not originate Pentecostalism, but he emerged as a primary missionary of the emerging national movement in 1901.¹⁴³

In Zion, Parham held services in the homes of worshipers and in the Elijah Hospice, which was managed at the time by George A. Rogers. Rogers had been a deacon in Voliva's Christian Catholic Apostolic Church, but eventually joined the Parhamites. Later, they rented space from the receiver in the College Building and the Tabernacle, or met in private homes. Parham attracted several hundred followers in Zion, many of whom had been officers in the hierarchy of Dowie's church. Calling people "fools" for following Parham, Voliva told his congregation to "choose either me or this intruder who has stolen into our church. You cannot serve two leaders." Although Parham did not remain in Zion, his followers who

¹⁴²"A False Inference," *ZCN*, December 6, 1907; "Litigation Enough," *ZCN*, November 29, 1907.

¹⁴³George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 72.

believed in the basic tenets of Pentecostalism persevered and eventually organized the Christian Assembly Church. Many who turned to Pentecostalism believed in faith healing, something in which most followers of Dowie believed. Pentecostal practices differed from those of Dowie's most significantly in that Pentecostals gave credence to the baptism of the Holy Spirit, or speaking in tongues.¹⁴⁴

While most of the Independent religious factions within the city coexisted peaceably, Voliva waged war on those who opposed his theocratic authority. Any group who defied him automatically was labeled a "Zion-Hater," which implied automatic condemnation to eternity in hell. In fall of 1906, as tensions rose between Voliva and those who opposed his autocratic methods, Voliva began to target the Pentecostals. He referred to that group most neutrally as Parhamites, but more commonly as "devils," "buzzards", "porch-climbers," "religious bums," "tramps," and "vagabonds." Superficially, Voliva's criticism of Parhamites was that they lacked a rigid doctrine. In reality, most of his criticism of the Parhamites was because they defied his absolute authority by intruding into his territory.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴James R. Goff, *Fields White Unto Harvest: Charles F. Parham and the Missionary Origins of Pentecostalism* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1988), 124; Edith Blumhofer, "Marching To Zion", *Assemblies of God Heritage* 6 (Fall, 1986):3; Marsden, *Fundamentalism*, 73.

¹⁴⁵"Voliva vs. Lewis," *ZH*, June 28, 1907; "Frenzied Religion," *ZH*, August 2, 1907; "Convocation at the Tent," *ZH*, July 19, 1907; "Christ is Coming," *ZH*, February 7, 1908; "Gospel Dynamite Bombs," *ZH*, August 2, 1907; Edith Blumhofer, "Marching To Zion," 4; "Red Hot Stuff," sign board authored by Volivite Benjamin G.

Voliva acquired damaging ammunition against those who followed what he referred to as a “diabolical system” when several individuals reportedly associated with the new sect participated in “free love.” Dubbed the “Crosbyites” after one of the members, they were arrested and found guilty of “unlawful cohabitation.” In a tragic incident in Zion that made national news, aged invalid Letitia Greenhalgh was tortured to death by Parhamite “fanatics” in an allegedly spirit-driven attempt to heal her. The five accused of this murder included two of her adult children who had attempted to straighten her twisted, arthritic limbs, but instead, broke her brittle knees, collarbone, and elbows. They were disowned by the regular Pentecostal congregation. Voliva took the opportunity to condemn all Pentecostals, demanding that they be “driven from Zion” and calling them “Wizards and necromancers of hell,” “vampires in human form,” [and] “spirit of the devil.”¹⁴⁶

Charles Parham himself contributed to Voliva’s diatribes when Parham was arrested in Texas for sodomy. Voliva reprinted in his *Zion Herald* an article from the San Antonio *Express* explaining Parham’s

Hess, in Zion Photo Gallery sponsored by Zion Public Library, <https://zblibrary.info/info-services/history-and-genealogy/zion-photo-gallery/> (accessed January 3, 2017).

¹⁴⁶in Durance Vile.” *ZCN*, April 5, 1907; “Horror in Zion City,” *ZCN*, September 27, 1907; “Fruits of Parhamism,” *ZH* September 20, 1907; “Maniacs’ Victim has One Mourner,” *CT*, September 23, 1907; “Five Held to Jury for Zion Horror,” *CT*, September 22, 1907.

crime. One of the most vocal critics of Parham quoted in the article was a Reverend Hall, a leader of the Dowie movement stationed in San Antonio.¹⁴⁷

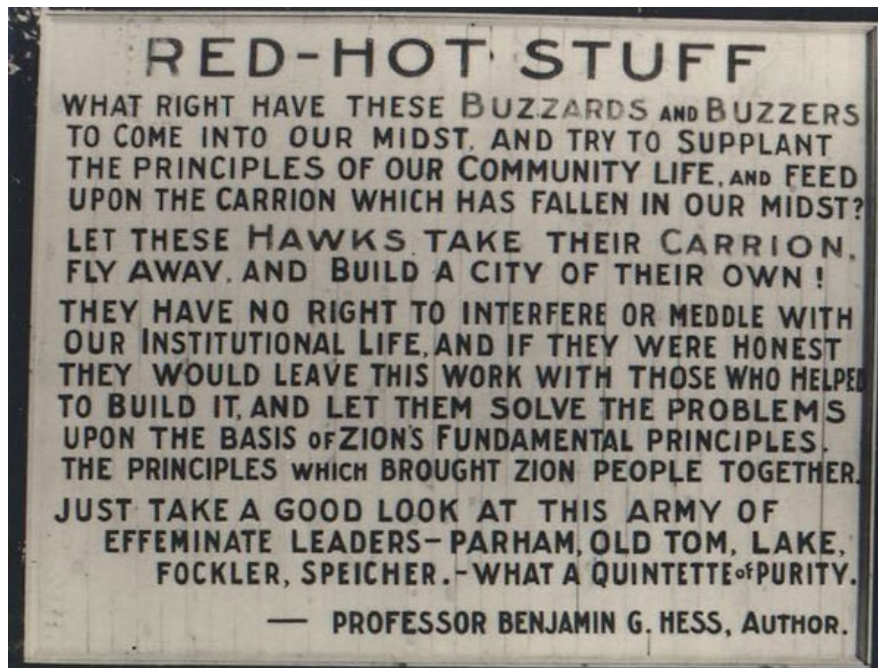
By association with these extreme circumstances, Voliva could successfully cast aspersions on all in the city who had defied his leadership, and specifically, could condemn those former church officers who had joined the Pentecostal movement. Next to the article on Parham printed in his newspaper, Voliva leveled accusations of immorality and criminal behavior against Pentecostal leaders in the U.S. and in Canada. Closer to home, he printed insinuations against Zion Pentecostals, all of whom had been Dowieites: "John G. Speicher, A. F. Lee, J. S. McCullagh, Dinuis, Dietrich, Piper, Cossum, – Oh, what lovely leaders! Parham has led you so close (?) to God, – and now you see strange sights, get messages, and have become the playthings of devils."¹⁴⁸

John Speicher had been dismissed by Dowie in the spring of 1906, reinstated by Voliva shortly thereafter, and then cast out again by Voliva when Speicher joined the Pentecostals. Voliva was notorious for the billboards he erected in strategic lots across the city on which he maligned his "enemies." Voliva demanded that the Parhamite

¹⁴⁷"A Relentless War Against Iniquity of Every Kind!!!," *ZH*, July 16, 1907.

¹⁴⁸"A Relentless War Against Iniquity of Every Kind!!!," *ZH*, July 16, 1907.

“army of effeminate leaders” had “no right to interfere or meddle with our institutional life.” Rather, they should “take their carrion, fly away, and build a city of their own.”¹⁴⁹



RED-HOT STUFF

“What right have these buzzards and Buzzers to come into our midst, and try to supplant the principles of our community life and feed upon the carrion which has fallen into our midst?

Let these hawks take their carrion, fly away, and build a city of their own!

They have no right to interfere or meddle with our institutional life, and if they were honest they would leave this work with those who helped to build it, and let them solve the problems upon the basis of Zion’s fundamental principles. the principles which brought Zion people together.

Just take a good look at this army of effeminate leaders–Parham, Old Tom, Lake, Fockler, Speicher. –What a quintette of purity.”

Zion Benton Public Library: Zion Photo Gallery,

<https://zblibrary.info/info-services/history-and-genealogy/zion-photo-gallery/> (accessed June 20, 2018).

¹⁴⁹“Red Hot Stuff,” sign board authored by Volivite Benjamin G. Hess, in Zion Photo Gallery sponsored by Zion Public Library, <https://zblibrary.info/info-services/history-and-genealogy/zion-photo-gallery/> (accessed January 3, 2017).

The Zionites targeted as “effeminate leaders” included John G. Lake who served as a Pentecostal leader in Canada and in South Africa in the early 1900s. Lake’s wife reportedly had been healed by Dowie in 1898. Lake lived in Zion City under Dowie’s rule, then turned to Parhamism. He was in Zion during the Letitia Greenhalgh debacle, and, while not officially indicted, was accused by Voliva and many Zionites of complicity in Greenhalgh’s death. “Old Tom” was Thomas Hezmalhalch, whose connections to the Greenhalgh case were similar to those of Lake. “Fockler” refers to Cyrus B. Fockler, an ardent devotee of Dowie who adopted Dowie’s methods of lambasting smokers, drinkers, etc. In 1900, he was nearly tarred and feathered in Manchester, Ohio while doing missionary work for Zion. He turned to Pentecostalism in 1906 and is credited with inspiring the organization of the Milwaukee Gospel Tabernacle.¹⁵⁰

Cautious Optimism

The years of receivership were extremely difficult for the Independents, yet they held high hopes for the future. Some launched independently owned businesses. The billboards the receiver had

¹⁵⁰“History of John G. Lake: A Man of Healing,” Healing Room Ministries, http://healingrooms.com/?page_id=422 (accessed January 8, 2017); Barry Morton, “John G. Lake’s Formative Years, 1870-1908: The Making of A Con Man,” 2014, a paper posted to Academia.edu, <http://unisa-za.academia.edu/BarryMorton> (accessed January 8, 2016) Academia.edu is an online platform for academics; Arthur Newcomb, “Notes From Zion’s Harvest Field,” *LOH* 8 (February 16, 1901):542; Cook, *Zion City*, 36,37.

erected along the railways, as well as marketing campaigns to attract outside industries, capitalized on the original values of Zion, Here, an investor could find a temperate people in a temperate town. The receiver's greatest success was his sale of the Zion Lace factory to the Chicago retail giant Marshall Field and Company.

The receiver and other Independents continued to pursue the financial stability of the Estate in the summer and fall of 1906. New industries, including a paint factory and a piano factory, were under construction. The Office Supply Company boasted nearly thirty salesmen on the road throughout the country, reportedly "doing the largest business of its kind in the United States."¹⁵¹

While the industrial prospects brightened through the efforts of the receiver, Voliva embarked on the consolidation of his power. He received 1,901 votes out of the 1,919 cast in the September 18, 1906 election to determine who would be the General Overseer. This "democratic" election was blatantly contrary to the fundamental Zion tenets that Dowie was the divinely appointed leader of a theocracy, not a democracy; , a congregation had no right to "call" or choose its leader. However, the election was court-ordered and Voliva benefitted. At that time, Voliva retained control of *Leaves of Healing*,

¹⁵¹"Zion City Notes," *LOH* 18 (October 6, 1906):159.

which provided him the ability to send his version of all events to the international congregation.¹⁵²

In November 1906, Voliva announced, first to his officers and then to his congregation, his plans for the government of Zion, reiterating the initial claims of Dowie to establish heaven on earth: "Zion is a Theocracy and demands the Rule of God in every individual, in the Home, in Business, in the Church, in the State, in the Nation, and throughout the entire world." Voliva asserted that God had chosen Dowie, but due to a variety of circumstances, determined that He no longer could use him. It was fortunate, declared Voliva, that God "had some one [sic] trained and prepared to take his place" as General Overseer, and that all in Zion were quick to recognize God's hand in the events. Voliva declared to his congregation that in a theocracy, God chose the leader for life, and that leader had the right to select his successor. Voliva laid out his proposal to organize the theocracy. As with Dowie's hierarchical bureaucracy, the officers of the church included overseers, elders, evangelists, deacons, and deaconesses.¹⁵³

At the November 1906 meeting with church officers, when Voliva declared his right to rule for his lifetime, Judge V. V. Barnes stood to

¹⁵²"Practically Unanimous," *LOH* 19 (September 22, 1906):147; "Zion City Votes Good-By to Dowie," *CT*, September 19, 1906.

¹⁵³"General Overseer's Notes," *LOH* 19 (November 24, 1906):53-56.

object, arguing that Voliva's decree violated an agreement made the previous August. According to that agreement, Voliva would serve only until the following August, at which time the General Overseer would be selected by a conference representing the world-wide congregation. Barnes dissent was not reported in *Leaves*. In 1907, Voliva would succeed in his ambition to rule for his lifetime, despite opposition from Barnes and other critics. His victory would come only after a considerable number of congregants and church officers, who originally had sided with him to depose Dowie, had had enough of Voliva's theocratic tyranny and withdrew from the church to pursue self-determining paths.¹⁵⁴

Voliva's November plan was to appoint a council of twelve men whose authority would be divided into four departments to govern the ecclesiastical, the political, the commercial, and the educational divisions of the theocracy. The proposal included additional organizational details regarding compensation for the General Overseer and all officers as well as the quorum necessary for conducting meetings and for disciplining offenders within the church. He asked the congregation in Zion to declare their support in a voice vote, and made it clear that a simple yes or no was all he wanted. All members of the church throughout the world, he asserted, should be

¹⁵⁴"Reorganize Zion: Threat of Voliva," *CT*, November 26, 1906; "Voliva Overseer for Life by Vote of Zion Conference," *CT*, September 16, 1907.

Theocrats and should not “permit the Devil to rob them of this beautiful Message, which is the Message of the Twentieth Century—the Rule of God in every Department of Life.” Voliva’s congregation voiced their support.¹⁵⁵

Voliva urged thrift and hard work, and declared that it was time to be “brave, and close up the ranks.” He clearly stated his vision for the future of Zion. It was to remain a theocracy with him, as appointed by God, at the helm. Like Dowie’s mission for the movement, Zion City would be the center from which the world crusade would flow. Voliva claimed his intent was to hold the title of all real estate in his name as General Overseer as well as in the names of his four cabinet leaders.¹⁵⁶

Wilbur Glenn Voliva did not create the Zion movement, but his goal was to reshape it to his satisfaction and benefit. Because of the receivership in 1906, his control initially was limited to ecclesiastical affairs, although his ultimate ambition was to control all aspects of life in Zion. Neither Voliva’s rhetoric nor his actions were uncommon among autocratic leaders. In the early 1950s, Eric Hoffer observed the dynamics of mass movements and fanaticism in *The True Believer*.

¹⁵⁵“General Overseer’s Notes,” *LOH* 19 (November 24, 1906):53-56; “Voliva Asks for Life Tenure,” *CT*, November 21, 1906.

¹⁵⁶“Additional Remarks by Overseer Brasefield,” “Post Communion Talk,” *LOH* 20 (December 15, 1906):78-79; “General Overseer’s Notes,” *LOH* 20 (December 29, 1906):93.

While the timing of its publication places his analysis shortly after the era of Hitler and of Stalin, who held immense sway over their followers, Hoffer does not limit his criticism to foreign zealots. Rather, his observations of behavior applied to fanatical Communists, nationalists, Muslims, and Christians.¹⁵⁷

Voliva took over what Hoffer defined as an “‘arrived’ movement” in that Voliva needed to preserve the unity of a movement, which was a predicate for his success. With one exception, Hoffer’s description of such a leader applies to Voliva. A leader who replaces the original “relies mainly on the persuasiveness of force. His orders are worded in pious vocabulary, and the old formulas and slogans are continually on his lips. The symbols of faith are carried on high and given reverence.” The one exception is that former leaders, in this case Dowie, would be “canonized.” Voliva initially censured Dowie the man, but did canonize the ideals that Dowie had formulated in organizing the Zion movement and sought to perpetuate them. Voliva consistently used Dowie’s rhetoric and reprinted his sermons in both Voliva’s *Herald* and *Leaves of Healing* to remind the congregation of the righteousness of the Zion movement. Like Dowie, Voliva

¹⁵⁷Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements* (1951; reprint, New York: Harper Perennial, 2010), xi, xii.

repeatedly emphasized the congregants' duties to be obedient to their leader.¹⁵⁸

As tensions between Voliva and his opponents increased over time, Voliva often referred to the persecution and even violence that Dowie endured from the press and on the streets of Chicago while espousing his doctrines against smoking, drinking, doctors, and apostate denominations. To investors, Voliva claimed that his refusal to compromise his stance in any measure was because he solely represented the Zion movement. As such, any opposition against his "divine rule" comprised persecution from "lost idealists," "traitors," and "enemies to every true Zion man and woman."¹⁵⁹

In mid-December 1906, Voliva's rhetoric still incorporated the illusion that he would take advice from his council, irrespective of his claim that it was within his right to rule "absolutely." However, there were indications that not all was peaceable in his kingdom.

Exhortations for unity and submission to Voliva's authority were repeatedly printed in *Leaves*. These were in response to the attraction of Parham, which posed a threat to church unity. One of Voliva's elders resorted to the slippery slope argument. If they ignored the Parhamite "invasion," the elder claimed there soon would be "chemists'

¹⁵⁸Hoffer, *True Believer*, 150.

¹⁵⁹"Gospel Dynamite Bombs," *ZH*, July 19, 1907; "The Matter of Persecution," *ZH*, July 26, 1907.

shops, drug-stores, doctors' establishments, theaters, dance-halls, and tobacco-hells." Zion soon would be "just as bad as any other place on the face of the earth."¹⁶⁰

His exhortations played upon the unquestioning faith of his followers when Voliva claimed that the devil was the "Foe to Christian Unity and Cooperation" in Zion. Unity, according to Voliva, encompassed commercial oneness as well. In early 1907, Voliva grudgingly accepted the fact that Zion men and women had established their own businesses because those businesses would provide employment for Zion people. His acceptance, however, was solely for the sake of salvaging Zion from its financial quagmire because he refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of individually owned enterprises. They merely contributed to the disintegration of the principle of oneness on which Zion was founded. He declared he would "make war on them when the time comes."¹⁶¹

By this time, Zion residents had established multiple private industries. The Wm. Brown Paint Company, manufacturers of "ready-mixed" and durable lead paint, opened in a new three-story building in the fall of 1906. J. D. Johnson and partners incorporated their building supply company. S. H. Brown appealed to investors to invest in a

¹⁶⁰"Additional Remarks by Overseer Brasefield," "Post Communion Talk," *LOH* 20 (December 15, 1906):78-79; "General Overseer's Notes," *LOH* 20 (December 29, 1906): 93; "The Gospel of the Kingdom," *LOH* 20 (January 5, 1907):100-01.

¹⁶¹"The Gospel of the Kingdom," *LOH* 20 (February 9, 1907); 141-42.

piano, refrigerator, and refrigerator car factory. All of these companies and others advertised in the *Leaves of Healing*, and most of the businessmen declared their membership in Zion or expressed their praise for God in those ads.¹⁶²

Optimism and Impediments

While the protracted battle over the leadership of the church raged, the receivership would commence on July 27, 1906. Receiver John Hately and Judge Landis began the processes during that summer to determine the ownership of Zion properties and to organize the plans for settling the Estate. On December 28, 1906, Hately, with the support of Independent Zion businessmen, initiated the *Zion City News*, to be a secular and impartial newspaper. Omer William Davis, its first editor, had been a newspaper man in Nebraska before investing in Zion. He also had been a deacon under Dowie and served as the Superintendent of Circulation for the Zion Printing and Publishing House. Voliva's response to this new publication was to advise his congregants "who truly love Zion . . . to refrain from subscribing" to the *News*. Later, he told his congregation that each time they bought a copy of the *News*, they were "assisting the enemy

¹⁶²Advertising Supplement, *LOH* 19 (October 20, 1906), iii, vi, vii, viii.

to destroy Zion." He repeatedly threatened to start his own "Zion" paper published by a true "Zion man."¹⁶³

Through the *News*, Davis and receiver Hately lost no time in campaigning for confidence in a prosperous future. Hately reported on the financial condition of the Zion City Bank. This bank was a private bank and used by Dowie as his personal fund. Under the receivership, it was now legally separated from the "old business" of Dowie's mismanagement. Zion and investors could now move forward. Hately appointed Gus D. Thomas to be cashier, and supplied letters of reference to investors from bankers who had worked with Thomas in Mississippi and in Texas. Those references hopefully would inspire confidence in Thomas, as he had moved to Zion to follow Dowie, and as such, his appointment could be construed as belonging to the "old business."¹⁶⁴

The *News* also performed a community function. It reported that the church choir performed Handel's Messiah, and that several hundred from the church took the trains to Chicago to hold services in the Central Zion Tabernacle in Chicago, the "modern Babel." Visitors to Zion were announced and welcomed as they arrived from Chicago,

¹⁶³Editorial Notes," *ZH*, June 29, 1907; "Directory of Ordained Officers," *LOH* 12 (March 7, 1903):633; "General Overseer's Notes," *LOH* 20 (December 29, 1906):96; "Voliva's Bluff," *ZCN*, August 9, 1907; "Woes of a Contemporary," *ZCN*, May 3, 1907.

¹⁶⁴"Advertisement for Zion City Bank," *ZCN*, December 28, 1906.

Indiana, Ohio, Colorado, and South Africa. Most of these individuals were connected with the ministries of the CCAC. However, the most significant reports in the *News* for those who hoped to recover from the financial disaster that had overtaken the city were advertisements from new businesses within the city, news of contacts with commercial enterprises from without, and encouraging announcements from the receiver.¹⁶⁵

Receiver Hately advertised parcels of land for sale that were adjacent to the Chicago and Milwaukee Electric Railroad on the west side of town. Anyone purchasing that land, either for personal use or for speculation, could offer residential plots with convenient commuting access to nearby urban centers. A modern depot, built of pressed red brick, topped by a spiral turret, and heated with hot water, served the railway. In these ads to promote Zion's location, Hately highlighted the healthy living to be enjoyed in Zion, a "Prohibition City" with no gambling houses or taverns. Local business men and women advertised life insurance, dentistry, lessons in elocution, or real estate exchanges. Many of the receiver's ads included optimistic news that businesses in Zion were now being reorganized and would be profitable. The modern railway, the clean living, and abundant real

¹⁶⁵"The Messiah," "Zion Hospice Visitors," "Lively Day in Chicago," *ZCN*, January 4, 1907.

estate available inevitably should attract new residents, investors, and industrial leaders.¹⁶⁶

1907 was ushered in with growing optimism. The General Stores placed an ad in the first January edition of the *News* to welcome in the new year, declaring that "365 CLEAN PAGES" were ahead for a "HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR! . . . May the blessings of 1906 be multiplied and the disappointments subtracted." Hately, reporting again that one of the most important things to accomplish was to provide employment for Zionites, published a letter from the agent of a Chicago pickle company, Stafford and Goldsmith. Mr. Stafford desired to establish a new location in Lake County, and required only about five acres near a railway line. He had visited Zion, and according to the receiver, was duly impressed. Hately emphasized that cooperation and support from citizens and from nearby farmers was vitally important in order to attract this and other industries to the town.¹⁶⁷

In the first months of the receivership, Hately appointed leaders in the town to be on a creditor/investor committee. The first committee of five included men who would continue to be devoted followers of Voliva as well as some who were opposed to him. They

¹⁶⁶Untitled item, *ZCN*, January 11, 1907; "Receiver's Sale of Acre Tracts" Advertisement targeting investors," *ZCN*, December 28, 1906.

¹⁶⁷General Stores advertisement, *ZCN*, January 4, 1907; "Factories for Zion," *ZCN*, January 4, 1907.

were businessman and ambitious promoter of Zion W. H. Lichty, Judge V. V. Barnes, Carl Hodler (Dowie's overseer in charge of European missions), Bank Cashier Gus D. Thomas, and Voliva loyalist Mayor W. Hurd Clendinen. Hately charged these men with overseeing the various industries, the store, and the educational facilities. Judge Barnes specifically was charged with the demanding task of remaining in touch with the ecclesiastical department who was, in reality, Voliva. These five immediately asked for permission to appoint additional men who became known as the Committee of 40.¹⁶⁸

While organizing the committees and delegating responsibilities, the original five held an investors' meeting in Shiloh Tabernacle to introduce two representatives from a second pickle producer, the Budlong Pickle Company. They explained the requirements for acreage, for labor, and for costs. They emphasized the potential income for Zionites from growing both cucumbers and onions for the company. Once all the information had been provided, H. W. Lichty asked all who were interested to please stand. No one stood. No reason was given. However, investors had not been paid dividends for some time, and perhaps many did not think they should have to labor in order to save their investments. More realistically, Voliva's presence at the meeting discouraged cooperation. The motion to increase the

¹⁶⁸"Creditors' Committee Busy," *ZCN*, January 11, 1907; "An Investors' Meeting," *ZCN*, January 25, 1907.

creditor/investor subcommittee to forty and to submit candidates's names was made at that same meeting. Based on the technical reason that it should be "raised from the table," Voliva moved to delay any action, but the motion passed "after considerable debate, some of which was more animated than elegant." Voliva's motion to delay was not the first impediment he set to block the path of progress, but it was indicative of what was to come.¹⁶⁹

In the meantime, the city council had balanced the need to modernize the city with the need to save money. They appropriated funds for grading and graveling the city streets, which had been delayed because for want of funds. They determined the compensation for city employees. While certain men, such as the fire marshal and police officers received salaries, the city judge and the mayor would receive only \$1 a year. Aldermen would serve voluntarily in the spirit of public service. Some city departments were combined and their duties taken over by one man instead of two. The council considered whether or not the scavenger and garbage department would remain a municipal department, or be contracted to interested individuals for a license fee.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹"An Investor's Meeting," *ZCN*, January 25, 1907; "Investors' Meeting Again: People Not Responsive," *ZCN*, February 1, 1907; "Committee of 40 Chosen," *ZCN*, February 8, 1907.

¹⁷⁰Council Minutes, December 16, 1906; January 7, 1907; January 14, 1907; "Our City Council," *ZCN*, February 1, 1907; "Superintendent of Works," *ZCN*, January 18, 1907; "Our City Council," *ZCN*, February 1, 1907.

The Lace Factory and Marshall Field

Still, the most important task for the receiver and for all investors was to pay off the debts. With that in mind, the Lace Factory was offered for sale. This was disheartening news for all in Zion, and some protested the sale. The Lace Factory was the "pioneer" industry upon which the city initially relied. However, the costs of running the factory with the optimal number of employees as well as maintaining the consistent temperature necessary for the machines and the delicate threads were more than could be justified. Equally important, the city might reap between \$750,000 and \$1,000,000 by selling the factory, which would significantly reduce secured debts. One of the prospective buyers indicated that they might invest further by adding on to the existing building. Those who encouraged the sale declared that this could be the beginning of attracting many other factories to the city to make it "one of the most prosperous on the North Shore," which could be the new start of a prosperous and modern city.¹⁷¹

At the next investors' Committee meeting, Hatley told the group that if a sale to a "good firm" was successful, it could increase general land values by 50 per cent. The desirable commercial land along the lakefront might sell for up to \$500 an acre. Optimism ran high at this meeting. W.H. Lichty, a tireless promoter devoted to attracting

¹⁷¹"Lace Factory for Sale," *ZCN*, February 22, 1907; "A Way Out of the Woods," *ZCN*, March 1, 1907.

outside industries to Zion, claimed the people had woken from their “metaphorical opium” and “metaphorical champagne” slumber. Later in the summer, Judge Landis approved the sale of the Lace Factory to Marshall Field & Company for \$377,300. The earlier estimates had been overly optimistic, but the sale price would go a long way to paying off the nearly one-half million dollars in secured debts.¹⁷²

John G. Shedd, founder of the Commercial Club of Chicago and a prominent progressive of the era, was president of Marshall Field. He assured Zion residents, who feared selling the factory to an outside interest, that Marshall Field would maintain the city’s restrictions against smoking and drinking. Opening Zion to an outside industry would not make Zion an “open city,” one that would invite the vices of other cities. The sale of this important industry to a nationally acclaimed company was a true coup for those in the city who hoped for commercial success. Unfortunately, the lace company could not find enough workers in Zion and was forced to bring in outside help. Some of these outside workers used tobacco, and less than two years after the sale, some had contributed to a fund to test the constitutionality of the anti-smoking law.¹⁷³

¹⁷²“Third Committee Meeting,” *ZCN*, March 1, 1907.

¹⁷³“Lace Factory is Sold,” *ZCN*, August 9, 1907; “Will Keep City Clean,” *ZCN*, August 16, 1907; “Sting for Voliva in Landis Ruling,” *CT*, August 6, 1907; “The City in Brief,” *ZCI*, February 19, 1909.

The Lace Factory also was the model business upon which Dowie's Zion Institutions and Industries had been organized. It was the "backbone" of the Industries. The "Articles of Agreement" for the lace industries became the general terms of agreements for all industries. In it, Dowie declared that he was the sole owner of the property and the assets, and while he invited investments in the industry, with prospects for a return on those investments, he alone had control of the Lace Factory. Things would change under the ownership of Marshall Field as it brought in an influx of new workers and their families. Consequently, small businessmen in town would profit from those new customers.¹⁷⁴

John Alexander Dowie's Death

John Alexander Dowie died on Saturday, March 9, 1907. While many had turned away from him because of the financial quagmire he caused, many still mourned him. Flags in the city flew at half-mast. Hundreds from Chicago and nearby areas traveled to Zion to pay their last respects. Services honoring Dowie—retelling his history and his efforts to create a heaven on earth—were held in the Central Zion Tabernacle in Chicago and at Shiloh Tabernacle in Zion. Voliva, reportedly suffering from tonsillitis, did not attend the funeral. The

¹⁷⁴"Articles of Agreement," *The Coming City*, October 3, 1900.

News printed a statement from him in which he complimented Dowie as a dreamer from which the world had benefitted. However, most of Voliva's statement directed the attention back to himself and to his goals for Zion. He declared that, "Dr. Dowie's departure will in no way affect the work of Zion adversely. Owing to his sad physical and mental condition for more than a year he has been a great hindrance in many ways. . . . Dr. Dowie's death, so far as I know, will not alter my plans."¹⁷⁵

Although there had been ample evidence of dissension between and among factions within the city before Dowie died, afterwards, any restraints to create turmoil vanished. The *News* printed a "Plea for Unity," a humble request that all in Zion, regardless of their ecclesiastical affiliation, "remember the reason for which Zion was established." The unidentified author suggested that all join together in a meeting for "prayer, and for free discussion in a spirit of brotherly love," which would be an important step to ending the hard feelings between and among those in Zion.¹⁷⁶

Shortly after this appeal, and followed by a second appeal published two weeks later, Voliva published the first edition of *The Zion Herald* on May 8, 1907. He initially employed Theodore Forby as

¹⁷⁵"Statement by Overseer Voliva," *ZCN*, March 15, 1907.

¹⁷⁶"A Plea for Unity," *ZCN*, March 22, 1907.

editor, but soon downgraded his status. Voliva took charge of that position by the end of June. Voliva initially had desired to control the *Zion City News* by suggesting to the receiver that Forby, a close associate of Voliva, serve as editor. Receiver Hatley chose O. W. Davis, a man with newspaper experience, who needed a job when Forby already had one. Davis was a man who had a vested interest in Zion, and a man Hatley thought would be independent of Voliva. In response to being thwarted by Hatley, Voliva persisted with his plan to publish *The Herald*, ostensibly, because he continually received letters from those in the Zion movement asking for information. Forby, acting as agent for Voliva, obtained quotes from the same printing plant in Zion that published the *News*. Receiver Hatley, however, in keeping with his goal to save money by avoiding competition between and among Zion institutions, would not allow Voliva to use the Zion plant. Voliva, not to be outdone, turned to a printer in Waukegan.¹⁷⁷

Receiver Hatley published a series of letters between himself, Judge Barnes, and Volivite Forby that explained why Hatley rejected Forby as editor and explained why Hatley had replaced the manager of the Zion Hospice. Voliva had complained that Hatley had dismissed the manager because he was a Volivite. Within this series of letters, Hatley emphasized his duties as the court-appointed receiver. Hatley

¹⁷⁷"General Overseer's Notes," "Editorial Notes," *ZH*, June 29, 1907; "Woes of a Contemporary," *ZCN*, May 3, 1907.

supported his position with the instructions Judge Landis had delivered from the bench. They clearly indicated Voliva's attempts to control more than the ecclesiastical department:

In the future the affairs of these concerns are to be conducted in accordance with those sound business principles that must underlie all stable commercial development. He will also be under no obligation to anybody or any influence except this Court for his appointment, and he will understand that the only way to discharge that obligation is by absolute fidelity to his trust. Thus he will be hampered in no possible way in the performance of his duties. No officer or employee in any capacity will be disturbed or retained because he is an adherent or official of the Church. The man who does his work will be continued in his employment.¹⁷⁸

The manager of the Hospice who had been dismissed eventually rented two residences in town. His purpose was to rent out rooms and to provide meals, and have a place where Voliva would hold divine healing meetings. These, according to Voliva, were "True Zion Homes."¹⁷⁹

It became apparent that Voliva would now obstruct any efforts by those who challenged his assumption of authority. At the Sunday service on May 12, Voliva made his position clear to the congregation. He had declared the previous November that he was divinely appointed and was to be the ruler for life, a status that violated an agreement to organize a General Conference to choose a General Overseer

¹⁷⁸"Woes of a Contemporary," *ZCN*, May 3, 1907.

¹⁷⁹"True Zion Homes," *ZH*, April 22, 1908.

sometime in 1907. Again on the May 19, he announced that, instead of working with the church council that had organized the previous year, he would hand pick a council of fifteen. No discussion was allowed. His new administrative plan reversed many clauses of the General Overseer's first plan, including who would hold title to real estate. Again, no discussion was allowed. Judge Barnes stood up to object, but reportedly the congregation hissed him into silence.¹⁸⁰

Voliva called a conference to be held on May 23, 1907 to bring together the Zion factions who, according to him, "imagine that they have grievances against the General Overseer." For unknown reasons, Receiver Hatley had prepared the questions for the representatives to determine the reasons for the factions, including why they had left the church and what might they do to create unity. In the next issue of the *Herald*, Voliva reported on the conference and identified the "seven" dissenting groups. He recited the recent history of conflicts with Dowie, the receivership, and the subsequent development of other religious groups. Voliva defended himself. He claimed he had been nearly unanimously chosen in the previous year, but since then his opposition had "constantly agitated" for a shared polity rather than an autocratic ruler. However, Voliva claimed that Zion had been set up by Dowie with one man in charge, and Voliva, as God's chosen

¹⁸⁰"Seat of Our Troubles," *ZCN*, May 24, 1907; "A Question of Legality," *ZCN*, June 7, 1907.

successor to Dowie, simply was continuing the original plan. The factions arose because his opposition refused "to be reasonable." As a result they had either resigned or had been removed from their offices. Voliva claimed that "NO HARMONIOUS ADJUSTMENT of religious convictions CAN BE EXPECTED ON ANY OTHER THAN THE ORIGINAL PROPOSITION which brought the people to Zion City." He was not to be blamed for any lack of harmony. Rather, it should be laid squarely on the shoulders of those who no longer had "SYMPATHY WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES which gave Zion existence," principles that Voliva and his supporters vowed to maintain.¹⁸¹

The events in May 1907 caused the final break for many who recognized Voliva's intent to achieve absolutism with his "one man rule" or "rule or ruin" policy. Interestingly, there is no article in the *News* that specifically covers much from that May conference; but Voliva's intent not to cooperate with his opposition was covered in detail. In an article appropriately entitled "The Seat of Our Troubles," O. W. Davis, Judge Barnes, and Elder Percy Clibborn represented many in the city who called for Voliva's resignation based upon his actions during the previous year. In the spring of 1906, all but a few hundred souls had supported Voliva and had been encouraged by his oft repeated words that he would treat people fairly, By the spring of

¹⁸¹"A Factional Conference," *ZH*, May 29, 1907.

1907, Voliva had betrayed them. Elder Clibborn admitted that, as he listened to Voliva's words on Sunday, May 12, he was filled with "sorrow, shame, and humiliation" that Voliva would refer to any who did not follow him as "practically serving the devil; that the business men of this City were also in the devil's service." According to Voliva, those who stayed with him were "true Zion people," a description he often used to set his followers apart from his opposition, to establish an "us versus them" environment. "God would smite" those who chose to go their own way.¹⁸²

Clibborn and Barnes claimed that Voliva betrayed the Articles of Faith on which the church was founded, in particular, the fourth article:

First: That we recognize the infallible inspiration and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice.

Second: That no persons can be members of the church who have not repented of their sins and have not trusted in Christ for Salvation.

Third: That such persons must also be able to make a good profession, and declare that they know, in their own hearts, that they have truly repented and are truly trusting Christ, and have a witness, in a measure of the Holy Spirit.

Fourth: That all other questions of any kind shall be held to be matters of opinion and are not matters that are essential to church unity. [emphasis added]¹⁸³

¹⁸²"Seat of Our Troubles," *ZCN*, May 24, 1907

¹⁸³"The Pen and Pulpit of Zion City," *ZCN*, October 1, 1909.

Many had learned from the mistakes made during Dowie's lifetime, particularly his abuse of the ecclesiastical and commercial divisions of the city. They would not stand quietly for any repetition of that disaster. Indeed, Clibborn declared that those who believed in Zion "would be a very foolish people, and a very unteachable people if we had not by this time learned some of the lessons which these disasters clearly teach us." Clibborn actually described about half the population of Zion. The other half, who chose to be independent of Voliva's control, continued to organize businesses and business clubs. They maintained the ideals written into the ordinances of the city, such as those that banned liquor, gambling, or tobacco. They continued to seek connections with progressive-minded leaders in Chicago and throughout the North Shore who promoted safe environments, modern methods of education, and fought against political corruption.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴"Seat of Our Troubles," *ZCN*, May 24, 1907.

Chapter 4

“ . . . real Christianity, common sense, good schools, and satisfactory business conditions.”

Despite the rancor among the factions in town, those opposed to Wilbur Glenn Voliva, who soon identified themselves as “Independents,” remained optimistic because the bankruptcy receiver John Hately controlled nearly all of Zion’s businesses and real property. The Independents worked to modernize Zion. However, every endeavor by the receiver and the Independents to move Zion forward, to improve the infrastructure, to attract outside industries, or to cooperate with organizations along the North Shore was stymied by Voliva and his supporters. Voliva used the pulpit to bully, to harangue, and to slander. He also used the courts to impede actions that would be beneficial to his opposition.

In furthering their cause, Independents founded one of their most important organizations in the summer of 1907, the Municipal League of Zion City, Illinois. They held their earliest meetings secretly to avoid undue opposition. By September, over 200 men had signed up. They considered the League to be a booster organization and invited “the cooperation of all progressive citizens of Zion City.”

In their organization of the Zion League, the Independents joined forces with the national progressive movement. Municipal

Leagues were one of multiple Progressive Era reform organizations. Organized in 1894, the National Municipal League sought to bring together "local reform bodies, business organizations, public officials, educational bodies, and state and national societies" to work together in order to advance good government in municipalities. In a speech given at the 1908 annual convention of the National Municipal League, Dr. L. G. Powers, Chief Statistician of the Federal Census Bureau, deliberately chose religious terms to describe the role of the Bureau's census schedules in the League's mission to redeem municipal governments:

. . . I think I can best state the same by making use of some of the terms of old religious revivalists of a half a century ago. They employed three words to express the different changes in the minds and the acts of the sinners as a result of the efforts of churches and Christians to reform the evil doers. Those words, or phrases were, [*sic*] "conviction of sin," "conversion," and "regeneration." Men were said to have become convicted when they were satisfied they were sinners; but each conviction amounted to but little unless the mental impression led to some action by which the one convicted was turned sharp around from an evil course and began to walk in correct one. Such a turning around was spoken of as conversion; but starting on such a good road, though commendable, was not enough; the converted must walk sufficiently in that road to become changed in his vital relations with the world. Such a change was called regeneration.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵Clinton Rogers Woodruff, "The National Municipal League," *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*, 5, Fifth Annual Meeting (American Political Science Association: 1908):131-136.

The National Municipal League experts sought to convince progressive municipal authorities “of the value of accounts uniform for all cities, and arranged in a form that will permit of using [*sic*] accounts as a test and measure of the governmental economy and efficiency as well as of fiscal honesty.” Powers continued his “ecclesiastical simile” by declaring the League’s evangelical duty was to “to convict the American people of their municipal sins and shortcomings and to bring about a change in their municipal behavior.” Given Dowie’s questionable banking practices, and his misuse of the city’s funds, the concepts of “economy,” “efficiency,” and “fiscal honesty” would have soundly resonated with the Zion Independents.¹⁸⁶

State municipal leagues often invited local civic leagues and chambers of commerce to join and to work together for such things as “home rule” to secure greater local autonomy from state legislative intervention, to sponsor candidates to challenge political corruption, and to find methods to improve urban infrastructures. State and local Leagues advocated greater efficiency in local governments by appointing professionally trained city managers and organizing municipal reference libraries that would reposit timely bulletins on gas rates or civil service laws. Many of these libraries were closely

¹⁸⁶“The Municipal League,” *ZCN*, October 25, 1907; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, “The National Municipal League,” *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*, 5, Fifth Annual Meeting (American Political Science Association: 1908):131-136.

associated with either university extension services or public libraries, some of which were Carnegie libraries. The National Municipal League especially targeted public libraries as locations for municipal reference library branches, believing that there would be greater cooperation and efficiency if both institutions were overseen by the same administration.¹⁸⁷

The Zion Municipal League

Zion Independents' optimism ran high during the summer of 1907 when they organized the Zion Municipal League. The League printed its constitution, bylaws, committees, and names of officers in the *News*. Their goals were straightforward and reflected commonality with civic organizations in other cities, yet included ideals specific to the ideals of the town as well as to the conflicts within Zion:

Article II

The purposes of the Municipal League of Zion City, Illinois are,

- a. The maintenance of the highest Christian standards of living in individual and community life.

¹⁸⁷Roger Huebner, General Counsel, and Jerry Zarely, Paralegal, "Legal Q & A: Home Rule, March, 2007, Illinois Municipal League, <http://www.iml.org/cms/files/pages/8603.pdf> (accessed January 23, 2018); *University of Illinois Bulletin: Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the Illinois Municipal League* 12 (January 18, 1915):10,11,21,29-35; Donald L. Jones, *State Municipal Leagues: The First One Hundred Years, 1900-1999* (Washington D.C. National League of Cities, 1999), 8,9; Samuel H. Ranck, "The Municipal Reference Library and the City Library," *Bulletin of the American Library Association* 10 (January, 1916):23.

- b. The promotion of commercial and industrial enterprises in Zion City.
- c. The promotion of municipal improvements.
- d. The protection of religious, educational, commercial, and political liberty.

The group designated fourteen standing committees to address the needs of the city, including Promotional, Local Improvements, Educational, and Law and Order Committees.¹⁸⁸

The founding of the League connected the Independent movement in Zion to a nationwide progressive movement of social, business, and political reformers. The Zion League cooperated with a variety of civic groups from Chicagoland and used them as models from which to learn. The flourishing city of Chicago already sponsored a variety of reform minded groups, including the Municipal Voters League, the Commercial Club of Chicago, the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, and the Civic Federation of Chicago. In addition, Zion promoters had close ties with Wisconsin in terms of proximity and personal associations. Z. G. Simmons, the founder of the Simmons Bedding Company in Kenosha, Wisconsin, was the guest of honor at the Zion League's inaugural banquet. Wisconsin already

¹⁸⁸"The Municipal League," *ZCN*, October 25, 1907; "Constitutions and By-laws of Leading Municipal Reform Organizations," *National Municipal League*, Pamphlet no. 4, (1897) Civic Federation of Chicago, 22-25.

led the nation in a variety of progressive programs with the help of one of the nation's leading Progressives, Robert LaFollete.

The Wisconsin Idea recognized the importance of the expertise of academics to legislation, to business, and to the edification of all Wisconsin citizens. The League of Wisconsin Municipalities, organized in 1898, grew out of this idea. It sought cooperation among cities by creating a central bureau of information to compile statistics relevant to municipal operation, and by working for legislation that would be beneficial to cities and to taxpayers. Over time, the Wisconsin League's local affiliates tackled such problems as sanitation and what to do with tramps. The Wisconsin League initially focused on the more populous and industrial southeastern municipalities in the state, which were close in proximity to Zion.¹⁸⁹

The National Municipal League (currently known as the National Civic League) was organized in 1894. Progressives such as Louis Brandeis and civil service advocate Theodore Roosevelt attended the first convention held in Philadelphia, as did Chicago businessman and Commercial Club member Marshall Field. Women were invited to contribute their talents to the organization. Mary Mumford, one of the original founders of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, participated and read a paper entitled "The Relations of Women to

¹⁸⁹Michael J. Goc, ed. *The League of Wisconsin Municipalities: A Centennial History* (Friendship, WI: New Past Publishing Co., 1998), 14, 19, 25.

Municipal Reform” in which she declared that “[g]ood city government is good house-keeping, and that is the sum of it.”¹⁹⁰

Incorporated in 1892, the General Federation of Women’s Clubs, like Municipal Leagues, brought together “kindred organizations.” The Federation’s stated purpose was to advance “social, literary, artistic [and] scientific” interests. As they organized, the committees within the Federation sought to investigate and to improve conditions in schools and in jails. They pushed for greater efforts to be exerted for the efficient disposal of refuse and for the beautification of the municipalities. Zion Independent women would organize a Women’s Club by 1910. They attended lectures about new methods of education and participated in efforts to beautify the city.¹⁹¹

Municipal Progress

Over the course of 1907, many Independents continued to move Zion forward with Receiver John C. Hatley’s help. Their goals certainly included financial solvency. However, they also hoped to alter the

¹⁹⁰Donald L. Jones, *State Municipal Leagues*, 2, 12,13,21; Thomas William Herringshaw, ed. *The American Elite and Sociologist Blue Book: Progressive Americans Prominent in the Social, Industrial and Financial World*, (Chicago: American Blue Book Publishers, 1922):367; *Proceedings of the National Conference for Good City Government held at Philadelphia, January 25 and 26, 1894* (Philadelphia: The Municipal League, 1894):10, 134-36.

¹⁹¹Mary I. Wood, *The History of the General Federation of Women’s Clubs: For the First Twenty-Two Years of its Organization*, (Norwood, MA: Norwood Press, 1912), 46,322.

future of Zion in such a way that provided them not only with the opportunity to be included in the phenomenal growth of the region, but also the chance to use the foundational values of Zion as an alternative to the deprivations in other cities. The Independents petitioned the State to be included in the Illinois public school system. They sought ways to beautify the city and to provide recreation for its residents. They cooperated with the receiver by looking for ways to reduce costs within the city, and vigorously marketed lots and acreage to outside investors. In September, the *News* reported that the wastefulness apparent in the past was changing, that fallow farmland had been cultivated, and that "stable business conditions" were bringing much needed reforms to the city. They were hindered each step of the way by Voliva, but the Independents tenaciously believed that they could re-create Zion from what had been a conservative theocratic monopoly to be a progressive, clean city.¹⁹²

Receiver Hately's creditor/investor Committee of 40 continued to work with him to look for ways to reduce costs within the city. The cost of operating Zion schools was one of many problems they encountered. Zion's parochial schools had been a department of the church since the movement began in Chicago. The church traditionally had provided the students' education at no cost. as it was funded by

¹⁹²"Conditions Are Better," *ZCN*, September 17, 1907.

donations and tithes. However, by the spring of 1907, the preparatory and four elementary schools were encumbered with a deficit of more than \$1,000. The Committee was forced to consider tuition, but did not want to place a hardship on parents who already were struggling. While the Committee considered solutions, a group of Zion residents successfully petitioned the Board of Benton Township Schools to include Zion under the state school system in District No.6. By law, this required Zion residents to elect a board of education. A caucus, sponsored by the Independents, was held on Thursday, May 2, 1907, at which candidates were chosen for an election to be held the following Monday.¹⁹³

Voliva chose to hold a second caucus on Saturday, May 4, creating his "straight Zion ticket." Interestingly, several candidates appeared on both tickets. More significantly, this school board election on May 6, 1907, was the first time in Zion's history that two "parties" vied for votes. Voliva used his inaugural edition of *The Zion Herald* on May 8, to laud the parochial schools as Zion's way of educating its youth and to criticize the state system. The latter, with its "infidel pedagogy," would cause the students "to grow up intellectual monstrosities rather than well-balanced spiritual beings." In an appeal to his followers that intimated Dowie's ideals, he asked why Zion

¹⁹³"Schools or No Schools?," *ZCN*, March 22, 1907; "An Educational Board," *ZCN*, May 3, 1907.

citizens should be forced to pay school taxes when that money could be donated to the church and used to support the parochial schools.¹⁹⁴

Subsequent school board elections became the focus of bitter contention between those who followed Voliva and those who identified themselves as Independents. At stake for the Independents would be a school board dominated by the Theocratic Party that would determine policies and hire teachers for the public schools. When the president of the school board moved away from Zion within months of his election, Independents scrambled to impress on voters the importance of electing a substitute who would protect the non-sectarian public school, one who would ensure that all students were welcomed regardless of their church membership. At the time, the board was split: three were Volivites, three were Independents. To emphasize the urgency of this election and to encourage the Independent vote, the *News* published an Illinois statute enumerating the powers of Boards of Education over their districts. They had blanket power "to dismiss and remove any teacher whenever in their opinion he or she is not qualified to teach or whenever, from any cause, the interests of the school may IN THEIR OPINION, require such

¹⁹⁴"School Election," *ZCN*, May 10, 1907; "Zion's Educational Work," *ZH*, May 8, 1907.

removal or dismissal. [emphasis in original]" Despite the Independent campaign, Voliva's candidate won the election by ninety-eight votes.¹⁹⁵

Still, the progressive faction persisted. A number of Zion business and professional men spoke at the May meeting of the Committee of 40. One was Attorney Rees H. Carr who suggested that the Committee should organize a "boosting committee" to promote Zion. W. H. Lichty heartily endorsed that idea, pointing to a commercial organization in Chicago that had been successful in influencing legislation in Springfield. The two of them distributed buttons to be worn that displayed the sentiment, "I am for Zion City. Are you?" To complement the city's promotion to the outside world, the editor of the *News* suggested that the new boosting committee could take on the project of beautifying the Chicago & North Western depot by completing the lagoon in front of it and adding a few trees. Some Zionites responded by suggesting that, in the winter, the lagoon could serve as a ice rink, providing much needed "amusement and recreation" in town.¹⁹⁶

In the meantime, Hately issued a Receiver's Report to show that, while some of the industries were showing a small profit, Zion promoters needed to sell 1,580 acres of unsubdivided real estate that

¹⁹⁵"Who Should be Elected?," *ZCN*, October 18, 1907; "Board's Power," *ZCN*, October 25, 1907.

¹⁹⁶"New Commercial League," "Beautify Zion City," *ZCN*, May 17, 1907; "Letter to the Editor," *ZCN*, May 24, 1907.

had been allocated for that purpose by the Court. This land should sell for a minimum of \$200 an acre. Once secured loans were paid off and court and receiver costs covered, the Estate could be turned over to a board of seven trustees per a reorganization plan issued the previous December. This and a harmonious settlement of the conflicts in town would save further legal costs. In response to queries from investors, Hately emphasized that Voliva's church was but a tenant under the jurisdiction of the Court, was required to pay rent, and could not control, sell, or force to be sold, any business or real estate in the city. Voliva responded to the receiver's request to promote land sales by asking "Zion people" to provide Voliva with enough money to purchase that same acreage acres in order to keep the land in the hands of "Zion" investors.¹⁹⁷

Hately suddenly cancelled all of Voliva's leases to Zion buildings on May 31, 1907. The events leading up to this decision began to unfold several days earlier when Voliva's bookkeeper presented a check to the Zion City Bank (then under receiver's control) to be drawn from the *Leaves of Healing* account. The withdrawal would, in fact, empty that account. Voliva had decided to do this because John A. Lewis persistently challenged Voliva as the rightful successor to Dowie, and as such, Lewis should have the rights to publish the

¹⁹⁷"Report By Receiver," *ZCN*, May 24, 1907; "Receiver's Sale Advertisement," *ZCN*, August 2, 1907; "A Questions for Investors," *ZH*, June 8, 1907.

Leaves. Voliva contended he simply was protecting his right as elected successor to Dowie. As these checking accounts had been set up after entering bankruptcy, two signatures were required: Voliva's and his Financial Secretary Percy Clibborn. The check presented was signed by Voliva and E. L. Carey. Clibborn had condemned Voliva earlier in the month over the latter's May 12 tirade, but remained a member of the church council. As a consequence of Clibborn's defiance, Voliva notified the bank on May 16 that E. L. Carey would be the counter-signer. Clibborn, however, had left instructions with the bank not to cash any checks with Carey's signature.¹⁹⁸

In a farcical comedy, the ensuing scene would have been amusing, but in reality, it was tragic and bode ill for any lingering hope for cooperation in Zion and a fast, successful resolution of the receivership. Voliva arrived at the bank with Carey to re-present that check at the same time that Clibborn arrived. Then Judge V. V. Barnes arrived, followed closely by two close supporters of Voliva, and then several church council members opposed to Voliva. Voliva's business manager and lawyer Theodore Forby threatened to close the bank if that check was not cashed within fifteen minutes. Meanwhile, Voliva denounced Clibborn, threatening to run him out of town, and called the others "hypocrites, liars, tricksters, and scoundrels." This was

¹⁹⁸"Church Leases Cancelled," *ZCN*, May 31, 1907.

according to the bank cashier Gus Thomas who then sought the advice of the receiver. In response, receiver Hately told Thomas not to cash the check and sent a notice to Voliva cancelling all the leases he held as of May 31. Later, Thomas and Independent Wm. H. Fabry issued sworn statements that, as Voliva passed their offices, he threatened, "I would like to get a noose around their necks. I would break their backs."¹⁹⁹

In addition, Hately suspended Voliva's right to print the *Leaves of Healing* by denying him the use of the receiver controlled Zion Printing company. Hately further suspended Voliva's right to publish the organ at all, pending a court decision. This was at the behest of John Lewis, who claimed to be Dowie's appointed successor, and of Percy Clibborn, who claimed that Voliva was going to print lies about the amount of money Clibborn received from both the church and from the receiver. Despite the receiver's attempts to preempt the publication of lies, Voliva proceeded to publish that information in the *Herald* the same week.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹"Church Leases Cancelled," "Statement by Elder Clibborn," "Buildings Re-Leased," *ZCN*, May 31, 1907; "Puts Out Voliva; Shorn of Power," *CT*, May 29, 1907.

²⁰⁰"Elder Clibborn Again," *ZCN*, July 27, 1907; "The Issue," *ZH*, May 29, 1907; "All Leases Cancelled," *ZH*, June 8, 1907.

Temporary Exile

As a result of the cancellation of leases, Voliva no longer had access to Shiloh Tabernacle, to the four elementary school buildings, or to the second floor of the Administration Building. Most of those spaces were immediately leased to others. Unfortunately, it threw the school year into turmoil. Despite Hately's order that the cancellation of leases should not affect the students, Voliva immediately ordered the elementary schools closed. In support of Voliva, the principal of the preparatory school refused to hold classes in a different building controlled by the public school board. A public notice was issued to teachers in the junior schools that schools still would open the following Monday. Only two teachers and about 50 students showed up, evidently the children of those who opposed Voliva. This was a fraction of school-aged children in the city. A School District 6 census, completed in June of 1907, showed that there were close to 1,000 children under sixteen years of age and another 482 between sixteen and twenty-one in Zion.²⁰¹

Denied access to the Tabernacle, Voliva immediately set up a rented tent just south of the city limits in which to hold his services. He moved his personal residence from the receiver-owned Zion Hotel to a private home on Edina Blvd, and moved his business offices and

²⁰¹"A Word by Prof. Higley," *ZCN*, June 7, 1907; "Last Day of School," *ZCN*, June 7, 1907; "The School Census Complete," *ZH*, June 22, 1907.

printing plant from the Administration Building to a different private residence at 2600 Elim, only a block from Zion's business center. Neighbors on Elim soon brought suit against Voliva, enjoining him to vacate the premises. They alleged that Voliva's business in a residential neighborhood had increased the insurance on their house 30 per cent. Voliva was ordered to remove the printing press from the house, but instead he moved his personal goods into the house. The case escalated to disagreements lasting several years that involved the question of whether or not the restrictions in the 1100-year Zion lease prevented operating a business in a residential block.²⁰²

To readers of the *Herald*, through which he communicated with "all Zion," Voliva claimed that this "shameful and wicked persecution" of him was because he refused to be a "traitor to God and to Zion." Voliva justified his harshness as being part of his job as God's chosen leader to bring "to judgment every transgressor, in fact every one who is responsible for Zion's present position." Damning his opponents for their opposition to his authority, he wrote that "Rebellion Against the 'One Man Rule' Made Hell," in that hell was created to confine an "ambitious angel." His attacks became more savage thereafter, and he further distanced his Zion movement from the goals of his

²⁰²"General Overseer's Residence," *ZH*, June 8, 1907; "To Break the Zion Lease," *ZCN*, October 11, 1907; "Voliva Would Open Up Zion City," *CT*, October 8, 1907.

opposition. By early 1908, after Voliva again had control of *Leaves* and the *Zion Herald*, he refused to publish anything in those organs that would not promote his version of "the fundamental principles for which Zion stands."²⁰³

Within several months, Voliva purchased the tent for \$600 and moved it back into the central city just west of downtown. He raised the money through pledges from his followers who believed Voliva when he claimed that they were victims of "Unspeakably Shameful Persecution waged . . . against True Zion People." This was not a mean tent. While primarily constructed of canvas, the sides were lined with lightweight wood. Initially, the seats were wooden benches, but later these were replaced with "opera chairs" that came from one of the Chicago Zion Tabernacles. The main tent, or auditorium, measured eighty by 120 and seated 2,000. Four stoves heated the tent in the winter. That it still was a tent, however, stood symbolically for the persecution of "true" Zion people by their opposition.²⁰⁴

To further distance himself from the opposition and to make sure his followers would not buy their supplies from the Independents, Voliva opened a store in Winthrop Harbor to the north of Zion, then leased land on Sheridan Road just south of the city limits to build a

²⁰³"General Overseer's Notes," *ZH*, June 15, 1907; Advertisement: "Subscribe for the *Zion Herald* and *Leaves of Healing*," *ZH*, April 1, 1908.

²⁰⁴"Offering for Zion Tent-Tabernacle," *ZH*, April 1, 1908; Photograph of the interior of Voliva's tent, and caption, *ZH*, May 27, 1908.

new Zion Store to compete with the receiver-controlled Zion Department Store eight blocks further north. A bus transported shoppers from multiple locations within Zion to Voliva's store daily, except on Sundays. Several Volivite businessmen moved their operations either into Voliva's Zion Stores, or nearby, as did William H. Schmidt with his freight and draying business. These actions undermined Hately's efforts to concentrate assets of the Estate. In response, Hately urged Zion investors to buy from the general store he administered through the receivership, so that profits could be made and dividends paid.²⁰⁵

In 1907, there were progressive-minded individuals who promoted the notion that people in Zion were united in their fundamental ideals, but intense emotions precluded any such commonality. Shortly after the leases were canceled, Voliva petitioned the bankruptcy court to return them to him. Cautiously paying verbal respect to Judge Kenesaw Landis, Voliva provided the history of theocracies in the Old and New Testaments, and the history of Zion's theocracy as organized by Dowie. In the petition, he was careful to refer to himself as being responsible solely for the ecclesiastical affairs per the court order of the year before. However, he named eleven

²⁰⁵"General Stores," *ZCN*, March 20, 1908; "Zion Stores Opening," *ZH*, April 8, 1908; "General Overseer's Notes," *LOH* 24 (August 28, 1909):72-73; "Local Items," *ZCN*, May 13, 1908.

men and asked that the court hold them in contempt for the reason that they unjustly convinced Hatley to recognize "their grievances over your petitioner, and induced the Receiver to use his high office to deny to your petitioner his privileges as head of the church." Judge V. V. Barnes, Percy Clibborn, and bank cashier Thomas were included in the eleven.²⁰⁶

Before the federal court addressed this matter, Voliva sponsored a petition among his congregants, begging Judge Landis to appoint Voliva as co-receiver to protect their interests. Landis refused to consider this request after reading excerpts of an item Voliva had published in a supplement to the *Herald*. In that article, entitled "Gospel Dynamite Bombs for the Infinite Liars, Tricksters, and Hypocrites, Who in Their Demoniactal Frenzy Have Rendered Good Service to Their Father, the Devil," Voliva vehemently lambasted all who opposed him, specifically one of Voliva's former officers, J. S. McCullagh, for writing that Voliva was deceiving the people. Voliva then mocked "Muck-ulla" for being deaf as well as having a number of other afflictions. Judge Landis dismissed the petition, stating that he could not appoint to a position of trust any man who wrote "this stuff,"

²⁰⁶"A Very Eventful Week." *ZCN*, June 7, 1907.

and suggested that perhaps Voliva should be investigated by the postal authorities.²⁰⁷

In response to Voliva's vituperative accusations and petitions to the court, a group from Zion and from Chicago representing several Zion factions, excluding Voliva's, met to determine how to solve the problems that had destroyed their unity. They resolved to support the receiver and to uphold the four fundamental Articles of Faith. They further resolved that "the General Overseer should declare an amnesty and form a Council to act with him in administration pending a General Conference to be held in September."²⁰⁸

John L. Lewis, the man named by Dowie in his last will to be his successor, sent a letter to all members of CCAC throughout the world to invite them to that conference scheduled for the last week of September. At this point in 1907, Lewis held his services in Shiloh Tabernacle, preaching to about 1,500 people. Voliva preached to about 2,000 in his tent. The population of Independents to Volivites would fluctuate somewhat over the next decade, but generally would reach and remain about equal in size. Many who attended Lewis's services did not stay with him. New groups organized in the city; some would later increase in numbers, while others would remain

²⁰⁷ "Mr. Voliva's Petition," *ZCN*, July 5, 1907; "Dynamite Gospel Bombs," Supplement to the *ZH*, July 12, 1907; "In the Federal Court," *ZCN*, August 9, 1907; "Sting for Voliva in Landis Ruling," *CT*, August 6, 1907.

²⁰⁸ "An Official Conference," *ZCN*, June 7, 1907.

small. Members in Voliva's camp continued to leave, while others continued to move into Zion, drawn by Voliva's insistence that Zion City was a refuge for the weary.²⁰⁹

In the summer of 1907, there was cooperation between and among the various Independent groups within Zion. After Hately revoked Voliva's right to publish *Leaves of Healing* and granted the right to John Lewis, the editor of the *News* provided space to Lewis to publish his sermons until the problems and delays in the publication of *Leaves* were solved. Lewis, as leader of his own Christian Catholic Apostolic group, arranged to share the Tabernacle with the smallest religious group in town, those from the Apostolic Faith congregation (sometimes referred to as the Parhamites). The latter had been meeting in the old Edina Hospice or on the fourth floor of the College Building, facilities that were very hot in the summer and very cold in the winter. This willingness to cooperate was demonstrated again when Dowie's former choir conductor invited all who were or had been members of the original church choir to join Wednesday night rehearsals.²¹⁰

Diametrically opposed to efforts for coexistence, Voliva resorted to attacking his enemies as being liars, rascals, scoundrels, cowards,

²⁰⁹"To the Officers and Members of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion Throughout the World," *ZCN*, June 7, 1907; "A Very Eventful Week," *ZCN*, June 7, 1907.

²¹⁰"Editorial Notice," *ZCN*, July 19, 1907.

wretches, and incarnate devils, and called Hately, "His Satanic majesty." He called the splinter congregations "'kid-meetings'" and "'goat-meetings.'" When the city council appropriated funds for a private guard with "police powers" to protect Receiver Hately in June of 1907, it was in response to concerns that Voliva's menacing rhetoric would incite violence in his followers.²¹¹

Contacts With Those Outside the City

Despite the ill feelings within the city, there were reasons for the Independents to be optimistic. Social events and cultural opportunities flourished. Zion Independents joined groups outside of Zion for entertainment and for edification. In Zion, they sponsored a speaker's program that featured Jane Addams. While most Independents retained the basic theology taught to them by Dowie, including faith healing, this was a significant shift away from Dowie's conservative Christianity in which he had condemned all apostate organizations of liberal Christianity. Zion would have its own Salvation Army, Dowie had declared, not William Booth's organization, which had shown itself to be incompetent "to do the work of the Kingdom and of the Church of God." Dowie would have judged Addams similarly. She was a

²¹¹"Zion City Religious Situation," "Moved to Shiloh Tabernacle," *ZCN*, June 14, 1907; "News Items," *ZH*, June 29, 1907; Council Minutes, June 3, 1907; "City Council Proceedings," June 28, 1907; "Casket of Jewels," *ZCN*, June 19, 1907; "Gospel Dynamite Bombs," *ZH*, July, 19, 1907.

celebrated speaker in Social Gospel circles, one who helped to make Chicago the regional focal point for the Social Gospel movement. In the fall, Jane Addams spoke to a Zion audience in the Shiloh Tabernacle about "New Ideals in Education."²¹²

Social events were not limited to Zion City proper. Waukegan invited all Zion residents to the annual Waukegan Days where they all would enjoy a parade and a carnival. A Mr. Buss offered lessons for those interested in learning to play the coronet and other band instruments. Indiana Congressman James E. Watson was scheduled to deliver a speech entitled "Our Ideals, National and Individual." The admission fee of twenty-five cents would go to the "Poor and School Funds."²¹³

By the end of August 1907, the *News* reported the success of new Zion industries. Three new machines had been installed in the lace factory, now owned by Marshall Field & Co., and the new manager planned to hire more girls, boys, and women. Mr. Herruth, owner of the H. Herruth Oil Company, was in the process of setting up his company. Herruth Oil, later to be incorporated as Herruth Core Oil Co., manufactured core oil, which was mixed with sand and used to

²¹²"Not By An Army," *LOH* 11 (June 28, 1902):331; Donald K. Gorrell, *The Age of Social Responsibility: The Social Gospel in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 46, 84, 118; "A Rare Literary Treat," *ZCN*, September 20, 1907.

²¹³"Invitation," *ZCN*, August 2, 1907; "Albert E. Buss advertisement," *ZCN*, July 26, 1907; "Congressman Watson," *ZCN*, September 6, 1907.

form molds into which molten iron was poured. The J. L. Case Threshing Machine Company of Racine was one of their primary customers. The Hansen Soap Company had acquired new customers at least as far away as Chicago. One of the chief benefits of Hansen soap was its "Zion" purity—no slaughterhouse offal was used in its manufacture. Various other businesses were booming as well, including the Zion Steam Laundry, the bakery, and the candy factory.²¹⁴

Municipal League Inauguration

In 1907, the Zion Municipal League announced its inaugural banquet to be held on Labor Day in the Zion Hotel. Over three hundred attended, including an impressive number of successful businessmen from outside the city. Z. G. Simmons delivered an inspiring speech. H. C. Barlow, the Executive Director of the Chicago Association of Commerce attended as a substitute for John G. Shedd. Barlow spoke of the necessity of cooperation among businessmen in order to build up the commercial values of a city. W. J. Hypes, sales manager for Marshall Field & Co., attended the banquet. A. C. Frost, President of the Chicago and Milwaukee Electric Railway, had been invited, but could not attend. Receiver Hately, also unable to attend,

²¹⁴*Biennial Report of the Secretary of State, to the Governor of Illinois*, Office of Secretary of State, 1908, 106; "Our Industries Booming," *ZCN*, August 30, 1907.

sent a letter wishing the new organization a successful future, "to start afresh with new hope the old ideals." The editor of the *News* later described the goals of the League, coupled with the ambience of the banquet, as evincing "Peace, Prosperity, Progress, Power."²¹⁵

That holiday weekend, the Municipal League sponsored a grand program to entertain the citizenry in Shiloh Park, which surrounded the Temple site. The Labor Day festivities included speeches by Independent Zion men who had taken over some of the businesses that had been part of Dowie's conglomerate, the Zion Institutions and Industries. They spoke of the mistakes that had been made in the past, but were confident that they would not repeat those mistakes. Chairman of the League's library committee Dr. C. A. Romminger told the audience that he was attempting to bring all the various libraries in the city together to organize a public library, hopefully at little or no cost to the citizens. His committee already had contacted Andrew Carnegie, the benefactor of thousands of library buildings around the country. There was music. There was croquet and swings to play on. There was a baseball game between young men from Zion and a team

²¹⁵"Municipal League Banquet," *ZCN*, August 30, 1907; "The League's Banquet," "The Labor Day Picnic," "Editor notes," *ZCN*, September 6, 1907; "An Interesting and Valuable Address by Chicagoan," *ZCN*, September 20, 1907.

from Simmons Manufacturing Company in Kenosha. Zion won, 4 to 3.²¹⁶

Voliva's congregation held a separate Labor Day Festivity in Sharon Park, a secondary park in Zion. He reported this event as the "genuine Zion picnic." Voliva reported the Municipal League's gathering as spurning Zion ideals, by "doing things 'like other people.'" Voliva issued "A Timely Warning" to let his congregation know that the Municipal League did not belong in a city such as Zion and certainly would not last long. It was a "whopper-jawed, hump-backed, knock-kneed, pigeon-toed, bow-legged, hare-brained, pig-headed, organization [that had] the offspring of the Devil as its father and a number of contemptible hypocrites as its mother."²¹⁷

Leaders in the League repeatedly were compelled to counter these denunciations. The leaders emphasized that their goal was not to destroy the fundamental values of Zion, nor to make Zion City a "wide open town," but to maintain Zion as a clean city. In multiple publications, they vowed that they intended to revere the original ideals of Dowie, which included individually owned businesses. They referred to Dowie's original plat that included spaces for private businesses to be established on lots with twenty-five foot frontages

²¹⁶"Our Labor Day Picnic," "Zion Team Again Victors," *ZCN* September 6, 1907; "The City in Brief," *ZCN*, September 6, 1907.

²¹⁷"Labor Day Picnics," *ZH*, September 6, 1907; "As to Ideals," *ZCN*, September 6, 1907; "A Timely Warning," *ZH*, August 30, 1907.

along Sheridan Road. They quoted from Dowie's 1901 *Banner*, in which he described new construction in the city that included an independent milliner, a barber, and a dentist in addition to Dowie's Zion industries. In July of 1901, Dowie had predicted that Elijah Avenue (Sheridan Road) would be a "great business thoroughfare . . . [on which] lots would be sold privately." Members in the League claimed that many had moved to Zion expecting to be able to set up private enterprises while fully embracing any and all of the clean living restrictions. It was only later that Dowie changed to an "institutional plan" that barred competitive endeavors. The two buildings erected by the milliner and the barber had been absorbed by the Zion General Store.²¹⁸

The League maintained that competition and private ownership provided greater incentive to excel, to be creative. Now was the opportunity to return to that element of the original plan and to recoup investments. A specific goal of the Municipal League was the "betterment of the people of a whole." Their beliefs were in the "real Zion of God, but not the Zion of man, priest, or pope." Condemning the attempt by Voliva to be the absolute ruler, the League declared instead that it was "interested in the building up of this City. It wants to see every investor paid dollar for dollar." All business was to be

²¹⁸"News of Zion City," *ZB*, July 24, 1901, October 2, 1901, October 9, 1901; "Competitive Business," *ZCN*, November 29, 1907, December 13, 1907.

“done in a business-like manner . . . and for the interest of all,” and certainly, all should have the right to worship as they wished, to practice their rights as American citizens.²¹⁹

Women’s Progressive Activities

Women’s national organizations served as powerful Progressive Era reform forces, cooperating with the various civic improvement organizations as well as the National Municipal League. They pushed for sanitation improvements to combat diseases. Some advocated “city beautiful” values fostering parks and neighborhood beautification projects. Others urged city fathers to fund playgrounds or organized settlement houses in urban regions.

Zion women joined forces with national women’s groups, including the American Woman’s League, the Bay View Reading Circle, and the General Federation of Women’s Clubs. There is no evidence that Zion women organized a Woman’s Municipal League as did women in New York or Boston. There is no evidence to show that Zion women participated in any radical political marches as did some Chicago women who supported a garment workers’ strike in 1911. Neither did Zion women aspire to hold elected offices other than a socially approved seat on the city and township school boards. Zion

²¹⁹“Municipal League,” *ZCN*, February 14, 1908.

Independent women did attend some of the Independents' mass meetings in the town, and many of their pursuits aligned with the municipal housekeeping movement goals to clean up the cities and society through beautification projects. Some attended lectures about prohibition, education reform, the white slave trade, and contagious diseases. Given Dowie's condemnation of women's organizations, holding that the Christian Catholic Church provided all the organizations necessary for its members, participation in any of these outside activities would have been considered radical.²²⁰

Dowie also had prohibited outside organizations in Zion, including the YMCA and the YWCA. He explained his reasons for restricting the Women's Christian Temperance Union from Zion in 1901. He claimed that, while it may have originated as a pious cause, its "principle endeavors . . . run in the direction of social reforms and suffrage, neither of which . . . is specially 'Christian' or 'Temperance' work." Dowie did not advocate women's full suffrage. Addressing the era's concerns with ward bosses in immigrant neighborhoods, he admitted that there may be a few "noble women who would use the vote wisely," but was convinced that politicians would simply purchase

²²⁰Maureen A. Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts: Chicago Women and The Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 109-11, 130-36; Agnes Hooper Gottlieb, *Women Journalists and the Municipal Housekeeping Movement, 1868-1914* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), 9.

the votes of poor, ignorant, foreign women just as they purchased the votes of foreign men.²²¹

In Dowie's all encompassing religious community, Zion women's work outside their homes primarily was limited to missionary work. In the summer of 1901, just as Zion City was about to be opened for settlement and excitement was running high, Dowie had installed his wife Jane as the first woman overseer. More specifically, she was designated the "Principal Overseer of Women's Work Throughout the World." Her address to reportedly seven thousand congregants in the Chicago Auditorium began by stating her belief "that the emancipation of women has been hampered by the Church failing to recognize the fact that the Lord Jesus approved of their labor." That labor, however, was expected to be within the accepted parameters of the Christian Catholic Church, which largely mirrored the broader social expectations of many white, middle class, women reformers. In Zion, women's work required them to care for the sick and aged, to help misfortunate working girls to resist the temptations of the streets, and to teach "domestic duties, [described as] that great work of women."²²²

While membership in the Zion Municipal League was open only to men over the age of eighteen, women were invited to further the

²²¹"Editorial Notes," *LOH* 9 (May 11, 1901):71; "Elijah's Restoration Message," *LOH* 11 (April 26, 1902):14.

²²²"Inauguration of Women's Work in Zion," *LOH* 9 (Jun 1, 1901):172-78.

progress of Zion through their own activities. After Dowie's death in 1907, Zion Independent women organized various groups. They often joined with women's clubs in Chicago or along the North Shore. Chicago women had organized a multitude of organizations during the Progressive Era, including the Chicago Women's Club as well as several women's unions and child protection agencies. Historian Maureen Flanagan determined that activist women in Chicago developed different solutions than their male counterparts for city problems that focused less on economic prosperity and more on the beneficial social qualities inherent in such issues as environmental protection or social equality. Representative of these women, Jane Addams had come to believe that businesses should not be just about individual profit, but "owed something to the whole." In the scant information about Zion women's groups, there is no evidence to suggest that they had the wherewithal to pursue strong activists' roles as did the women that Flanagan researched. For the most part, Zion women stayed within their accepted roles as models for morality.²²³

Some of the endeavors of Zion women followed partisan lines. In the first contentious School Board election in May, 1907, the Independents' public school movement campaigned for Mrs. A. W. Brooks. Voliva's "Zion ticket" offered Mrs. Kessler, who won the seat

²²³Flanagan, *Seeing With Their Hearts*, 7, 9, 69.

on the Board. Both the *Independent News* and *Voliva's Herald* reported beautification efforts by women. A committee of Zion women asked for donations of annual and perennial flowers to decorate the city, "particularly along Sheridan Road," which would make the city more attractive to visitors. All women were requested to beautify their yards with flowers and to keep them free of weeds and litter.²²⁴

In 1909, a group of Independent Zion women initiated a chapter of the American Women's League with the aid of Mr. J. T. Merry, a representative of the national organization. Within several months, they had raised nearly enough money to purchase a lot from the receiver just a block off the main business section of town. The parent organization of the American Women's League first was organized in 1908 and quickly grew to thousands of members, attracting suffragettes and other women's rights advocates. It was founded by E. G. Lewis of the Lewis Publishing Company of St. Louis, Missouri to sell his magazines, which included the *Women's National Daily*, *Boys' Magazine*, and *Progressive Education*. According to the League program, the national organization would build a local chapter house as a center for local League activities.²²⁵

²²⁴"A Beauty Committee," *ZCN*, June 19, 1908.

²²⁵"A Women's League Meeting," *ZCN*, February 26, 1909; "The City in Brief," *ZCN*, November 5, 1909; "The American Woman's League: Its Plan and Purpose," University City Public Library Website, <http://history.ucpl.lib.mo.us/awlawrc.asp> (accessed February 8, 2017).

One of the purposes of the American Woman's League was to secure better government through the efforts of women, although obtaining subscriptions for the publishing company's magazines was important as well. There were no membership fees. Any Caucasian woman became eligible for membership after "securing or paying for, within one year" a minimum value of subscriptions for designated classes of magazines. Men were allowed to become honorary members. A percentage of the revenue received by the company would then be given back to the local chapters to use for their designated purposes.²²⁶

The Zion Chapter House was a Class III House (the class being determined by the number of members). In 1910, the Zion group boasted more than ninety members. The expected donation from the parent company was a generous \$4,000 for the construction of the chapter house. In addition, the national organization would provide funds to furnish the house and a monthly allowance for maintenance. Zion's Chapter House was built in 1910 by an Independent Zion construction firm. However, the founder of the national movement, E. G. Lewis, fell into financial difficulties in 1912, which caused financial problems for the national organization, including the Zion chapter.

²²⁶"The American Woman's League: Its Plan and Purpose," University City Public Library Website, <http://history.ucpl.lib.mo.us/awlawrc.asp> (accessed February 8, 2017).

Their chapter house was scheduled for auction that same year to satisfy mechanic's liens. Independent businessman J. D. Johnson purchased the building, which was used as an Independent school and library for a time.²²⁷

While the Zion Chapter House was under construction, the women met in their homes. Little was reported about their activities other than that they enjoyed various soloists and other light entertainments. Many members would have attended and even helped to organize lectures to which all were invited. In one such series of lectures, the editor of *American Motherhood* Della Thompson Lutes and Dr. Emma F. A. Drake focused on "sexual, hygiene, scientific propagation, child culture, home making and social purity and integrity." Dr. Drake visited Zion again the following year to speak about "The Three Great Institutions that Make for Morality in Our Land Today." These institutions were the church, the home as the moral

²²⁷"American Woman's League," *ZCI*, October 7, 1910; "Retrospective and Prospective," *ZCN*, September 23, 1910; "American Woman's League Building to be Sold," *ZCI*, December 15, 1911; Sanborn Map Company, Sanborn Fire Maps, Zion City, 1918.

The *Chicago Tribune* reported that Voliva purchased the house in 1917 when Johnson sold his business, his home, and the League house. The former chapter house currently is privately owned. It was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1980. "Smoke Up Zion City is rid of that Drug Store," *CT*, September 23, 1917, Lake County Recorder of Deeds, DB215 Pg385, filed November 30, 1917.

center, and the "moral school" where children were taught to become good citizens.²²⁸

Dr. Drake previously had published *What a Young Wife Ought to Know* and *What a Woman Over 45 Ought to Know*. Publications such as these were intended to educate women about their bodies, to teach young wives what to expect during pregnancy, and to suggest that women beyond childbearing age take up healthy activities. Drake also was on the board of the National Purity Federation, along with Anthony Comstock. Comstock promoted the 1873 Comstock Law and campaigned against vices of all kinds. It was the Comstock Law that led to the imprisonment of birth control proponent Margaret Sanger in 1916 for sending information about contraception through the mail.²²⁹

Beginning in 1908, another women's group met regularly in Zion. Originally organized as the Literary and Social Guild, they adopted the program of the Michigan-based Bay View Reading Circle to better organize their meetings. Associated with the Methodist church, the national organization began in 1898 to provide a "systematic Course" for members "as a substitute for the aimless and haphazard reading of many." The individual editions of the *Bay View Magazine*,

²²⁸"Leaguers Eat Watermelon," *ZCN*, September 30, 1910; "Special Lectures Arranged For," *ZCI*, September 23, 1910; "Women Lecturers Visit City," *ZCI*, September 30, 1910; "The Pen and Pulpit," *ZCI*, May 12, 1911.

²²⁹"National Purity Conference," *The Elementary School Teacher* 7 (Oct., 1906):100-103.

subscribed to by Reading Circles nationwide, thematically focused on “the art, history, culture and language” of foreign countries. The Zion group organized study groups and invited speakers. Mrs. Marietta L. Johnson of Fairhope, Alabama, spoke about “Land Value Taxation.” Fairhope, like Zion, was organized as an model city. Both cities were intended to be industrial centers, although the former was secular and founded on the single-tax ideal. In the United States, land value taxation, aka “single-tax,” was an economic reform theory most commonly associated with Henry George who published *Progress and Poverty* in 1879. Theoretically, if only land was taxed, as opposed to profits, income, or buildings, the inclination to hoard land, to speculate, or to hide assets might be avoided. Theoretically, poverty and inequality could be done away with.²³⁰

At the same Reading Circle meeting, Marietta L. Johnson spoke of “Organic Education,” which also was integral to Fairhope and to Progressive trends in education. As a progressive educator, Johnson believed that each child should be treated as a “whole child” and that “education should fit the needs of the growing child.” Johnson, along with contemporaries John Dewey, Dr. Joseph Rice, and other

²³⁰“Just Among Ourselves,” *Bay View Magazine* 17 (October, 1909): 413; *The Bay View Magazine* 5 (November, 1897): n.p.; Bay View Association of the United Methodist Church, <http://www.bayviewassociation.org/bvrc-1900-and-the-big-cedar-89/> (accessed February 15, 2017); “Why Henry George Had a Point,” *The Economist* (April 2, 2015); “The Pen and Pulpit,” *ZCI*, May 12, 1911

progressive education reformers, sought to move away from rote learning, which was considered to be unscientific and mechanical. A child's education should not be based solely on learned facts, but should contribute to her or his "social, artistic, and moral development." Given the sectarian struggle for control of the local school board, a proper and modern education that would benefit all students in the city was a pressing issue in Zion City.²³¹

In 1915, the Bay View Reading Circle reorganized into the Zion City Woman's Club, which was affiliated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs and which focused on the leading priorities of the Progressive era. It is significant that women who had followed Dowie and evidently subscribed to his condemnation of apostate churches, joined with Methodist women in the club. Members attended conferences on truancy in Lake Forest organized by probation officers. The club's committee on education researched and presented information on the Montessori system, another child-centered approach to education. The civic improvement division planted trees

²³¹M. L. Johnson, "The School of Organic Education," *The Journal of Education*, 72 (December 15, 1910):602-603; C. H. Rochedieu, "The Fairhope Idea in Education," *Peabody Journal of Education*, 36 (Jul., 1958):37-38; Maurice R. Berube, *American School Reform* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994),14-17; The Pen and Pulpit," *ZCI*, May 12, 1911.

in Edina Park and suggested that benches be placed in the parks around town.²³²

Mrs. Bryant, the wife of the Independent church pastor Daniel Bryant, officially represented the national federation to speak in the city about the causes, remedies, and prevention of tuberculosis. One method increasingly enforced by statutes to prevent tuberculosis was to prohibit common drinking cups. In 1911, the Illinois legislature passed a law banning the use of those cups in public places such as schools, hotels, and depots. The existing pump in Zion was exempt from that new law, based upon a decision by the Illinois Attorney W. H. Stead, that the law applied only to public places listed specifically. However, the city council, which was dominated by the progressive element, installed a more sanitary drinking fountain at the central business intersection of Twenty-Seventh Street and Sheridan Road.²³³

As with the Municipal League, these efforts by women did not escape the wrath of Voliva. He claimed that all Municipal Leagues were useless and stood in the "way of real progress." If they were not the product of political bosses, he argued, they soon would be controlled by them. Women belonged in the home, not on platforms.

²³²"Woman's Club Notes," *ZCI*, February 19, 1915; "Z.C. Woman's Club Visits Lake Forest," *ZCI*, October 20, 1911; "Mother's Meeting," *ZCI*, December 22, 1911; "Local Happenings Briefly Stated," *ZCI*, May 17, 1912; "A Good Work Begun," *ZCI*, May 24, 1912.

²³³"Mrs. Bryant Talks on Health," *ZCI*, April 26, 1912; "Old Town Pump Safe from New Law," *ZCI*, July 14, 1911; "Drinking Fountain," *ZCI*, September 15, 1911.

"Today's greatest curse" was a woman who stepped outside of her expected boundaries. The YMCA was "controlled by his Satanic Majesty, the Devil." When a group of more than two hundred Zion investors, from both inside and outside the city, organized a new Zion Investors' Association to protect their investments, Voliva derided the new "Ass-oh-sigh-ation" as the devil's work intended to destroy Zion.²³⁴

Voliva prohibited women in his church from reading the *Women's National Daily*, published by the American Woman's League, declaring that women needed only the Bible, the *Leaves*, or other church publications. That the Zion branch of the Woman's League successfully purchased a lot occurred only because the receiver still held title to much of the property in Zion. Voliva followed Dowie's example in that they both denied the legitimacy of any secret societies, but Voliva, threatened by the challenges to his authority from within Zion, escalated his criticism and attacked any association that did not originate from him or did not support his church.²³⁵

²³⁴"The Municipal League", *ZH*, November 1, 1907; "Unnatural Attitude Towards Women," *ZCI*, October 20, 1911; "Y.M.C.A.: A Horrible Condition of Morals," *ZH*, December 9, 1908; "Zion Investors' Ass'n." *ZCN*, December 20, 1907; "The New Investors' Ass-oh-sigh-ation in Zion City," *ZH*, January 10, 1908.

²³⁵"Special Lectures Arranged For," *ZCI*, September 23, 1910.

Commercial Successes, Internal Improvements, and Community Enrichments

Despite Voliva's attacks, the inauguration of the Zion City Municipal League unleashed a burst of optimism and opportunity within Zion. The Independents continued to market Zion as a clean city in which to live and in which to do business. The *Zion City News* published a special edition to highlight the Lace Factory and to focus on the positive organizations, businesses, and events in town. This promotion hoped to attract those in the wider Zion movement to move to the city now that commercial prospects had improved. The promotion also sought to attract new residents who would enjoy local cultural entertainments. While admittedly there were differences of opinion in religious matters, the *News* assured its readers that Zion remained "an essentially religious town" and not in danger of devolving into the typical vice-ridden city.

In 1907, the financial state of affairs limited the number of cultural events that Independents could sponsor, but they clung to their tradition of musical entertainments. From the beginning, music had been integral to the Zion movement. Music can be an important unifying or divisive agent between and among social classes of people. Historians continue to debate the extent to which music, in particular "highbrow" music, was used by the upper classes during the Gilded and Progressive Eras. According to some studies, the wealthy either

used their concert halls to escape the chaos of the streets or they used music as social control to uplift the masses. Certainly, music has an immensely emotional power over people. Recent psychological studies have delved into why humans remember words to songs far more easily than they remember other information, and have concluded that repetition of lyrics and emotion are leading reasons. In Zion, the choirs and the bands participated in spectacular productions of Handel's *Messiah*, and marched in orderly processions throughout the streets of the city and around the temple site during the annual Feast of the Tabernacle. The ritual of the Feasts began in July 1901 when Dowie consecrated the city site. He claimed that 7,000 to 8,000 attended, joining the Zion movement in spirit.²³⁶

By 1903, the adult White-Robed Choir in Zion consisted of more than 600 members (although some *Leaves* articles claim 1,000). They, along with the junior choirs, the Zion Band, and the Drum and Bugle Corps, actively participated in the church's missions in Chicago, in surrounding cities, and in the New York missionary spectacular in

²³⁶Joseph Horowitz, "Music and the Gilded Age: Social Control and Sacralization Revisited," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 3 (July, 2004):230,238; Adam Sinicki, "Why Do We Remember Songs So Well?" Health Guidance Website, <http://www.healthguidance.org/entry/17224/1/Why-Do-We-Remember-Songs-so-Well.html> (accessed January 31, 2018); "Why Do Our Brains Remember So Much Music?" *Here And Now*, NPR on WBUR, January 31, 2018, <http://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2018/01/31/brains-music-memory> (accessed January 31, 2018); "Zion's First Feast of the Tabernacle," *LOH* 9 (July 27, 1901):431.

1903. The Independents desired to continue that musical tradition, but to branch out from church music. In 1907, they established their Conservatory of Music and Art to offer piano, voice, elocution, and painting lessons in the College Building. All young people were invited to take lessons. Within a short time, the promoters had acquired three grand pianos and had arranged for the Imperial Quartet to sing for the grand opening of the Conservatory. The quartet was a well-known and popular Chicago group who had recorded under the Victor label. They hired Hungarian violinist Frank P. Mandy and his pianist wife, who directed and taught at the Mandy School of Music in Chicago, to teach some classes in Zion.²³⁷

The special *News* edition promoting a new and prosperous Zion boasted about the quality of the professional men in town and noted the recent successes of a variety of Zion businesses. The editor resurrected a map of Zion that Dowie often used when promoting the city to highlight its strategic location. The map was centrally placed within the *News* article to emphasize the city's advantages specifically as a business center. With the city at the center, concentric circles spiraled outward, north into Wisconsin, east across Lake Michigan into

²³⁷"Third Anniversary of the Consecration of the Zion Temple Site," *LOH* 13 (July 25, 1903):426 (August 15, 1903):548; "Announcement of First Concert," *ZCN*, March 1, 1907; Frank Hoffman and Howard Ferstler, eds. "Imperial Quartet of Chicago," *Encyclopedia of Recorded Sound* 2nd ed., v. 1 (New York: Routledge, 2005),1032; "Mandy School Enjoying Healthy Growth," *Musical Courier* 79 (September 11, 1919):8,32; "Music In Chicago," *Music News* 12 (April 30, 1920).

Michigan, west as far as Iowa and Minnesota, and south considerably past Chicago. Subsequent editions of the *News* continued to highlight local business men and women who engaged in blacksmithing, house painting, bicycle repair, and rug making. Some worked from home or in small shops while others, such as furrier Lizzie Sternburg, rented space in the General Stores.²³⁸



The pro-business faction in the city incorporated a map used by Dowie to point out the central location of Zion in relationship to markets. *ZCN*, November 4, 1907

The League sought the advice of leaders in the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry. As self described “novices,” they needed guidance to promote Zion as a desirable location in order to attract industry and people. The Chicago Association had been

²³⁸“Zion Lace Industries,” “Zion City: Its Past, Present, and Future,” *ZCN*, September 20, 1907; “Present Day Realities in Business Lines,” *ZCN*, September 20, 1907.

founded merely three years earlier, in 1904, to advance the various industries and attractions of that city. By 1909, its membership exceeded 3,000. John Shedd, president of Marshall Field, was the Association's first leader. Zion League members proudly reprinted an article from the Chicago Association's "The Bulletin" that described Zion as a town with great commercial potential. The article naturally spotlighted the recent acquisition of the Zion Lace Works by Marshall Field & Co.²³⁹

The League continued its promotional campaigns within the city. Praising the success of the National Office Supply Company (NOSCO), the League maintained that "it was not the principles nor ideals of Zion which were wrong, but the methods" of doing business. NOSCO had its roots in the office supply division of the Zion Printing and Publishing House in 1904. In 1906, when the receivership compelled the Printing and Publishing House to close down some of its divisions, manager E. O. Myers chose to organize a private corporation. First incorporated as the Zion Office Supply Co., the name was changed to National Office Supply Company in 1907. Its success was notable and even in the economic depression of 1907, the company had developed a successful mail order business and employed thirty-two salesmen who traveled

²³⁹"Appeal to Association of Commerce," *ZCN*, September 20, 1907; *A Guide to the City of Chicago* (Chicago Association of Commerce, 1909):17,18; "Zion as an Industrial Center," "Appeal to Association of Commerce," *ZCN*, September 20, 1907.

nationwide. A second branch was located in Los Angeles. By the fall of 1907, NOSCO supported fifty families.²⁴⁰

The receiver continued to sell businesses that had been part of the Zion industries, but now were part of the bankruptcy estate. In late 1907, Zionites F. D. Lee and O. F. Peterson purchased the monument-making business and a fifty foot parcel of land fronting Sheridan Road on which to build a factory. Later, E. R. Christianson leased store space in one of the downtown buildings to sell Kimball pianos. B. G. Hopkins, a former employee of Zion's undertaking business, purchased the tools and two hearses to run his business as an Independent enterprise. Two employees of the Zion blacksmith shop bought the business and the building that housed it, while H. A. Steek purchased the building of the former Zion Paint shop to build and repair buggies and wagons.²⁴¹

With the blessings of the receiver, the League continued to advance internal improvements. The city council, not as partisan as it would become within a year, offered a thousand loads of cinders and gravel to citizens willing to use their own labor to surface alleys, roads, or sidewalks. Citizens were urged to take advantage of the council's offer. With free materials for the foundations of sidewalks and

²⁴⁰"Prosperous Corporation," *ZCN*, January 11, 1907; "Offices and Factory of the National Office Supply Company at Zion City, Illinois," *ZCN*, September 20, 1907.

²⁴¹"The Signs of Our Times," "Bought Blacksmith Shop," "Wagon and Buggy Shop," *ZCN*, October 2, 1908.

volunteer labor from residents, concrete could then be laid for about two-thirds the cost that was common in most of the cities along the North Shore. A League committee met with a Chicago "capitalist" to determine the feasibility of bringing gas service to Zion homes for cooking and lighting. By October of 1907, more than 150 had signed a petition expressing their interest, although at least 300 customers would be necessary to make it economically feasible for a gas company to build a plant. The League was encouraged by Mayor David H. Jackson of Lake Forest, who spoke of recent improvements his city was making through macadamized roads and concrete sidewalks. Zion held a distinct advantage over Lake Forest in this regard. While the latter needed to import gravel from Wisconsin, Zion had an abundant supply of gravel and sand on its lakefront. As for gas service, the Mayor stated that "no one [in Lake Forest] would think of doing without it."²⁴²

The Chicago Telephone Company, which had taken over the locally owned Zion phone service the previous month, began to make extensive improvements to the Zion City plant. Soon, the Chicago company planned to install a "common battery," an updated switchboard, and new poles. Common batteries were utilized to

²⁴²"Cheap Cement Sidewalks," *ZCN*, October 18, 1907; "The City in Brief," "Gas Plant for Zion City," *ZCN*, September 27, 1907; "The Gas Question," *ZCN*, October 25, 1907; "Mayor Jackson's Visit," *ZCN*, December 6, 1907.

centralize telephone service by replacing individual batteries in each telephone. Instead of having to crank each household phone, a connection to an operator was made simply by lifting the receiver.²⁴³

At the same time that city promoters sought improvements to the infrastructure and acquired contacts with businessmen in nearby cities, they furthered improvements to the cultural and social life of Zion citizens. Pitt Parker entertained a crowd of nearly 1,000 in the Shiloh Tabernacle. Parker was a widely known lyceum cartoonist and comedian who drew sketches and sculpted clay while regaling his audience with witty stories. He was noted for drawing complicated pictures upside down. The Municipal League and the Zion Maroon baseball team jointly organized a Lyceum and announced the schedule for the first five entertainers. These performers were part of the popular national lyceum circuit and included reader Mary Agnes Doyle, contralto Flora Gill, and impersonator John Ratto. The Slayton Jubilee Singers, an African American group, was scheduled for a return concert.²⁴⁴

Concern for Zion youth in an increasingly unsettled political and religious environment motivated the Municipal League to organize a

²⁴³"Extensive Alterations," *ZCN*, October 2, 1908.

²⁴⁴"Third Conservatory Concert," *ZCN*, November 15, 1907; "The Eastern Lyceum Bureau," *The Lyceumite and Talent* 6 (June, 1912):19; "First Grade Meeting," *Our Paper* 32 (Massachusetts Reformatory, February 26, 1916):100; "A Good Entertainment," *ZCN*, November 22, 1907; "A Fine Lyceum Course," *ZCN*, October 2, 1908.

young people's club for anyone interested in athletics. This concern followed the national movement to provide recreation for young people. The Washington Playgrounds Association in D.C. maintained that playgrounds should be a municipal responsibility that would be "the best thing to make good citizens of our boys and girls." Public amusements, in general, had become commonplace with the increase in industrialization, urbanization, and the ensuing increase in leisure time. Many amusements in the cities, such as movie theaters, billiard halls and vaudeville, were not considered to be respectable, and certainly were not allowed in Zion by church or municipal law. Sports and physical activities, however, were acceptable. Even Jane Addams found spectators' and players' love of baseball a means to bring together the social classes.²⁴⁵

At the first youth club meeting, a group of young men started an ice skating club. Others suggested that half of the Tabernacle, which seated 6,000, be turned into a gymnasium. Still others sought to improve the intellectual advancement of young people by reorganizing the Athenian Literary Society. They intended to debate the "China" question during their first scheduled meeting—presumably referring to

²⁴⁵"Young People's Club," *ZCN*, November 22, 1907; "Playgrounds in Cities Advocated," *ZCN*, February 22, 1907; David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (Basic Books, a division of Harper Collins, 1993), 103.

the domestic political unrest during the first decade of the twentieth century or the consequences of the Russo-Japanese War.²⁴⁶

Just as Zion promoters had adopted Dowie's map of Zion City as being the center point between the Chicago-to-Milwaukee industrial corridor, they adopted the title Dowie had given to his newspaper in which he promoted Zion City to his congregants in 1900. While Dowie's *The Coming City* advertised a new city from which the Zion movement would bring salvation to the world, it also glorified the city as an industrial center in which all could live and work in a righteous environment. The Independents no longer supported the first vision, but certainly tried to capitalize on the second. By 1908, the *News* published large ads from the receiver-administered Zion Land and Investment Association that declared "The Coming City of the North Shore is Zion City." The message targeted businessmen from outside the city. It highlighted the ideal location of Zion, "equidistant between Chicago and Milwaukee," and serviced by both the Chicago and Northwestern as well as the Chicago and Milwaukee Electric railways. For job seekers, the Marshall Field Lace Factory ran two nine-hour shifts and needed workers.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶"Skating Club Organized," *ZCN*, November 29, 1907; "Athenian Literary Society," *ZCN*, September 23, 1907; "Athenians Wake Up," *ZH*, September 27, 1907; "Our Young People," *ZCN*, November 22, 1907.

²⁴⁷*The Coming City*, June 27, 1900; Advertisement: "The Coming City," *ZCN*, February 28, 1908.

1908 Two-Party Ticket

As the receiver and the League battled to promote interest in Zion, the 1908 township, school board, and municipal elections loomed. The Independents challenged Voliva's Theocratic ticket with the People's Ticket, which Voliva claimed served no purpose but to deceive the people by its name. From Voliva's perspective, the issue was "Zion *versus* The World or Theocracy *versus* Democracy." The supporters of the People's Ticket contended that the question was "not a choice between principles of government," but instead, "a question of the support or non support of the personalities and policies, social, religious and commercial, of Wilbur Glenn Voliva." In the Benton Township elections on April 7, 1908, the People's ticket won every office but the school trustee, despite accusations by the Independents that Voliva had connived to split the votes for the People's Party by creating a "fake" party and printing names of candidates for that party on ballots to be used in the city. The Independents claimed his actions violated state law that required specimen ballots to be printed and posted in the newspapers ahead of time. Reportedly, Voliva and his cohorts printed the illegal ballots the night before the election.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸"The Theocratic Ticket vs. the People's Ticket," *ZH*, April 15, 1908; "Township Election" *ZH*, April 15, 1908; "Election to be April 7, 1908," *ZCN*, April 3, 1908; "Some Things Accomplished," *ZCN*, April 17, 1908; "People's Ticket Won," *ZCN*, April 10, 1908.

The city School Board election was scheduled for April 18, 1908, and the Municipal election for April 21. Riding on the success of the Township election, supporters of the People's Party urged voters to vote responsibly and rationally. The elections were "not a fight for a few offices," nor for the control of the schools or the city. Rather, they were "a fight for the integrity of the ballot—a fight for a free, open, intelligent, unprejudiced suffrage without which there can be no equitable administration or public affairs." The platform of the People's Ticket reflected the specific needs and ideals of Zion as well as reference to municipal reforms common to Progressives nationally.

Platform of People's Ticket:

1. The rule of God in all things through the power of the Holy Spirit working in every individual, not by the rule of God by and through Wilbur Glenn Voliva.
2. An efficient school system, equal to any, superior to all if possible . . . for the education of all pupils and not solely for the propagation of the tenets of a religious bigot and boycotter.
3. An economic and efficient administration of the funds and business of the City of Zion by capable, thinking and intelligent aldermen who are interested in the welfare of all the inhabitants of Zion City, and are not merely puppets doing the bidding of the representative of a faction in the city who prays many times daily, as he says, that God will confuse his opponents, darken their minds and understanding, scatter them to the four winds, and visit them with sickness, disease, disaster and even death itself."
4. A square deal to everyone.

5. Honest and fair dealing to everyone—including Volivaite “theocratic” campaign managers who might otherwise again attempt to deceive the public with dummy tickets on the official ballot.
6. The right to live in Zion City and worship God according to the dictates of one’s own conscience . . . without being called names “scoundrel, “liar,” “religious renegade,” degenerate,” and “incarnate devil” if one happens to differ in opinion from Wilbur Glenn Voliva.
7. The right to live in Zion City and think, act and have one’s being, without being the puppets of Wilbur Glenn Voliva.²⁴⁹

Nonetheless Voliva’s Theocratic Party won the school board election and all aldermanic seats up for election in the city, thereby remaining in charge of the council.

Voliva Pushes Back

In June 1908, just a year after losing the leases, Voliva, through one of his close associates, rented space in the B. and M. building (formerly the offices of the Building and Manufacturing Association). Voliva moved his Zion Stores back into this building, which was located on Sheridan Road and was not administered by the receiver. Once owned by Dowie, the building had been owned by the city since 1905. At that time, Dowie had asked the city council for thousands of dollars to fund one of his increasingly fanciful projects. The council, well

²⁴⁹“Platform of People’s Ticket,” *ZCN*, April 10, 1908.

aware of the city's dire financial straits, reluctantly agreed, but required Dowie to secure the loan with that building and several adjacent lots. When it became public in May of 1908 that Voliva planned to rent space, a core group of Independents filed a temporary writ of injunction to prevent the city council from leasing it to a Voliva ally, claiming it would cause his opposition financial harm. They were unsuccessful.²⁵⁰

Perhaps it is no coincidence that Receiver Hately tendered his resignation that same month. Many had hoped that the receivership soon would end and the Estate turned over to seven trustees per a plan proposed by the court when the receivership began. However, many unpaid claims remained and the Court decided to continue the receivership. In June 1908, when the transition to the new receiver took place, the unsecured claims of all investors amounted to \$4,908,878.68. Preferred claims amounted to \$253,886.19, which included Hately's fees, multiple court appointed attorneys' fees, and wages to employees of the bankrupt Zion Institutions and Industries for which the receiver's was responsible. There remained thirty-four secured mortgages on real property, totaling \$253,886.19. Hately estimated the value of the Estate to be about \$2,000,000. At this time

²⁵⁰"Forward," *ZH*, June 10, 1908; "A Holdup," *ZH*, May 13, 1908; "An Injunction Served," *ZCN*, May 15, 1908; Advertisement "Zion Stores Are Again On The Move," *ZH*, June 24, 1908; "Those Zion City Municipal Bonds," *ZCI*, December 12, 1913; "Voliva Moving to Town," *ZCN*, June 12, 1908.

and for a couple more years investors still hoped to realize twenty-five to twenty-nine cents for each dollar they had invested.²⁵¹

The bankruptcy court appointed Gus D. Thomas to be Hately's successor. Thomas had come to Zion because of Dowie and at the time of his appointment served as cashier for the First State Bank. He would receive \$400 a month as the receiver and an additional \$400 a month for attorney fees. Over the next several years, Thomas would reduce the amount due on the secured mortgages by selling acreage, business lots, and some of the large buildings in the city. While the value of the Zion Estate was not relevant to the politics in Zion, it was vitally important for the future of the city, and the goals of the Independents. Hately had cautioned all investors in 1907 that the "longer the Receivership is prolonged the larger [the expenses] will be." Voliva continued to obstruct every effort by the Independents to attract outside industries, and by doing so, was one of the causes for the delay of the termination of the receivership, which would not occur until 1911. By then, investors had become impatient, and the cost of the receivership had escalated beyond the estimated \$10,000 to \$12,000 a year, which contributed to the deflation in value of the Estate.²⁵²

²⁵¹"Mr. Hately's Services as Receiver to End Very Soon," *ZCN*, May 8, 1908; "Receiver In, Receiver Out," *ZH*, June 17, 1908; "Hately Quits," *ZCN*, June 12, 1908.

²⁵²"Mr. Hately's Services as Receiver to End Very Soon," *ZCN*, May 8, 1908; "Receiver In, Receiver Out," *ZH*, June 17, 1908; "Hately Quits," *ZCN*, June 12, 1908;

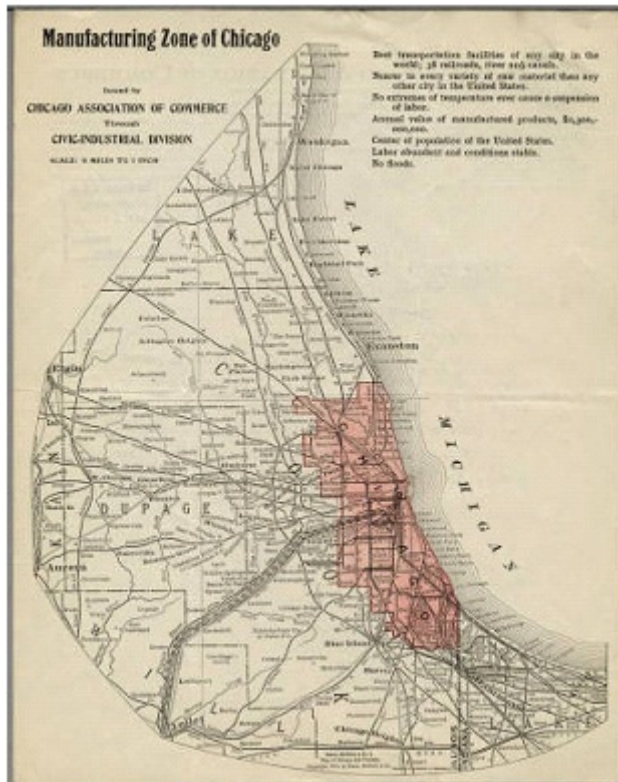
Independents and Their Affiliations with Chicago

Despite Voliva's overt opposition and obstructive tactics that drained scarce resources, the Independents continued to be optimistic and to work with Chicago businessmen and Chicago civic organizations. The original physical city plan of Zion as well as the ordinances that legislated moral behavior provided a grand foundation for the Independents to promote the city as a progressive environment.

Important members of the Chicago Association of Commerce spoke at the first anniversary luncheon of the Zion Municipal League on Labor Day weekend, 1908. W. J. Hypes, from Marshall Field Co., and Walter D. Moody, the general manager of the Chicago Association, offered jocularly and encouragement. Hypes spoke of the equipment they had added to the lace factory since Field's purchase of it as well as plans to add a sprinkler system and power plant in the near future. He contended that, if the Municipal League continued to be successful in attracting additional industries to Zion, the city surely would be raised to a ranking equal to "Elgin, Joliet, Kankakee and Gary" on the Association's next map of the Chicago manufacturing zone. Zion could not lay claim to industrial equality with those cities at that time, but it

"An Important Question," *ZCN*, January 8, 1909; "Mr. Hatley's Resignation," *ZCN*, June 12, 1908; "Report by Reciever," *ZCN*, May 24, 1907.

was included at the far north reaches of a 1908 map of the Association's manufacturing zone.²⁵³



Manufacturing Zone of Chicago Map, 1908

Courtesy of the Edward H. Bennett Collection, Ryerson and Burnham Archives, The Art Institute of Chicago.

Walter D. Moody, a renowned Chicago businessman and promoter, had been persuaded by Zion Municipal League promotion director W. L. Lichty and by Hypes to attend the League's first anniversary luncheon. Moody originally had planned to give a talk on "Organization and Optimism," but changed his focus when he learned about the situation in Zion. Instead, he chose to speak

²⁵³"Field Company to Help," *ZCN*, September 18, 1908; "Manufacturing Zone of Chicago," Chicago Association of Commerce, 1908, Edward H. Bennet Collection, Art Institute of Chicago Archives.

extemporaneously, citing evangelist Sam Jones “who said he always divided his subject in three parts—first, he took a text; second, he wandered away from it; third, he never came back to it.” Moody admittedly was concerned by the challenges the Independents faced in their struggles to attract industry to Zion. Ultimately, Moody stressed patience, persistence, and cooperation, not just between and among business people in Zion, but between Zion’s Municipal League and industrial interests outside of the city. He bluntly told them that they had been “worshipping” Dowie, “a mere man,” but their ideals had been “more or less shattered” and it was necessary to look for help from the outside. He contended that Zion people would have to be more liberal, more welcoming, and must meet other people “half way” in order to attract them to the city. That was not a significant problem for many Independents, but they were battling other forces within the city that refused any compromise with the outside world.²⁵⁴

Walter Moody certainly had to have been an inspiration for the Municipal League. He had a solid reputation for hard work, for directness, and for having a genuine sense of fairness. Once, at meeting in Chicago, he had followed a speaker who had expressed pride for the accomplishments of Chicago in its 75 years of growth. Stepping up to the podium, Moody told his audience to “Stop boasting

²⁵⁴“An Interesting Address,” *ZCN*, September 18, 1908.

and get to work.” Most significantly, he headed the publicity campaign for Daniel Burnham’s Chicago Plan that was well underway by 1908. Within three years, he was its managing director.²⁵⁵

Burnham’s Plan, spearheaded by the Chicago Commercial Club, called for an ambitious restructuring of Chicago’s central business district and lakefront. In hand with Progressive era priorities to mitigate urban blight and to provide a healthy environment that promoted civic virtues, Burnham’s Plan proposed linked parkways, tree-lined boulevards and convenient access to lakefront recreations. It was intrinsically linked to the era’s City Beautiful movement as well as to the parks and playgrounds movement. However, the Plan was not without its detractors. Some progressive-minded Chicago businessmen charged that the plan ignored the need for housing and transportation for the average working class citizen. Others perceived the Plan as elitist in that it served the wealthy, but did nothing to help the working masses of the city even though they would bear a portion of the costs. Moody’s strategies to gain support for the Plan focused on its approval and promotion by the city and on marketing the value of it to all Chicagoans. As historian Carl Smith asserted, Moody was

²⁵⁵Walter D. Moody, Pilot of City Commerce, Finds His Rest in Work, and More Work,” *CT*, September 6, 1906; Carl Smith, *The Plan of Chicago: Daniel Burnham and the Remaking of the American City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006),119.

convinced that “the foe of city planning in America was not active opposition but poor salesmanship.”²⁵⁶

In Zion, the initial city plan included many elements of the Chicago Plan. While many of the plans for Zion remained undeveloped by 1908, there was nothing haphazard about the layout of Zion. It had spacious land throughout the city designated for the parks. Thousands of trees had been planted along residential streets. Diagonal avenues led the way to the civic center of the city, in Zion’s case, Shiloh Tabernacle.

The League continued to sell the potential of Zion to its residents, to its worldwide community of investors, and to the outside industrial community. Publicly, they relied on rational arguments to counteract Voliva’s emotional outbreaks and assaults. They used evidence from Dowie’s publications to convince Zionites that Dowie’s original plans included the right of individuals to be entrepreneurs who desired to establish their enterprises in a religious and clean environment. They challenged Voliva’s rhetoric with examples of his contradictory and “unchristian” behavior. They maintained their optimism.

In an appropriately entitled article, “Americanizing of Zion City,” published in November 1908, Zion promoters highlighted the

²⁵⁶Smith, *Plan of Chicago*, 117-122, 126-28.

enthusiasm of Zion businessmen who successfully had organized Independent businesses in the previous year and looked forward to even more successes the following spring:

The future for Zion is bright commercially and is growing brighter and brighter in a religious way. The idea that this City cannot be kept clean unless dominated exclusively by the church is fallacious. There has been no hand for years to enforce the blue laws of this City except the hand of the municipality itself and we see no reason why this cannot be continued The watchword in Zion City is "Upward and Onward." The optimists are in the saddle. The true Christian spirit and the higher American ideals can go hand in hand in Zion City.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷"Americanizing of Zion City," *ZCN*, November 6, 1908.

Chapter 5

1909 Political Victory, Religious Diversity and Hopes of Practical Progress

1909 promised to be a rewarding year for the Independents. The Independent Party prevailed in the April elections despite challenges to their victory. The Municipal League unceasingly promoted Zion City to the outside world, and they continued to establish connections with the broader business and educational community of the greater Chicago area. They tried to cultivate an inclusive environment in a city that would be welcoming to other Protestant denominations. The Independents continued to market Zion as a city worthy of attracting industrialists who had high expectations, with some noteworthy successes. The Independents marketed Zion as a city that could offer efficient transportation facilities; convenient access to markets in Chicago and in Milwaukee; modern utilities; and a sober, hardworking workforce. They relied on these elements as their prime marketing tools in an era in which progressive reformers prized those same ideals of a clean city that coincided with opportunities to prosper.

The Independents continued to be optimistic about their goals for civic success. For them, success would include fair elections, but politics in Zion were extremely factious. The divisiveness between

factions was not exclusive to Zion. In *Partisans and Progressives*, Thomas R. Pegram focused on the endeavors of Illinois progressives to enact policies that would replace private partisan interests with public interests that would benefit all. This was a goal in Chicago, and it was a goal in Zion as well. The 1909 Zion Independent Platform represented such progressive reformers' ideals that exemplified those public interests.²⁵⁸

The Independents declared in their Platform:

. . . that which all citizens of Zion City have in common is so far in excess of that which separates them that the City's Religious, Educational, Commercial, Political and Social welfare cannot advance upon the discussing of differences, but only upon proclaiming that which is held in common.

First: That . . . candidates will be literally true to their oaths and enforce the laws of the United States, the laws of the State of Illinois, and the ordinances of the City of Zion.

Second: That absolute impartiality shall obtain in law enforcement, with equal rights to all and special privileges to none.

Third: That every possible reduction of taxation, consistent with progress, shall be made and to that end every proper inducement extended to manufacturers to establish industries in Zion City for the creation of new wealth and greater taxable property—thereby making available more money for public improvements

²⁵⁸Thomas R. Pegram, *Partisans and Progressives: Private Interest and Public Policy in Illinois, 1870-1922*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.), xii.

Fourth: That in the disbursement of public funds and the establishment of public service no one district or section shall profit more than another.

Seventh: We favor the maintenance by the municipality of a free public library

Eighth: We jointly and severally acknowledge our indebtedness to and dependence upon Almighty God and subscribe anew to the motto of the founder of our city, 'Where God Rules, Man Prospers.'²⁵⁹

While vying for political seats, and marketing the city to industrialists, the Independents continued to educate themselves. To aid in their goals of prosperity, the Independents invited speakers from Chicago and elsewhere to talk about modern and efficient business methods. Arthur Sheldon was one such speaker who taught business methods via correspondence courses. He was considered to be a pioneer in marketing research, teaching that service and building relationships with customers was vital to success.²⁶⁰

On the financial side of the city's affairs, Gus D. Thomas, who had replaced John C. Hatley as receiver in June 1908, continued to work aggressively settle the secured debts of the Zion Estate. While offering the printing facilities in Zion to prospective buyers in the trade, Thomas advertised the plant with its machines and building,

²⁵⁹"Platform of the Independents: Adopted Unanimously at Their Convention Held in the Administration Building, Zion City, Illinois, Friday Evening, March 12, 1909" *ZCN*, March 19, 1909.

²⁶⁰Mark Tadajewski "Correspondence Sales Education in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of the Sheldon School 1902-39," *Business History* 53 (December 2011):1131-32.

enhanced with the incentive that employers would be able to hire the “best help.” If buyers were not interested in the plant as a whole, however, they had the option to purchase individual machines. As it turned out, the buyers preferred the latter option, which resulted in the machinery being sold piecemeal. By the middle of September, nearly half of it had been sold for about \$8,000, which would contribute to paying off secured debts.²⁶¹

1909 Elections

Despite continuing challenges to the Independents’ vision for the future of the city, they had good cause for optimism in April of 1909. What they could not know was that 1909 would be the apex of their political power. The loss of the city school board ticket on April 17 to Wilbur Glenn Voliva’s Theocratic party was a disappointment, but by no means a disaster. The Independents reasoned that the loss was because there were many more women in Voliva’s camp than in the Independent camp. They turned out in force for the school board election, which was the one election in which women were allowed to vote. However, in the Benton Township elections held a week earlier, the newly organized Independent Party had prevailed in all but one office, that of the school trustee, which went to Theocrat John H.

²⁶¹“Still Selling Machinery,” *ZCN*, September 18, 1908.

Says. The Independents had gained the important offices of Township Supervisor, Clerk, Assessor, and other controlling positions.²⁶²

In the city elections on April 20, an election very important to the Independents' vision of a progressive future, the Independents wrested crucial positions from Voliva, which some Independents raucously referred to as the "Holy war of Zion against the hosts of hell." Every Independent candidate—for mayor, city clerk, city attorney, city treasurer and for five aldermanic positions—won by a majority, throwing both victors and supporters into passionate demonstrations of victory. They paraded through the streets crying, "Tar and feather Voliva!" Eventually the crowd converged on the North Shore Inn for an impromptu mass meeting of music and celebratory speeches.²⁶³

Although the returns were published even in Voliva's *Zion Herald*, the incumbent Theocrats, who campaigned that year as the "Republican Party," refused to give up their seats and declared themselves to be elected. The council meeting scheduled for April 22, two days after the election, to certify the election and to swear in the new aldermen, was adjourned until the first regular meeting in May

²⁶²"The Independents Win," *ZCN*, April 23, 1909.

²⁶³"Election Opens Zion to Industry," *CT*, April 21, 1909; "The Independents Win," *ZCN*, April 23, 1909.

because Voliva's aldermen did not show up. This left those in attendance without a quorum. Although not officially sworn in, in an unusual move the newly elected Independent administration called a special meeting in City Hall on Saturday, April 24. Denied access to the council room, the group held their meeting in the hallway where they counted and certified the ballots, and declared the candidates who had received the majority votes "to be duly elected." By state law, the retiring council should have been responsible for this.²⁶⁴

Still, the Theocratic Republicans refused to acknowledge the election outcomes. They claimed both voter fraud and that the city clerk, an Independent, had violated election laws by counting the ballots without authorization from the old council, disregarding the fact that the old council deliberately had delayed the count. In a sequence of events reminiscent of a Keystone Kops episode, the Theocrats hired twelve special deputies to prevent the political turnover on May 3. A sympathetic Volivite crowd packed both the council room of the City Hall and the hallway leading to it, preventing the new members from entering. According to the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Independent officials threatened to break down the doors, but instead, they withdrew to a room on the floor below where the five newly elected aldermen, joined

²⁶⁴Council Minutes, April 19, 1909; April 22, 1909; "That Council Meeting," ZCN, April 23, 1909; "Volivites Declare Themselves Elected," *Lake County Independent / Waukegan Weekly Sun*, June 11, 1909; "New Officers Sworn In," ZCN, April 30, 1909.

by one Theocrat who defied Voliva, constituted the necessary quorum. The absence of the four holdover Theocrats became irrelevant. The defiant holdover was John H. Sayrs who campaigned in the Township elections as a Volivite Republican, but, dismayed by Voliva's tactics, converted to being an ardent supporter of the Independent cause. Significantly, the Independents also had access to the official records.²⁶⁵

The new council proceeded to conduct city business, appointing members to the standing committees and filling the annual appointments for city marshal, fire marshal, and the various commissions. All the while, the old regime stubbornly refused to vacate their offices. The *News* reported the "spectacle" of police and fire officials locking themselves in the station and refusing to leave. The newly appointed Commissioner of Health, Dr. John Speicher, was compelled to set up his office in a different building because the Volivite commissioner would not move from his City Hall office. In this confusing state of affairs, Speicher extended the due dates for the payment of scavenger fees, but made it clear that those fees were to be paid only to him or to the Independent city clerk, and only at the new location.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵"Zion Officials Storm City Hall," *CT*, April 27, 1909; "Zion Councils in Turmoil," *CT*, May 4, 1909.

²⁶⁶"Guards Sworn in to Hold Zion for Voliva Faction," *CT*, May 2, 1909; "First Regular Meeting," *ZCN*, May 7, 1909; "Public Announcement," *ZCN*, May 7, 1909.

Productive and efficient city business was virtually non-existent for several months while the Zion City factions battled in town and through the courts. In June, the old council met, again made reference to the what they claimed was fraudulent voting and illegal certification, and then declared the victory of all the Theocratic candidates. In response, the Independents cited a case similar to the fiasco in Zion that occurred that same year in Benbow, Illinois, a city that developed around a Standard Oil refinery. There, Mayor A. E. Benbow, the founder, was ousted by James Olroyd. Benbow refused to give up his seat. A Madison County Circuit Court judge ruled that since the incumbent mayor "could not get a quorum of the old board of trustees to canvass the vote . . . the incoming members had the right to canvass the returns and declare themselves elected." By this time, the Zion Independents had taken steps to get the Illinois Supreme Court to take jurisdiction. On June 16, the Court issued a writ of mandamus giving, the old council and election officials five days to certify the returns and to surrender the council seats to the new order.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷Council Minutes, May 11, 1909; May 17, 1909; "Up to the Supreme Court," ZCN, June 11, 1909 quoting from the Edwardsville *Record Herald*, June 8, 1909; Council Minutes, June 21, 1909; June 22, 1909; June 24, 1909; "New Officers In," ZCN, June 25, 1909; "Bench Announcement" Supreme Court of Illinois, Case No. 6742, *People ex rel. Lichty v. Clendinin et al.*; "The Supreme Court Acts," ZCN, June 18, 1909.

Because of Zion's initial establishment as a dry city as well as its then current financial state, the regional and national press covered the Zion election and its resolution. A number of the articles placed the election within the framework of ongoing local options for prohibition initiatives. In articles covering nearby Illinois communities, the papers reported that voters in River Forest rejected prohibition in their village, while Highwood voters elected a mayor who vowed to close "blind pigs," or unlicensed taverns. Within this context, the papers lauded the change in Zion's administration, stating that Zion now could open up to new industries. Voliva's fear tactics to the contrary, some of these outside editors understood that the city would remain dry, that there was "little likelihood that Zion City will have grogeries for many years to come."²⁶⁸

Still other national papers publicized Voliva's declarations that those who claimed to be elected "will never take office" while he simultaneously and vehemently denied rumors that he intended to lead his flock out of Zion because of his defeat. Those rumors were not without foundation. Voliva previously had expressed interest in establishing a theocratic agricultural community in Moros County, New Mexico, after visiting and preaching to believers there. He had

²⁶⁸"Wets and Drys Break About Even: Illinois Election Favors Both Sides," *Morning Oregonian* (Portland, Oregon), April 21, 1909; "Zion City Disappearing," *The Sunday Oregonian*, May 2, 1909; "Election Opens Zion to Industry," *CT*, April 21, 1909.

announced in mid-September 1907 that he had taken out an option to purchase nearly 26,000 acres. In step with his new vision, dozens of his devotees put their properties up for sale so that, according to Voliva, "They May Move Into a True Zion Colony."²⁶⁹

Announcements lauding this new colony continued to be published until at least the end of the year, although by the end of September, newspapers in western states and territories asserted that Voliva had lost the option. As a result, he turned his attention to acreage adjacent to Zion City, much to the displeasure of the Independents who would have welcomed the more distant move.²⁷⁰

Following the Court's writ of mandamus, Voliva continued to rail against the Independent victory, declaring that the "fight for municipal control was not over." Indeed, the stakes of the 1909 election were high. Both sides believed that the future of Zion would be defined by the results. Voliva accused his opponents of intentions to eliminate the fundamental values of John Alexander Dowie's Zion, and instead, to open the city to tobacco, alcohol, and all manner of degradations to the body and to the soul.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹"Civil War for Promised Land," *The Cairo Bulletin* (IL), May 2, 1909; "Voliva Denies Report," *Grand Forks Daily Herald* (Grand Forks, North Dakota), April 23, 1909; "A New Colony," *ZH*, September 20, 1907; "Properties for Sale," *ZH*, October 4, 1907.

²⁷⁰"Voliva Resigns Zion Leadership," *Los Angeles Herald*, September 27, 1907; "Outside Gates of Zion," *Dawson Daily News*, (Yukon Territory) September 28, 1907.

²⁷¹"Wilbur G. Voliva is Out," *The Rock Island Argus*, June 25, 1909.

A WORD TO THE INDIFFERENT
 IF YOU APPRECIATE A CLEAN CITY A PURE
 ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH TO BRING UP YOUR FAMILY
 THEN YOU WILL CERTAINLY LINE UP AND VOTE
 FOR THE ZION CANDIDATES.



THE INDEPENDENTS STAND READY TO
 LET DOWN THE BARS AND FLOOD THE
 CITY WITH ALL THE EVILS OF THE WORLD,
 THE FLESH, AND THE DEVIL.
 RISE TO YOUR OPPORTUNITY AND CAST YOUR VOTE FOR
 PURITY AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

"A Word to the Indifferent-If you appreciate a clean city, a pure environment in which to bring up your family then you will certainly line up and vote for the Zion [Theocratic] candidate. The Independents stand ready to let down the bars and flood the city with all the evils of the world, the flesh, and the devil. Rise to your opportunity and cast your vote for purity and righteousness."

LOH 23 (April 24, 1909): 126

Two months prior to the election, Voliva had warned his readers that the April elections offered them choices between the "Zion Ticket" versus "The Devil's Ticket," a "Clean city" versus an "Open town," temperance versus "Free Whiskey," tobacco-free versus "Stinkpots," "Obedience to Authority" versus "Obey no man," and "Theocracy"

versus "Democracy." Invoking the ideals of his predecessor, Voliva reminded his local and worldwide followers that the original restrictions constituted a promise to all investors that Zion City would remain a clean city.²⁷²

To emphasize his point, Voliva's *Herald* published a photograph of "A Few Dirty, Stinking Cigar Stumps," reportedly taken in front of what previously had been the Elijah Hospice, but "now dubbed, to please the world, the flesh, and the devil, 'The North Shore Inn.'" At the time, the inn was administered by the receiver. Additional caveats declared that "The Zion ideal is a common enlistment and effort against a common foe. The contest is between the lovers of righteousness and lovers of self and the lusts of this world" and "Competition is from the devil—Cooperation is from God." The latter attacked the Independents' businesses and their enthusiastic endeavors to attract outside industries to Zion.²⁷³

In contrast to Voliva's cartoon, the Independents' vision of their open city was to ensure financial solvency by providing industrial sites to outside commercial ventures while still providing a healthy, safe, and moral environment. The Independents dubbed their program "Practical Progress" in response to the economic stagnation infecting

²⁷²"Which Ticket Will You Vote?," *ZH*, February 24, 1909; "Shall Promises Be Kept?" *ZH*, February 24, 1909.

²⁷³Caption under photograph of "cigar stumps," *ZH*, March 17, 1909; "Things Are Not What They Seem," *ZH*, April 7, 1909.

the city. Zion residents would benefit financially by working within the city, and they would benefit spiritually and personally. Instead of hours spent commuting to jobs elsewhere, residents would have more time to devote to church activities and to their families. Indeed, around 400 Zion men labored in various cities around the North Shore because there was not enough work to be found in Zion.²⁷⁴

It is unknown precisely from where the Independents acquired the term "practical progress," but the concept often is attributed to American pragmatic philosopher William James and to educational reformer John Dewey, both of whom were active during the Progressive Era. Knowledge should serve action. Theory alone was insufficient. The concept was used by a variety of scientific disciplines during the Progressive Era, including the new social sciences.²⁷⁵

In the late 1890s, reformers organized local Unions for Practical Progress around the country that joined together an ecumenical assortment of churches, charity organizations, civic improvement clubs, and businessmen's organizations. Like the Independents in Zion, the Unions held meetings and invited speakers in order to discuss municipal reform, fair taxation, or any sort of topic that

²⁷⁴"Speaks Out His Mind: A Friend of the Wage Earner Points Out Present Political and Civic Inconsistencies and a Way to Overcome Them." *ZCN*, March 19, 1909; Halsey, ed. *History of Lake County*, 754.

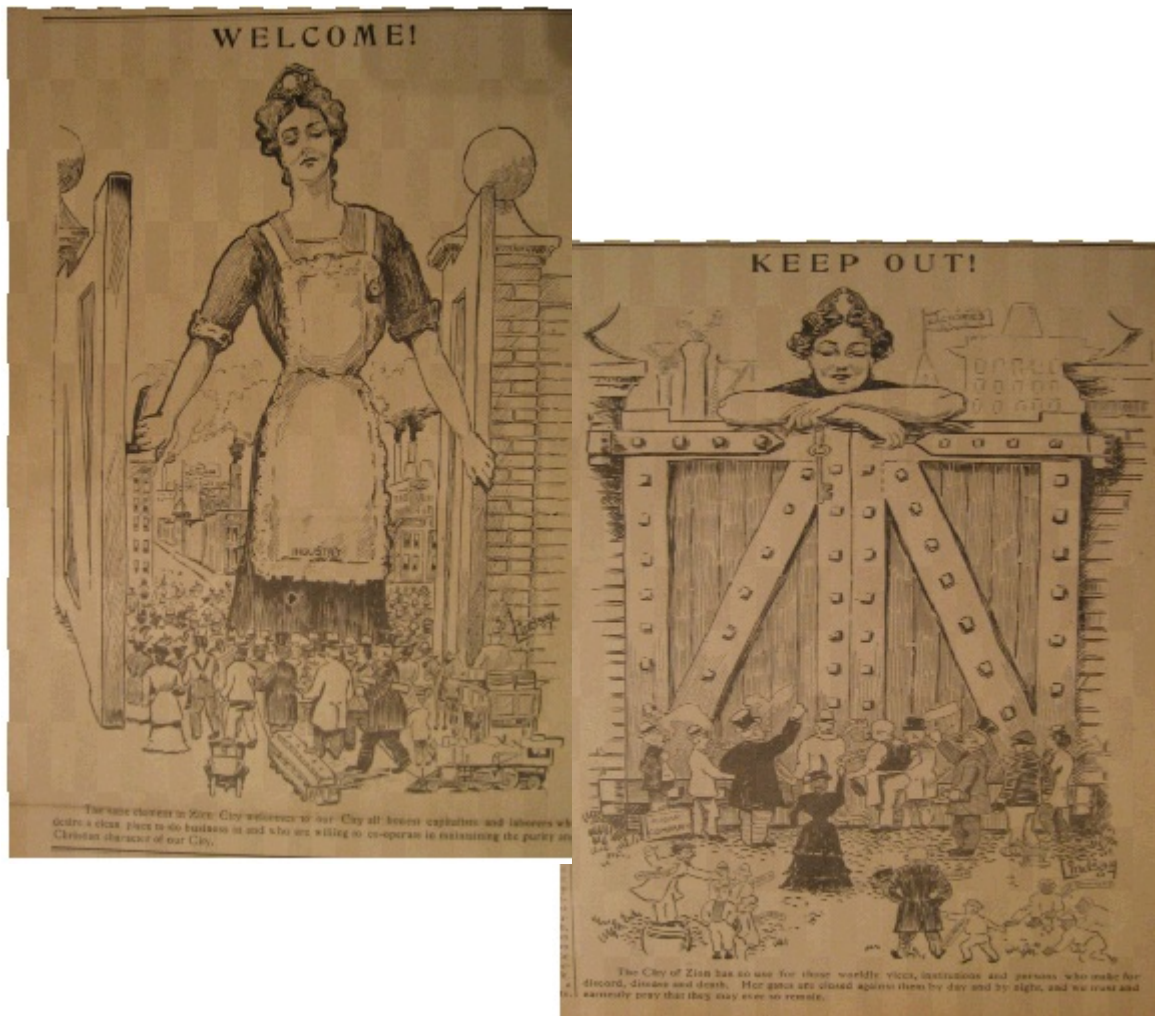
²⁷⁵Ernst Breisbach, *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 33.

addressed the public interests in contrast to narrowly construed self-interests. In Zion, the Independents believed that attracting suitable businesses to Zion was the only practical means of solving the problems of under-employment within the city as well as a means to make Zion a “clean but progressive city.”²⁷⁶

The emphasis on attracting suitable outside business investors had been a priority for the more progressive elements within Zion since the city entered into receivership in 1906. However, because of Voliva’s denunciations, the Independents fought a continual uphill battle to convince both residents and outsiders of these goals. Post-1909 election advertisements in the *Zion City News* targeted manufacturers, assuring them that the Independents understood that industry was the “life blood” of industrial cities. In Zion City, the ads stated that the workforce was essentially sober and industrious and, being such, would not contribute to the bane of profit, such as in “delayed and broken contracts” due to an irresponsible or intoxicated workforce.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶John Gilkeson, *Middle-Class Providence, 1820-1940* (Princeton University Press, 2014), 186-89; “Speaks Out His Mind: A Friend of the Wage Earner Points Out Present Political and Civic Inconsistencies and a Way to Overcome Them,” *ZCN*, March 19, 1909.

²⁷⁷Advertisement: “The Manufacturer,” *ZCN*, April 30, 1909.



Independent pro-business cartoons:

"Welcome! The sane element in Zion City welcomes to our city all honest capitalists and laborers who desire a clean place to do business in and who are willing to co-operate in maintaining the purity and Christian character of our city."

"Keep Out! The City of Zion has no use for those worldly vices, institutions and persons who make for discord, disease and death. Her gates are closed against them by day and by night, and we trust and earnestly pray that they ever so remain."

ZCN, November 15, 1907

Prior to the 1909 election, the editor of the *Zion City News*, O.

W. Davis, had asked receiver Gus Thomas to provide his opinions of

the elections and what he thought was the city's greatest need. While he declined to comment on the election, except to urge all who could to vote, Thomas was more forthright in his opinion that Zion needed stable "institutions and industries" to provide employment for its citizens. He thought it inaccurate and unjust to equate the efforts to attract outside industries with an invitation to those who would gamble or use alcohol and tobacco. In fact, he referred to a conversation with a manufacturer who said that the "greatest attraction about Zion City was the class of employees that could be found." Thomas asserted that if a manufacturer relocated to Zion because of its restrictions on vices, he would be more likely to aid in the enforcement of those restrictions instead of the opposite.²⁷⁸

After the April elections, Receiver Thomas publicly applauded the Independents' victory with an open letter to all investors published in the *Zion City News*. He proclaimed that the "value of [the victory] is beyond computation," and with the support of the new administration, he looked forward to attracting new industries to the city to increase the value of the Estate's assets. Indeed, within a week, Thomas and representatives of the Lucas & Lee Company of Ohio announced their successful negotiations. These manufacturers of shoe parts planned to

²⁷⁸"Thomas Expresses Views," *ZCN*, April 9, 1909.

purchase land in Zion, to build a factory, and to provide much needed employment.²⁷⁹

As part of the deal, Lucas and Lee planned to develop an additional twenty-six acres into a new subdivision to be called Lake View Heights on the northeast corner of Zion. Anyone who could pay cash for their lot would receive a discount of 5 per cent, and anyone who purchased a lot would receive stock worth \$50 in Lucas and Lee Company. Their relocation to Zion was tied to the successful sale of at least seventy-two of the ninety-six lots platted in Lake View Heights. By the end of May, the *News* reported that twenty more lots needed to be sold by the end of summer to meet that goal. In a gentle admonition, the editor urged Zion investors and residents to purchase however many lots they could, asserting that if Zion did not get this factory, "there will be no need of our trying to get any other."²⁸⁰

A Setback, Yet Still Hopeful

By the end of the summer in 1909, the *Zion City News* reported that the receiver was conducting negotiations to sell the General Stores, a block-long, two-story frame structure. The department

²⁷⁹"Letters to Investors," *ZCN*, April 23, 1909; "A New Factory," *ZCN*, April 30, 1909; "Watchword: Progress," *ZCN*, June 18, 1909.

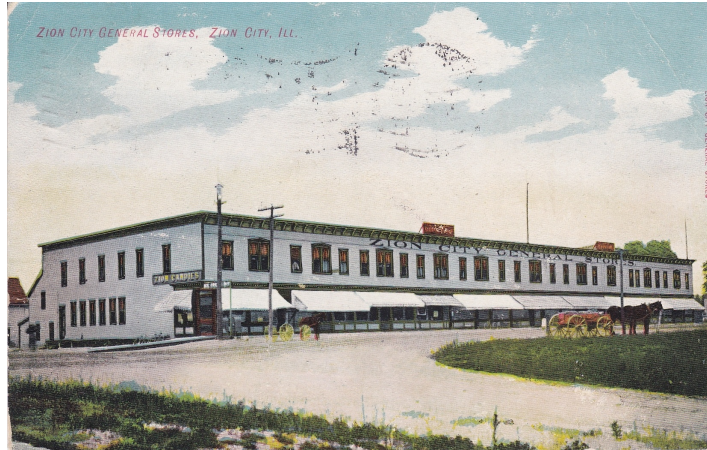
²⁸⁰"A Big League Meeting," "Advertisement: Big Lot Sale," *ZCN*, May 7, 1909; Advertisement: Lake View Heights Addition," *ZCN*, May 14, 1909; "Regarding the New Factory," *ZCN*, May 28, 1909.

store, one of the earliest structures to be built in the new city, was symbolic of one of Dowie's ideals of profit-sharing and Christian co-operation in which no middle man would make immense profits from the sale of goods. While it was unclear what the purchaser, Charles M. Beatty, a Chicago businessman in the cereal brokerage business, planned to do with the store, the editors were optimistic that he intended to improve the store over time. Beatty already had provided \$7,500 in earnest money towards an expected \$70,000 purchase price, an amount that would significantly reduce the remaining secured debts and would hasten the end of the receivership.²⁸¹

Within a week, Beatty met with the receiver and the store's department heads, assuring them that, as a Christian like many in town, he looked forward to doing business in Zion City. Other than planning a big sale to clear some of the inventory, he claimed he did not intend to make any major changes anytime soon. When challenged by some who had heard rumors that Beatty was in league with "certain local interests that were unfriendly to the investors," namely Voliva, Beatty emphatically denied that anyone but he was to be "identified with the deal." He conceded only that as a businessman, he would sell the property if he could make a profit from it."²⁸²

²⁸¹Cook, *Zion City*, 90; "Christian Co-operation: Not Competition," *LOH* 13 (October 3, 1903):758; "General Stores Sold," *ZCN*, August 6, 1909.

²⁸²"Closed For Inventory," *ZCN*, August 13, 1909.



"Zion City General Stores, Zion City, ILL." 1907
Postcard in the possession of the author.

To assure its readers that Beatty was sincere and that any rumors were unfounded, the *News* published letters from both Beatty and the receiver. Beatty assured readers that "the Stores would be run as a strictly business proposition along clean, clear-cut business lines" and that all current employees would continue to be employed. He ended by declaring his desire to prove his good intentions to the citizens of Zion and to "make friends of all." Receiver Thomas's letter simply recited the facts of the deal, but reiterated Beatty's intent to retain "deserving" employees and that the purchase was a business proposition from which Beatty desired to make profits.²⁸³

The rumors that Beatty had been negotiating with Voliva persisted. Beatty had been honest about his intentions to make a

²⁸³Letter from Mr. Beatty," "Letter from Receiver Thomas," *ZCN*, August 6, 1909.

profit and, within a month, evidence surfaced that Voliva had offered Beatty \$10,000 above the latter's purchase price. The conveyance from Beatty to Voliva took place on September 4, 1909. The *News* bemoaned not only the fact of the sale, but the expectation that when Voliva took over the store, any independent employees would be fired immediately. Persevering, the Independents suggested that this provided an opportunity for commercial growth in Zion because those newly unemployed would be forced to start their own enterprises. In fact, the editors of the *News* eagerly and optimistically anticipated new brick buildings and greater individual incentive, "the lack of which . . . has done more to keep Zion from forging ahead and amounting to something other than one cause." At least ten new business endeavors were cited, including two entrepreneurs who pitched tents to sell groceries and confectionaries.²⁸⁴

When Voliva took over the store, he continued espousing his policy of Dowie's Christian Cooperation, which he had implemented the previous year in his Zion Stores "in exile" (south of the city limits). As mentioned earlier, the ideals of Christian Cooperation began with Dowie, although he evidently had failed to come up with definite plans as to how he would implement them. In *Zion City Illinois*, Philip L. Cook cited a number of events and contemporary philosophies that

²⁸⁴"That Store Deal," *ZCN*, September 3, 1909; "New Life in Zion City," *ZCN*, September 10, 1909; "Fight For Zion City Trade," *CT*, June 10, 1910.

gave rise to Dowie's cooperative ideal. He had arrived in the United States in 1888, an era of severe labor unrest, and he arrived in Chicago a few years prior to the violent Pullman strike of 1894. While he abhorred labor unions and banned them in Zion, he also despised monopolies. , Dowie believed that the business institutions that would economically support the utopia had to be set up to include profit-sharing, which was an integral part of Christian Cooperation. Theoretically, this would reduce economic inequities.²⁸⁵

Cook asserted that Dowie and his associates at the time were influenced by such writers as Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward, 2000-1887*, in which a young American man falls asleep amidst the labor turmoil of the late nineteenth century and wakes up more than a century later to find himself in a socialist utopia. He further contended that Dowie may have been influenced by the social criticisms of Thorstein Veblen as well as by the "boot-strap myths" of Horatio Alger. While evidently not savvy about economic theories, Dowie considered himself to be a businessman, believed that business and religion mixed well together, and believed there should be greater cooperation rather than competition. After Dowie's dismissal, both Volivites and

²⁸⁵Cook, *Zion City*, 82.

Independents were quick to criticize Dowie for failing to use sound business principles.²⁸⁶

While Dowie failed to delineate the ideals of Christian Cooperation, Voliva filled many columns in his *Zion Herald* lauding his own plan and its ostensible successes. Voliva was apparently a shrewd businessman—or, if not, he surrounded himself with talented men who were willing to let Voliva take credit for any financial successes. He did not have to conceive of a new plan, nor did he give credit to modern business theories explained to the Independents by authorities such as Arthur. F. Sheldon. He simply reworked Dowie's ideals, many of which originally had drawn thousands of people to Zion City. Voliva merely had to reiterate, to elaborate, and to implement. The store's co-operative features, he explained, were true to the foundational values of Zion, in that there was the inseparable combination of "Church, Educational, Political, and Commercial life," which were the building blocks of the original theocracy.²⁸⁷

In conjunction with emphasizing that all in Zion were to work for the common good, and exhorting his followers that they had a duty to invest in and to buy only from his Zion Stores, Voliva offered incentives to customers. These incentives were to encourage

²⁸⁶Cook, *Zion City*, 83-85.

²⁸⁷"Zion Stores," *ZH*, May 27, 1908.

profitable consumerism as well as to encourage his followers to invest their money in the stores, both of which would help Voliva "redeem" Zion. True to a strong biblical tradition of tithing, ten per cent of any profits was to be paid to E.L. Carey, the General Recorder and Financial Secretary of Voliva's industries. Followers willing to invest their money in the Stores for a year would receive six per cent interest return on their investments and an additional five percent of the net profits. Those investing for less than a year would receive the six per cent, but no share in the profits. Up to fifteen per cent of the net profit would be distributed among the employees, depending on their length of service. In addition to investments, the marketing ploy emphasized that the more customers spent, the more they would receive in either cash or in merchandise.²⁸⁸

For similar purposes, Voliva's officers employed rhetoric used by more liberal progressives that embraced socialistic ideals that profit should benefit the greater good, but the rhetoric was redirected to benefit a select group. W. Hurd Clendinin, the manager of Voliva's Zion Stores expounded on the advantages of cooperation, that it was "founded on divine truth and immutable laws" laid down by God since "the beginning of time." Cooperation was efficient. Cooperation was economical. There was no need to have a half dozen stores in the

²⁸⁸"Zion Stores to be Conducted on the Profit-Sharing Plan," *ZH*, May 27, 1908.

same town, all selling the same “shopworn goods.” Cooperation promoted “harmony, peace, love, and spiritual development.” Far superior to the competitive marketplace, cooperation fostered good character in men who then would be more inclined to look after the welfare of others. This idyllic rhetoric was not simply a condemnation of national trusts, but an intentional disparagement of the Independents in town who were interested not only in their individual enterprises, but also in bringing outside industries into town in order to protect their investments and to raise property values in general.²⁸⁹

Tangentially, the editions of *The Zion Herald* that reported Voliva’s philosophy of cooperation that currently are accessible on microfilm (2015) were from the subscription of Visscher V. Barnes, a lawyer and Zion City’s first city court judge who had moved to Zion in 1902 when Dowie still owned the city. Four years later, he was instrumental in the movement to replace Dowie with Voliva. A year after that, Barnes had become a fervent anti-Voliva Independent. Numerous articles laying out the details of Voliva’s plan of cooperation caught Barnes’s attention, evidenced by penciled underlines and circles. Based on that evidence, one sentence in particular made an impression on Barnes. In urging his congregation to invest in the Zion Stores, Voliva declared that since Zion’s institutions belonged to the

²⁸⁹“Cooperation,” *ZH*, June 17, 1908.

Zion people, it naturally would be "safe to undertake a mercantile project in Zion." In reality, this meant safe only for those who followed Voliva, not for Independents who wanted their individually owned mercantiles.²⁹⁰

Voliva continued to laud his cooperative program in a circular published in September 1909 in which he declared that the mission of the Zion Stores was "to serve every citizen in the community with reliable merchandise at the lowest possible price," to welcome all with "courtesy, kindness, and consideration," and to show no favoritism. This propaganda augmented the challenges faced by the Independents in their quest to establish Zion City as a successful industrial town on the North Shore. The independent *Zion City News* highlighted the contradictions inherent in Voliva's rhetoric to earlier statements Voliva had made and pointed out that Voliva's use of the word "Zion" included only those who agreed with him. Correlatively, his use of the word "community" bore a similarly exclusive connotation. In a 1907 speech, just as Voliva made his actual plans for Zion known, he told his congregation that, regardless of what the receiver and the Independent businessmen hoped to accomplish, soon he would "lock up every institution" in town.

²⁹⁰"Judge Barnes Named," *ZB*, May 15, 1903; "Zion in Business," *ZH*, July 22, 1908.

If you want a house fixed up and can't get a Zion man, let it go. If you are living in a house that don't belong to a Zion man, get out of it at once! Don't pay another dollar to a man who is not a square Zion man! We will freeze them out; we will squeeze them out; WE WILL CRUSH THEM OUT! . . . If I catch one of you employing someone who isn't a Zion man, there will be war!

Evidently taking money from the enemy was acceptable. The Independents responded to Voliva's ostensibly welcome invitation to shop at his Zion Stores with, "Thank you Wilbur, we have stores of our own."²⁹¹

Voliva's purchase of the General Store building, his 1908 re-establishment of the Zion Printing and Publishing House, his re-development of various departments within his Zion Stores temporarily in exile, and his organization of both a Zion Construction Company and a Zion Cooperative Manufacturing Industry effectively created parallel business communities within Zion City. One served the Volivites and one served the Independents. Each group was discouraged from patronizing the other, although the Independents publicly were less dogmatic than was Voliva. A farmer who lived just outside of town and normally took his milk to Voliva's Zion Creamery was informed that his product no longer would be accepted if he did not sign an exclusive contract with the Creamery. At least one small businessman who advertised in the *Zion City Independent* tried to remain neutral. He

²⁹¹"Two Years Ago and Now," *ZCN*, September 10, 1909.

consistently headed his bid for business with the appeal "Live and Let Live."²⁹²

While the Independents acknowledged the right of other Independents to shop at Voliva's stores, they were reminded that every penny spent was helping Voliva "to put you under his feet—or out of the city, if we can believe his oft repeated threats." In an article entitled "Why Light Your Own Bomb?," Independents once more were urged to support the businessmen who were "fighting to give us a clean, sane, progressive, tolerant, law-abiding city."²⁹³

Out of town visitors who sought accommodations in Voliva's Zion Home, formerly known as the North Shore Inn and before that the Elijah Hospice, routinely were asked about their business in town. If they answered that they were there to visit or to conduct business with Independents, they were turned away. In response, the Independents opened the Rest Home in July of 1910. This was a large residential home open for guests visiting Zion, and it served as a haven for aged or infirm investors in town who needed a place to stay.²⁹⁴

²⁹²"The City in Brief," "J. J. Smith, Painter and Paper Hanger," *ZCN*, June 3, 1910; Note, *ZCI*, April 28, 1911.

²⁹³"Retrospective and Prospective," *ZCI*, March 10, 1911; "Why Light Your Own Bomb?," *ZCI*, April 28, 1911.

²⁹⁴Daniel Bryant, "The Rest Home," in "Pen and Pulpit," *ZCI*, July 7, 1911; "Local Happenings Briefly Stated," *ZCI*, January 17, 1913; "How Tahan Wasn't Received," *ZCI*, February 19, 1915.

The most absurd, yet pathetically humorous, example of this parallel community occurred after the sudden snakebite death of Theocrat alderman and deacon Oliver Pugh. Independent R. C. Johnson owned the only hearse in town. As he drove his team of horses with the hearse to Voliva's church for the funeral, he was stopped when he approached the property and curtly informed that his services as driver no longer were needed. Johnson refused to give up his rig to his opponents and told them that if they wanted the hearse, they could purchase it then and there at his price. They made the deal.²⁹⁵

A parallel social division developed as well. Unlike the socio-economic class problems that reformers tried to solve in many urban settings, the division in Zion was based solely on one's church affiliation. While neighbors on both sides of the religious fence reportedly remained friends, there was pressure from Voliva and his cabinet on other Volivites to disassociate with Independents. Certainly, Voliva shunned church officers who challenged him. When one deacon attended an Independents' church service. Voliva berated him, telling him that "We are in a war now." Voliva told the deacon that if they met on the street, he would be a stranger to him. Later, Voliva organized the Zion Literary Society for his church members

²⁹⁵"Death of Deacon Pugh," *ZCN*, June 17, 1910; "Unparalleled Scene at a Funeral," *ZCN*, June 17, 1910.

only. There was to be no democracy within the organization. Voliva announced he would appoint the president of the new group and all other officers had to be approved by him. Again, publicly, the Independents urged civility to all by exhorting all not to “turn your face hypocritically to look as something across the street when you pass some one that won’t do as you want them to. Remember the world was not made for you alone.”²⁹⁶

Continued Optimism in the Face of Limited Success

The Independents continued to boast of new commercial ventures in spite of the divisions within town and in spite of losing the store building to Voliva. They continued to pursue progressive ideas that would lead to commercial successes. When the Zion State Bank built a brick building on the prime commercial intersection of the city, the *Zion City News* reported “that Zion is gradually putting away the swaddling clothes of temporary buildings and getting down to modern business methods and permanent business organization.”²⁹⁷

In the same edition, the *News* highlighted the necessity of adopting modern methods to continue to advance Zion City. Citing the ever increasing use of steam and electricity, the proliferation of

²⁹⁶ “Cause of Present Crisis,” *ZCI*, June 14, 1907; Zion Literary Society,” *ZH*, January 27, 1909; “Retrospective and Prospective,” *ZCI*, July 8 1910.

²⁹⁷ “A New Store Building,” *ZCN*, August 27, 1909.

railroads, and the invention of automobiles and airships to speed transportation of people and goods, it was imperative that Zion citizens discard the outdated ways of their ancestors and push their way into the swift currents of the "commercial swim." Anyone in Zion "possessed of their right mind" knew that the city was "factory hungry." These provocative words preceded the crux of the article, which urged readers to support the Municipal League's Promotion Department's proposal to offer up to half of the unsold 3,000 subdivision lots, currently held by the Receiver, as incentives to interested businessmen from outside of Zion. Hopefully, these businessmen would bring in factories that in turn would employ thousands of Zion citizens.²⁹⁸

Local businessman Horace "Candy" Cook had headed the confectionary department in the receiver-administered General Store, but Voliva's purchase of the building forced Cook to construct an independent store just down the block. By September of 1909, brick workers had laid a seventeen-inch thick foundation. Cook was credited with being the originator of the White Dove Chocolates, one of the many confectionaries made by the original Zion Candy Company under Dowie. Interestingly, in 1902 when the establishment of industries in the new city was booming, Cook and his manager first set up their

²⁹⁸"Use Up To Date Methods," *ZCN*, August 27, 1909.

operation in a tent. Having to relocate his business with little notice in 1909 would have been just one more challenge, and perhaps easier than perfecting the art of candy making in a tent during humid Illinois summers.²⁹⁹

W. H. Lichty, the president of the Zion Investors' League, in partnership with several former employees of the General Store, planned a new merchandise store. This store later would be renamed the Leader Department Store, an establishment that would remain a pillar of the downtown business community until after turn of the twenty-first century. In August of 1909, the First State Bank, organized the previous year and whose officers included businessmen affiliated with Marshall Field and Company, moved into a newly constructed brick building situated on the main business intersection of Twenty-Seventh Street and Sheridan Road. Within a week of moving into the brick building, the bank announced that it intended to add another fifty feet to its building, extending the rear of the brick edifice to the alley. Years after the Voliva era, a 1958 advertisement in the *Zion Benton News* aptly described the construction of that building as "a monument of progress."³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹"Making Good Progress," *ZCN*, October 1, 1909; "Advertisement: Zion City General Stores," *ZCN*, November 27, 1908; "Will Make Sweets at Feast," *ZB*, June 17, 1902.

³⁰⁰"Plans Being Perfected," *ZCN*, September 24, 1909; "Into New Building," *ZCN*, August 20, 1909; "A New Store Building," *ZCN* August 27, 1909; "Advertisement: Bicket Rexall," *Zion-Benton News*, September 11, 1958.

However, it was more difficult to attract industries from outside the city. The Waukegan Brass Works, located in the nearby lakefront city of Waukegan, had outgrown its facilities and had an accepted offer from the receiver for a site in Zion City. Despite the plan to provide a \$500 incentive to help the company purchase a factory site, there is no further information to indicate that the Brass company did, indeed, relocate.³⁰¹

In what could have been a magnificent triumph had he decided to relocate, W. S. Austin, owner of the Austin Automobile Manufacturing Company in Grand Rapids, Michigan, met with Receiver Thomas to discuss relocating that factory to Zion. Austin automobiles were manufactured from 1901 to 1921 and were advertised as "The PULLMAN of Motor Cars." In 1911, its top of the line seven passenger, six-cylinder Model 60 sold for a hefty \$6,000. In contrast, Ford's Model T sold for less than \$700.³⁰²

Other potential newcomers included a Chicago can factory. The owner W. L. Eisengart had been a deacon in Dowie's Chicago mission, and evidently had been interested in Zion for some time. However, he

³⁰¹"Brass Factory Coming?," *ZCN*, October 1, 1909; *Iron Trade Review* 45 (Penton Publishing Company, September 2, 1909):431; *Penton's Foundry List: A Directory of the Gray & Malleable Iron, Steel, Brass & Aluminum Foundries in the United States & Canada* (1916):62.

³⁰²Miscellaneous Community Announcements, *ZCN*, June 18, 1909; "American Automobiles: The Austin Automobile & The Austin Automobile Co." American Automobiles, <http://www.american-automobiles.com/Austin.html> (accessed June 3, 2016).

was reluctant to relocate because of the political instability and ecclesiastical restrictions in the city. Nevertheless, he purchased three residential lots in a prime location on which he planned to build a home. H. C. Ferguson, who held patents on several toys, met with the Municipal League about bringing a toy factory to Zion City from Canton, Ohio. Ferguson brought with him samples of his key-wound toys which were "of the most modern kind and adapted to the needs of the American household." Ferguson was interested in a deal similar to the one negotiated by the Lucas and Lee Company that would include extra land to be subdivided and sold.³⁰³

While the Municipal League continued to negotiate with business leaders from around the country, within Zion City, the Marshall Field Lace Factory had increased its workforce from 275, when it had purchased the factory in 1907, to more than 600 by the summer of 1909. Their progress prompted the company to install a more efficient steam heating system, a new sprinkler system to lower insurance rates, and to import a new lace curtain machine from England. Concurrently, the new building to house the Lucas & Lee shoe findings factory was nearing completion and, in August, two carloads of machinery were on its way to Zion City from Ohio. Interestingly, by the time that the shoe finding factory was prepared to open in the

³⁰³"Zion Women's Dorcas Work," *LOH* 16 (November 12, 1904):121; "And Still They Come," *ZCN*, July 9, 1909; "A Strong Possibility," *ZCN*, July 2, 1909.

spring of 1910, several Zion businessmen had purchased the interests of the company from Mr. Lucas and Mr. Lee.³⁰⁴

With the exception of the Lucas and Lee Company, there is no evidence that the Municipal League was successful in attracting any of those outside interests to Zion. Still, the Independents' optimism remained intense. The Zion Investors' Association sponsored a rousing meeting in September 1909, during which G. B. Watkins of Indianapolis inspired the Association and the Municipal League with an account of his successes. Watkins represented the United Industrial Company, which was incorporated for the purpose of drawing industries to central Indiana. Invigorated by Watkins's strategies in Indiana and his proposals for Zion, the Zion boosters chose to put "their shoulders to the wheel" to attract new factories. If successful, the many residents who commuted by car or railroad to nearby towns for work could be employed in their own city. While there were scant details of Watkins's recommendations, the goal clearly was to attract enough factories to employ at least 5,000 people.³⁰⁵

Watkins's plan required a commitment from the receiver to pledge \$300,000 to \$400,000 in land or to mortgage that value in land

³⁰⁴"Making Much Progress," *ZCN*, June 25, 1909; "New Curtain Machine," *ZCN*, November 19, 1909; "New Machinery Coming," *ZCN*, August 13, 1909; "Shoe Factory to Run," *ZCN*, April 8, 1910.

³⁰⁵"Manufacturing Sites in Indiana," *Industrial World* (National Steel and Iron Publishing Company (July 8, 1907):960.

in order to entice new industries to relocate to Zion. Fearing the receiver's reluctance, the president of the Investors' Association authored a resolution, carried unanimously, to aver their support of and cooperation with Watkins's proposition as well as to exhort the receiver to sell as much land as necessary at the lowest possible price. To their great disappointment, Thomas viewed the plan as dangerous and refused to make that kind of investment.³⁰⁶

Railways

To complement the potential commercial growth and to promote greater access to business and to entertainments outside the city, Zion residents petitioned the Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company (C&NW) to add an additional southbound passenger stop in the city between the already scheduled 1:52 p.m. and 5:15 p.m. stops. They requested an additional evening stop as well. Zion residents joined with Kenosha residents to ask the company to be added to the schedule for the theater train that left Chicago at 11:15 p.m. While awaiting the additional service from C&NW, which ran along the east side of town, a new schedule with additional stops was announced for

³⁰⁶"Still After Factories," *ZCN*, October 1, 1909; "Big Deal Pending," *ZCN*, October 8, 1909.

the Chicago and Milwaukee Electric Railroad, which ran along the west side of town about a mile and a half away from the C&NW.³⁰⁷

In addition to being a convenient mode of transportation for Zion residents, railroads were a vital marketing point that Zion Independents could use to attract outsiders to invest in the city. In fact, railroads lay at the core of financial success of greater Chicago. As Ann Durkin Keating has explained, it was the railroad that not only helped to establish Chicago's Loop as a cultural and financial center, but also connected farmers, manufacturers, and commuters from outlying districts to that city. In *Chicagoland*, Keating determined the origins of more than two hundred regional farming, industrial, recreational, and commuter communities, all of which depended to varying degrees on the network of railways that radiated out of Chicago. Industrial communities comprised 30 per cent of those communities in the early twentieth century. Zion was listed as one of them.³⁰⁸

Dowie was well aware that his city's population growth and industrial success relied on access to rail transportation. From the very beginning, he had worked with the railways. Prior to the first

³⁰⁷"Want Better Train Service," *ZCN*, May 21, 1909.

³⁰⁸Ann Durkin Keating, *Chicagoland: City and Suburbs in the Railroad Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 5, 8-11.



Chicago & Northwestern
Railway Depot located on
the east side of Zion.
Postcard c. 1910.
Postcard in the of the author

procession of the congregation to the city site in 1900, Dowie had arranged for reduced fares for anyone arriving in Chicago from Buffalo, from Kentucky, from St. Louis, and from as far west as Salt Lake City. He convinced the railroads to stop in Zion, and arranged for the Chicago and Northwestern to build a platform at the Zion site. As building progressed and industries developed, Zion relied on the trains to deliver raw materials and merchandise. Given the city residents' petition to the railroad for an extra theater train, it is apparent that those residents were also interested in the cultural amenities of Chicago.³⁰⁹

The Chicago and Milwaukee Electric Railway had been organized by a group of Waukegan businessmen in 1891. The first section running from Waukegan to North Chicago was completed in 1896. By 1905, the line extended from Zion City all the way to Evanston, just

³⁰⁹"Consecration of Zion Temple Site," *LOH 7* (June 30, 1900):309; "Zion City Notes," *LOH 7* (June 30, 1900):319.

north of Chicago. Within four years, the railway had hourly service from about 7:00 a.m. to midnight that included both local and express runs. The process of extending the line to Milwaukee began in 1902; however, the financial stresses caused by the Panic of 1907 threw the line into receivership. The railway was sold in 1916 and renamed the Chicago North Shore and Milwaukee Railway (more commonly called the North Shore). By 1919, the North Shore served Chicago's loop, ran north through Chicago's suburbs, to the Great Lakes Naval Base, through northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin industrial towns, and finally to Milwaukee. Zion occupied a premium location on this line, which the Independents actively promoted while campaigning for outside industries to move to the city.³¹⁰

Obstruction of Progress

The exhaustive work of independent Zion City promoters to bring the city into the modern age, to attract industry, and to employ its people in local industries continued to be impeded by Voliva and his supporters. Despite the Independents' claims that Zion would maintain its clean-living ideals, Voliva continued to rant that if the Independents prevailed, Zion would be open to vices of all varieties,

³¹⁰"Improvement in Service," *ZCN*, June 18, 1909; Halsey, ed. *History of Lake County*, 391; "Chicago North Shore & Milwaukee Railroad," The Milwaukee Electric Railway & Transit Historical Society, http://www.tmer.org/Section/History/Chicago_North_Shore_and_Milwaukee/index.html (accessed June 2, 2016).

antithetical to the original Zion ideals. To counter these charges, the *News* published letters and speeches from Receiver Thomas, from Kenosha entrepreneur Z. G. Simmons, and from W. S. Abbott, who had been very instrumental in the early advancement of nearby Winthrop Harbor and was now a Chicago businessman. These men, among others, testified that the ideals on which Zion was founded, temperance especially, were the very reasons that outside manufacturers would be attracted to Zion City. According to Abbott, Winthrop Harbor originally was intended to be a temperance town and he promoted it as such. He estimated that about 90 per cent of the manufacturers he talked to realized the advantages of a dry town for industrial efficiency and profit. He also admitted that "even if the manufacturer was a heavy drinker himself, he does not want his workmen to drink." To counter Voliva's rhetoric of "Christian Cooperation" as superior to capitalistic competition, the Independents repeatedly referred to what they claimed was Dowie's original plan, which was that investors were free to have their own businesses. The Independents pointed out that Dowie had abandoned this position only after many people had invested in the city.³¹¹

³¹¹"Thomas Expresses Views: Fallacy of Open Town," *ZCN*, April 9, 1909; "Two Notable Speeches," *ZCN*, April 23, 1909; "Watchword Progress," *ZCN*, June 18, 1909.

Public Utilities and Location!

Undaunted in their ambitions to modernize the city and to strengthen ties with other communities along the North Shore, the Independent-dominated city council, described by the editor of the *News* as “men of destiny” and charged with acting on important questions, heard the proposals of three companies interested in purchasing the city’s power plant. At that time, all city electric customers, except the Lace Factory, which had its own plant, were powered by the city’s independent power plant that operated only during business hours. A short notice published in October announced that, because of the shorter days and the need for “artificial light,” power would now be turned on at 5:30 a.m. The power plant was considered to be a major asset of the Estate and early estimates of the value of the buildings and the franchise were set at \$50,000, a sum that would be applied towards the remaining secured debts.³¹²

Two of the three companies remained unnamed—one was located in Wisconsin, the other proposed not only to take over the existing plant and equipment, but to build a cross-town electric railway for the convenience of Zion residents. However, the council decided to accept the third proposal, that of the North Shore Electric Company headquartered in Waukegan. Noting that Zion City was the only city

³¹²“Whistles Restored,” *ZCN*, October 15, 1909; “Power Plant In Demand,” *ZCN*, July, 2 1909.

between "Evanston and Kenosha" not served by the North Shore Electric Co., the council insisted in their agreement that Zion would benefit from the same reliable service and at the same cost that all the other North Shore suburbs enjoyed. That North Shore Electric Co. extended their service to Kenosha, Wisconsin was an exaggeration, but certainly their lines extended to Beach Park, an unincorporated section of Benton Township situated between Waukegan and Zion City, where the company supplied electricity to a sand and gravel concern.³¹³

On the morning of December 20, 1909, the electricity stopped for just a few minutes while North Shore Electric connected its service to Zion's existing poles and lines. The company already was in the process of updating the existing equipment and installing new transformers, changes that not only would benefit Zion's citizens with twenty-four hour service and free replacements of burned out incandescent bulbs, but all at a lower cost than what they had been paying under the old system. Zion patrons previously paid a minimum of \$1 per month, but now would pay a minimum of \$0.50 per month.³¹⁴

³¹³Council Minutes, July 19, 1909; September 24, 1909; October, 1909; February 10, 1910; "Power Plant In Demand," *ZCN*, July 2, 1909; Council Minutes, September 24, 1909; October 4, 1909; November 29, 1909; "About To Come Through," *ZCN*, October 8, 1909; "North Shore Co. Gets In," *ZCN*, October 29, 1909; "The North Shore Co. In," *ZCN*, December 24, 1909.

³¹⁴"The North Shore Co. In," *ZCN*, December 24, 1909.

Pro-business Independents continued to host visiting manufacturers who traveled to Zion to inspect available buildings. They advertised to manufacturers looking for better locations, lauding the location of Zion City "on the Chicago & North Western Railway, midway between Chicago and Milwaukee, within the Chicago manufacturing zone." Because of that prime location, manufacturers would benefit from lower "Chicago freight rates." Just as importantly, Zion was a prohibition town whose labor force was "sober, honest, and industrious." The independent Zion Land and Investment Association published large advertisements in the *Zion City News* promoting the city as one "destined to become the leading city of the North Shore," that the future of Zion was to be one centered around business enterprises, and that while retail endeavors were necessary, factories were the "real life blood" of an industrial community.³¹⁵

Municipal League representatives hosted a promising meeting in November with representatives from the Frank B. Cook Company of Chicago, a well established manufacturer of telephone equipment. Representatives of the Cook Company owned many patents, with Frank Cook personally holding 102. The company continued to develop technology for the industry including such items as plug connectors and telephone exchange systems. They shipped terminals,

³¹⁵"Advertisement: Zion Land and Investment Company," *ZCN*, October 29, 1909; "Advertisements: Zion Land and Investment Company" *ZCN*, April 9, 1909.

surge protectors, and other technical equipment across the country. The Municipal League easily could laud the advantages of Zion to Cook because of its designated factory district situated next to the railway.³¹⁶

The only apparent drawback that would keep the Cook Company from relocating was that Zion City had no city-wide natural gas service. However, the Municipal League believed that problem soon would be solved. At the invitation of the League's Gas and Electricity Committee, the manager of the North Shore Gas Company proposed to offer gas service to both commercial and residential customers in Zion City. Centered in Waukegan, the company already supplied gas as far south as Winnetka and as far west as Libertyville. They promised comparable rates to Zion as elsewhere on the North Shore and thought that the pipeline could be completed by August of 1910. Evidently there was a delay in providing service, at least to residential customers. During the summer of 1911, Zion City promoters and representatives of North Shore Gas held an educational mass meeting to show residents the advantages of gas for heating and cooking. This was decidedly an independent initiative, as the meeting was held in the

³¹⁶*The American Telephone Journal* 15 (January, 1907):165; *Official Gazetteer of the United States Patent Office* (1915):1113; "The Cooks Are Coming!" *ZCN*, April 22, 1910; *Telephony* 72 (Telephone Publishing Corporation 1917):15; *Telephone Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (Telephone Magazine Publishing Company 1904):39.

Independents' Christian Catholic Church, the largest opposition church in terms of both congregation and building capacity.³¹⁷

Delays continued. In 1913, Voliva applied for an injunction against the gas company, declaring that as the fee simple owner of many lots, he had not granted permission for easements. The contractors for the gas company claimed that the holders of the 1100-year leases had the right to grant permission, not Voliva. The 1913 edition of *Poors Manual of Public Utilities*, which listed the financial status of public services in the United States and elsewhere, indicated that the extension of service to Zion still was under consideration although a thirty-five year franchise had been procured. The issue remained unresolved for some time to come. In 1925, the Zion city council permitted the North Shore Gas Company to run lines through Zion to Winthrop Harbor, which had requested service, but still would not allow connections within Zion.³¹⁸

In April 1910, after multiple delays, Receiver Gus D. Thomas announced the welcome news of the successful negotiations with Frank Cook Company—welcome at least to the progressive-minded Independents. Cook had purchased the 30,000 square foot building

³¹⁷“\$1.00 Gas For Zion City,” *ZCN*, December 17, 1909; “Mass Meeting to Consider City Gas,” *ZCI*, July 28, 1911.

³¹⁸“The Case of Voliva vs. Millard et al,” *ZCI*, March 28, 1913; *Poor's Manual of Public Utilities; Street, Railway, Gas, Electric, Water, Power, Telephone and Telegraph Companies* (1913):Preface, 931; “Ban On Use of Gas Is Still Effective in City,” *ZCI*, August 20, 1925.

east of the Northwestern Depot that had been the headquarters of the Zion Printing and Publishing Company until the receivership. Frank Cook stated that his plans included another 20,000 square foot addition to the building. At the Chicago location, nearly 200 workers were employed, some of whom were expected to move to Zion. Frank Cook, his elderly father, his brother James and a nephew were expected to make their homes in Zion.³¹⁹

Religious Diversity

It was not only industries and utility services from outside that the independent forces sought to bring in to Zion City. They were also intent in diversifying the religious atmosphere within the town. While both Dowie and Voliva eschewed the very existence of denominations, the Independents welcomed any Christian denomination that would help to sustain the original ideals of Zion City as a "city of refuge for the afflicted of God's people" and presumably would support the laws regulating immoral behavior. Many in Zion had turned from their denominational backgrounds, such as Methodism and Presbyterianism, when they converted to Dowieism. Now they welcomed the extra

³¹⁹"The Cooks Are Coming!" *ZCN*, April 22, 1910.

support that coalitions with others offered in their fight against Voliva.³²⁰

In January 1909, Zion dentist Dr. C. A. Rominger welcomed all Christian denominations to Zion in a speech to the Press Club of Lake County. His address was intended to make an ally of the secular press, which both Dowie and Voliva had repeatedly denigrated, and to reiterate the purpose of Zion City as a "clean and pure city." The desire to bring in outside industries would not contaminate the principles that forbad liquor, tobacco, and other vices. Voliva had been invited to this event, but responded, "To the Devil and his imps, the back-slidden degenerates who sent to me today an invitation and two tickets to the latest thing concocted in hell for the destruction of Zion City." One of Voliva's officers equated the Independents' invitations to other churches, the outside press, or doctors, with inviting "fifty saloon-keepers" while still expecting Zion to remain a prohibition town. In contrast to Voliva's closed vision, Rominger asserted that about half of the population of Zion stood for "freedom and independence in business and religion" and that religious tolerance would be "one of the foundation stones upon which we shall build our New Zion, the Zion City of the future." Citing that glorious city of the future by lauding its proximity to Chicago, the convenience of freight and passenger

³²⁰Advertisement: "Zion City is a Clean City," *LOH* 12 (Nov. 1, 1902):62.

railways, spacious parks, and acres of lakefront, he hoped that the press would aid the Independents' cause and spread the news.³²¹

Relying on the Independents' proposal of religious diversity, the Christian Assembly felt secure enough to purchase a lot on the corner of Twenty-Seventh Street and Eschol Avenue to build a permanent home. This Pentecostal group had first organized in Zion around 1906 and had attracted a number of Dowie's followers, including Rominger and, indeed, a few who had been elders in Dowie's church.³²²

A second denomination in the proximity actually pre-dated Dowie's establishment of Zion City by more than half a century. The Methodists had organized the East Benton Methodist Episcopal Church in Benton Township and eventually built a frame church located on what later would be Sheridan Road, just south of what would eventually be the original Zion City line. Reportedly, when Dowie began purchasing property for his city, he approached the Methodists to buy their land. They refused.³²³

³²¹"Insult to Visitors," *ZCN*, January 29, 1909; "Dr. Rominger's Address," *ZCN*, January 29, 1909; O.L. Tindall, "Lay Aside Your Weights and Easily Besetting Sin," *LOH* 23 (March 27, 1909):91.

³²²"Christian Assembly Buys Lot," *ZCN*, December 10, 1909; Edith Blumhofer, "Marching To Zion",3.

³²³"Memorial United Methodist Church 1837-1958," Memorial United Methodist Church, <https://sites.google.com/a/mumczion.org/memorialumc/history> (accessed July 28, 2015).

Dowie and Voliva treated the Methodists as the interlopers despite their precedence in Benton Township. Dowie, a prolific writer, compiled a series of articles criticizing the organized Methodist church as having strayed from teaching true Christianity. His opinion was in line with many conservative evangelicals, some of whom had broken from their mainstream congregations to follow what they believed to be the true religion. A prime example of this was the Holiness movement, which broke from the Methodist Episcopal Church and from which the contemporary Metropolitan Church of America emerged. A congregational history of the East Benton Methodist Episcopal Church related an anecdote of a meeting between Dowie and a prominent member of the church. Dowie claimed that when his people fell, he would "pick them up." However, if they fell too often, he would "turn them over to the Methodists." He was met with the retort, "We Methodists will take them."³²⁴

In 1900, Dowie published the aptly named *Zion's Conflict with Methodist Apostasy—Especially in Connection with Freemasonry: A Series of Discourses Exposing the Fact that the Methodist Church Has Been Sold out by its Leaders to the World, the Flesh and the Devil*.

Voliva continued to promote this publication when he took over

³²⁴Kostlevy, *Holy Jumpers*, 24, 35.; "Memorial United Methodist Church 1837-1958," Memorial United Methodist Church, <https://sites.google.com/a/mumczion.org/memorialumc/history> (accessed July 28, 2015).

Leaves. In one of Voliva's publications, he accused the Methodist church of being "honeycombed with corruption." "God," he said, was "done with the Methodist church" and any attempts to reform it would be useless. Similar to the criticisms made by those in the Holiness movement, Voliva's criticisms were aimed at the Methodists' tolerance for card-playing, for going to theaters, for dancing, etc., all of which were banned by blue laws within the Zion City limits. However, neither Dowie nor Voliva universally condemned any true "saints" who belonged to Methodist congregations and welcomed them to join Zion, where the living was pure.³²⁵

In the autumn of 1908, a fire destroyed the Methodist church building. In a deal that was possible only because the Independents dominated the city council in the spring of 1909 and because only the receiver had the authority to convey property, the Methodists exchanged the land on which the old church stood for eleven lots within the city. While the Methodists constructed their new church, the city council lent the Methodists the use of various buildings in which to hold their services, including school buildings and rooms in the Elijah Hospice. This generosity was met with scorn by Volivites. Upon learning that Methodist "apostates" were welcome to use space within the city limits, Elder F. M. Royall, a missionary in China, lambasted the

³²⁵"The Apostate Methodist Church," *LOH* 30 (May 11, 1912):91.

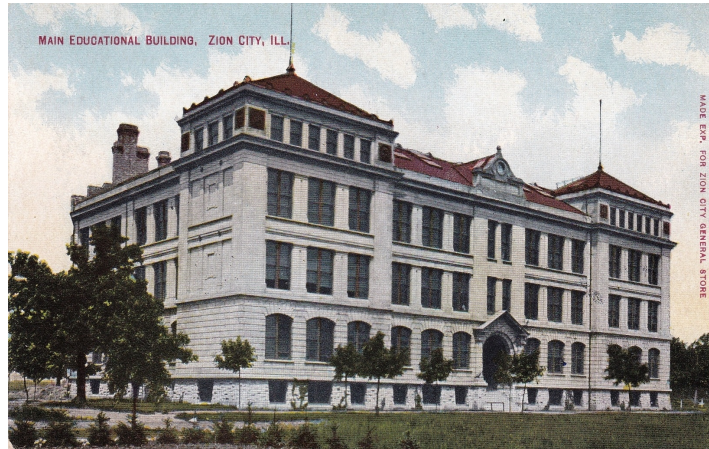
heresy: "If Masons had their lodge burned, would they offer them Elijah Hospice? If Hinky Dink and Bathhouse John [two notoriously corrupt Chicago politicians] have their house burned, would they give them the Hospice?" Royall heaped more abuse upon the Independents for betraying the foundations of Zion, then concluded that they should "be swept out of Zion City."³²⁶

Higher Education

In December of 1909, a somewhat mysterious article appeared in the *Zion City News* about negotiations between the promotions division of the Municipal League and an unidentified denomination from outside Zion City. This denomination was interested in purchasing the main educational building, also known as the College Building. In addition, the denomination needed dormitory facilities, a need which could be satisfied by the additional acquisition of the Edina Hospice. This was a three-story frame structure on the east side of Zion's residential district that originally was built to house workers recruited primarily from England to work in the lace factory.³²⁷

³²⁶"M. E. Church Dedicated," *ZCN*, July 1, 1910; "Enthusiasm for Salvation, and Redemption of Zion City for God and Zion," *LOH* 21 (November 14, 1908):152.

³²⁷"Another Big Deal Likely," *ZCN*, December 17, 1909.



Main Educational Building aka the College Building.
 Postcard c. 1910.
 Postcard in possession of the author

By January 1910, W. H. Lichty and W. L. Tambling, as representatives of the Municipal League, and with Receiver Thomas's endorsement, traveled to a convention of Adventist Christians in Mendota, Illinois, to convince the Adventists to move their college to Zion City. Selling an idea of that magnitude to Zion citizens, the *News* told its readers that these Adventists were not the same as Seventh-Day Adventists and that these Adventists shared many beliefs with the Zionites, including forbidding the use of tobacco and eating pork. Some even practiced divine healing.³²⁸

The Advent Christian Church and the Seventh-Day Adventists both evolved from the mid-nineteenth century Millerite movement. William Miller, a lay preacher, predicted that the second advent would

³²⁸"Narrowly Missed School," *ZCN*, January 14, 1910.

take place in 1843 or 1844. Those years passed, and the second coming did not occur, but many continued to believe that it was imminent. Mendota College, however, was an educational institution founded in 1893 not by the Advent Christian Church, per se, but by its publication organization, the Western Advent Christian Publication Association.³²⁹

Zion was not the only site that the Adventists considered. Officials from Aurora, Illinois, southwest of Chicago, also courted the Mendota College board. During the January conference, the Zion contingent offered a fire-proof stone building and an additional building suitable for a dormitory, all of which could be purchased at a bargain. They claimed Zion was a morally superior city to Aurora because of its many ordinances banning vices. Despite these favorable enticements, the Adventists voted by a large majority to move to Aurora. The Municipal League asked the Adventists to reconsider their decisions, and in May 1910, sixteen representatives from Mendota visited Zion City to tour the College Building, the proposed dormitory building, the Marshall Field Lace Company, and to visit the lakefront, a feature that

³²⁹David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* "The Age of Spurgeon and Moody, vol. 3 of *A History of Evangelicalism: People, Movements and Ideas in the English-Speaking World* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005),192; Susan L. Palmer, "Journey of a Lifetime: The Rocky Road from Mendota to Aurora" (Lecture, Aurora University, Aurora, IL, April 4, 2012. Text available online at <http://www.aurora.edu/documents/library-archives/scholarly-rocky-road-palmer.pdf> (accessed August 26, 2015.)

Aurora could not offer. The Independents' crusade to attract the college continued throughout the winding up of the receivership. Their commitment to bring in outside influences conflicted with the Receiver Thomas's goal to end the receivership. That conflict later would contribute to a rift that developed between the receiver and many Independents in Zion.⁷⁵

The Independents believed that receiver Thomas had been duplicitous in that, during ongoing negotiations with the board of Mendota College, Thomas also considered a proposal by Voliva to purchase the remainder of the Estate, which included the College Building and the dormitory. Thomas denied any wrong doing. To establish this, he solicited a letter from Mendota board chairman C.E. Patten, who assured Thomas and *News* readers that he had "not broken faith" and that Mendota was not yet in a position to make an offer. In the end, it was not the attractions of Aurora that persuaded Mendota officials to move there. Rather, it was the growing political and social turmoil within Zion that motivated the Mendota directors who had supported the move to Zion to change their minds⁷⁶

Mendota's decision not to move to Zion was a serious loss for the Independents, who had broken away from Dowie's condemnation of

⁷⁵"Advent Directors Here," *ZCN*, May 20, 1910.

⁷⁶"A Tilt With Receiver," *ZCN*, May 20, 1910; "A Statement of Facts," *ZCN*, May 27, 1910; Palmer, "Journey of a Lifetime."

other denominations in their efforts to expand Zion's potential for success. Some former Dowieites had established new churches in town. The Methodist congregation now worshiped within the city limits. Unchurched employees of Marshall Field's lace factory now were considered allies. However, the successful acquisition of Mendota College would have brought in new business, a new Christian denomination, and new opportunities for spiritual and intellectual growth. The disappointment over the loss of Mendota was coupled with anxiety at the time over whether or not those tentative business interests from the outside would materialize.

Chapter 6

1909-1910

"A Critical Period": The Fate of the Zion Estate

A new crisis erupted in late 1909 and continued into the first half of 1910 that created serious rifts between the receiver and many Independent Zion City businessmen; between those businessmen and other Independents within Zion City; and among the worldwide community of investors, some of whom had committed their lives' savings to support the ideals that John Alexander Dowie had espoused a decade earlier. While the Independents could accept the sale of large edifices in the city to Wilbur Glenn Voliva, they could not agree on the best solution as to the disposal of the remainder of the Zion Estate, which would bring an end to the receivership. In the midst of these events, the primary group of Independents led by Daniel Bryant moved forward and organized a separate "Christian Catholic Church" and planned the construction of a permanent church home.

During those crisis years, the Zion Municipal League moved forward in their efforts to improve the city's cultural environment and lobbied for a Carnegie funded public library. A public library in the city would expand opportunities for creative growth and would help to remove Zion from what some perceived to be intellectual stagnation. Applying to the Carnegie Foundation for the funds to build a library

appeared to be a solution for some of the social issues facing Zionites, and Carnegie's generosity at the time was well known.

Beginning in 1890 and continuing throughout the Progressive Era, Andrew Carnegie donated the funds for more than 1,800 libraries. In 1909, the American Library Association reported that Carnegie had donated \$1,724,570 of which \$76,000 went to communities in Illinois. As he expressed in "Wealth," Carnegie believed it was his moral duty as a successful businessman to distribute a portion of his assets for the common good, for the "elevation of our race." While communities across the nation appreciated his sense of obligation, recent scholars have analyzed Carnegie's generosity more critically. Historian Kathleen Davis included Carnegie's "institutional philanthropy" within the scope of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capitalism. According to this theory, Carnegie's use of his excessive wealth to fund libraries converted those funds into "symbolic capital," which meant they were less acts of selfless generosity, but rather they were acts that created "relations of dependence . . . disguised under a veil of moral relations"⁷⁷

Reformer and Social Gospel leader William Gladden criticized the era's philanthropists, including Carnegie, asserting that they gained

⁷⁷"Gifts and Bequests to American Libraries, 1909," *Bulletin of the American Library Association* 4 (March, 1910):497-98; Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *North American Review* (June, 1889); Kathleen Davis, "Tycoon Medievalism, Corporate Philanthropy, and American Pedagogy," *American Literary History* 22, Medieval America (Winter 2010):783.

their money through less than honest means. Moreover, the acceptance of that money compromised the ability of those receivers to criticize wealthy businessmen, monopolies, and the restrictions on organized labor. Regardless of any paternalistic or otherwise selfish motivations, the Zion Independents would have welcomed a public library. One of their stated missions was to "stand for a city affording the best and highest standards socially and educationally." A library would be socially beneficial, as reading suitable books would lead to self-improvement and, hopefully, to a better informed, progressive citizenry.⁷⁸

"Redeeming" Property

As the Independents strove to develop Zion City by both advocating tolerance, encouraging education, and by attracting outside industries, Voliva pursued his pledge to redeem Zion in order to maintain his version of its original purpose as a theocracy. Touting the 1909 watchword, "For God Will Save Zion," and promising an even more inspiring motto for 1910, Voliva reminded his followers of their duties to "pray without ceasing," to give offerings, to tithe, to subscribe to his various publications, and to invest in Zion's institutions and industries so that "no well-informed person [could deny] that with

⁷⁸Davis, "Tycoon Medievalism," 791; "Declaration of Principles," *ZCI*, October 28, 1910.

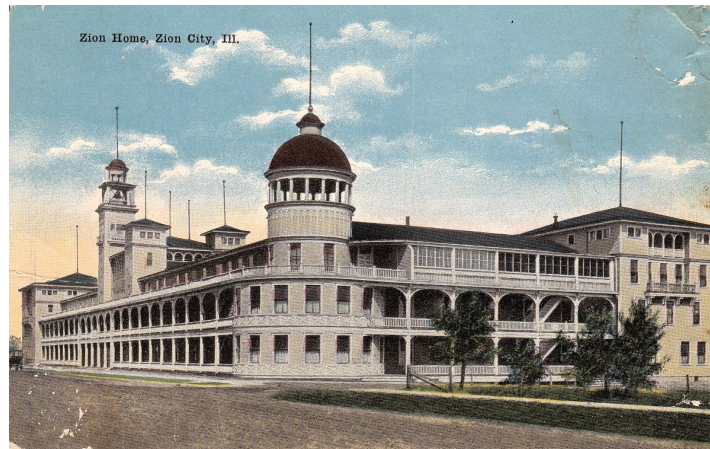
proper leadership, and economical and conservative leadership," Zion would rise to a "glorious future."⁷⁹

Voliva had purchased Shiloh Tabernacle in 1908 for \$12,500, and two final payments would be due on January 1, 1910 and on July 1, 1910, a fact about which he incessantly reminded his congregation. The Zion General Stores had been "redeemed" in August of 1909 for \$75,000. A few months later, Voliva and his cohorts purchased the acreage on which the Tabernacle stood, commonly referred to as the Temple Site, along with the Baby House and the Fruit Stand for another \$8,300. In November, Voliva acquired the Administration Building and Elijah Hospice, which was called the North Shore Inn under the receivership.

The Administration Building, like the General Stores building, was one of the original frame structures to be built in the city and sat immediately across Elijah Avenue (Sheridan Road) from the Hospice. Spanning nearly a block, its two stories originally housed the administrative offices of the General Overseer as well as the business offices for the many Zion Industries. While in receivership, various church groups and Independent small businessmen rented space in it. Once Voliva purchased it, he immediately moved his office as well as the offices for the staffs of *Leaves of Healing* and the *Zion Herald* into

⁷⁹"General Overseer's Notes," *LOH* 24 (December 11, 1909):193.

the building and renamed it the Administration Building for the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion. Every Independent had to move out.⁸⁰



Zion Home ca. 1910, formerly known as the North Shore Inn, and before that, as the Elijah Hospice.
Postcard in possession of the author

This was when, without delay, Voliva renamed the Elijah Hospice the "Zion Home." Invoking the memory of John Alexander Dowie, the Zion Home would be operated similarly to divine healing homes that Dowie had established in Chicago in the late nineteenth century. Voliva made it clear that this was not to be a standard hotel. Rather, it was a place where Zion people from all over the world could find respite, for a fee, from the world's evils. Devotional meetings would be provided for employees and guests daily, the purity laws of Zion

⁸⁰"General Overseer's Notes," *LOH* 24(December 11, 1909):193.

enforced, and the front desk would supply only sanctioned newspapers or magazines.⁸¹

In January 1910, Gus Thomas announced that the receivership would end as soon as the remaining secured mortgages were paid. Zion investors initially expected that the remaining Estate would be placed under the control of a Board of Trustees appointed by Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis. Four members would be citizens of the city, and three outsiders would "assist materially in giving poise [balance] to the management . . . of the Estate." This trusteeship fulfilled a reorganization plan recommended in 1906 by the previous receiver, John C. Hatley. The editor of the *News* anticipated that the Estate still should reap twenty-five to thirty cents on each invested dollar, especially if new factories could be enticed to relocate to the city. If not, the editor warned that additional costs to market the Estate might reduce that to around fifteen cents. When the Receiver's Report was issued a month later, the editor enthused that investors might reap up to 100 per cent of their investment.⁸²

⁸¹"Zion Home," *LOH* 24 (December 18, 1909):199; "Zion Home," *LOH* 25 (January 22, 1910):32.

⁸²"To Terminate Shortly," *ZCN*, January 28, 1910.

The Independent Church

While awaiting the receiver's next report, the largest group of Independents under Reverend Daniel Bryant, who had officially organized a separate church the previous summer, announced their intention to build a structure for "Our Sunday School." They had purchased several lots on Twenty-Seventh Street, just east of the College Building, from the receiver and planned to build a brick edifice with an auditorium large enough to seat 2,000 people. As with the new Methodist Church now located within city limits, the purchase of these lots by Independents was possible only because the receiver had the legal power to convey land. Bryant's Independent group first had organized a Sunday School in 1907 in response to the turmoil in Zion City, seeking to return some semblance of spiritual order to the lives of the children. Fifty children attended the early Sunday School, and by the following year, the enrollment had increased to 500 and classes were organized for adults.⁸³

In July 1909, these Independents reiterated the ideals of Dowie's original church that had been organized in 1896. Under the leadership of Daniel Bryant, the Zion Overseer who had been called back in 1908 from missionary work in South Africa to lead the local Independent

⁸³"Sunday School Building," *ZCN*, January 28, 1910; "One Hundred Years of Grace," Grace Missionary Church Centennial Publication, Zion IL, 2,3; "The City in Brief," *ZCN*, August 30, 1907; "Our Sunday School," *ZCN*, October 4, 1907.

movement, they restated the Articles of Faith from Dowie's Christian Catholic Church and took that name as their own. Later, they consolidated the Sunday School with Bryant's Christian Catholic Church. In organizing the church, they publicly acknowledged their opposition to Voliva's current policies as well as to theological errors made by Dowie when he had declared himself to be an apostle. In 1906, Bryant had been a candidate, along with Voliva, for the position of Acting General Overseer after Dowie was deposed. Bryant agreed to withdraw from the running pursuant to the terms of an agreement the officers of the church endorsed in August 1906. In that agreement, Voliva was to serve only until the following August when representatives of the international congregation would choose a new overseer.⁸⁴

Z.G. Simmons and a Library

In the midst of negotiations with Mendota officials that ultimately failed, the toil of organizing a new church, and the growing dissatisfaction with the receiver, the Independents lost a valuable friend and supporter in February 1910 when Zalmon G. Simmons died. Simmons, a tireless business promoter with a strong civic spirit, had childhood roots in Benton Township, the township from which Zion City

⁸⁴"Notice," *ZCI*, August 4, 1911; Daniel Bryant, "Pen and Pulpit," *ZCN*, October 1, 1909; "Reorganize Zion: Threat of Voliva," *CT*, November 26, 1906.

was carved. He once taught classes in a one-room school in the Township. Later, he became a very successful businessman in Kenosha, Wisconsin, ten miles north of Zion City. He strongly criticized the use of alcohol by workers. He claimed that in his business at least 200 workers took off every Monday just to sober up. This decreased efficiency and cut into a businessman's profits. As such, Simmons admired the foundations upon which Dowie founded Zion.⁸⁵

Simmons had served in the Wisconsin State Assembly and later as mayor of Kenosha. He actively pursued Kenosha's commercial interests throughout his career, most famously as the founder of Simmons Bedding Company. Simmons participated in a campaign to obtain state funding for a highway that would run near the Lake Michigan shoreline and connect Milwaukee to Chicago. The committee appointed to promote the highway included representatives from the Sheridan Road Improvement Association from the Chicagoland area, where thirty miles of the road already connected Chicago to the state line. As the automobile age developed, this "driveway" provided a vital link from Zion to metropolises north and south of the city.⁸⁶

⁸⁵"A Practical and Opportune After-Dinner Speech," *ZCN*, September 20, 1907.

⁸⁶*Kenosha, Wisconsin Headlight: Sights and Scenes Along the Northwestern Line*, C. S. Nichols & Co., 1895, 15,16; "Driveway to Green Bay," *CT*, March 21, 1897.

Simmons supported various movements in Zion City, including the Independent Sunday School to which he donated 400 bibles. In keeping with his commitment to education and to public libraries, he tried to help Zion Independents establish their own library. John Alexander Dowie had amassed an extraordinary collection of books that had become part of the Estate. Receiver Thomas posted an advertisement in *Public Libraries* to announce the sale of Dowie's library, which consisted of more than 7,500 books and periodicals that included subjects as diverse as "history, art, travel, religion, geography, exploration, poetry, philosophy, science, theology, literature, and fiction."⁸⁷

Reluctant to sell it to an outsider if Zion's citizens desired to keep the collection, Thomas let it be known that they must act immediately. The library committee of the Municipal League immediately took action to gather subscriptions. Simmons, who had been a friend of Dowie and who desired that the collection remained intact, quickly donated \$1,500. This, with additional donations of \$3,500, raised much of the \$7,000 necessary to match a previous offer. Inspired by the possibility of a quality public library, the library committee then wrote again to

⁸⁷*Public Libraries: A Monthly Review of Library Matters and Methods* 8 (Chicago: Library Bureau, 1908):290.

Andrew Carnegie who responded with his offer to furnish a building once the collection of books and a lot had been secured.⁸⁸

The League's appeal would not have been sufficient. Carnegie required specific conditions for his donations, including the direct request from and continued participation of local municipal authorities. This sometimes included a tax assessment amounting to 10 per cent of the donation in order to continue to fund the library. In some communities, library boards requested funds from the city council to help with costs. Carnegie also required that the library building adhere to specific architectural styles and that the building be used solely as a library.⁸⁹

Zion did not receive a Carnegie library. There is no evidence that Carnegie or his agents responded to the League's request. Although the Independents dominated the city council, Zion politics remained unstable, and the city finances remained in short supply. Those in Zion hopeful for Dowie's collection of books were disappointed. Chicago bookseller A. C. McClurg & Co., from whom

⁸⁸"For a Public Library," *ZCN*, January 29, 1909.

⁸⁹Ruth Edens, "A Substantial and Attractive Building: The Carnegie Public Library, Sumter, South Carolina," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 94 (Jan., 1993):35, 40; Davis, "Tycoon Medievalism, 792; Joyce M. Latham, "Clergy of the Mind: Alvin S. Johnson, William S. Learned, the Carnegie Corporations, and the American Library Association," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 80 (July, 2010):250; Advertisement: "An Unexcelled Opportunity," *CT*, February 10, 1910; "A Feeble Echo of the Splendor of Alexander Dowie's Reign," *CT*, February 20, 1910.

Dowie had purchased some of his collection, bought the entire library from the receiver for \$7,000 and put it up for sale.⁹⁰

“Risky Business”

Receiver Thomas published one of his last reports in the *Zion City News* during February, 1910. According to this report, the remaining Estate consisted of 2,708.18 acres in farm land; 368.8 acres of one-acre tracts; more than twenty-five lots with improvements such as the College Building, the Edina Hospice, the power plant, the bakery, the laundry, etc.; thirty-six buildings without land; 1400 cemetery lots; nearly 900 acres of lakefront property valuable for potential recreational development as well as for sand and gravel deposits useful for building; 2,422 unimproved city lots; a farm in Michigan; city lots in Nebraska, and miscellaneous improvements. The estimated value of this property was \$1,189,923.11.⁹¹

In that same issue of the *News*, a critical article indicated that many investors, including editor O.W. Davis, held serious doubts about the wisdom of the 1906 reorganization plan, which would remove the remaining Estate from the court’s protection. It would be “risky business,” they claimed. They feared that the turmoil between and

⁹⁰“Literary and Trade Notes,” *The Publishers’ Weekly* 76 (December 18, 1909):1923.

⁹¹“Receiver’s Third Report,” *ZCN*, February 25, 1910.

among factions within the city could throw the Estate into litigation and any profits would be drained by legal fees. The editor claimed that selling the Estate in its entirety to one purchaser, or alternatively settling the Estate while it still was under Judge Landis's jurisdiction, would be the safest avenue to pursue. Interestingly, the editor had heard that even Voliva endorsed the continuation of court oversight, "miraculous as it may seem."⁹²

Perhaps it was not so miraculous after all. Rumors of Voliva's intent to purchase the remainder of the Zion Estate had been circulating for some time. In the fall of 1909, the Chicago weekly *Economist* reported that a Chicago firm had offered Receiver Gus D. Thomas a million dollars for the Estate, which would yield investors twenty cents on the dollar. In that same news item, this journal reported that Wilbur Glenn Voliva had procured enough financial support to purchase the Estate and to establish himself as the successor to Dowie, not just as the ecclesiastical head, but as owner of the majority of real estate in the city. Evidently, Thomas was holding off on dealing with Voliva until he could determine the outcome of the million dollar offer.⁹³

⁹²"A Critical Period," *ZCN*, February 25, 1910.

⁹³"Miscellaneous," *The Economist: A Weekly Financial, Commercial, and Real-Estate Newspaper* 42 (October 16, 1909):582.

Those rumors continued to circulate despite reassurances from the receiver that no such thing would happen. However, if true, and Voliva successfully purchased the Estate, he would have the full weight of the law behind him and no one could legitimately challenge his fee simple ownership. The Independents feared that Voliva would try to reinstate the highly restrictive leases, which were deemed unenforceable while the Estate was owned by the receiver. Thomas had obtained a court order the previous year giving him the authority to issue deeds in place of the leases. Indeed, Voliva, through his cohorts, had filed a petition at that time to enjoin the receiver from issuing warranty deeds in place of the leases. Judge Landis dismissed their case.⁹⁴

Even as he filed his petition, Voliva claimed in his *Herald* that exchanging the leases for deeds would not exempt any Zion City lots from the lease restrictions. Exhorting his followers to refuse deeds, Voliva railed against those deeds as a blow against morality and a part of a conspiracy to overthrow the ideals on which the city was founded. He repeatedly warned his readers that along with deeds would come "Worldly Men . . . Worldly Amusements . . . Saloons . . . Stinkpots . . . Corrupt Politics." In short, "Every Form of Evil that the World Has." Rather, Voliva declared that godliness and cleanliness would prevail if

⁹⁴Supplant Leases," *ZCN*, March 5, 1909; "Those Two Black Eyes," *ZCN*, January 21, 1910; *CT*, March 11, 1909.

the leases were maintained. Ironically, those "heretical" deeds still carried several of the fundamental restrictions such as banning alcohol, gambling, and houses of prostitution. However, by providing fee simple title instead of a leasehold, they did not carry the threat of expulsion if any conditions were violated.⁹⁵

It was vitally important to the Independents that Voliva not purchase the Estate. The remainder of the property in receivership would be immensely valuable to whomever hoped to prevail in realizing their vision of Zion City's future. Tangentially, while the lease/deed debate continued, Voliva announced a debate between he and one his closest associates about the "Flat Earth Theory." There were no additional articles reporting the event, but his purported belief in a flat earth remains one of Voliva's most noted legacies, or follies.⁹⁶

A House Divided

Citing the optimistic financial report of February 1909, yet uneasy about the turmoil within the city, O. W. Davis, who had close to \$20,000 invested in Zion himself, urged the world community of Zion investors to petition Judge Landis to retain the court receivership until

⁹⁵"What Will Come In if the Leases are Not Maintained," *ZH*, February 24, 1909; "Deeds Offered for Leases," *ZH*, January 20, 1909; Lake County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Book 176 Page 267; "Two Divergent Court Opinions Touching the Cigar and Drug Store Injunction Matter," *LOH* 37 (January 8, 1916):350-51.

⁹⁶"Local Items," *ZH*, March 17, 1909.

the entire Estate was settled. The following week, on March 2, Voliva's *Herald* published a petition to be sent to the court praying continuance of the receivership, with a recommendation from Voliva to his congregants that they sign and return the petition immediately to the receiver. Accompanying that petition was a letter to the world community of investors and signed by some of the largest investors, including Voliva, who claimed to have \$75,000 at stake.⁹⁷

Pursuant to Editor Davis's plea, the *News* received many letters of approval, but not all who resided within the city agreed with maintaining the receivership. A sizable group of Independents, including some members of the Investors' Association, who had personal and financial interests in the city as a viable commercial center, supported ending the receivership and executing the reorganization plan. For the benefit of those who lived outside the city and to inform all readers that the opinions expressed in the *News* were not universally held, the paper published a resolution put forth by some members of the Zion Investors' Association. These investors contended that the 1906 reorganization plan was binding and that no investor should sign any petition to the contrary. Editor Davis

⁹⁷"A Heart to Heart Talk," "The Receiver's Report," *ZCN*, February 25, 1910; "Petition," *ZH*, March 2, 1910.

countered that any semblance of harmony in 1906 had disappeared by 1910 and reiterated his fear of prolonged court battles.⁹⁸

Other members of the Association fervently denounced the resolution to end the receivership on the grounds that a decision affecting such a vital issue necessitated proper notice to all, and that there were not enough interested persons at that meeting to warrant a legitimate resolution. More importantly, this faction argued that the constitution of the Investors' Association required a referendum of all investors to decide the fate of the Estate. The question of a referendum became one of the primary points of contention over the next several months.⁹⁹

Independent investors who lived either outside of the city or who lived in town but worked elsewhere were anxious to recoup what they could. Many preferred a more expedient resolution of the Estate while it still was under court supervision over a potentially problematic reorganization plan. Receiver Gus D. Thomas was among these investors. He had moved to Zion City with his family expecting that it would be "the nearest point to Heaven" that he could expect to find on earth. At the beginning of the receivership in 1906, Receiver Hately had appointed Thomas as the cashier for the Zion City Bank and later

⁹⁸"Letters of Approval / Adverse Resolution," *ZCN*, March 4, 1910; "Report by the Receiver," *ZCN*, May 25, 1907.

⁹⁹"A Kick Registered: Member of the Investors' Association Object to Resolution Passed," *ZCN*, March 4, 1910.

director of the newly organized First State Bank. Established in April of 1908, it was the first in the city to be organized under state laws. As such, it took over the financial business of the receiver's bank and consequently became the Independents' bank. Organizers of the bank predicted that it was bound to become "one of the solidest financial institutions of the North Shore." When Receiver Hately resigned from the receivership in 1908, the court appointed Thomas to replace Hately. By 1910, however, Thomas was anxious to settle the Estate and move to the American Southwest.¹⁰⁰

Others simply needed the cash regardless of how little the return on their investments. The *News*, whose editor supported an end to the receivership, was quick to print excerpts of these emotional responses to support its position. One investor, signing his letter "Aged eighty one years, seven month," wrote that he and his wife depended in large part on the beneficence of their neighbors and they needed money to survive. He lamented his investment of nearly \$5,000, "so foolishly thrown away in Zion City." A woman living in New York sent in her petition to Judge Landis stating that she had "made a great sacrifice to invest the little I did in Zion believing it to be a call from the Lord." Now feeling deceived, she simply wanted the Estate sold, to receive

¹⁰⁰Letter by Gus D. Thomas," *ZCN*, August 2, 1907; "Advertisement for Zion City Bank," *ZCN*, December 28, 1906; "The First State Bank," *ZCN*, April 17, 1908; "Hately Quits," *ZCN*, June 12, 1908.

what she could, and "be through with it." A widow wrote that she and her husband had put in \$5,200 and "would be only too glad to have some of this to help me live now as I badly need it." Yet another urged the quick sale declaring, "I want the money. Land or property would be of no use to me. I am in need of the money."¹⁰¹

A week following the disagreement between and among members of the Investors' Association, the group met again and agreed on a motion that the Estate should be sold as soon as possible. If feasible, this would occur while still under court supervision, but if not, the sale should take place under the reorganization plan. While the Association chose names of potential trustees to be put forth to Judge Landis, Receiver Thomas announced that the final decree to end the receivership was scheduled for June 1, 1910. The provisions in the receiver's circular indicated that, among other conditions, the title to any remaining property would be vested in an appointed Board of Trustees, who then would dispose of that property and settle any pending matters.¹⁰²

While the debate continued, some Independents in Zion City circulated a third proposal to dispose of the Estate. The plan espoused parceling out the land to investors in proportion to their investments.

¹⁰¹"Letters of Approval," *ZCN*, March 4, 1910; "A Rousing Convention," *ZCN*, March 18, 1910.

¹⁰²"The Investors' Meeting," *ZCN*, April 1, 1910; "To Enter Final Decree June 1, 1910," *ZCN*, April 22, 1910.

This proposal signaled the desperation felt by some of the Independents who dreaded Voliva's acquisition of the entire Estate. The *News* addressed the infeasibility of this suggestion by simply reiterating the numbers recorded in the January 31, 1910 Receiver's Report. Of the remaining 4,791 claims against the Estate, 3,217 ranged from less than twenty dollars up to \$500. An additional 559 held claims from \$500 to \$1000 and another 450 claimed from \$1000 to \$2000. Nearly two-thirds of these investors lived outside of the city. Indeed, they were scattered around the world. The unimproved lots and acreage might be desirable, but commercial buildings, tools, and furniture also comprised the assets. Even if the majority of the investors agreed to this type of plan and the Estate was fairly divided up, a logistical nightmare in itself, the *News* predicted a "general scramble" to sell, which would drive the value down even more by glutting the market.¹⁰³

1910 Election

As the discussions and disagreements about the Estate continued, the partisan campaigns for the annual mayoral and council election heated up. The year before, the Independent Party won the majority of seats over the Theocratic Party whose ticket, predictably,

¹⁰³"Why Not Parcel It Out?," *ZCN*, June 17, 1910.

was comprised only of members of Voliva's handpicked church council. However, the Independents' victory in that 1909 election was not immediate. It had taken more than two months until the parties agreed on a committee to count the votes. Partisan disputes consistently curtailed council effectiveness and the contentious disagreements spilled over into the town. A newly proposed ordinance entitled "An Ordinance Relating to Offences Affecting Public Peace, Quiet, and Safety" was indicative of the turmoil.¹⁰⁴

As the 1910 election loomed, the *News* criticized Voliva and his "henchmen" for actions comparable to "the expert manipulators of the Chicago slum lords" and warned Zion taxpayers that the 1909 fiasco had cost them more nearly \$4,000 in legal fees, court costs, and Voliva's hired guards. Quoting Patrick Henry's revolutionary speech to the Virginia Convention, "I have no light by which my feet are guided but the lamp of experience," the *News* implored Zion voters to not repeat the travesty in the upcoming elections.¹⁰⁵

The plea was without effect. An ordinance passed by the council on March 24, 1910, revealed the ensuing disunity within the council meetings. "An Ordinance to Compel the Attendance of Absentee Aldermen at Meetings of the City Council of the City of Zion" not only

¹⁰⁴"Some Political History," *ZCN*, March 24, 1910; Council Minutes, June 21, 1909; June 22, 1909.

¹⁰⁵"Some Political History," *ZCN*, March 25, 1910.

spelled out the responsibility of each alderman to attend all meetings, but provided for the arrest and the forcible delivery to meetings by the police of any offending aldermen. This ordinance was passed at a special council meeting because there was no quorum at the regular meeting held the week before. One Independent was out of town on business and Theocrats were absent on purpose, which they were accused of doing repeatedly to prevent a quorum. At that same special meeting, the council passed an ordinance to set the date for the April elections in which the police magistrate and three aldermen would be elected. The ordinance further provided that the number of aldermen would decrease from ten to eight. Zion City's population had fallen to 4,700 according to the most recent school census, and Illinois State Statues permitted only eight aldermen in cities with fewer than 5,000. All Independents voted for the reduction of aldermen. All Theocrats voted against it.¹⁰⁶

The Independents won easily in the Benton Township elections held Tuesday, April 5, 1910, gaining all but a single school trustee seat. Voter indifference contributed to losing that seat. The *News* claimed that the majority of the voters were now Independents, but the loss of the school trustee seat the previous year by a wide margin

¹⁰⁶Council Minutes, March 24, 1910; "An Ordinance to Compel," *ZCN*, March 25, 1910; Council Minutes, March 24, 1910; "An Ordinance Providing for the Municipal Elections for the City of Zion for the Year A. D. 1910," *ZCN*, March 25, 1910; "An Important Meeting," *ZCN*, March 25, 1910.

made too many Independents despair of a victory. However, the Theocrats won seats in the city elections, replacing three Independent aldermen and the police magistrate. The Independents elected the previous year—the mayor, five aldermen, the city clerk, the treasurer, and the city attorney—would remain in office for another year. Hubris contributed to the 1910 loss. Because of the ordinance requiring fewer aldermen, the Independents did not think they had much to fear even if a few Volivites won. They did not bother to raise campaign money to organize transportation to bring in Zion voters from the outlying area. The *News* reported after the election that in contrast, Voliva’s supporters reportedly “strained every nerve to bring in . . . every possible voter, even several who . . . had no right to vote.” Voliva emphasized the Theocratic wins in the internationally distributed *Leaves*. He continued to rail against the Independent Party as one created by the Devil and to rant against the Independents, who were “Zion traitors and would-be destroyers.”¹⁰⁷

Despite gaining some seats, the Theocrats challenged the 1910 city election. They disputed the reduction from ten to eight alderman, arguing that using the school census was not legitimate and that a special census was necessary. The Theocrats argued this despite the

¹⁰⁷“An Independent Victory,” *ZCN*, April 8, 1910; “The Theocrats’ Win,” *ZCN*, April 22, 1910; Council Minutes, April 21, 1910; Editorial Notes, *LOH* 25 (April 23, 1910):126.

fact that in 1903, Dowie's city council had used that same tool to pass a resolution to increase the number of aldermen from six to ten when the population had increased substantially. Insisting that there should be ten aldermen, two retiring Theocrats refused to give up their council seats until their replacements had been elected. The mayor refused to recognize them. In response, two of the defeated Independents claimed their entitlement to council seats contending that the city originally had intended for there to be ten alderman and "there was no direct statute or law providing for the reduction." The mayor refused to recognize them. The *News* reported this quandary with humor. "What fun we mortals have," the headline read.¹⁰⁸

Fearing another court battle or simply taking advantage of the fact that the two challenging Independents had received more votes than any Theocratic candidates, the council reversed the ordinance of March 1910 and returned to ten aldermen. That the 1910 ordinance was good law was evidently not worth pursuing, and the state did not intervene. The two Independents were seated on May 23, 1910.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸"City Council Affair," *ZCN*, July 1, 1910; Council Minutes, May 9, 1910; "Fun in City Council," *ZCN*, May 13, 1910.

¹⁰⁹"Council Has Full House," *ZCN*, May 27, 1910.

Two Worlds, Two Endings

The conflicts over what to do with the Zion Estate continued throughout the 1910 election struggle and into the summer. While Zion contended with this, Halley's Comet staged a six-hour spectacle for Earth on May 19, opening the gates to a flood of end of the world prophecies either from collision or from poisonous gasses. Some people gathered together on rooftops for what they thought would be their last night on Earth. Even though the predictions of the demise of the earth by a comet proved to be unfounded, many Independents in Zion City discovered that their world might be crashing down around them.¹¹⁰

The same week as Halley's appearance, the *News* reported that receiver Thomas had agreed to consider a proposal by Voliva to purchase the Zion Estate on a payment plan, meaning that disbursements to investors would be distributed as the payments were made. Another rumor circulated that a Chicago firm had offered cash. Thomas thought the cash offer too low, but thought it wise to submit to the worldwide community of investors any proposals for either acceptance or refusal. Therefore, Thomas put negotiations with representatives from Mendota College on hold until the investors had

¹¹⁰“End of the World: The Day the Earth Passed Through Halley's Comet 24 Million Mile Tail,” *The Daily Galaxy*, (http://www.dailygalaxy.com/my_weblog/2010/09/1910-the-end-of-the-world.html) (accessed June 9, 2016).

been made aware of their options. The College Building under consideration in those negotiations was part of the Estate. This immediately caused a furor to erupt among Independents. Thomas's decision was a threat to most Independents who believed that those continuing negotiations had priority over any new offers. The option of exchanging the highly restrictive Zion City leases for fee simple deeds also was put on hold pending a referendum.¹¹¹

At a turbulent meeting between Independents and Thomas, the latter tried to explain his receivership responsibilities to a group of indignant and understandably fearful Independents, given Voliva's threats to their hopes for the city's development. The meeting adjourned at 11:00 p.m., but a group of concerned Independents remained in the room. Several dozen of that group, including Judge V. V. Barnes and Professor James Harnly, traveled to Chicago the next day to file a petition with the court asking that any negotiations with Voliva should not have priority over ongoing talks with officials from Mendota. In reporting these events, the *News* stated its more moderate position, which would be the opening volley in the final rift between and among the Independents. The editor O. W. Davis averred that while the paper was founded as an "anti-Voliva organ," and that it stood for "Americanism and Independence as opposed to

¹¹¹"A Tilt With Receiver," *ZCN*, May 20, 1910.

ecclesiasticism or czarism," he could not support what he considered to be overreaction on the part of Barnes and others. Davis tried to minimize what some of those Independents perceived as an imminent threat by referencing both the Bible and the recent appearance of Halley's Comet.

There was a lot of fear lest that comet swat the earth out of the universe but nothing happened. There has also been a lot of apprehension that Big Bill will knock the Independents out of Zion City but it will never happen. "One shall chase a thousand" was not written of Wilbur the wild man was it?

Davis's expressed confidence in Voliva was curious, given the latter's verbal abuse aimed at all Independents, including Davis, the receivers, and even Judge Landis.¹¹²

The following week, Thomas and many Independents reassembled. While only a few expressed their opinions, Thomas held the floor for nearly two hours, and criticized the inaccuracies in the petition filed by Barnes and Harnly in Landis's court on May 21. The petitioners claimed to represent two million dollars worth of investments in Zion. Rather, Thomas claimed that those petitioners who actually signed the petition represented only about \$200,000,

¹¹²"A Tilt With Receiver," *ZCN*, May 20, 1910; ("How could one man chase a thousand, or two put ten thousand to flight, unless their Rock had sold them, unless the LORD had given them up?" *New International Version*, Deuteronomy 32:30; Editor's Notes, "The News' Position," *ZCN*, May 20, 1910.

which he later amended to \$158,814.49. The exaggeration strained their credibility.¹¹³

Thomas further expounded on the matter of the sale of the College Building to Mendota College. This was one of the original conflicts between the receiver and some of the Independents who had invested a great deal of energy and nearly six months trying to attract Mendota. Thomas read two letters to counter the accusations by Independents that he was duplicitous in his negotiations with Mendota. One he had addressed to C. E. Patten, chairman of the board for the Christian Adventists, asking him if he had any complaints with Thomas's handling of the negotiations. In Patten's response, he stated that their board was not yet ready to accept the proposal or to make a bid. Furthermore, Patten stated that all business dealings with Thomas had been quite agreeable and that he had not "broken faith" with the Adventists in any way.¹¹⁴

Thomas then acknowledged publicly that several unauthorized persons recently had attempted to gain entrance to his office in the Administration Building at night. Although they displayed a key, the janitor refused to allow them to enter. What they might have been looking for was not mentioned, although given the growing animosity

¹¹³"A Petition Knocked Out," *ZCN*, June 3, 1910.

¹¹⁴"Wednesday Night Rally," *ZCN*, May 27, 1910; "A Statement of Facts," *ZCN*, May 27, 1910.

between the receiver and some Independents, it is not unreasonable to conclude that a few Independents were searching for incriminating documents to help their cause. Thomas continued to reiterate his fiduciary obligations to the Estate and his correlative obligation to consider all legitimate offers for the Estate, even if that offer was from Voliva.¹¹⁵

In an editorial the week before the meeting, Davis, as editor of the *Zion City News*, declared his faith in both Thomas's and Judge Landis's commitment to do the right thing for all investors. As Davis came under attack by angry Independents, he declared that the purpose of the *News* was to stand "independent of the Independents." His editorial the following week took the position that it was time that the investors got what they could from the sale of the Estate as soon as was feasible. In that same issue, Thomas, acting as the administrator of the Zion Land and Investment Company, published an advertisement in the *News* repeating its goal of commercial and industrial growth and urging "unity of purpose" among the citizenry, to act in the best interests of their city. Davis's and Thomas's positions would drive a group of Independents to establish a third newspaper

¹¹⁵"Wednesday Night Rally," *ZCN*, May 27, 1910; "A Statement of Facts," *ZCN*, May 27, 1910.

within a week, the *Zion City Independent*, which remained the primary organ of the Independent movement within the city until 1927.¹¹⁶

March 1911

On June 1, 1910, Judge Landis presided over a hearing to consider the May 21 petition. Receiver Thomas's attorneys presented a letter addressing the charges by the Independents. Judge Landis found no merit to any allegations made in the Independents' petition and dismissed it. He defended the actions of the two receivers, who had handled the transactions openly and as fairly as possible, even at the expense of their "peace and comfort." He declared that "you could bring testimony from now until September, all the people of Zion City, and all the people of Switzerland and of Australia who are connected with, interested in, and bound up in this general situation, and I doubt that they could give me any more information . . . than I have now." It was his legal responsibility to consider all offers. Having dealt with it for four years, Landis now thought it time to be done with the case and ordered the receiver not to convey any small parcels until Landis could gather offers for the entire Estate and then submit them to the investors.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶"News' Position," *ZCN*, May 20, 1910; "The Present Controversy," *ZCN*, May 27, 1910; Advertisement: "A Well Defined Purpose," *ZCN*, May 27, 1910.

¹¹⁷"A Petition Knocked Out," *ZCN*, June 3, 1910.

Bitterness against receiver Thomas persisted and was intensified when the Estate finally was settled in March of 1911. Not only had Thomas received a monthly salary of \$400 as receiver, but he also was paid an additional \$19,400 for his work. The *Independent* reprinted portions of an article from a Los Angeles newspaper that highlighted Thomas as a millionaire who had purchased acreage for more than \$12,000 and had hired an architect to design what was described as "one of the most pretentious in the environments of Los Angeles." This conspicuous consumption was a grotesque comparison to the devaluation of the Zion Estate for investors, from an estimated forty-four cents on the dollar when the receivership began in 1906 to an estimated twenty-eight cents in 1908 when Thomas took over, and ending at fourteen cents.¹¹⁸

While all Independents objected to Voliva's "one man rule" philosophy, many of the core group who had objected to the direction the receiver was taking and who had filed that May 21 petition were those who had officially organized the Independent Christian Catholic Church in 1909. This was the church group that had begun to construct a building for their Sunday School and for the congregation in general. Key participants included Reverend Daniel Bryant, Judge

¹¹⁸"Dowie's Receiver Discharged," *ZCI*, April 28, 1911, Reprint from *Chicago Record-Herald*, April 26, 1911; "Gus D. Thomas Receives Ovation," *ZCI*, June 16, 1911; "To Revolutionize Zion City," *Olympic Leader*, Port Angeles, WA, November 13, 1908.

Visscher V. Barnes, Wm. H. Lichty, Frank E. Lee, Charles Warren, among other prominent Independent business leaders in Zion City. They all had been followers of John Alexander Dowie and initially had been supportive of Voliva. They, along with other Independent businessmen, with church leaders of other breakaway congregations, and with other interested parties who lived in the city, had the most to gain if the city was opened up to outside businesses. They had the most to lose if Voliva did indeed purchase the Estate.

The same week that their petition was dismissed by Judge Landis, the Independents definitively broke from the receiver and from *Zion City News* editor O. W. Davis. According to Davis, on the day before the hearing with Landis, a group of Independent businessmen requested a meeting. Davis, who described that meeting as an inquisition without the physical torture, was asked if he would sell the *News* to the Independents. Davis reportedly asked for a little time, at least until after the court hearing, but the group required an answer then and there. Feeling bullied and maligned, Davis felt compelled to defend himself before the international community of investors, and once again, to minimize any threat posed by Voliva. He acknowledged that Voliva had threatened to "kill the *News* and to hang its hide on his back yard fence." Davis also acknowledged Voliva's oft repeated promise to drive the Independents into the lake. Yet, Davis declared,

the Independents were an "army [of] able-bodied men . . . owning their own businesses and homes—yet an army quaking lest our y.e.f. (young ecclesiastical friend) should snatch their candle out of its candlestick—and turn off the current."¹¹⁹

In their defense, the Independents agreed that they wanted to purchase his newspaper, but disagreed that they had intimidated Davis in any way. Given the urgency of the situation (the prospect of Voliva purchasing the Estate and the imminent hearing in court), the Zion businessmen who met with Davis desired to go to press immediately in order to fully explain the situation from the Independents' perspective to the worldwide readership. They required the mailing lists in order to reach that readership. They contended that the *News* was providing incomplete information at best and only one side at worst. Davis's refusal to sell forced the Independents to make other arrangements. They organized a committee and named long time Zion City educator and councilman John H. Sayrs as editor. Sayrs had been a Theocratic councilman until the 1909 election debacle.¹²⁰

In 1910, the Independents still held the majority of political seats, but the possible sale of the Estate to Voliva created immense anxiety. The split with the receiver and the dissension within the ranks

¹¹⁹"A Silver Cord is Broken," *ZCN*, June 3, 1910.

¹²⁰"The Why and the Wherefore," *ZCN*, June 10, 1910; "Why Start A New Paper in Zion City?," *ZCN*, June 10, 1910.

of Independents threatened any unified movement that might be successful in thwarting Voliva from realizing his goal to dominate the city. While many Independents continued to work through their various civic organizations to attract outside industrialists, the split with the receiver in particular reduced their exposure to the broader market. Still, they persevered and redoubled their efforts to win elections and to promote their businesses. The Independents repeatedly sought to convince residents of Zion and investors throughout the world of Dowie's original plans to include individual businesses and of their intent to maintain Zion as a clean city.

Chapter 7

The Receivership Ends

In 1910, the Independents continued to look forward to a prosperous future, although the obstacles in their way increased. Previously, Wilbur Glenn Voliva was their primary antagonist, but with the end of the receivership in sight, many Independents began to think the courts acted against them as well. They were keenly aware that Zion was located in an eminently viable location for economic success. They kept tabs on the growth in the surrounding communities, but it seemed just beyond their reach. While they worked for prosperity and tried to capitalize on their location, the Independents considered the moral ideals at the foundation of Zion to be one of their primary marketing tools.

The mission statement of the newly organized publication, the *Zion City Independent*, emphasized an awareness of the enemy to progress. For the Independents, it was Voliva. He was a political boss and a demagogue. In their July 4, 1910, patriotic programs, Independent speakers talked of the national ideals of liberty and justice. Their speeches echoed the revolutionary champions from more than a century earlier who espoused the ideals of freedom to prosper and freedom of opportunity in contrast to the oppression from

tyrants who halted the progress of the individual and of the common good.

The *Zion City Independent* debuted June 3, 1910. The mission statement affirmed the sponsor's commitments to a clean city, to the right to own individual businesses, to public utilities, and to a City Beautiful. The mission statement duplicated those in the original "Articles of Faith" for both Dowie's Christian Catholic Church organized in 1896 and Daniel Bryant's Christian Catholic Church in 1909:

FIRST: We recognize the infallible inspiration and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.

SECOND: We believe that all men ought to repent of their sins and trust in Christ for Salvation.

THIRD: We believe that all Christians must be able to make a good profession and declare that they do know in their own hearts that they have truly repented and are truly trusting Christ and have the witness, in a measure, of the Holy Spirit.

FOURTH: We believe that all other questions of every kind should be held matters of opinion.¹²¹

The *Independent* replaced the *Zion City News* as the primary source of news for Independent readers. Voliva soon purchased the interest of the *News* and merged its subscribers with those of the *Leaves of Healing*. He then consolidated his own "semi-secular" *Herald*

¹²¹"Declaration of Principles," *ZCI*, June 3, 1910.

into the *Leaves*, claiming that "Zion should have but one paper, for, in Zion, all things are sacred."¹²²

In the first issues, the editors of the *Independent* described the current state of affairs and countered receiver Thomas's arguments against their May 21, 1910, petition. In the leading article, Judge Barnes again criticized the *News* for providing only part of the story, protesting against it "in the name of human liberty" and "in the name of the religion of Jesus Christ which we all pretend to believe in." The Independents hoped to reach investors throughout the world with their side of the story, which they thought had not been presented. While their anger based on feeling deceived by Thomas was apparent, they tried to convey confidence in him and in Judge Landis. They praised Landis's strong stance against corruption, exemplified by the \$29,240,000 fine imposed against Standard Oil in 1907 for accepting rebates from the Chicago and Alton railway. This penalty was the maximum allowed. While it was overturned by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals the following year, the initial fine still was indicative of Landis's disdain for the unethical, monopolistic practices of big business leaders.¹²³

¹²²"Zion City News Sour Grapes Anyhow," *ZCI*, September 16, 1910; "General Overseer's Notes," "To Subscribers," *LOH* 25 (July 2, 1910):205, 208.

¹²³Address of Judge Barnes at May 27th, 1910 meeting "Stirring Picture of Estate Affairs," *ZCI*, June 3, 1910; Wilgus, Horace LaFayette, "The Standard Oil Fine." *Mich. L. Rev.* 6 (1907):118-35; David Pietrusza, *Judge and Jury: The Life and Times of Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis* (South Bend, IN: Diamond

The *Independent* contended that Voliva's intentions were in direct opposition to the era's anti-monopolistic reform priorities. If Voliva successfully purchased the Estate, he would even more forcefully assert his absolute rule, continue to repress those who opposed him, and prevent any outside industry from building in the city. At a recent meeting with his congregation in the Tabernacle, Voliva reportedly told his followers that when they "get in charge of Zion City, we will compel the Independents to go out and lock up their homes and nail up the windows and let the grass and the weeds grow up so that crickets can be heard from one end of the street to the other, then I will buy their properties at my own figures and sell them to you at a reasonable price."¹²⁴

The *Independent* juxtaposed Voliva's vitriolic 1910 program with his 1907 pacific claims, when the congregation, by an overwhelming majority, voted Voliva the General Overseer of the church. In a stirring speech to a mass meeting of Independents on May 27, 1910, Judge Visscher V. Barnes read from the records that Voliva had assured the congregation he would never "do wrong to you [the congregation], or to anyone else." Neither would he "be a partner at any time to tyranny, domineering methods, or any other direct

Communications, Inc. 2001),83-4.

¹²⁴"A Synopsis of the Situation in Zion City," *ZCI*, June 3, 1910.

violations of the plain Word of God.” Furthermore, and more importantly, Voliva had vowed to the people of Zion that “if I cannot treat you as men and women and appeal to you from the highest and purest motive, then I am willing to pack my trunk and go. I believe in treating people like men and women, not as a lot of little puppets.”¹²⁵

Go Forward, Oh Zion

In that first issue and in succeeding issues, the *Independent* repeatedly emphasized the value of Zion’s location halfway between Chicago and Milwaukee. Judge V. V. Barnes contended that Zion City’s population, depleted by half since the bankruptcy, could easily increase to several hundred thousand if that location and the city’s amenities were promoted. Those amenities included miles of Lake Michigan shoreline, planned parks, wide boulevards shaded by trees, and not least of all, no taverns, gambling, bowling alleys, houses of prostitution, or tobacco. Each of these contributed to an environment offering a healthy and moral alternative to the filth and vice of the big cities. However, clean prosperity in Zion would not be realized if Voliva successfully acquired the Estate and imposed his will. Voliva’s goals to “monopolize all the lands, houses, businesses, religious tenets, and authority” in Zion was holding the city back from what the

¹²⁵“Early Morning Meeting,” *LOH* 18 (April 7, 1906):441; *LOH* 19 (April 18, 1906):24; “Stirring Picture of Estate Affairs,” *ZCI*, June 10, 1910.

Independents called the "'Go Forward' movement along the North Shore."¹²⁶

"Go Forward" had been founder John Alexander Dowie's motto in 1899 while he still was in Chicago planning the "Coming City." Taken from Exodus, Dowie used the verse as a motivational tool to fight against the evils of the city and of the Chicago press, which Dowie claimed had persecuted him and the Zion movement for nearly a decade. For Moses and the Israelites fleeing from Egypt, "going forward" fulfilled God's command to have faith in him, to separate the waters of the sea. For Dowie and his followers, "Go Forward" included the then emerging movement to leave "Babel" behind and establish a model city in which to manifest his ideals. Voliva, ever mindful of the power that Dowie once had, frequently used the slogan "Go Forward" to urge his congregation not to forsake his efforts to redeem the city. By 1910, the Independents used the slogan to press their cause, that of making Zion City a viable commercial competitor with other burgeoning industrial cities in the region.¹²⁷

While other Progressives did not consider it a religious term, the phrase itself is symbolic of the progressive reform ideals of the era.

¹²⁶"Stirring Picture of Estate Affairs, *ZCI*, June 10, 1910;"Citizen Ruled by Intimidation," *ZCI*, June 10, 1910.

¹²⁷John Alexander Dowie, "Zion's Holy War Against the Hosts of Hell in Chicago," (Chicago: Zion Publishing House, 1900):273-4; "And the Lord said unto Moses, Wherefore criest thou unto me? Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward" Ex 14:15 (KJV).

While marketing the Chicago Plan to Chicagoans, Charles H. Wacker, Walter Moody, and other members of the Chicago Plan commission staged a rally in 1919. They displayed a signboard mounted on a truck that read in part, "Now is Your Chance Men and Women Push Chicago Forward," and "Go Forward Slip Backward Which Do You Prefer." Carl Smith has asserted that these statements were meant to appeal to Chicago residents' "pride and honor."¹²⁸

Nearing the End of the Road

At a mass meeting of Independents, and with receiver Gus D. Thomas in attendance, Judge Barnes chastised Thomas for his response to the May 21 petition. He chastised *Zion City News* editor O.W. Davis for leaving out crucial information in the *News* about the ongoing Mendota question. Barnes read a letter dated May 24, 1910, from Mendota officials that Barnes asserted was omitted in the reporting. That omission would prejudice investors not living in the city into thinking that the Mendota deal was done and over. That letter also was not printed in the *Zion City Independent*. The primary disagreement that arose between Barnes and Thomas after the reading seemed to be the interpretation of the term "to this end." Thomas asserted that the phrase referred to the "determination to

¹²⁸Smith, *The Plan of Chicago*, 124, Photograph Caption.

submit" a proposal to the Mendota association. Moreover, he argued that there had been no serious commitment of any kind on his part nor on the part of the Mendota representatives. Barnes, while acknowledging that some details still needed to be negotiated, interpreted the phrase to refer to a "proposition of acceptance and not mere submission to the association."¹²⁹

While vitally important for the Independents to acquire the college, it would have been extremely problematic for the Adventists to move into a city divided so contentiously between factions. The Adventists' board commissioned with choosing a new location was somewhat contentiously divided as well. Orrin R. Jenks, chairman of the Finance Committee for the relocation, favored Aurora and intensely opposed any move to Zion City. Charging some of the pro-Zion members of his committee with manipulating the situation, Jenks declared that if Zion won the final vote, he would not be part of the organization there. Jenks may have had multiple reasons for preferring Aurora over Zion City, but the problems within Zion certainly were among his reasons. He and other members of the college staff were acutely aware of Dowie's reputation in the press, of Dowie's financial and personal downfall, and of the current conflict between Voliva and the Independents. In a move comparable to

¹²⁹"Stirring Picture of Estate Affairs," *ZCI*, June 10, 1910.

driving the last nail into the coffin of the pro-Zion City faction, Jenks, knowing what Voliva would have said, wrote to him asking him if the college would be welcomed. There is no evidence that Voliva replied to Jenks.¹³⁰

The ensuing conflict between the Independents and Receiver Thomas was predicated on ideas of legalities, on liberties, on the letter of the law versus equity. Judge Barnes disagreed with Thomas's claim that he had a fiduciary responsibility to consider any reasonable offer even if from Voliva. From Thomas's perspective, Voliva had submitted such an offer and it was time to submit it to a referendum of the investors. Barnes, however, declared that Thomas had no legal obligation to deal with Voliva. Barnes and most of the Independents considered Voliva to be the "avowed enemy of half the population" of the city and "had formed himself practically into a trust to damage" their business efforts and effectively to force them out of the city. "We have rights under the constitution," Barnes claimed, "to 'life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'" Those rights surely would be violated if Voliva purchased the Estate and continued to pursue his one man rule.¹³¹

¹³⁰Palmer, "Journey of a Lifetime," April 4, 2012.

¹³¹"Inherent Rights of the People," *ZCI*, June 10, 1910.

While even the former *News* editor Davis preferred someone other than Voliva to purchase the Estate, he suggested that the debt Voliva would incur would keep him from causing any harm to others in town. Perhaps, Davis intimated, it was pride that made the Independents so recalcitrant. Consideration should not be limited to the local investors, but to the world community of investors who were pawns in this power struggle within the city. Davis insisted that instead of questioning whether or not the Estate should be sold to Voliva, the real question should be, "Shall the Investors have a right to say what shall be done with their property or not?"¹³²

Contrary to Davis's depiction of the out of town investors as pawns, the Independents claimed it would be unjust to those outsiders "to make them unwitting parties to the tyrannical, monopolistic plans" of Voliva.

Indicative of the divisions between and among Independents, W. L. Tambling, secretary and treasurer of the Zion Investors' Association, affirmed that he would not vote for Voliva to purchase the Estate, but was dismayed at the increasing view within the Association that resident investors should have the greater rights. For him, those residing outside the city "should always be considered first."¹³³

¹³²"A Silver Cord is Broken." *ZCN*, June 3, 1910; Daniel Bryant, "Shall the Estate of Zion be Sold to Wilbur Glenn Voliva?" *ZCI*, June 3, 1910.

¹³³Daniel Bryant, "Shall the Estate of Zion be Sold to Wilbur Glenn Voliva?" *ZCI*, June 3, 1910; "Letters to the Editor," *ZCN*, June 3, 1910.

The question Davis challenged, "Shall the Estate of Zion Be Sold to Wilbur Glenn Voliva?" had been the title of Reverend Daniel Bryant's article published in the *Zion City News* on May 27, 1910. It was published again in the first edition of the *Zion City Independent* on June 3, 1910. In it, Bryant combined Christian standards of moral behavior with patriotic rhetoric. It was the right, he claimed, of every citizen to have the benefits of "liberty in religion, liberty in education, liberty in business." Bryant decried the sale of Estate to Voliva for four reasons: for Voliva's sake, for his followers' sake, for the receiver's sake, and for "Our People's Sake." He had little to say about its effects on Voliva, except for a touch of wry humor that Voliva might "lose his humility." However, Bryant was genuinely concerned that there would be a repeat of the experiences under Dowie, in that people rushed to mortgage their homes and to pledge to the church far more than they could afford in order to save Zion from financial ruin. Voliva had been urging the same kinds of sacrifices with constant reminders of payments due on the buildings purchased to date and constant appeals to "redeem" Zion.¹³⁴

Bryant told his audience a story of an event in the city's history in which the unquestioning faith in John Alexander Dowie contributed to the eventual receivership and significantly contributed to the conflict

¹³⁴Daniel Bryant, "Shall the Estate of Zion be Sold to Wilbur Glenn Voliva?" *ZCI*, June 3, 1910.

at hand. He pled with those investors not to make the same mistakes again. In early 1901, Illinois State Representative Francis E. Donoghue had initiated an investigation into privately owned banks, in particular, the Zion City Bank. This bank, as with all Zion institutions, was controlled by Dowie. He had established it in 1899, with capital of \$25,000, the minimum required for national banks by the 1900 Gold Standard Act. Donoghue submitted a resolution to the General Assembly asserting that Dowie held all funds presumably in trust for depositors, but there was no procedure in place to oversee the deposits and to protect the depositors. Fearing that "religious enthusiasm" or "untrained business judgment" might lead Dowie to make poor investments, Donoghue cited evidence that Dowie had recently invested in property at what Donoghue believed to be inflated prices. Referring to a recent surge in bank failures, Donoghue requested that a committee be formed to investigate the Zion bank's practices and solvency. Indeed, there were thirty-two state or private bank failures in 1900. That number jumped to fifty-six in 1901.¹³⁵

In 1910, Daniel Bryant reconsidered Donoghue's resolution and admitted that he had been "the voice of a friend and not an enemy."

¹³⁵*Journal of the House of Representatives for the Forty-Second General Assembly of the State of Illinois* (Springfield (1901):177-8.; Richard S. Grossman, "US Banking History, Civil War to World War II," *EH.net* owned and operated by Economic History Association, <https://eh.net/encyclopedia/us-banking-history-civil-war-to-world-war-ii/> (accessed June 24, 2016).

They should have welcomed the probe into the affairs of the bank. In 1901, however, the congregation resented the intrusion. Dowie was incensed by the effrontery of the politician—an Irish, Catholic Democrat at that. In a Sabbath day meeting at the Chicago Central Zion Tabernacle, Dowie led his congregation in a characteristic call and response meeting.¹³⁶

Excerpts from Dowie's address as reported in *Leaves of Healing* indicate the apparent unwavering faith in their leader Dowie:

BANK CITY DEPOSITORS CONTENTED AND CONFIDENT

I will make short work of it as far as we are concerned. Let everyone who has a dollar in Zion City Bank, or a dollar in any of Zion's Investments, stand. (Several hundred arose.)

Is there one, man or woman, amongst you who desires the Illinois Legislature to investigate Zion City Bank?

Voices—"No"

General Overseer—If there is, say Yes.

Voices— "No."

General Overseer . . . Is there one of you discontented?

Audience—"No."

General Overseer—We would be better off without any who are discontented; but I do not believe there is one who is. I thank you.

Do you think that Zion is afraid of investigation?

Audience—"No."

¹³⁶Daniel Bryant, "Shall the Estate of Zion be Sold to Wilbur Glenn Voliva?" *ZCI*, June 3, 1910.

General Overseer—Do you think it is right for us to show exactly what money you have in the Bank?

Audience—"No."

General Overseer—Is that the business of Mr. Donoghue or anybody else?

Voices—"No."

General Overseer—I will further question: Is there one single person whether a member of this church or not, who has any charge to make against Zion Investments of any kind?
(There was absolutely no response to this offer.)¹³⁷

A political cartoon in the same issue of *Leaves* captioned "The Black Pope and His Brigade Attacking Zion," depicted on the left, the "malicious meddling" committee atop an ass and Donoghue in a Jesuit black cassock and Biretta holding a placard that read "Forward at Rome's Command: The End Justifies the means." On the right, the position itself packed with the representation of righteousness, stood the symbol of Zion as Truth and Faith in front of the Zion City Bank and supported by a crowd of investors. There is little evidence to suggest that Dowie was particularly nativistic. His congregation included many nationalities. He condemned Methodism and Congregationalism with as much ferocity as he did Catholicism. However, Dowie did not enjoy challenges to his authority, and yielded to the opportunity to malign Donoghue in a manner that would feed into the pervasive anti-immigrant attitude apparent during the era.

¹³⁷"The Illinois Legislature Defied," *LOH* 8 (February 23, 1901):564-566. The parenthetical comments are included in the *LOH* text.

Evidently, the investigation stalled, in part, because the Legislature found it did not have the authority to call witnesses. In that same cartoon, another placard stated the opinion of Attorney General Howland J. Hamlin, a Republican: "I do not know by what authority or what law the investigation can be conducted." Several years later, Daniel Bryant would submit that the congregation's eyes would have been opened if the investigation had continued. However, given the faith Dowie inspired while he was alive, and the faith, or fear, that Voliva seemed to inspire in half the population after Dowie's death, it is unlikely the investigation would have made any difference to many. Interestingly, an analysis of Dowie in a 1903 phrenological journal presented him as a combination of "a [Charles] Spurgeon, a John Knox, a Martin Luther, and a [Dwight L.] Moody" in terms of his influence over others. Dowie was "able to convince others of what he wants them to believe."¹³⁸

The spring months of 1910 would prove to be eventful for the Independents. Ideas and opinions changed rapidly. Even though Reverend Daniel Bryant detested the idea of a referendum, a short note in the *Independent* the following week stated that many Independents no longer were against a referendum vote, especially

¹³⁸"Court Inquiry for Zion Bank," *CT*, February 28, 1901; "The Illinois Legislature Defied," *LOH* 8 (February 23, 1901):564; "In the Public Eye" John Alexander Dowie," *The Phrenological Journal and Science and Health* 11 (November, 1903):158-160.

since they could endorse their favored Reorganization plan. The Independents were hopeful that by showing investors that Zion held great potential for success, those investors would vote for the Reorganization plan. By accepting the referendum it also is likely that Independents living in Zion wished to assure the world community of investors that the local Independents had the best interests of all at heart and were not being simply uncooperative or selfish.¹³⁹

With Voliva clearly in the running for the purchase of the Estate, the Independents embarked on a series of mass protest meetings in town, the transcripts of which were then printed and sent to out of town investors. In one early meeting, prominent businessmen and representatives of various enterprises addressed the audience. Reverend Daniel Bryant first introduced Arthur Stevenson, the manager of the successful National Office Supply Company, who told the audience that, throughout history, crises had inspired greatness in men. Mrs. A. W. Brooks, the Independent candidate for the school board, spoke to the women in the room. She still supported the efforts to attract Mendota College. Because the Adventists' high ideals were similar to those of Zion, the children of the city could look forward to attending college in the city instead of facing the temptations of secular colleges far from home.

¹³⁹Miscellaneous Item, *ZCI*, June 10, 1910.

Other speakers included Charles P. Beebe and H. A. Goudie, both prominent Independent businessmen, who urged investors to vote for a plan other than selling it to Voliva. W. H. Lichty described the original plans of Zion and explained how they had been thwarted over the years. As a founding member of the Municipal League, Lichty had been busily developing business and promotional contacts throughout the North Shore and in Chicago. Finally, Judge V. V. Barnes and J. H. Harnly took the platform to emphasize the current conflicts with the receiver. Harnly compared the relationship of receiver Thomas and Voliva to that of President Buchanan and the secessionist South. As predecessor to the Great Emancipator, Buchanan "played into the hands of the incipient southern confederacy." To the Independents, however, Voliva was even more of a threat "than a slave driver, for he seeks not only to enslave the body but also the intellect and spirit."¹⁴⁰

The *Independent* repeatedly published a proxy form to be signed and returned by investors throughout the world, imploring them to appoint W. H. Lichty, V. V. Barnes, C. P. Beebe, or Daniel Bryant as representatives to act on their behalf for their interests in the Estate. The date set for the Final Decree was postponed until July 14, but during the delay, the Independents were to be granted full access to the mailing addresses of all investors. According to comments

¹⁴⁰"A Rousing Mass Meeting May 27," *ZCI*, June 3, 1910.

published in the *Independent*, this was more easily ordered by Judge Landis than accomplished by the Independents.

The referendum offered three proposals to investors.

PROPOSAL A. A cash offer of Seven Hundred Thousand Dollars, the entire sum to be paid to the Receiver on or before October 1, 1910.

Under this plan, a final distributive dividend would be paid by the Receiver upon receipt by him of the purchase price.

PROPOSITION B. A term offer of Nine Hundred Thousand Dollars less the amount of cash on hand and such notes as the Receiver may desire to retain for the purpose of a Receiver's dividend; the amount of such cash and notes to be credited upon the first installment of the purchase price.

1 st installment payable in 18 months, less credits as above \$100,000
2 ^d installment payable in 2 years	100,000
3 rd installment payable in 3 years	100,000
4 th installment payable in 4 years	100,000
5 th installment payable in 5 years	125,000
6 th installment payable in 6 years	125,000
7 th installment payable in 7 years	125,000
8 th installment payable in 8 years	<u>125,000</u>
Total	\$900,000

Interest at the rate of five per cent per annum is payable on all unpaid installments. Payment of all installments is secured by deposit of additional collateral valued at \$200,000.00

Under this plan a Receiver's partial dividend would be paid upon acceptance of the bid, and a partial dividend would accrue upon the payment of first installment of the purchase price, and in like manner partial dividend would accrue thereafter upon the payment of each successive installment.¹⁴¹

Proposal A and Proposition B offered the investors about fourteen cents on the dollar, a figure puzzling to Independents who pointed out that the Receiver's report the previous February showed that the total assets were \$1,477,614.63 to satisfy the unsecured claims of investors of \$4,900,552.69. The Referendum's proposed cash offer for \$700,000, if accepted, would provide less than half of the stated value.¹⁴²

The third proposition, while not perfect, was the choice that many of the Independents thought to be the only one advantageous to them, and they urged any investors who objected to Voliva's plans for the city to choose Proposition C.

PROPOSITION C. The entry by the Court of the final decree vesting the estate in an Administrative Board of Trustees in substantial accordance with the reorganization plan.

Under this proposition dividends would be paid from time to time as money is received from the sales of property by the Board of Trustees.

In case the investors do not want to accept either of the offers made for the whole of the estate, and in case

¹⁴¹"Referendum Put to Investors," *ZCI*, June 10, 1910.

¹⁴²"Cold Figures from the Receiver's Report," *ZCI*, June 10, 1910.

the property is invested by the Court in a Board of Trustees, it has been suggested that the Court be asked to instruct the Trustees whether they shall

1. Gradually dispose of the estate in small parcels at the best obtainable price, or
2. Exchange immediately as many properties as possible for claims against the estate or for part cash and claims against the estate.

Provision is made in the blank to be returned for an expression of your opinion on these two points.
(Signed by Gus D. Thomas, Receiver, June 9, 1910.)¹⁴³

While the Independents debated their best options, Voliva was absent from the city and from the *Leaves of Healing*. He and four of his top associates had spent much of the previous three months in Chicago negotiating with an investment firm, looking for options to fund the purchase of the Estate. He had made a "Time Offer," designated as Proposition B, to the receiver on May 19, 1910. Additionally, he had been negotiating for four months with the Chicago firm of Cobe & McKinnon, who had proposed the \$700,000 cash offer. Cobe & McKinnon was a private bank and real estate company, the owners of which also had organized the Assets Realization Company, whose business was the consolidation, reorganization, and liquidation of bankrupt firms. Voliva had contracted with them to purchase the Estate if the investors chose Proposal A. Given the three options on

¹⁴³"Referendum Put to Investors," *ZCI*, June 10, 1910.

the referendum, Voliva told his followers that the cash offer of \$700,000 was the best choice. However, he considered both the cash offer and the time offer to be his. Presumably, the contract provided Voliva with greater flexibility for raising the necessary funds.¹⁴⁴

Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness and Property

While waiting for the results of the referendum and the court's final decree, Zion City people continued to go about their daily routines and to plan local events. On Monday, June 20, 1910, Zion men joined in a ninety-mile automobile tour throughout Lake County organized by Waukegan men to advertise Waukegan Day and Carnival. The Methodists dedicated their new building on June 26. Although the new building seated 340 people, the number of attendees, who included receiver Thomas, spilled out of the building and onto the lawn.¹⁴⁵

The history surrounding the construction of that new Methodist church building is noteworthy. Arthur Stevenson, a founding member of the *Zion City Independent* and a former Dowieite, had sat on the Methodist church building committee, which had contracted the work to a local expert who would utilize innovative techniques in building the

¹⁴⁴"General Overseer's Notes," *LOH* 25 (June 11, 1910):180; "General Overseer's Notes," *LOH* 25 (July 2, 1910):205; "Commercial Paper Market Less Active," *Commercial West* 25 (February 28, 1914):12.

¹⁴⁵"Joy Ride," *ZCN*, June 24, 1910; Memorial United Methodist Church, Zion, IL, <https://sites.google.com/a/mumczion.org/memorialumc/history> (accessed June 25, 2016).

church. The new church was to be constructed of concrete using a technique invented and patented by Robert H. Aiken of Winthrop Harbor, a village just to the north of Zion City. In his "tilt-up" process, concrete was poured into forms laid flat on the ground, then tilted up into place and anchored to form the walls of the building. His system still is used today, but with modern technology to lift the panels.¹⁴⁶

All in Zion City looked forward to the annual Fourth of July celebrations. A multi-church committee of Independents planned a day-long gala in Shiloh Park, beginning with a parade led by military veterans with their fifes and drums. "Our Sunday School" of the Independent Christian Catholic Church hosted the first annual picnic of the Lake County Sunday School Association. The schedule of events listed speeches by Zion and county dignitaries, and included the reading of a new Declaration of Independence by V. V. Barnes. This Declaration emphasized the original ideas of governments by the consent of the people, and the right of the people to "alter or abolish" a tyrannical government. It also customized the original Declaration to address the current "attempted domination by a few" in Zion and the Independents' right to resist that domination. For entertainment, adults and children alike could compete in wheelbarrow and sack

¹⁴⁶"Church Opening and Dedication," *ZCI*, July 1, 1910; "Many View Concrete Wonders," *CT*, February 19, 1909; "Tilt-up Construction: History and Uses," <http://www.concretecontractor.com/tilt-up-concrete/construction-history/> (accessed June 24, 2016).

races, tug of war contests, or play baseball. A short distance away from the Independents, on the recently redeemed ten-acre Temple Site, Voliva's group enjoyed their own celebration featuring a merry-go-round and a slide for the children.¹⁴⁷

The Fourth of July celebrations in Zion often were held to be "safe and sane" in the regional news because fireworks, real or toy guns, and any explosive or offensive action that would taint the public peace were prohibited by city ordinances. Moreover, there would be no rowdiness from alcoholic over-indulgence as Zion was a dry town. As a model city intended to be an alternative to the inherent problems in other cities, Zion participated actively in the ongoing national movement against reckless Fourth celebrations, which was led in part by the American Civic Association. While still encouraging the display of patriotic festivities, the Association campaigned for bans on fireworks and explosives. The *Chicago Tribune* claimed to have spearheaded this civilizing reform movement. Their ten-year campaign, which involved gathering statistics and pushing for a "Sane Fourth" law in Chicago, inspired the national movement.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷"Zion Glorious Fourth," *ZCN*, June 24, 1910; "A Sane Fourth: Amusement for All," *ZCI*, July 1, 1910; "Fourth is Over: Splendid Speaking," *ZCI*, July 8, 1910; "New Declaration of Independence," *ZCI*, July 8, 1910; Local notes, *ZCI*, July 8, 1910.

¹⁴⁸"Fourth of July Proclamation by the Mayor," *ZCI*, July 1, 1910; "Fewer Injuries Mark Sane 4th," *CT*, July 6, 1910; "Nationwide Move for Sane Fourth," *CT*, October 23, 1909.

Statistics cited in a 1912 issue of *Life and Health* emphasized the necessity of restrictions against over zealous celebrations. During the years 1903 through 1911, 39,129 people were injured or died nationally "as a direct result of our method of showing how much we love our country." The success of the campaign in Chicago was evident by the statistics released July 6, 1910, in the *Tribune*. In 1910, forty-four people died nation-wide, including six from tetanus from being shot with blank cartridges. In Chicago, however, there were no deaths and a total of twenty-seven injuries as compared to forty-seven the previous year. In Zion, the *Independent* reported that one person suffered a broken arm.¹⁴⁹

Into the Breach Once More

The Zion Independents desperately wanted to be a part of the burgeoning growth of Chicagoland. They pursued an aggressive campaign through meetings and through the mail to convince investors that they could retrieve much of their investment if they would just be patient. They emphasized to investors in and outside of Zion the marvelous potential for financial growth of the city by comparing the city to nearby locales. They developed a number of alternative legal

¹⁴⁹"Our National Holiday," *Life and Health: The National Health Magazine* 27 (January, 1912):421; "Fewer Injuries Mark Sane 4th"; "Few Sane Fourth Violators Appear in Chicago Courts," *CT*, July 6, 1910; Local notes, *ZCI*, July 8, 1910.

arguments to convince Judge Landis against allowing Voliva to gain control of the Estate.

Still awaiting the referendum results, Professor J. H. Harnly published an article in the *Independent* to explain why Zion had not lived up to its potential, particularly in comparison with other nearby cities. He had been hired to organize the coming legislative election in Cook County, and in the line of his duties, had toured the region south of Chicago, an area rapidly industrializing. Harnly bemoaned the fact that Zion, more advantageously situated than any city he had visited, had not progressed as had those other cities. He specifically pointed out the success of Chicago Heights, a city south of Chicago with a population then of more than 12,000.¹⁵⁰

Incorporated in 1892, Chicago Heights was part of a greater plan to develop satellite industrial cities served by railroads and with easy access to water. The city was heavily promoted by the Chicago Heights Land Company (CHLC), of which developer Charles Wacker was a founding member. As with the industrial company town of Pullman in the 1880s and 1890s, Chicago Heights promoters organized trains to carry the curious, but more importantly, to transport prospective industrialists to the factory sites. By 1900, the CHLC had landed Inland Steel, the Illinois Chemical Company, a lumber

¹⁵⁰"The Future of Zion City," *ZCI*, July 8, 1910.

company, and a carriage company as well as scores of other industries, retail stores, and professional services.¹⁵¹

From the beginning, Zion had established ordinances and procedures aimed at industrial progress. It had railway service and access to Lake Michigan. It had designated sites along the railway for factories as well as electric and gas plants. There were dozens of retail stores and services for the residents' convenience. Harnly tried to convince his Zion readers to have patience. He claimed that if Proposition C prevailed, and if the trustees accomplished anything even near to what the promoters for Chicago Heights had, Zion investors could be paid perhaps dollar for dollar. "It is being done all around us on the Lake Shore," he said, "and nowhere are the conditions so favorable as in Zion City."¹⁵²

Interestingly, in 1900, CHLC general manager M. H. Kilgallen had approached Dowie through Dowie's attorney Samuel Packard. Kilgallen was interested in purchasing Dowie's option on the 6,000 acres that would become Zion. Kilgallen, who was considered to be a Chicago "expert on the value of outlying land," and often an expert

¹⁵¹Ann Durkin Keating, ed. *Chicago Neighborhoods and Suburbs: A Historical Guide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008),125; Dominic Candeloro and Barbara Paul, *Chicago Heights: At the Crossroads of the Nation* (Charleston SC: Arcadia, 2004):40, 42-44.

¹⁵²"The Future of Zion City," *ZCI*, July 8, 1910.

witness in judicial proceedings, complimented Dowie on the location and on the price that he paid.¹⁵³

In 1910, as Professor Harnly wrote regretfully of Zion's stagnation, other Chicagoland communities thrived. Praising the growth of subdivisions just north of the Chicago city limits in the early 1910s, the *Chicago Tribune* highlighted the new opportunities available to "thrifty people of the laboring and clerical classes" to leave their apartments in the city, and move to more healthful surrounds that offered large lots, parks, and golf courses. The extension of the "L," the Northwestern elevated train, to the north city limits as well as improvements on the roads had made development and mobility convenient. The *Tribune* estimated that land values had increased by about 50 per cent over the previous four years.¹⁵⁴

Similar growth was taking place in the North Shore suburbs due to improvements on the roads, in the popularity of automobiles, and to the development of both Fort Sheridan Army base and the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, the latter of which opened its doors in July, 1911. Each of the North Shore communities enjoyed lakefront access, the beauty of its natural environment, and rising property values. Real estate developer J. Fred McGuire reported that his firm had purchased

¹⁵³"Letter from Law Office of Samuel Packard," *LOH* 8 (February 23, 1901):568.

¹⁵⁴"Outer Chicago' Grows Rapidly," *CT*, June 30, 1912.

property a decade earlier in Wilmette for \$10 a "front foot." Within a year, it sold for at least double that. The value had doubled or tripled again in subsequent sales. Wilmette, as with all the up and coming North Shore communities, straddled Sheridan Road. Zion City also sat astride Sheridan Road, a mere fourteen miles from the northern most North Shore suburb of Lake Forest. Zion Independents desperately wanted to be included in this regional growth.¹⁵⁵

In an eleventh hour effort to forestall the sale of the Estate to Voliva and to reap greater returns on their investments, the Zion Investment Association consulted with Waukegan law firm Orvis & Beaubien to represent them in court. At a meeting of the Association, Mr. Beaubien laid out a plan, which the now antagonistic *News* described as resembling Voliva's deal with Cobe and McKinnon. The options presented included: attempt to prevent the sale of the Estate as a whole; succeed in having trustees appointed and put in charge of the Estate; appeal Judge Landis's final order if necessary; and/or convince the Court to let the trustees borrow money against the Estate in order to pay off those investors who were willing, or desperate, to sell their stock for fourteen cents on the dollar.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵"North Shore Demands Grow," *CT*, June 30, 1912.

¹⁵⁶"Want to Buy Estate, *ZCN*, July 1, 1910.

On July 14, the original bankruptcy pleading of *William B. Holmes vs. John Alexander Dowie, et. al.* once again came up before Judge Landis, this time for the reading of the referendum results and the final decree. The vote of about 4,700 investors was weighted, based upon the amount each investor had committed to Zion City. The investors favored Proposal A, the \$700,000 cash sale.¹⁵⁷

The same day, V. V. Barnes, H. E. Rose, and attorneys representing the Zion Investors' Association, submitted one last petition to Judge Landis. The two individuals represented claims against the Estate of \$2,339.47 and \$27,450.90 respectively. They submitted an exhibit showing that, together, the members of the Association owned 1.5 million dollars and that as a whole, the Association favored the trusteeship plan. They submitted another exhibit from a parallel organization in Switzerland, which owned another half million dollars in claims and which was in favor of the trusteeship. To appease those who were willing to receive fourteen cents on the dollar, the petitioners asked the court to appoint trustees under a previous tentative decree for the trusteeship. Those trustees would be authorized to borrow monies sufficient to pay those claims.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷"The Final Decree by Judge Landis," *ZCI*, July 15, 1910.

¹⁵⁸"The Final Decree by Judge Landis," *ZCI*, July 15, 1910.

Attorney Beaubien apparently had access to \$400,000 for those claims and asked the court for a further hearing to explain his plan. Furthermore, the petitioners desired authorization to find a third party to either purchase the property or to advance funds, either of which would lead to a later sale by the trustees. Landis denied the petition. The Estate was sold for \$700,000 to Cobe & McKinnon, which already had contracted a sale to Voliva for \$900,000 on a payment plan. Had the Independents developed this plan earlier in time to be included in the Referendum, perhaps it would have been successful.¹⁵⁹

The Aftermath

Although the Independent investors considered an appeal, ultimately, time and money precluded any move to do so. Beaubien addressed the Investors' Association after the decree and indicated that an appeal might extend any settlement another two years. This could cost investors tens of thousands of dollars. Just as important, argued Daniel Bryant, was the continuation of uncertainty. They had been in "a state of suspense" for at least four years. It was time to move forward, to concentrate on the progress of at least half the population of Zion City. Bryant attempted to dispel the anxiety of some who feared that Voliva would enforce the reversionary interests

¹⁵⁹Daniel Bryant, "The Pen and Pulpit in Zion, Illinois," (Address of July 20, 1910) *ZCI*, July 29, 1910; "The Final Decree by Judge Landis," *ZCI*, July 15, 1910.

of Dowie's 1100-year leases. Under those leases, a person could be evicted from the real estate and lose any investments in improvements if that person violated the rules of the lease. While the Receiver had offered fee simple deeds in exchange for those leases for a small fee, only about 200 residents took advantage of the opportunity. More than 2,500 leases still were in effect. Bryant himself had not gone to the trouble of exchanging his lease for a deed. He believed that Dowie had broken the agreement with investors who settled in Zion when Dowie withdrew his original offer to those investors to set up their own businesses. The ensuing bankruptcy was the final break in the agreements between Dowie as the lessor and investors as the lessees.¹⁶⁰

The loss of the Zion Estate to Wilbur Glenn Voliva, which amounted to about half of the property in the city, was a stunning blow to the Independents. They no longer had access to acres of real property in what had been designated as the factory district. Because of this, they lost any bargaining power to attract major outside industries. News of the Municipal League had disappeared from the *Zion City Independent* by the end of 1910.

The Independents regrouped and shifted their focus to find ways to promote the Independent businesses and social organizations within

¹⁶⁰"Zion Deeds or Zion Leases," *ZCI*, August 5, 1910; (Daniel Bryant, "The Pen and Pulpit in Zion, Illinois," (Address of July 20, 1910) *ZCI*, July 29, 1910.

town. To emphasize their commercial presence, the *Independent* listed the Independent businesses weekly. Those Independent businesses displayed a colorful array of individual names and capitalistic ventures in contrast to every Voliva-controlled enterprise, which was consolidated into his "Zion Institutions and Industries." This included the church, the administrative offices, the Zion department store, Zion Realty, Zion Home, and the Zion Printing and Publishing House. The August 5, 1910, account of Independent businesses listed forty-three, including a feed store, a jeweler, a department store, a shoe store. The next week, an additional thirty-seven were added. The list grew weekly. Some small businessmen and women worked from their homes, some rented office space in buildings owned by Independents, and others demonstrated their confidence in Zion City's future by constructing new, brick buildings on downtown lots previously purchased from the receiver.¹⁶¹

The Independents took some comfort in the fact that Zion City was an incorporated municipality, which provided legal recourse in the event Voliva's repressions violated their legal rights. Moreover, the Independents still controlled the city council and moved forward to improve the city's infrastructure by building concrete sidewalks and

¹⁶¹"List of Zion Institutions and Industries," *LOH* 35 (April 9, 1910):112; "The Independents—What is Doing," *ZCI*, August 5, 1910, August 12, 1910; "More Independent Firms," *ZCI*, August 19, 1910.

pushing for stronger sanitation methods and safety measures. They passed an ordinance that required all residents to use safety matches. With this, they joined a progressive minority of state and municipality officials who worked with insurance companies to enact effective statutes in order to combat loss of life and property. They organized the Board of Local Improvements and a Scavenger and Garbage Department.¹⁶²

The Independents also continued to invite speakers from the outside and to connect with organizations from the outside, including local and national temperance promoters. The Independent newspaper published an address delivered to the Lake County Teacher's Association about the importance of cooperation between physicians, teachers, and other authorities to teach hygiene in the schools. Many in Zion, both in Voliva's camp and among the Independents, continued to espouse divine healing. However, both those in the medical field and those who eschewed doctors advocated cleanliness as a primary means to prevent diseases. A clean and a moral environment was one of Dowie's primary tenets in the development of Zion.¹⁶³

¹⁶²"Retrospective and Prospective," *ZCI*, March 10, 1911; Council Minutes, March 2, 1909; "The Pernicious Match" A Review of the Match Question Shows General Indifference in the Subject," *Insurance Engineering* 23 (April, 1912):209-238. "An Ordinance Providing for the Appointment of the Board of Local Improvements for Zion City, Ill." Council Minutes, July 5, 1910; June 13, 1910.

¹⁶³"Hygiene in Schools," *ZCI*, January 27, 1911.

A number of Independent businesses were situated either along or around the corner to the unpaved Sheridan Road, an important thoroughfare between Chicago and Milwaukee. Hence, a number of the independent businessmen followed the progress of local efforts to pave the road, and some joined a local unit of the Good Roads movement. Counting on continued political success and hoping for commercial successes, they sought to cooperate with other lakefront communities. However, in response to continued challenges to elections, they turned their immediate attention to studying Progressive Era methods to clean up election fraud and municipal corruption.

Chapter 8

Floater, Sluggers, and Reformers

Evangelical Christianity remained at the center of the Independent movement. The values inherent in the Protestant-dominated progressive movement remained the focus for attracting clean industries to Zion, and served as an appeal to potential residents who wanted to live in a moral environment. The Independents appealed to all within the city to remember the religious foundations of Zion, aspirations that should inspire its residents to higher standards than residents of other communities. Contrary to the conservative views they had accepted under Dowie, the Independents now traveled a pathway that reflected Social Gospel values, which emphasized addressing the secular needs of humanity as well as spiritual needs. Guided by such values, Overseer Daniel Bryant of the independent Christian Catholic Church sponsored a series of lectures addressing "Municipal Christianity," a liberal philosophy which implored members of the church to be active in municipal reform.

For the next two years, the Independents dominated the city council despite fraudulent tactics by the Theocrats to steal the election. Any progressive actions to improve the city, however, were hindered by Volivite political and ecclesiastical opposition. The council was

forced to divert scarce resources to pay for lawyers and for legal fees instead of serving the public interest by improving the city's infrastructure. To avoid future election fraud, the Independent council called for revised city registration laws and studied municipal reform propositions in other cities that sought to mitigate the power of political bosses. Zion's population of around 5,000 was nowhere near to that of Chicago's 1,700,000, but the proximity of the two cities as well as the connections between businessmen from both cities influenced Zion Independents to consider reform measures introduced in Chicago, but tailored to the needs of Zion. Moreover, reformers in Chicago, and throughout Illinois, were preeminent in leading progressive era programs as seen in Jane Addams through her settlement houses, Frances Willard through the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Graham Taylor's "applied Christianity."

By this time, the Independents identified to Wilbur Glenn Voliva as a "political boss." They compared Voliva's "machine" to Tammany and condemned the tyranny of any boss who "goes on in his proud, haughty career, more set to wreak vengeance upon those who dare to oppose him." According to the Independents, the danger of bossism was worse in Zion where religion was "woven in . . . to entrap those who otherwise would readily see the pitfalls and evade them."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴"Voliva Loses in Two Cases," *ZCI*, March 24, 1911; "A Final Jeopardy," *ZCI*, May 5, 1911.

The Independents would have been acutely aware of Chicago political reformers who sought to blunt the power of ward bosses and of partisan politics through a new city charter in the first decade of the twentieth century. Elements in the charter called for implementing a more centralized government, expanding civil service procedures, encouraging city departments to hire more efficient employees.¹⁶⁵

In retrospect, they were not successful. As Thomas Pegram, in *Partisans and Progressives*, pointed out that "progressives failed to appreciate the strength of partisanship in American life, the degree to which practical ties of self-interest, trade, locality, and ethnicity overwhelmed attachments to such abstract constructions as Citizenship and the Public." Ultimately, the Zion Independents failed as well. Not all of the causes identified by Pegram pertain to Zionites, but many of them certainly did. Irrespective of the Independents' platform for freedom of conscience, for economic prosperity, and for the implementation of programs for the common good, loyalty to the culture of Zion, inculcated repeatedly by Dowie and the power of Voliva's doctrinal tirades, would prevail. As Jane Addams lamented when commenting on the re-election of a corrupt Chicago official, "he is not elected because he is corrupt, but rather in spite of it."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵Thomas R. Pegram, *Partisans and Progressives*, 8, 102-07.

¹⁶⁶Thomas R. Pegram, *Partisans and Progressives*, 8, 102-07, 210; Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1907), 254.

1911 Election–Fraudsters and Reformers

The final order to settle the Zion Estate was delayed until March 3, 1911. One cause of that delay was the discovery in late 1910, by an Independent, that more than four hundred acres of parkland dedicated on John Alexander's Dowie's original plat of Zion for public use was included in the receiver's inventory of the Estates's property. Because of this, the Chicago Title and Trust Company refused to guarantee title, leading the Independents to hope that the deal between Voliva and Cobe & McKinnon would fall through. Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, however, was intent on continuing. Lawyers from both sides argued for several days in Landis's court to settle the matter. The Independents' council cited evidence of multiple plats identifying public parks and of Dowie's statements in his early publications that he used the parks and designs for tree-lined boulevards to attract investors to his dream. In the meantime, the Independent-dominated city council quickly passed a resolution accepting all parks, streets, alleys, and boulevards as part of Zion City. Eventually Landis removed the parks from the Estate, although Voliva continued to claim them as his property.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷"Retrospective and Prospective," *ZCI*, January 27, 1911; "Cobe & McKinnon Grant Interview," *ZCI*, December 23, 1910; "Zion's Public Parks to be Preserved," *ZCI*, December 30, 1910; Council Minutes, December 25, 1910.

While awaiting the final settlement, the Independents continued to pass ordinances to oil the streets, to construct concrete sidewalks, and improve the general infrastructure in Zion. They began to prepare for the April, 1911 elections. They expected a difficult contest and their expectations would be realized. The Independents began to prepare their supporters for the challenge as early as December, 1910. They called attention to a proposition put before Illinois voters to enact a "Corrupt Practices Act," which would limit the amount of money a candidate could spend on his campaign. This Illinois proposal did not succeed, but was among a number of other states' more successful progressive initiatives to curtail election fraud through such things as bribery, personation, or impugning a candidate's character. At the same time that the Zion Independents sought to enforce a fair election in the city, Illinois Republican Senator William Lorimer was under investigation for purchasing votes from the state legislature, which had procured him his seat in the U.S. Senate. The Senate ousted Lorimer in 1912.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸"Special Election-November 8, 1910," *Book of the State of Illinois*, (Danville, IL: Illinois Printing Co., 1911):358; "Corrupt Practices Act," *ZCI*, December 2, 1910; Leon E. Aylsworth, "Corrupt Practices," *The American Political Science Review* 3 (Feb., 1909):51-52.; "Ask Deal Against Bribery at Polls," *CT*, October 1, 1912; *Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1910, Revised 1925, Replaced 1971*. 2 USC Sec. 252 to 256 (01/26/98)2 USC Sec. 431 (01/26/98); "Federal Election Commission Appendix 4," (Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1910, Revised 1925, Replaced 1971, http://wps.prenhall.com/wps/media/objects/531/544609/Documents_Library/corrupt.htm (accessed 4/5/2017); "Federal Election Commission Appendix 4, <http://www.fec.gov/info/appfour.htm> (accessed 4/5/2017); Richard Allen Morton, "Edward F. Dunne: Illinois' Most Progressive Governor," *Illinois Historical Journal* 83

The *Independent* printed excerpts from various Illinois election laws that addressed penalties for bribery, ballot changes, unlawful voting, or disruptive behavior at the polls. The Independents were keenly aware of corrupt elections under investigation in other cities. In Danville, IL, a jury indicted fourteen for election fraud, including three politicians for perjury and several "ward bosses" for buying votes. The Independents tracked the outcome of a scheme in Adams County, Ohio during which both Republicans and Democrats purchased votes over several decades. This literally involved individuals selling their votes on the auction block. In 1911, Judge A. Z. Blair finally succeeded in bringing these perpetrators to justice and, in the process, disenfranchised nearly 25 per cent of the electorate. The situation in Zion was different only in that the "boss" also used his followers' religious beliefs in Zion as God's chosen city to influence votes. "The battle in Zion," Voliva repeatedly reminded his congregation, in conjunction with admonishments to pray and to pay, "was between the Sons of God and children of the Devil."¹⁶⁹

(Winter, 1990):222; "Lorimer Ousted From Senate," *CT*, July 14, 1912.

¹⁶⁹"Election Law Extracts," *ZCI*, March 24, 1911; "Political Situation in Zion City," "What Does the Election Oath Mean?," *ZCI*, April 7, 1911; "Danville Jury Indict Fourteen," *ZCI*, March 24, 1911; "Danville Jury Indicts 25 Men," *CT*, March 11, 1911; A. Z. Blair, "Seventeen Hundred Rural Vote Sellers: How We Disenfranchised a Quarter of the Voting Population of Adams County, Ohio," *McClure's Magazine*, 38 (November, 1911):28, 34; Editorial Notes, *LOH* 23 (March 13, 1909):77.

The Independents cited the national movement for political reform and condemned the custom of appointments to offices as payment for votes. With some satisfaction, the Independents reported the arrest of Voliva's bodyguard Captain Walker, who was also a county deputy sheriff, for assault and battery after attacking two boys with a cane. Walker later would be suspended from the county deputy office after being indicted by a grand jury for "conspiracy to avoid the Illinois election law." In the 1911 Zion municipal elections, Walker reportedly brought in friends from Waukegan to vote and intimidated Independent voters from casting their votes by wielding weapons.¹⁷⁰

At their caucus on February 27, 1911, the Independents nominated candidates for mayor, city clerk, city attorney, city treasurer, and for five city council positions. While the scheduled township and school elections were important, the municipal election scheduled for April 18 was the most vital for the future of the city. According to the Independents, the real issue at hand was more than a choice between political parties. It was a choice between the corrupt "bossism" of Voliva, who controlled the votes of his candidates and whose policies of "rule or ruin" threatened to cast all dissenters out of

¹⁷⁰"A View of Politics Barter in Franchise," *ZCI*, April 14, 1911; "Deputy Sheriff Arrested and Fined," *ZCI*, March 3, 1911; "At Last He Finds a Scape-Goat," *ZCI*, April 7, 1911; "Captain Walker Suspended," *ZCI*, July 7, 1911.

town and the Independents, whose platform endorsed economic growth, fiscal responsibility, and public utilities while maintaining a "Clean City for a Clean People."¹⁷¹

As the election neared, reports surfaced of "floaters" colonizing Zion. Several months earlier, Voliva reportedly had threatened to bring in several hundred voters to guarantee his victory and had claimed a willingness to "spend \$50,000 to gain my end." His vows to bring in these voters blatantly violated state regulations that required a residency of a year in the state and thirty-days in a district. Voliva proceeded with his illegal scheme because he believed he had the right and knew he had the power to do so. A Volivite evangelist who had moved to Los Angeles for his health returned to Zion in time for the election, while others arrived from Canada and Cuba. Hired men from Chicago and Waukegan were housed in a Voliva-owned house. Two additional houses owned by Voliva supporters now boarded a group of imported voters. In addition to being suspected of fraudulent intentions, these men smoked and drank, actions diametrically opposed to the values of the holy city on which Voliva built his Zion campaign. Correlatively, their actions blatantly violated Voliva's rules

¹⁷¹"Independent Caucus," *ZCI*, March 3, 1911;"The Real Issue Next Elections," *ZCI*, March 31, 1911; "Read, Study and Reflect: Comparative Statement of Receipts vs. Disbursements, 1902-1910, Inclusive," *ZCI*, March 17, 1911; "Independent: Declaration of Principles," *ZCI*, January 27, 1911.

that boldly proclaimed on billboards erected around the city that tobacco and alcohol were prohibited.¹⁷²

Despite the foreign floaters, the Independents prevailed in the township elections on April 4, 1911, to their surprise. They lost the school election on April 14 as they expected because women were allowed to vote in that election and many women followed Voliva. The Independents also charged that voters were brought in from Chicago, where Voliva still maintained a church and various missions. The Independents won the municipal election on April 18, but not until after a lengthy court battle. The actions of Volivites at the election set off a storm of demands for election reform and a clean ballot as well as lawsuits.¹⁷³

At their next meeting after the municipal election, the council tallied the vote and announced the results. These were soon revised because of a discrepancy between the number of voters recorded in the poll book and the number of ballots. A week after the election, the amended returns gave the Independents five aldermanic seats, the offices of city attorney, the clerk, and the treasurer, but not the

¹⁷²"Address by W. E. Scholz" in "On the Sale of the Zion Estate," *ZCI*, February 10, 1911; "Love is of God; Hatred is of the Devil," *ZCI*, April 14, 1911; "Retrospective and Prospective," *ZCI*, April 7, 1911; "Rousing Independent Rally," *ZCI*, April 11, 1913; "Retrospective and Prospective," *ZCI*, March 31, 1911; Daniel Bryant, "Pen and Pulpit," *ZCI*, April 14, 1911.

¹⁷³"Political Situation in Zion City," "Independents Win in the Township," *ZCI*, April 7, 1911; "Zion City School Elections," *ZCI*, April 21, 1911.

mayoral office. Once seated, the Independents would dominate the council with eight aldermanic votes to two Theocratic votes. At that same meeting at which the tallies were announced, the council was obliged to address the issue of bills incurred because of that contentious election. Guns, special police, and outside detectives had been required to maintain order. This was a glaring contrast to the early years of the movement when Dowie's Zion Guard carried bibles in their holsters. At the May 11 council meeting, three weeks after the election, both sides contested the validity of the election, which resulted in a postponement for the seating any new officers. Within two weeks, both sides submitted petitions to the court challenging the amended returns.¹⁷⁴

On May 22, the council officially seated the clerk, the treasurer, and the city attorney. The Theocratic candidate for mayor, who won by only two votes, was not seated. That apparent mayor-elect was an alderman in the supposedly outgoing council, but since the seating of some officers was postponed because of challenges to the election, he was to remain as an alderman. By law, he was not allowed to hold both offices.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴"Necessity of Revised Report," *ZCI*, April 21, 1911; Council Minutes, April 19, 1911; "Zion City Council Meeting," *ZCI*, April 21, 1911; Council Minutes, May 11, 1911, May 15, May 22, 1911.

¹⁷⁵Council Minutes, May 2, 1911; June 12, 1911.

While awaiting the court's ruling, the Independent-dominated council continued to tackle improvements to the city's infrastructure, with the votes for the most part cast along partisan lines. The Theocrats voted against establishing a Board of Improvements while six Independents supported the ordinance. The ordinance passed, but the two naysayers moved to amend the ordinance to "make the salary of the Board . . . 25 cents per year." That measure lost. On the other hand, businessmen on both sides of the political divide petitioned the council to oil the business streets in town to keep down the dust, "calling attention to the success already attained in many of our neighboring cities." This was referred to the Committee on Streets and Alleys. At additional meetings, some of which only Independents attended, the council moved to accept recommendations by the Board of Local Improvements to establish specifications for the construction of concrete sidewalks and to call for bids. In a subsequent meeting, the council addressed the need to replace rotting, wooden sidewalks with concrete sidewalks, fearing lawsuits by injured citizens. In December, the council passed an ordinance accepting a Highland Park contractor's bid to construct and maintain gas lines. The two Theocrats voted against the measure.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶Council Minutes, July 24, 1911; August 14, 1911; August 16, 1911; "City Council Meets," *ZCI*, August 18, 1911.

Improving the infrastructure was not the Independents' council's only concern. They pushed for election reform. The set of circumstances that led to the lawsuits over the election was that there existed but one polling place, the fire station, during the municipal election on April 18. The "floaters and sluggers" disrupted the 1911 municipal election by lining up in front of the station as early as 5 a.m., two hours before the polls opened. Some reports listed as many as 300 to 400 in that line. The city did not have an election rule that necessitated registration prior to election day. Election judges simply inquired about residency as voters arrived. Election judge J. H. Harnly refused eighty-six voters that he knew were not residents.¹⁷⁷

Reportedly, some who were found to be ineligible by the judges re-entered the line. This wasted time. Legitimate voters who had limited time before going to work allegedly were prevented from voting. Moreover, there was ample evidence that members of the Zion movement who lived in distant cities arrived and falsely claimed to live in Zion. The election judges and other witnesses knew these people and their families. The Zion movement under Dowie had attracted members from all over the country and from a dozen other countries. Some who had moved to Zion stayed, while others joined various Zion missions in the States and around the world. Voliva had appealed to

¹⁷⁷"Necessity of Revised Report," *ZCI*, April 21, 1911.



1911 Zion City Election
Line outside of the fire station.
Courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

many of these people to “redeem Zion,” and many from outside of town believed in that mission and arrived to aid in that redemption, but did not understand the ongoing battle within the city.¹⁷⁸

The Independents had been preparing for an election conflict. They discussed potential issues with lawyers, judges, reformers, and detectives from both inside and outside the city. Two reformers, B.S. Steadwell, president of the International Purity Federation, and Owen

¹⁷⁸“Theocracy Hung Up.” *ZCI*, April 21, 1911.

O. Wiard, owner of Wiard's National Detective Bureau in Pennsylvania, were present in town on the day of the elections. Wiard had been asked to appraise the election situation in Zion compared to others around the United States. Referring to "black-hand organizations," Wiard described leaders of purportedly benevolent institutions who employed threats and other forms of coercion to achieve their goals. (At the time, the term "black hand" most commonly referred to the Italian mafia in the "Little Italies" of big cities.)¹⁷⁹

Wiard was a popular lecturer who traveled the lyceum circuit to speak on a variety of Progressive Era priorities such as temperance, political corruption, and vice. For a "Law Enforcement Section" of a touring party sponsored by the American Purity Federation, Wiard outlined the kind of evidence necessary to prosecute certain crimes and explained how to acquire that evidence. In South Bend, Indiana, he spoke to several thousand citizens in presentations sponsored by the YMCA and the city's ministerial association about cleaning up red light districts and prosecuting corrupt officials. Wiard spoke numerous times to Zion Independents and, although not a member, occasionally conducted services in the independent church.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹Daniel Bryant, "The Story of the Election in Zion City on Tuesday, April 18th," *ZCI*, April 28, 1911; "A Splendid Lecture on Detective Work," *ZCI*, April 21, 1911; Louis S. Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 34.

¹⁸⁰Important Announcement: Purity Federation Tour in the West," *American Motherhood*, 21 (August, 1920):105; "Reform is Not One Day's Work," *South Bend*

Encouraged by reforms in other cities, the Independents adopted slogans such as "Purify the ballot" and "Down with political and religious imposition." As noted, Zion election rules did not require voter registration prior to elections, but after the April election fiasco, Independents urgently called for a municipal registration law. Zion City, with its religious foundations, "should endeavor to maintain the purity of the ballot." Additionally, Zion had not adopted the Australian ballot; hence, ballots were different colors for each party. This provided opportunities for greater intimidation.¹⁸¹

On May 1, 1911, the Independent Central Committee called a meeting of all concerned citizens. They resolved to uphold the principles upon which Zion was founded; the "freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences [as well as the] freedom to continue clean, individual businesses." Since the city had undergone changes following incorporation, when there was but a single political party, the Independents added to their platform the "freedom to vote one's own sentiment without being intimidated" and the vow to use the finances of the city judiciously to improve the city, instead of "perpetuating litigations and strife." Owen Wiard spoke at

News Times 31, South Bend, IN, January 26, 1914; "Local Happenings, Briefly Stated," *ZCI*, May 22, 1914.

¹⁸¹"Last Straw Breaks Camel's Back," *ZCI*, April 14, 1911; "Registration! Registration!," *ZCI*, April 28, 1911.

this meeting, using lantern slides to enhance his speech about various crime syndicates in Canada and in the United States.¹⁸²

On June 5, 1911, a Lake County Grand Jury convened at the request of State's Attorney Ralph J. Dady to consider criminal charges against Voliva and others for fraud in all three April elections. Dady presented evidence that Voliva "imported voters," some of whom were housed for thirty days in the city to meet the minimum election codes. Independent "spies" and hired detectives attended various Voliva meetings in Zion and in Chicago to obtain evidence to prove his intention to win the elections at any cost. The evidence established that Voliva had hired more than two hundred "operatives," including private detectives and Chicago "pug-uglies" [sic] to intimidate voters. Detective Owen O. Wiard confronted Voliva prior to the municipal election with the evidence, hoping to convince Voliva that all of his maneuvering would be in vain. Voliva reportedly scoffed at Wiard.¹⁸³

At the Grand Jury hearing on June 5, nearly three hundred witnesses were summoned to answer questions, including at least one defendant who tearfully admitted he was not a United States citizen, but was a member of Voliva's church in Chicago and felt coerced to vote as instructed. The mayor of Waukegan, a minister from Chicago,

¹⁸²"Special Citizens' Rally," *ZCI*, May 5, 1911.

¹⁸³*Waukegan Daily Gazette*, April 17, 1911; "To All Voters," *ZCI*, April 21, 1911; "Special Grand Jury Called," "Illegal Votes in Court," *ZCI*, June 2, 1911; "Voliva in the Toils Again," *ZCI*, June 9, 1911.

and a member of the election board in Chicago, among others, testified for State's Attorney Ralph Dady that they knew that some of the people charged were not legal residents of Zion City. On June 26, the grand jury handed down 193 indictments against Theocrats for illegal voting or for attempting to vote illegally. Three indictments were against Voliva. There were no indictments against any Independents. Voliva's attorneys attempted to quash the indictments against him based on technical errors. The case was adjourned until the fall.¹⁸⁴

Municipal Reform

While Zion Independents awaited court action that would clean up politics in their city, council activities remained limited. In the meantime, they followed municipal reforms in nearby Waukegan, which had recently adopted a commission system of government. The Illinois General Assembly had passed a law providing for that option in 1910, and by the following year, thirty Illinois municipalities had adopted a commission government. Prior to this system, Illinois cities and villages operated mainly under a mayor and council arrangement in which any additional city officers were appointed by the mayor, subject to approval by the council. Most municipalities were divided

¹⁸⁴"Voliva in the Toils Again," *ZCI*, June 9, 1911; "Nice to be an Independent," *ZCI*, June 30, 1911; "Indict 190 in Poll Frauds," *Urbana Daily Courier*, June 27, 1911.

into wards from which council members were elected. The commission system abolished wards and councilmen, and transferred city business to the mayor and commissioners who would be elected at large. The purpose was to avoid the awarding of favors for votes by ward bosses.¹⁸⁵

For a municipality to adopt the commission system, a petition had to be presented to the council signed by 25 per cent of the numbers of voters in the most recent mayoral election. If the council approved the measure, a special election would then be called. A simple majority would suffice. Given the political divisions within Zion, the Independents had little hope of successfully implementing the commission system and decided not to do it. Ironically, the Independents acted counter to the prevailing progressive trend to do away with wards, and instead divided Zion into wards in February of 1912. The council's decision was a reform effort specific to Zion designed to stave off a recurrence of the April 1911 intimidation and the long lines at a single polling station. Instead, wards would provide polling places in each of the five new wards and reduce the risk of corruption. The council was forced to respond to criticisms and

¹⁸⁵"Commission Met and Fixed Salaries," *ZCI*, May 12, 1911; John Fairlie, "Commission Government in Illinois Cities," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 38 (November, 1911):748-50.

allegations of illegal action in regards to establishing the wards, but could point to an Illinois statute that provided the right to do so.¹⁸⁶

Progressive Actions

The Independents tried to implement policies in Zion based on experiences and events in other communities along the North Shore. A disastrous fire at a large wooden dormitory of the Methodist Deaconess Orphanage in Lake Bluff killed one child and left sixty homeless. Thereafter, directors of the orphanage sought to replace wooden structures with brick. The Independents cautioned readers of the *Independent* of similar dangers in Zion. Lamenting the amount of money the city had been forced to spend for legal fees on contested elections, the Independent-dominated council did not have the necessary funds available to build a sufficient system of cisterns to hold water in order to fight fires. Targeting any Theocratic reader of the *Independent*, the editors warned that if a major fire broke out at the three-story, 350 room, wooden Zion Home, it inevitably would spread across the street to the two-story, block long, frame Administration Building. Both of these structures were owned by Voliva. A few months later, lightning struck the hotel. The small fire

¹⁸⁶Halsey, ed., *History of Lake County*, 246-48; Council Minutes, February 16, 1912; "City Divided Into Wards," *ZCI*, February 23, 1912; "Dividing City into Wards," *ZCI*, March 15, 1912.

spite of recent news to the contrary, there was to be “no illegal voting tolerated!”

Still awaiting court rulings on the April elections, Independents participated in efforts to enact state prohibition laws. Zion was dry from its inception. The 1100-year leases prohibited saloons and the manufacture or sale of any alcohol, but more importantly, temperance was one of the basic tenets of Dowie’s teachings. After Zion was incorporated, those same restrictions were written into the municipal ordinances. Later, the deeds issued by the receivers to those who opted to replace their 1100-year leases also prescribed that “intoxicating liquors shall never be used, manufactured, sold, given away, or otherwise disposed of” in any building or part of the city.¹⁸⁸

In reality, there was a certain dependence on social pressure to compel Zionites to not drink or smoke. This is evident through the Business Men’s Association statement in their promotion of Zion that the laws were enforced in part “by the Voice of the Citizens.” When the lace factory was first established, Dowie had brought in artisans from England out of necessity, some of whom did not belong to his movement. During the upheavals in the spring of 1906, the Waukegan *Daily Sun* had reported that those lace workers brought beer and flasks of whiskey with them into the factory. The Independents were

¹⁸⁸“Leases, Deeds, City Ordinances,” *ZCI*, October 20, 1911.

keenly aware of this. When Marshall Field lace workers successfully challenged the tobacco ordinance a couple of years later, Independents still hoped that "moral suasion" would prevail.¹⁸⁹

It was only natural that the progressive-minded Zion Independents would align themselves with national, state, and regional movements. The *Independent* printed a statistical comparative chart for two cities in Massachusetts that showed a dramatic difference between the number of arrests for drunkenness in a dry town versus a wet town. The newspaper also reprinted an article from a California paper that described Battle Creek, Michigan saloon owners' claims that they contributed tens of thousands of dollars in taxes to the public schools. A prohibitionist from Michigan countered that boast, asserting that if all saloons were closed up, the money not spent in them would outweigh the donations and benefit many who were going hungry. There were parallels between Battle Creek and Zion. At the same time that Dowie was preaching his doctrines of divine healing and clean living that included bans on certain foods, John Harvey Kellogg was espousing his holistic creed of temperance, healthy eating, and exercise at his Battle Creek Sanitarium.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹"Whiskey in Zion Lace Works," *Daily Sun* (Waukegan, IL), March 16, 1906.

¹⁹⁰"Saloons Versus No Saloons," *ZCI*, December 9, 1910; "Whisky Voters Read and Think," *ZCI*, December 30, 1910.

Zion Independents were routinely interested in the number of Prohibitionist legislators elected to the Illinois General Assembly. In the contested November, 1910, state election, one of the two prohibition candidates was successful. Significantly, James H. Harnly, an ardent Independent from Zion, managed the campaign of the winner. Building on this Prohibitionist victory, the independent Christian Catholic Church held a series of meetings to rouse Zion citizens to the cause of "Municipal Christianity," a conjunction of religion and "civic responsibility." The goal not only was to keep liquor out of Zion, but also to "mass our voting strength in the support of those men who will go to the state legislature and fight the liquor interests entrenched there."¹⁹¹

Municipal Christianity was associated with the Social Gospel movement, which in turn, inspired many of the Progressive Era reforms. Wesleyan reformer Hugh Price Hughes argued that the "apathy of Christian citizens in municipal affairs is . . . a menace to the United States." In a National Municipal League pamphlet, the Reverend Charles Dole asserted that if the "Christian name is good for anything, it stands for the effort to carry out the spirit of justice . . . [that if] the modern pulpit has any mission, it must be in distinct

¹⁹¹"The Results in Illinois," *ZCI*, December 9, 1910, reprinted from *The National Prohibitionist*, November 17, 1910; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the 47th General Assembly of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, IL, Illinois State Journal Co., 1911):699; Daniel Bryant, "The Pen and Pulpit," *ZCI*, December 30, 1910.

incitement and leadership in behalf of all manner of municipal reform." Following this philosophy, it behooved Christians to clean up the political corruption in American cities. This was in contrast to the more conservative ministers who continued to push moral reform solely through conversion. They criticized the movement that led Christians to divert their energies toward secular causes because they did so at the expense of saving souls. While the religious tradition in Zion was conservative and emphasized evangelicalism, the Independents, faced with a corrupt and repressive regime that utilized religious rhetoric to gain support, embraced Christian citizenship and political action.¹⁹²

The first guest speaker for the Municipal Christianity series, sponsored by the independent Christian Catholic Church under the progressive leadership of Daniel Bryant, was James K. Shields, the District Director of the Anti-Saloon League of Illinois. As he took the stage, he admitted that he had been uncertain as to what he would say, but was inspired by the phrase "Municipal Christianity" on fliers posted in the church. He gave examples of temperance towns that had few cases of poverty in contrast with other towns. He cited the report of an Illinois circuit court judge who told him of the many men

¹⁹²"Is Revival of Denominationalism Required," *The Literary Digest* 12 (February 22, 1896):21 (Reprint of excerpt from *The Presbyterian*).; "A Menace to the United States," *Public Policy* 3 (Chicago, July 21, 1900):35 (Reprinted from *The Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, July 10, 1900); Rev. Charles Dole, "City Government and the Churches," *Publications of the National Municipal League, Pamphlet No. 1* (1895):5-7.

who came before him and who refused to support their families because of their liquor habits. Shields called for a "new message, " to stand up in "Christian manhood," and resist the liquor interests. He contended that Zion City, with its proximity to Chicago and its uniquely moral foundations, had a "splendid opportunity . . . of holding up a standard to the people who will look upon this city."¹⁹³

The Anti-Saloon League of Illinois was the dominant prohibition organization in the state after the turn of the century. The Christian Catholic Church heartily welcomed a representative from the League, but the League also aggressively sought out other churches in which to promote prohibition laws. In 1907, before the League successfully fought for the passage of the Local Option Law in the General Assembly, they organized a "Day of Prayer for the Bill" in more than 2,000 churches in the state. That law provided the electorate a binding vote to determine whether or not their incorporated municipality or township would be dry or wet. This democratic initiative theoretically removed political power from liquor interests and from potentially corrupt city councils beholden to those interests.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³Daniel Bryant, "The Pen and Pulpit," *ZCI*, December 30, 1910.

¹⁹⁴*The Illinois Local Option Law: Passed at the Regular Session of the Legislature, 1907* (Chicago: Anti-Saloon League of Illinois, 1907):11; Thomas R. Pegram, "The Dry Machine: The Formation of the Anti-Saloon League of Illinois," *Illinois Historical Journal* 83 (Autumn, 1990):173-186.

Election Resolved

The 1911 election, as it related to the municipal election of the city attorney, the clerk, and the treasurer was finally settled in September when the court awarded victory to the Independents. However, the mayoral contest continued. The indictments for illegal voting and attempted illegal voting finally made the Lake County Circuit Court docket for the October term. Reportedly, it was the “biggest, bulkiest” docket in the court’s history, listing multiple violations by Waukegan and North Chicago tavern owners to Sunday closing laws in addition to the many Zion election fraud cases.¹⁹⁵

Wilbur Glenn Voliva’s attorney’s initial attempt to quash the indictments was granted, but the technical errors were not enough to dismiss the cases. Within hours of granting the motion to quash, Voliva and several others, including Alderman W. Hurd Clendinen, were re-indicted by the grand jury for conspiracy to violate state election laws. Bail was set at \$2,000 for each. Voliva insisted that he testify before the grand jury concerning that conspiracy charge despite warnings that he might incriminate himself. In an affidavit, he claimed that he did not know, and had not been informed of his constitutional rights. Because there was evidence to the contrary, perjury was

¹⁹⁵“Independents Win Again,” *ZCI*, September 22, 1911; “New Grand Jury Indicts Forty,” *ZCI*, October 13, 1911; “Legal Docket Biggest in History,” *ZCI*, September 29, 1911.

added to charges against him. These charges were not the only ones Voliva faced. In one ongoing libel suit, Voliva initially was fined \$14,000, but successfully petitioned for several new trials, and countersued. That case began in 1907 and continued for a decade. Voliva used the legal system shrewdly to postpone, to proffer technical defenses, and to request changes of venue.¹⁹⁶

The 1911 perjury case against Voliva progressed slowly. His lawyers repeatedly moved to quash indictments and to change the venue as they had successfully done in other cases. In response to claims that he could not receive a fair trial in Lake County, a judge was brought in from Winnebago County, 100 miles west. Eventually, the case was moved to Winnebago. The case finally came to trial in July, 1913, but after hours of deliberation, a guilty verdict failed by one vote. Much to the disappointment of the Independents, Voliva was also found not guilty at the retrial in October 1913.¹⁹⁷

Regarding the 193 indictments, the sheer number of accused in the Zion illegal vote scheme threatened to overwhelm the court system, even after dividing the cases between the circuit and county

¹⁹⁶“Re-indicted by Grand Jury,” “Frost to Try Voliva Cases, *ZCI*, October 6, 1911; “New Grand Jury Indicts Forty,” *ZCI*, October 13, 1911; “Voliva Indicted for Perjury,” *ZCI*, March 8, 1912; “Mothersill vs. Voliva, *Lake County Independent /Waukegan Weekly Sun*, February 2, 1912; “Mothersill Libel Case May Come Up for a Fifth Trial,” *Libertyville Independent*, November 2, 1916.

¹⁹⁷“To Try Zion Cases Soon,” *Lake County Independent*, April 12, 1912; “The Voliva Perjury Case,” *ZCI*, July 4, 1913; Editor’s Notes, *ZCI*, October 31, 1913; “A Great Victory for the General Overseer,” *LOH* 23 (November 8, 1913):136.

courts. The *Waukegan Sun* computed that the total cost would be at least \$136,800, based solely on payments to jury members if all the cases were tried. Moreover, the 193 cases could take four years to complete, not counting inevitable appeals. Indeed, the first case, in which the defendant was found guilty of illegal voting, took five days.¹⁹⁸

As the April 1912, elections approached, only three cases from the previous year had been tried. The Independent Business Men's Association of the city decided to not open their businesses until the early afternoon on April 2, the day of the township elections, to give their employees extra time to vote. The intent was to forestall any repetition of the Volivites crowding the lines with floaters as in the previous year. That election went smoothly, to the relief of many and the Independents won all township offices. They also prevailed in the peaceful municipal elections, which resulted in a council of seven Independents and three Theocrats. This victory was in spite of an eleventh hour attempt by their opposition to deceive voters by

¹⁹⁸"Judge Reckow Refuses to Quash," *ZCI*, November 17, 1911; "A Clean Ballot for a Clean People," *ZCI*, November 24, 1911; "Judge Denies Change of Venue," *ZCI*, December 22, 1911; "Voliva and Followers on Trial," *ZCI*, January 26, 1912; "Zion Cases," *ZCI*, January 26, 1912; "Walker Found Guilty," *Lake County Independent / Waukegan Weekly Sun*, January 26, 1912; "Will Cost Over \$150,000," *Lake County Independent*, January 26, 1912. Note: Until the 1962 Judicial Article took effect in 1964, there were numerous special courts, including county courts, municipal courts, etc. Currently, the Illinois Court system has three tiers, the Supreme Court, the Appellate Court, and the Circuit Court. The latter took over the jurisdiction of the special courts. (David R. Miller, *1970 Illinois Constitution: Annotated for Legislators*, 4th ed. (Illinois Legislative Research Unit, 2005):51.

circulating a handbill claiming that the Independents planned to repeal the anti-smoking ordinance. The Independents lost only the school board election, as they expected.¹⁹⁹

A week after the 1912 election, State's Attorney Ralph J. Dady and the attorneys for the defendants agreed to settle the remaining 192 indictments for election fraud. Under this agreement, fifteen would plead guilty and each would pay \$35, which included a small fine and costs. Charges against the remaining seventy-five defendants, many of whom had multiple indictments, would be dropped. The Independents apparently were satisfied with the decision to settle. First, because of the indictments, they felt vindicated for having taken a strong stance against election fraud. Second, they hoped that this would clear the way to a quicker trial for Voliva who still faced charges for perjury and conspiracy. Finally, while pursuing the legal action very likely would add to the divisions within the city, the Independents hoped to mitigate some of that animosity by blaming "other parties" for unduly influencing many people to vote wrongly. Unfortunately for the Independents, attorneys for Voliva successfully delayed his trial for conspiracy and perjury until after the April 1913 elections.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹"Stores to Close Tuesday," *ZCI*, March 29, 1912; "Independents Still in Saddle," *ZCI*, April 19, 1912; "A Real Deed of Darkness," *ZCI*, April 19, 1912; "Voted to Their Hearts' Content," *ZCI*, April 26, 1912.

²⁰⁰"Voliva's Trial Comes Next," *ZCI*, April 26, 1912.

Frank B. Cook Co. Arrives

After unavoidable delays following the initial contract, the Frank Cook Company finally began the move to Zion from Chicago in the spring of 1912. While this had the potential of adding to the population of Independents in town if the company's employees could be induced to resettle in Zion, it definitely caused additional struggles with Voliva. Denounced as evil outsiders and in response to Voliva's sustained attack against any who smoked, the employees of the Cook and the Marshall Field lace factories turned to the courts to challenge Zion's ordinance against tobacco.

Even more unfortunate than the delayed trial, Voliva's campaign to defeat any efforts by the Independents to attract outside industries to Zion turned stridently ferocious in April 1912. Quoting from Dowie's grand declarations that Zion was the manifestation of God's plans, that its theocracy would "overthrow" democracies, and that Zion would keep out the "evil devils" of alcohol, tobacco, and other impurities, Voliva charged his international congregants to stand strong against any opposition to his goals. He attacked the Independents as "traitors . . . in league with forces who would destroy Zion's ideals."²⁰¹

As part of his crusade, Voliva painted over billboards near the railway tracks to announce that Zion was open only to his followers.

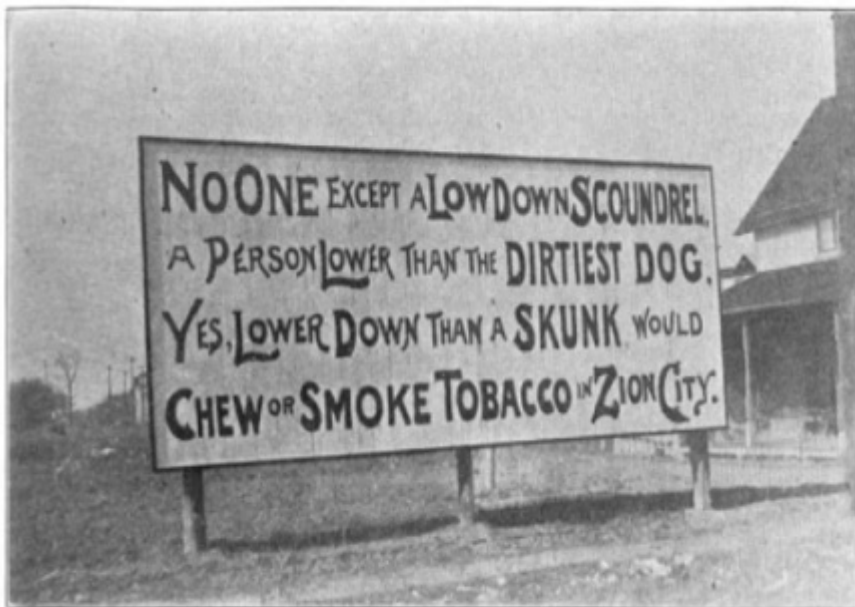
²⁰¹"Holy War Against Tobacco and Other Evils in Zion City," *LOH* 30 (May 11, 1912):89.

These billboards had been used by the receiver to attract the attention of passengers and to offer incentives to investors, but once the receivership was completed, Voliva took control of the signs. Voliva erected additional billboards to declare to residents and visitors alike that Zion's many blue laws still were in effect and that Zion was open only to his followers. His opposition repeatedly burned or chopped the signs down, but they quickly were replaced. Voliva printed photographs of the vandalism in his *Leaves of Healing* to bolster his aggressive defense of what he called his "Holy War . . . against the invasion of tobacco-Satan's consuming fire." He labeled this campaign as a war against tobacco, but it was also a skirmish in his war against any opposition to his authority. The Independents in town could ignore this for the most part, but Voliva's tactics were inherently bad for business. Moreover, Voliva's resolve to resist any progressive movement to open Zion to outsiders incited violence. What became referred to locally as the "sign wars" began in earnest in 1912. The Cook Company would become a primary target for Voliva.²⁰²

Frank Cook had purchased the old Zion printing plant from the receiver in 1910. By the early spring of 1912, workers had begun to remodel it and to ship machinery to it from their headquarters in

²⁰²"Lawless Defiance in Religious Garb," *ZCI*, June 21, 1912; "Zion City," *LOH* 30 (May 18, 1912):97-9; "Holy War Against Tobacco and Other Evils in Zion City," *LOH* 30 (May 11, 1912):81-3, 89.

Chicago. The acquisition of this outside industry had been a significant coup for the Independents. They looked forward to the several hundred employment opportunities for Zion residents as well as adding new city residents to the Independent electorate.²⁰³



This Sign has been Completely Destroyed—Sawed Down by Some “Hater” of a “Clean City?”—but “Truth Crushed to Earth Shall Rise Again.”

“This Sign has been Completely Destroyed—Sawed down by Some “Hater” of a “Clean City”—but “Truth Crushed to Earth Shall Rise Again.”
LOH 30 (May 18, 1912):99.

The Cook Company was located in the designated industrial zone of Zion, a short distance from the Lake Michigan shoreline, east of the residential area and in close proximity to the railroad. Voliva owned the lot across the street from the Cook Company. Beginning in April,

²⁰³“Now Moving to Zion City,” *ZCI*, March 8, 1912; “Progress at Cook Factory,” *ZCI*, March 22, 1912; “Wheels Now in Motion,” *ZCI*, March 29, 1912.

each morning at 7:30 a.m. and each evening at 5:00 p.m., several hundred of Voliva's followers marched about a mile from the Zion Home on Sheridan Road to his lot, ostensibly to pray for the "heathens" who worked at Cook. Their prayers often were interspersed with hurled invectives, such as "stink pots," "whisky guzzlers," and "two-legged Chicago bums."²⁰⁴



A Zion Group, Lord's Day Morning, April 27, 1912, on the Site of Zion Tabernacle No. 2—
A Center of Zion's Holy War Against Tobacco "Stinkpots" and Other Evils—Get-
ting Instruction and Power for the Service of God While the Enemy Sleeps.

"A Zion Group, Lord's Day Morning, April 27, 1912, on the Site of Zion Tabernacle No. 2—A Center of Zion's Holy War Against Tobacco 'Stinkpots' and Other Evils—Getting Instruction and Power for the Service of God While the Enemy Sleeps."

LOH 30 (May 11, 1912):81-82.

Acting Independent Mayor Miller warned these protesters to cease and desist, citing a 1902 ordinance that prohibited any group of persons from annoying or disturbing another group. The Independent

²⁰⁴"Abrupt Ending of Zion's Holy War," *ZCI*, April 26, 1912.

council also passed a new ordinance banning signs that displayed vulgar language or false statements. Nonetheless, the conflicts intensified. The *Independent* reported that Voliva's group not only harassed Cook employees from across the street, but that the group also "invaded" the depot to verbally abuse Cook and lace factory workers who took the train from Chicago to Zion. During a subsequent attempt by Volivites to harass employees arriving by train, the train stopped two blocks short of the depot to avoid the waiting crowd. A separate Volivite group launched a protest in front of the Independent-owned Leader Store, blocking customers from entering. The mayor's attempts to end this culminated in a physical attack on him and an ensuing "free for all."²⁰⁵

Within a few days, the employees from the Cook Company responded with violence to this harassment. Multiple newspapers from around the country printed remarkably similar articles that described vicious attacks by factory employees on Zion men and women as they conducted a prayer meeting. The Independents claimed that Voliva fed those articles to the press. Many from both sides were seriously injured. Zion police and dozens of specially hired policemen responded to the clashes. Voliva, claiming that the Zion force was comprised

²⁰⁵"Abrupt Ending of Zion's Holy War," *ZCI*, April 26, 1912; Council Minutes, June 10, 1912 (Ordinance passed June 2, 1912); "Law-Defying Citizens," *ZCI*, June 14, 1912; "Voliva's Frantic Impotence," *ZCI*, April 26, 1912.

entirely of men "utterly opposed to Zion," and who "maliciously, murderously, and unconscionably moved upon the Zion people," called in County Sheriff Clinton Green. In an *Independent* article entitled "The Trail of the Serpent," the editor presented evidence of collusion between Voliva and Deputy Sheriff Green.²⁰⁶

The twice a day marches continued for several years. The harassment continued, and several people were injured severely in the sporadic violence that erupted during those years. At one point, Cook employees tried to leave the factory by side doors and to cut through residential yards in order to avoid the "prayer meetings," but the Volivites divided their forces and watched all exits, chasing after the employees. Five of the city's policemen were arrested by Sheriff Green for assault and battery while attempting to break up one of the Volivite prayer meetings. Judge Botsford of Waukegan dismissed all charges against the five, stating that they "acted within their jurisdiction" and their use of "clubs and fists" was in self-defense.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶"Methods of the New Theocracy," *ZCI*, April 19, 1912; "Prayer Meeting Broken Up and Many Injured," *The Duluth News Tribune*, April 30, 1912; "Many Injured in Zion City: Two Hundred Followers of Dowie Attacked by Independent Workmen," *The Grand Forks Daily Herald*, April 30, 1912; "Riot Started in Zion City: Independent Workmen Viciously Assail Voliva's Followers," *Idaho Daily Statesman* (Boise, Idaho) May 1, 1912; "Holy War Against Tobacco and Other Evils in Zion City," *LOH* 30 (May 11, 1912):89; "The Trail of the Serpent," *ZCI*, May 3, 1912.

²⁰⁷"Court Sustains Independent Police," *ZCI*, July 19, 1912; *Waukegan Sun*, July 17, 1912..

A year into the conflicts, the Zion City police thought they could handle the situation more effectively without the county sheriff deputies. The Sheriff agreed but was concerned about “laying himself liable” if he refused to interfere if called. In response to a request from State’s Attorney Dady, Illinois Attorney General P. J. Lucey issued a formal opinion stating that, while the sheriff should not abandon the quest for peace in Zion entirely, the city police primarily were responsible for municipal order, and they could better accomplish that without interference from the county. Indeed, Lucey suggested that if the sheriff thought he had any duty in the matter, he might “properly cooperate with the Zion City officers in removing the cause of these clashes” which the Attorney General deemed to be the Volivites.²⁰⁸

The daily rallies in front of the Cook factory were not the only tactics wielded by loyal Voliva followers. When Cook purchased the property from the receiver, the contract gave him the right to use any sidetracks and switches necessary to deliver machinery and supplies to the building. One of the sidetracks ran through land that Voliva had purchased as part of the Estate. Voliva’s followers constructed a six foot high fence across the track, effectively blocking all rail deliveries

²⁰⁸Patrick J. Lucey, “Officers-Sheriff’s Duty,” *Report of the Attorney General of the State of Illinois: Opinions 1913* (Springfield, IL Illinois State Journal Printers, 1915), 281-285.

of necessary supplies. A regional paper jestingly suggested that Voliva “decided to advance the interests of science” by forcing Cook to “invent a freight carrying air ship.” A few months after that, some of Voliva’s supporters tore up 100 feet of another C&NW spur used by the Cook factory. In response, the city council granted a franchise to the railway to build another spur on public land originally dedicated as an alleyway.²⁰⁹

In another tactic to disrupt the Independents’ endeavors to welcome outside businesses, Voliva filed a lawsuit in March 1913 against Frank Cook for breach of contract. He sought to dispossess Cook from his factory and to take ownership of the property. The original contract between receiver Thomas and Frank Cook called for the factory to be moved from Chicago to Zion by December 1910. That move, however, was not completed until 1912. Voliva claimed that, as the purchaser of the Estate from the receiver, he also had claim to assets of the receiver under that contract. Voliva initially was successful before a master in chancery who recommended that the contract be rescinded and that Cook be refunded the \$10,202.23 already paid. The Circuit Court, however, took exception to the recommendation and dismissed Voliva’s action. Voliva appealed to the

²⁰⁹“Voliva Blocks Traffic,” *Lake County Independent*, August 25, 1911; “Take up C. & N.W. Siding,” *ZCI*, November 10, 1911; Council Minutes, November 13, 1911.

Illinois Supreme Court in February of 1914, but they denied a rehearing, holding that Voliva's "improper conduct" had caused Cook's delayed move to Zion.²¹⁰

Despite the Volivite endeavors to defeat the Independents both at the polls and in their struggles to attract outside industries, the Independents persevered. They were heartened by the arrival of the Cook Company, which was a significant triumph for the them. They hoped this would encourage other industrialists to relocate to Zion, thus contributing to the city's economic base. The Independents successfully challenged their antagonists' efforts to thwart the 1911 election. They sought to reform their election system through self-education and by joining with nationally known professionals who campaigned against corruption. In the face of disastrous fires in nearby communities, they understood the hazards of inadequate water supplies should Zion's immense wooden structures catch fire and tried to modernize the city's system of cisterns. Holding steady to the Christian values inherent in the founding of the city, the Independents sponsored programs and invited speakers who urged that Christians be involved in politics. It was their duty to help clean up cities, to push for temperance legislation, and to fight against corruption.

²¹⁰"Decision Handed Down," *ZCI*, March 7, 1913; "Voliva v. Cook," *The Northeastern Reporter* (West Publishing Company, 1914):711-14.

Chapter 9

“Genuine and Wholesome Progress Lies Not in Casting the Wheat Away with the Tares”

The Independents' political victories since 1909 gave them confidence to move the city forward. The council moved to collect assessments to construct concrete sidewalks. They passed ordinances to ensure that contractors designed those sidewalks with the proper materials and grade, completing the plans that Burton Ashley had designed nearly a decade earlier. The council and other Independents cooperated with nearby communities seeking solutions to disease and to water pollution.

The Independents were forced to compromise when Zion's ban on tobacco use was struck down in court, a case that eventually was upheld by the Illinois Supreme Court. These decisions reflected the prevailing tensions between the rights of the individual and the power of the state to regulate for the public good.

When the national Progressive Party organized in 1912, the Independents identified with the priorities inherent in the Progressive platform: an active citizenry, good roads for efficient commerce, opportunities for education, and the ideals of a good government that served all the people.

Victory for the "Little White Slaver"

Wilbur Glenn Voliva continued his crusade against tobacco and against the Cook factory. Partially in response to that crusade, several dozen Cook employees organized the "Progress League of Zion City, Illinois." These men were newcomers to Zion and, unlike the core group of the Independents, had not been followers of Dowie. Still, their goals paralleled many of those common to the Independents in that the League desired to help the Independent Party establish a "good government" that would represent "every fair-minded citizen." Within a few months, the Progress League had taken steps to organize a public library. Zion residents met the League's calls for donations with enthusiasm, and soon, the League petitioned the city council for space in City Hall for their collection of nearly 150 books and for a small sum of money for necessary expenses. While awaiting an answer, the president of the Cook Factory provided storage space in the factory.²¹¹

Leaders of the Zion Independents appreciated the extra support and civic involvement, but they had serious concerns that the Progress League's primary goal was to fight the city's tobacco ordinance. Indeed, by 1912, there had been numerous challenges to that

²¹¹Editorial, *ZCI*, January 17, 1913; "Cook Factory Notes," *ZCI*, March 28, 1913; "Items From the Cook Factory," April 4, 1913; "A Library in View," *ZCI*, April 25, 1913.

ordinance. In one case, three men were found guilty of smoking in the Zion court, but the three appealed to the Country Circuit Court.

Visscher V. Barnes, the attorney for Zion City, moved that the cases be dismissed, believing that the existing ordinance would not be upheld on appeal. The city council carefully crafted a new ordinance that they hoped would withstand the scrutiny of the Illinois Supreme Court. In July 1912, the council unanimously passed the new ordinance. The significance of this ordinance was the council's attempts to make the ordinance legally sustainable in its prohibition of smoking, specifically, in all public places within the city. Again, Zion Independents, consistent with the greater Progressive movement, pushed to enact laws to uplift the morality and improve the health of Americans as well as to increase the efficiency of laborers.²¹²

The council's concern about the vulnerability of the original law was well-founded. During the 1890s, the Illinois legislature had contemplated multiple bills to ban cigarettes in one way or another, none of which passed. The Chicago city council had passed one ordinance that prohibited certain substances from being used in the manufacturing of cigarettes, such as opium or glycerine. Most of these measures had been pressed into consideration through the fervent

²¹²"The Anti-Smoke Ordinance Weak," *ZCI*, May 24, 1912; "An Ordinance Making it Unlawful to Smoke Tobacco, or to Have Any Lighted Pipe, Cigar or Cigarette in or Upon Any Street or Other Public Place Within the Limits of the City of Zion," Council Minutes, July 22, 1912.

efforts of Lucy Page Gaston, who founded the Anti-Cigarette League in 1899. She had spent part of her youth in Harvey, Illinois, a city originally governed by many of the blue laws upon which Dowie founded Zion. Gaston's successful campaign in Chicago was just one in a progression of efforts to limit or to ban the use of tobacco. In 1893, Washington passed the first state bill to prohibit the manufacturing, buying, selling, or giving away cigarettes or related products. A federal court declared the law to be unconstitutional within months of its enactment. Reportedly, this was more of an anti-tobacco trust law than it was a law to regulate morality.²¹³

One of the legal challenges to the Zion anti-smoking order reached the Illinois Supreme Court in 1914, which reversed a verdict of the Lake County Circuit Court finding an individual guilty of violating the Zion ordinance. The Supreme Court decided that while cities and villages had the right to prohibit smoking in theaters or streetcars, and certainly had the right to protect the city from threat of fire, the "broad language [that prohibited smoking in all public places] . . . apparently [was] an attempt on the part of the municipality to regulate and control the habits and practices of the citizen without any reasonable basis for so doing." Hence, the Supreme Court judged the ordinance

²¹³Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 39, 42-46.

“an unreasonable interference with the private rights of the citizen and must be held void.”²¹⁴

The Zion case was cited in 2008 in Bureau County, Illinois. It was part of the defense of a bar patron who was charged with violating the Smoke Free Illinois Act that took effect on January 1, 2008.

Section 70 of the 2008 Act prohibited smoking within fifteen feet of any door, window, or ventilation intake. The patron’s second defense was that he was further than the fifteen foot perimeter. He was found not guilty by the Circuit Court.²¹⁵

“Thinking People are Progressives”

While Volivites continued their war against tobacco, the Independents held the majority in the council and worked to improve the city’s infrastructure and social opportunities. The Independents, in their party platform and subsequent speeches, advocated ideas similar to that of the national Progressive Party, such as good roads, open

²¹⁴*City of Zion v. Behrens*, 262 Ill. 510, Ill. Supreme Court (1914).

²¹⁵“Public Health” (410 ILCS 82) Smoke Free Illinois Act, Illinois General Assembly, <http://www.ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/ilcs3.asp?ActID=2893&ChapterID=35> (accessed August 26, 2017); James Chipman, “Will the Courts Snuff Out the Illinois Smoke Free Act?” *The Public Servant* 10 (December, 2008) Newsletter of the Illinois State Bar Association.

waterways for efficient commerce, a government that worked for the benefit of all the people, and an abhorrence of monopolies.²¹⁶

Once a national Progressive Party was organized, the Independents referred to themselves not simply as "independent" of Voliva, but as progressives. The *Independent* published scores of speeches by reform-minded state and national politicians seeking to rid politics of corruption, and articles about women who worked for better living conditions and educational opportunities for children. In one article, entitled "Thinking People are Progressives," U.S. Senator Joseph Dixon from Montana, a leading Progressive Party member, lauded thinking American citizens who could evaluate arguments and declared that once they were given a "sane" and "scientific plan of action," they undoubtably would support such things as federal regulatory powers over pure foods, and over accurate weights and measures. Zion City dentist and Sunday School teacher C. A. Rominger declared, "We are Progressives. The age demands it. Standpatters must get out of the way." In his declaration, he advocated the common education movement that enriched society through an educated populace. This movement included agricultural

²¹⁶"Progressive Party Platform of 1912," The American Presidency Project, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29617> (accessed May 24, 2017).

schools to teach farmers more efficient and scientific methods to produce their crops.²¹⁷

Independents hoped for an end to the conflicts in town and looked longingly at progress made elsewhere. A Zion "taxpayer" pleaded for all the city's residents to come together irrespective of religious differences and create a "Zion City Beautiful." Citing the worldwide demographic trends towards urbanization and the expanding emphasis on city planning, the author referred to the common priorities of the Progressive Era: good citizenship, order, and scientific efficiency. Officials in Dusseldorf, Germany, also known as "Park City," had successfully combined industry and commerce, yet that city still had been "built for the comfort and convenience of its people." The Chicago downtown was in the process of re-creation through the recently unveiled Chicago Plan. There was no reason why Zion, planned with John Alexander Dowie's ideals that "should rise above mere business," should not be as "beautiful as Washington, as full of the joy of living as Paris."²¹⁸

The council, having vowed to continue their progressive policies in "regards to civic improvements," embarked on making those improvements manifest. They passed additional ordinances that

²¹⁷"Thinking People are Progressives," *ZCI*, October 4, 1912; "The Value of a Christian Education," *ZCI*, February 28, 1913.

²¹⁸"Let Us Have a Z.C. Beautiful: A Correspondent Pleads for a United Effort Along Practical Lines," *ZCI*, September 20, 1912.

specified the proper grade, materials, and construction of concrete sidewalks. To ensure compliance, any person laying any sidewalk was required to obtain a license from the City Clerk. Any violators would be fined. The council set special assessments for sidewalks. They contracted for concrete drainage conduits to be built in order to carry off flood waters, which would replace the wooden boards that simply channeled the water over the surface.²¹⁹

The council hired an engineer to draw up plans for a sewer system. Most sewage from cities and towns along the Lake Michigan shore ended up in the lake, and as such, there was a growing regional concern to protect the lake from such pollution since it supplied the drinking water for many as well. This situation, coupled with recent outbreaks of typhoid in Waukegan and other towns, helped to inspire interest in a sanitary district. While Zion residents drew their water from private wells rather than from the lake, many Independents still were concerned for “the good of future generations” and desired to join in any North Shore project that would provide safer disposal of wastes.²²⁰

Replicating the efforts of the first city engineer Burton Ashley during the early years of Zion, the *Independent* sought to educate its

²¹⁹“Independents Still in Saddle,” *ZCI*, April 19, 1912; Council Minutes, May 17, 1912; “Bids for Concrete Walks,” *ZCI*, May 3, 1912; “Permanent Improvements,” *ZCI*, July 5, 1912.

²²⁰“Proposed Zion City Sewer,” *ZCI*, May 3, 1912.

readers about sanitary infrastructure through articles that described, among other things, the requirements of a good storm drain and ways in which sewage may be purified. Given Zion's topography, "dilution and intermittent sand filter beds" seemed to be the most practical solution to a central sewerage system. While effective, this had its drawbacks. Lake Forest used this system, but "it had proved such a malodorous nuisance" that its citizens were campaigning for an alternative solution, that of an intercepting sewer which would send waste to a treatment plant.²²¹

The concern over diseases from poor drainage and raw sewage had inspired the organization of the Lake Michigan Sanitary Association in 1908, a multi-state effort to address the problem. A year later, the North Shore Sanitary Association was organized. It became the North Shore Sanitary District in 1911. By 1914, it administered communities in Cook County north of Wilmette as well as shoreline communities in Lake County north to Waukegan. Zion was not included until 1919 when the Illinois General Assembly extended the boundaries of the sanitary district to the Illinois-Wisconsin border. The Illinois mandate that included Zion superceded the then Volivite city council's refusal to join the District. The council claimed that the city did not have the funds to pay its share of the costs. The general thought among

²²¹"Essentials of a Good Storm Drain," *ZCI*, May 24, 1912.

District officials was that “the Voliva interest” did not want any outsider to have any control within the city. If the Voliva forces had prevailed, Zion’s waste would continue to be dumped into Lake Michigan.²²²

Movies Can Be a Positive Influence

To enhance the entertainment opportunities within the city, the council considered proposals to add moving pictures to the Lyceum program despite the stigma against them, not just in Zion, but in many communities. Movies were considered by many to be threats to the morality of the nation. Chicago had been the first city to enact a censorship law in 1907 that made it illegal to show movies in public places without having a license issued by the chief of police. This was a Progressive Era movement to reduce temptations and vice. The aversion to movies was especially intense among many in Zion, given that the 1100-year leases issued by Dowie and by Voliva prohibited any “theater or opera house.” Still, a number of Independents, considered to be “men of honor and integrity,” believed that, if

²²²Michael Ebner, *Creating Chicago's the North Shore* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 191-2; North Shore Sanitary District: Amends Act of 1911 by extending Boundary Line (Senate Bill no. 448 Approved June 28, 1919), *Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Fifty-First General Assembly at the Regular Biennial Session* (Illinois State Journal Company, State Printers, 1919), 459-60; “Zion Won’t Join Dist.,” *Waukegan Daily Sun*, June 6, 1919.

handled correctly, moving pictures could be beneficial for the city's residents.²²³

Zion advocates of this new medium wrote that they had recently seen the Indian Durbar ceremonies on screen, in color. Certainly, this type of "panorama" would be fun as well as educational for young people. Movies about travel, history, and biblical topics could enhance lectures and all could be had for a fairly nominal fee. In addition to the appeal of social and educative benefits of these movies, supporting the movies was held as a demonstration of "patriotism and a sample of good citizenship" in that they "would help our young people to grow in the right direction."²²⁴

The Independents of the city council passed an ordinance, over repeated objections by Theocrat aldermen, that allowed movies but required any businessman to purchase a license to show movies to the public. The editor of the *Independent* lamented the dissension within the council and within the town over whether or not movies should be allowed at all, but maintained that careful monitoring of the industry

²²³Moya Lockett, *Cinema and Community: Progressivism, Exhibition, and Film Culture in Chicago, 1907-1917* (Wayne State University Press, 1913), 173-175; "A Present Need of Zion City," *ZCI*, June 21, 1912.

²²⁴"A Present Need of Zion City," *ZCI*, June 21, 1912; "Moving Pictures in Zion City," *ZCI*, July 12, 1912.

was the key. "Genuine and wholesome progress," he stated, "lies not in casting the wheat away with the tares."²²⁵

Burt Rice was granted a license to show the films in the city. Rice had been converted to the Zion movement under Dowie in 1898 and became the conductor of the Zion Choir. In 1913, he managed the events for the independent Lyceum. In addition to a showing of *The Coming of Columbus* and *From the Manger to the Cross*, the Lyceum showed one of the first serialized movies, *What Happened to Mary*, starring Mary Fuller in twelve, one-reel films. All women attending received a souvenir picture of "Mary." *Mary* explored the big city adventures of a young woman and was a wildly popular series. It was not a cautionary moral tale. Instead, Edison Company intended this movie to be a money-making venture by intentionally targeting young working women. That the Independents featured this movie in Zion demonstrated their desire to expand their horizons from being consumed solely by church activities to enjoying light hearted, commercially produced humor.²²⁶

²²⁵"An Ordinance Regulating Moving Picture Shows," Council Minutes, April 17, 1913; Daniel Bryant, ed., *ZCI*, February 14, 1913.

²²⁶"God's Witness to Divine Healing: Written Testimony of Conductor Burt M. Rice, Zion Choir" *LOH* 7 (March 10, 1900):618-19; "What Happened to Mary," *ZCI*, March 28, 1913; Nan Enstad, "Dressed For Adventure: Working Women and Silent Movie Serials in the 1910s," *Feminist Studies* 21 (Spring, 1995):68-72.

Good Roads for Good Business

The Independents involved in the Good Road Movement bore witness to their continued efforts to improve internal infrastructure as well as the need to seek commercial links to other cities. The movement for improvements to rutted and mucky roads had begun in the 1870s with the advent of the bicycle craze. By the turn of the century, the movement included paved roads for automobiles. Multiple organizations endorsed the national movement, each advocating their respective goals. Pamphlets, circulars, and magazines represented the various problems and potential solutions faced by farmers, businessmen, and recreationists. By the dawn of the Progressive age, many of those organizations called upon states as well as the federal government to provide the means for efficient transportation.²²⁷

The first convention for the organization of the National League for Good Roads, held in Chicago in 1892, resolved that “the general government should make appropriations to facilitate wagon road transportation the same as it has for water and railway transportation.” Delegates to the convention included the president of the National Board of Trade, several administrators of state Departments of Agriculture, officers of the Illinois Highway Improvement Association, and representatives of commercial and

²²⁷Henry Petroski, *The Road Taken: The History and Future of America’s Infrastructure* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2016), 32, 38, 276.

agricultural interests throughout the eastern United States. Inherent in the delegates' debates and resolutions were the convictions that good roads defined the level of a nation's civilization, that poor roads impede the commercial growth of the country, and that it was the duty of governments to enact legislation that would lead to providing its citizens with good roads.²²⁸

The campaign for good roads continued throughout the first decades of the twentieth century. At the state legislative level, the Illinois General Assembly passed several acts that provided counties, townships, and incorporated municipalities with the means to assess taxes to pay for labor and for surface treatments. In 1903, the Illinois General Assembly took what was considered to be the initial measure towards organized state aid for road construction when it passed an act that authorized a temporary good roads committee. In 1905, the State Highway Commission was organized with the duties to investigate road conditions and to make recommendations. The commission also was charged with hiring a state engineer. By 1907, the proliferation of motor vehicles had made enough of an impact that registration fees were assessed for road funds.²²⁹

²²⁸*National League for Good Roads: Proceedings of the Convention at Chicago, October 20-21, 1892, Constitution of the League and Temporary Organization 1* (November 1892):Preface, 18, 19.

²²⁹*Journal of the House of Representatives of the 48th General Assembly of the State of Illinois*, (Springfield, IL, Illinois State Journal Co. State Printers, 1914):1673-76.

A variety of corporations, motor clubs, women's civic organizations, and individuals lobbied state and federal governments for road legislation. In Illinois, a number of these organizations sponsored a convention in Springfield in early 1913 to unite "in a strong, cohesive force . . . that will impress upon members of the general assembly the importance of early passage of highway improvement legislation." These powerful lobbyists included a representative of the New York Central Railroad, another from the federal government's Office of Public Roads, the president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, and Illinois Representative Homer Tice, who discussed the bill he planned to sponsor at the next legislative session. This convention and the proposed bill were considered of such paramount importance that the railroads offered reduced fares to all who traveled to Springfield to attend.²³⁰

Homer Tice was a strong proponent of good roads in Illinois and, in association with the Illinois Highway Improvement Association, successfully pushed through the Roads and Bridges Law, aka the Tice Law, in 1913. The law provided state aid to counties, greater powers to the State Highway Department, and created the office of County Supervisor of Highways. In line with the increasing stress on

²³⁰"Good Roads Convention," *ZCI*, January 17, 1913.

expertise, these county supervisors were required to pass competency tests to determine their qualifications.²³¹

Zion Independents were passionately involved in this movement. V. V. Barnes, Zion City attorney, attended and spoke at a convention in Chicago in 1912 sponsored by the National Good Roads Association. While previous conventions focused on national highways, such as the Lincoln Highway, which linked New York City to Chicago and eventually to San Francisco, the 1912 convention focused on a vital highway that linked Chicago and Milwaukee and that was certainly of great economic interest to Zion Independents. The campaign was to improve Sheridan Road from Chicago to Milwaukee under a unified plan. Sheridan Road, still called Elijah Avenue in Zion by some, was the major road through the business district of Zion City, and improving it would efficiently link Zion to the major metropolises to the south and to the north.

In his speech, Barnes told of the miserable road conditions that farmers and businessmen had to deal with for multiple months of the year, yet optimistically predicted that Illinois and all America soon would have "a system of highways unrivaled by any of the famous thoroughfares of antiquity or modern Europe." The comparison between Europe and the United States in terms of their respective

²³¹*Townsend v. Gash et al.*, 9958 (IL Supreme Court, April 22, 1915; Duane Raterman, P.E., "Celebrating 100 Years," <http://www.iaceng.org/history.asp> (accessed August 26, 2017).

levels of good roads was not a new issue in 1912. The 1892 publication outlining the organization of the National League for Good Roads included photographs of hard surface roads in Western Europe, some of which were modern, some of which were portions of the ancient Roman Republic's Appian Way. Other photographs contrasted modern roads utilized by French farmers and merchants with primitive roads in Iowa and Ohio in which wagons were mired to the axles in muck, horses to their knees, and across which no well-dressed consumer could traverse with dignity. While awaiting the economic progress that good roads would bring, Barnes regaled his audience with a quatrain describing the current state of many national roads:

"This road is not passable,
Not even jackassable;
If that you would travel,
Pray take your own gravel."²³²

According to highway proponents, Daniel Burnham considered the improvement of Sheridan Road to be "a continuation of the Chicago Plan." The goal was to provide a long, beautiful boulevard along the Lake Michigan coastline from Chicago northward. A number of associations in Chicago and along the North Shore campaigned to bring Sheridan Road under the auspices of a unified organization for

²³² *National League for Good Roads: Proceedings of the Convention at Chicago, October 20-21, 1892, Constitution of the League and Temporary Organization 1* (November 1892):2,12,17,37,41; "Speech by Judge Barnes Before the Good Roads Congress in Chicago Auditorium Monday," *ZCI*, February 16, 1912.



"The Beautiful Sheridan Road, Waukegan, Illinois."
 Postcard c. 1920, in possession of the author

improvement and maintenance. The Lincoln Park Association was one, and, in 1913, the Illinois General Assembly gave the Lincoln Park commissioners the authority to oversee the development of the road. There were, however, challenges to their authority. North of Chicago, Sheridan Road ran through a series of communities in which each city council was required to pass an ordinance giving control of their section of the road to the commissioners, although each community would retain the power to assess its citizens for costs. The intention of the plan was to put the execution and the maintenance of the road "into the hands of a single expert and efficient body" while

not “interfering . . . with the rights and privileges of the various town officials.”²³³

“We Are Living in an Age of Reform”

While Zion Independents eagerly followed the construction of Sheridan Road in other communities, they prepared for the 1913 township and municipal elections. In early January, the *Zion Independent* printed the “Statement of Principles for Which All Reformers Are Today Contending.” In this, the Independent Party averred their connection with the “world-wide movement for the betterment of human society.” They maintained that the controversies within Zion were not particular to Zion alone. Rather, the principles fought for by the city’s Independent forces were similar to those “advocated and defended by our ablest politicians; our most scientific physicians . . . ; the most scholarly and spiritual men in the ministry.” They reiterated their Declaration of Principles that they first had declared in 1910.²³⁴

²³³Daniel Burnham and Edward H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago* (Chicago: Commercial Club, 1909), 38; “Sheridan Road Improvements,” *Chicago Commerce*, 8 (August 16, 1912):34; Henry Hyde, “To Concrete the Sheridan Road,” *Commercial West* 25 (April 18, 1914):22; *Journal of the Senate of the 49th General Assembly of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, IL, Illinois State Journal Co. State Printers, 1915): 1103.

²³⁴“The Independent Cause,” *ZCI*, January 3, 1913.

While campaigning, the Independents proudly highlighted their achievements in the realm of public improvements during the previous year, noting the nearly fifteen miles of concrete sidewalks as well as three, 100-foot concrete drainage culverts. North Shore Gas had extended their lines to Zion, and city council committees had successfully negotiated with the Chicago & Milwaukee Electric Railroad Company (North Shore Line) for an additional stop at Twenty-Seventh Street. The Chicago and Northwestern Railway on Zion's east side had cleaned up piles of cinder near the depot and were preparing to install automatic gates at several crossings. However, the city needed still more improvements, including a more efficient sewer and water system. The Independents vowed to implement those improvements if elected.²³⁵

Equally important, the city needed to attract new industries, but Voliva's virulent crusade against tobacco, which made national news, hampered efforts to do that. Daniel Bryant, Overseer of the independent Christian Catholic Church, blamed Voliva for making tobacco a far larger problem than it needed to be. Bryant acknowledged there always had been tobacco users in Zion, but for the most part, those smokers had respected the ordinances by not spitting

²³⁵"City Improvements Needed," "Electric to Stop at Twenty-Seventh Street," *ZCI*, January 3, 1913; "A Year of Prosperity," Report by the Superintendent of Public Works, *ZCI*, January 17, 1913.

on the sidewalks or offending those who did not smoke. Voliva's bitter attacks on the Cook factory workers, some of whom smoked, polarized the community even more than it had been. This led to challenges to the ordinance when "moral suasion" had sufficed in the past. Bryant himself abhorred tobacco because of "injury to the brain and brawn . . . and on the ground that tobacco users too frequently forget the rights of those who do not use it." Still, Bryant applauded Dowie's practicality in that he knew that even his moral city needed industries for its citizens. Dowie's acquisition of the English lace factory meant that some of those skilled laborers imported to work in Zion, and who smoked, had to be tolerated. A decade later, many Independents agreed with this willingness to compromise if it meant adding outside industries to the city's economic base.²³⁶

As the spring 1913 elections approached, the *Independent* printed articles reminding its readers of the 1911 election debacle. During this time, Voliva declared he had been wrong to condemn John Alexander Dowie in 1906, following Voliva's arrival in Zion. In the spring of 1913, Voliva reinstated the Restoration Vow for which he had so scathingly criticized Dowie. That vow had been cited by bankruptcy court Judge Landis who considered it to be un-American. Those who took Dowie's original vow promised to obey Dowie's commands, with

²³⁶"Our City Problem," in "Pen and Pulpit," *ZCI*, January 17, 1913.

“everything else . . . subordinate” to the vow. Voliva merely added one phrase to the original, “I recognize, as [Dowie’s] successor, Wilbur Glenn Voliva.”²³⁷

1913 Election Regression

The Benton Township elections were scheduled for April 1, 1913. At that election, voters also would be deciding whether or not there should be a township high school to serve Zion and Winthrop Harbor. While there existed a Zion City High School, it was administered by the Volivite school board. Multiple articles in the *Independent* complained of deplorable academic standards in that school. For families who could afford the cost of transportation and tuition, a number of Zion students attended either Waukegan or Kenosha High Schools. To organize a township high school, it was necessary for fifty voters to sign a petition, which then would be delivered to the township treasurer who would call for “test vote.” A township high school was decidedly an Independent cause.²³⁸

The Independents prevailed in the 1913 township election, winning all seats except for the school trustee. Women could vote only for that trustee position, and Voliva had a strong female following.

²³⁷“The Zion City Election,” *ZCI*, April 18, 1913.

²³⁸“Education: Township High School Discussed,” *ZCI*, March 21, 1913.

The Theocratic school trustee candidate won 1,191 to 1,132. The "test vote" for the township high school won by twelve votes. Therefore, the township treasurer now was required by law to call for a special election within 60 days in order to elect a five-member high school board.²³⁹

Two weeks after the township elections, the municipal elections took place on April 15. According to the minutes, the city council was scheduled to tally and certify the votes on April 17, but the records indicate that the council instead addressed concerns it had with the Chicago and Northwestern railway over crossing safety and sanitary restrooms. On April 18, the *Independent* noted that a "mysterious silence pervades the city." There was no official announcement yet as to who won the election, although the *Independent* did publish unofficial tallies that somehow had made it into Waukegan papers. In that news item, the Theocrats won the offices of mayor, city attorney, city clerk, and two of the five aldermanic seats. At the April 28 council meeting, two Theocratic aldermen entered a resolution to tally and to declare the results of the April 15 election. After multiple substitute motions, the council agreed to adjourn for two days.²⁴⁰

²³⁹"Benton Township Caucus," *ZCI*, March 14, 1913; "Results of Township Election," *ZCI*, April 4, 1913; "Vote on Township High School," *ZCI*, April 4, 1913.

²⁴⁰Council Minutes, April 17, 1913; April 28, 1913.

The full council of seven Independents and three Theocrats as well as the Independent acting mayor met again on April 30. The three-member Committee on Elections, all Independents, reported the results based upon three of the five wards. Their tallies showed the opposite of that reported by Waukegan papers, Instead of a substantial Theocratic victory, the Independents won the offices of mayor, city attorney, city clerk, treasurer, and three aldermen. The Committee declared that Wards Two and Four could not be tallied because there was "a discrepancy between the votes tallied . . . and the number of names shown in the poll books." Therefore, those wards were "not entitled to be canvassed." The newly elected mayor and members of council took their seats and the roll was called. The records show that seven Independent aldermen were present, but the three Theocratic alderman evidently exited the meeting. They were counted as absent. Hence, there were no nays recorded to the resolution regarding the duly elected mayor, officers, and aldermen.²⁴¹

Three weeks after the election, the *Independent* explained the complications that delayed the official announcement, that is, complications other than the typical partisan struggles. Someone had broken into the vault in which city documents were stored and mutilated the tally sheets from Ward Two. The culprits did not destroy

²⁴¹Council Minutes, April 30, 1913.

the sheets. Rather, they crossed out numbers and wrote different numbers over or near the original. As a result, there was a discrepancy between the poll books and the tally sheets. In Ward Four, two Independents and one Theocrat served as judges, who oversaw the record keeping of one Independent and two Theocrat clerks. Independent election judge Andrew Moe objected to the manner in which the Theocrat clerks tallied the votes, in that they tallied only the split votes, but did not tally the straight ticket ballot. When confronted with the irregularity, they replied that they had done this before and saw no problem. The results, however, were incomplete tally sheets, which made a clear count impossible.²⁴²

The election committee sought advice from lawyers who advised the committee to disregard Wards Two and Four. The Independents never discovered who broke into the vault and heartily maintained their innocence. "So hurtful is the present unhappy state of affairs to the Independent cause," they lamented, "and so valuable is it to Voliva, that a sickening fear comes into the hearts." The Independents were very concerned that Voliva would use the appearance of wrongdoing to contest the election. Indeed, the Theocrats did contest the election.²⁴³

²⁴²"Independents Held Elected," *ZCI*, May 2, 1913; "The Mutilated Tally Sheets," "Marking the Tally Sheets," *ZCI*, May 9, 1913.

²⁴³Untitled Item, *ZCI*, May 9, 1913. Attorneys' names were not provided.

The three Theocrats attended council meetings sporadically the following month, but the seven Independents continued to pass ordinances, to set the compensation for city officers, and to assign contracts. At one meeting with no Theocrats present, they considered a request by Thomas Milligan to lease property along the lakefront for “running [a] boat livery, . . . a bathing beach and other harmless amusements and pleasures.” Milligan’s request was referred to the Committee on Parks, Plats, and Subdivisions, which had the power to, and did, approve the recreational facility.²⁴⁴

By the end of May, Voliva had filed motions in the local courts contesting the elections of all Independents, including aldermen and city offices. In early June, Voliva, through one of his followers, O. W. Farley, filed a petition with the Illinois Supreme Court asking for a writ of mandamus. As a result, all elected Independent officers and aldermen as well as election judges and clerks were served with summonses to appear before the Supreme Court in Springfield on June 9, 1913. To the dismay of the Independents, the court sided with the Theocrats. The court ordered the council to canvas the returns again, and to include Wards Two and Four. This they did on June 20. Only the Independent city treasurer retained his office while the offices of mayor, clerk, and city attorney went to Theocrats. Of the five

²⁴⁴Council Minutes, May 26, 1913; June 9, 1913.

aldermanic posts available, three were maintained by Independents, but Wards Two and Four went to the Theocrats.²⁴⁵

The recount for the city council resulted in five Independents and five Theocrats, which left the inevitable ties to be decided by the Theocratic mayor. The new council revoked the previous appointments of the chief of police, fire marshal, and other offices and replaced them with Theocratic appointees. Several of those newly appointed officers resigned because they considered the salaries fixed by the Independent council on April 30, to be insufficient compensation. They were rehired after the Theocratic council passed an ordinance raising those salaries.²⁴⁶

The triumphant Theocratic council members opened the next meeting on June 21, with the hymn, "We're Marching to Zion." Elder F. M. Royall, one of Voliva's right hand men and the new council chaplain, conducted the hymn, the refrain of which is joyously exuberant:

We're marching to Zion,
beautiful, beautiful Zion.
We're marching upward to Zion,
the beautiful city of God.

²⁴⁵"Election Contest Filed," *ZCI*, May 30, 1913; "Voliva Contests Election," *ZCI*, June 6, 1913; "Independents Lose Election Suit," *ZCI*, June 20, 1913; Council Minutes, June 20, 1913.

²⁴⁶Council Minutes, June 20, 1913; April 30, 1913; July 10, 1913; July 17, 1913.

While this was a common revivalist hymn during the late nineteenth century, Zion founder Dowie had designated it as the emotional and unifying processional during ceremonies in the organization and establishment of Zion City. The words invoked the sense of both the physical city and of Dowie's Zion movement that embraced his initial Chicago organization, the church's international missions, and the conceptual congregation of Christians in God's kingdom on earth. A full congregation, led by John Alexander Dowie, sang the hymn at the ratification of the first election held on April 23, 1902 when there was only one ticket in Zion, that of the Theocratic Party. Now, Royall revived that hymn for Voliva.²⁴⁷

Elder Royall had been a missionary to China under Dowie, but had returned to Zion and heartily supported Voliva. In 1918, however, Royall would protest against Voliva's biblical interpretations and Voliva's denunciation of evangelist Billy Sunday. Royall, simultaneous to being "kicked" out by Voliva, would leave and organize his own church, the Shiloah Tabernacle.²⁴⁸

One can imagine the private thoughts of, and conversations between, Independents as a result of the loss of the 1913 election, but

²⁴⁷Council Minutes, June 21, 1913; "Where God Rules, Man Prospers," *LOH* 11 (April 26, 1902):23; Council Minutes, April 23, 1902.

²⁴⁸"Elder Royall Holds First Meeting," *ZCI*, April 19, 1918; "Billy Sunday Stamped a Plagiarist," *LOH* 37 (November 27, 1915):208; "The Hypocrisy of Professional Evangelism," *LOH* 37 (March 25, 1916): 609.

publicly, the *Independent* published a cautiously good humored article. "The boys," the unnamed author wrote, "are feeling good, and have confidence that home, business, and church life will move forward." They hoped the new administration would honor the constitutional rights of all in the city. The Independents were willing to "hold out the hand of fellowship and peace . . . and co-operate with them in administering good law impartially."²⁴⁹

Cooperation was a quixotic fantasy. On July 9, the Theocratic council and mayor removed Independent Ward One Alderman A. A. Sebring by producing five witnesses who swore that they would have voted for Sebring's Theocratic opponent John Fiddes, but were "illegally" prohibited from voting. Sebring, of course, was not allowed to vote on this matter. While the methods were more than questionable, five Theocratic aldermen "believed" the witnesses, added those five votes to the ballot tally, and awarded Fiddes the election by one vote.²⁵⁰

Voliva's attorney, C. P. Barnes from Chicago (not related to Independent V. V. Barnes), was present at the meeting and declared that there was Supreme Court precedence "to show that where duly qualified voters are rejected by the judges they shall be counted as

²⁴⁹"New Administration in Saddle: City Beautiful. Independents Happy and Await New Policy With Interest," *ZCI*, June 27, 1913.

²⁵⁰Council Minutes, July 3, 1913; July 7, 1913; "City Council Removes Sebring," *ZCI*, July 11, 1913.

votes after their validity has been established." The Independents asserted that there was no validity to be established. The five witnesses either did not live in Zion or did not live in the correct ward, but these defenses were irrelevant in light of the Theocratic majority. Independent Fifth Ward alderman F. L. Norris was the next to be thrown out of office by the same devices used against Sebring, but faced the additional charge of participating in a "general conspiracy" against any citizen who wished to vote for Theocratic candidates. The Theocrats claimed that Norris "made no effort to correct the fraud [of the mutilated tally sheets] but each time voted to adopt the report of the election committee."²⁵¹

The Theocrats proceeded to target the remaining Independent aldermen who had been elected in April. Arthur Stevenson, just returned from vacation, was ousted on July 31 on no particular charge except that it appeared he "had been party to fraud and conspiracy." This accusation against Stevenson, as against the others, was related to the tally sheets debacle. Even though the mutilator was unknown, the Theocrat aldermen claimed "that the tally sheets had been wickedly, maliciously and purposely changed and mutilated in such a way as to indicate that the [Independent candidates] had received

²⁵¹"The Ousting of Sebring," *ZCI*, July 18, 1913; "City Council Removes Sebring," *ZCI*, July 11, 1913; "Voliva Aldermen Oust Norris," *ZCI*, July 25, 1913; Council Minutes, July 23, 1913.

more votes than were actually cast for them.” The Theocratic aldermen read a resolution formulated by Voliva’s attorney that voided Stevenson’s election claiming he was “not properly qualified or even entitled to hold the office of the alderman.” The Independents’ attorney defended Stevenson based upon state law that required a two-thirds vote, or seven in the case of the Zion council. Although the Theocrats commanded only six votes, the Independents’ attorney knew his argument was useless. The council declared Stevenson’s seat vacant.²⁵²

More than a month lapsed before the council took aim at the two incumbent Independents. In the meantime, the Theocratic-dominated council addressed a measles epidemic that was nearing its end, but had infected more than 200. They strengthened the anti-tobacco ordinances, and hired additional special policemen to suppress the “frequent violations” of the ordinances, especially those concerning the use of tobacco, liquor, profanity, and sabbath observances.²⁵³

In mid-September, the council called the last Independent aldermen, John Sayrs and R. R. Owens, to a hearing to face eight charges, all but two of which predictably were related to the April election. Of the remaining two, one accused the Independent

²⁵²Council Minutes, July 31, 1913; “Farce Continued-Stevenson Ousted,” *ZCI*, August 8, 1913.

²⁵³Council Minutes, July 28, 1913; August 11, 1913; August 19, 1913.

aldermen of "voting to wrongfully and illegally misappropriate funds and moneys [sic]" of the city. The final charge accused them of "misconduct in aiding, abetting, encouraging and assisting in the unlawful acts" of the former chief of police when they "prevented various citizens . . . from peacefully and lawfully marching along the streets of the said City, . . . and from holding public and religious meetings." This last charge referred to the suppression of the Volivite demonstrations outside the Cook factory by an Independent-sponsored ordinance that prohibited "parades, processions and open air meetings within the City of Zion" without first obtaining permission from the city council.²⁵⁴

At the hearing on September 15, several witnesses testified against Sayrs and Owens. Three claimed they had been mistreated by police during the "peaceful" marches. Another testified that the mutilated tally sheets had been changed "to show that Independents won over the Theocrats." Finally, someone from the council offered evidence that "large sums of money had been expended for attorney fees, . . . which the City was not obligated to pay." The Independent council had spent more than \$6,000 during the previous four years, using city funds and private donations, to fight a multitude of legal challenges by the Volivite team. In contrast, Voliva had donations

²⁵⁴Council Minutes, September 11, 1913; April 4, 1913.

from his followers who believed their path was righteous and obeyed Voliva's pleas for money. He had established a special fund in early 1913 to help defray his legal expenses. In addition to expected tithes, donations, twice a year "Sacrificial Offerings," and pledges made to the Redemption Fund instituted in 1909 to redeem Zion, dozens mortgaged their homes to fund Voliva's cause.²⁵⁵

Sayrs and Owen did not attend the hearing, but were found guilty of all charges in absentia and expelled from the council. The council called for primaries to elect candidates to fill the two now vacant incumbent seats. The Independents urged their supporters not to participate because they did not consider it to be a "legal primary." The Theocratic councils' removal of the Independents during the summer and fall of 1913, left one remaining Independent in office. In January 1914, however, City Treasurer Burnet Love was charged with commingling funds and was dismissed.²⁵⁶

Voliva repeatedly justified his victory in multiple sermons that declared that "Moses was a Theocratic Ruler," that "Committees [read: church councils and an Independent city council] Have No Place in a

²⁵⁵Council Minutes, September 15, 1913; Editor notes, *ZCI*, October 24, 1913; "Voliva Inaugurates a Defense Fund," *ZCI*, February 7, 1913; "Voliva's Real Estate Deal: Seventy-two Mortgaged Homes, 23 ½% Widows and Spinsters," *ZCI*, April 4, 1913; Lake County Recorder of Deeds, Mortgage Book 197 Pages 1-72.

²⁵⁶"Primary Election Notice," *ZCI*, October 19, 1913; Council Minutes, January 17, 1914.

Theocracy,” and that he was successful because his actions were according to “God’s way.”²⁵⁷

Even before all the Independents were deposed, the Theocratic-dominated council began to reverse steps taken by the Independents to improve the infrastructure and well-being of Zion residents. The newly appointed Board of Local Improvements moved to repeal all ordinances passed in May and June that applied to the construction and the funding of sidewalks, based on five Theocratic yeas to four Independent nays.²⁵⁸

Deliberately thwarting general progressive efforts to provide places of respite and entertainment as well as purposely infringing on the rights of half of Zion’s citizens, the council relinquished municipal control of the parks and deeded them to Voliva. The resolution maintained that the Independents had been “wrongfully exercising or pretending to exercise control over certain territory or premises” in Zion. These “premises” included Shiloh, Edina, Ophir, Beulah, Kedron, and Sharon Parks, and the lakefront park. Voliva also received the parkways, or boulevard strips, in seven existing or planned boulevards. This same resolution also canceled the contract previously awarded to

²⁵⁷“Sermon by the General Overseer,” *LOH* 33 (October 4, 1913):7.

²⁵⁸Council Minutes, July 1, 1913; July 7, 1913.

Thomas Milligan. He had been awarded a recreational permit to the lakefront park the previous month.²⁵⁹

The council's act of granting the parks to Voliva defied previous court cases that had awarded the parks to the people and that had affirmed the role that the parks initially played in attracting people to invest in Zion. In 1910, the Illinois Supreme Court had ruled that Dowie's attempt to mortgage Shiloh Park in order to pay a debt was invalid. Rather, the court held that Dowie had given Shiloh Park as well as all streets, alleyways, and other parks, to the people and had no right to vacate any dedication or to encumber what was not his. Later in 1910, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis had removed the total acreage of the parks, streets, etc. from the Estate that had been purchased by Voliva because that land belonged to the people.²⁶⁰

In July 1913, the council revoked the ordinance that allowed regulated moving pictures, prohibited all picture shows within the city, and cancelled all licenses previously issued. Furthermore, the city marshals were directed to "arrest on sight any and all persons operating . . . any moving picture business" in the city. This they soon did. On July 19, the chief of police and his crew of special police,

²⁵⁹Council Minutes, July 7, 1913.

²⁶⁰*Stevenson, Appellee vs. John A Lewis, Exr., et al Appellants*, Opinion filed February 16, 1910. *Reports of Cases at Law and in Chancery Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Illinois*, 244, 147-157; "Zion's Public Parks to be Preserved," *ZCI*, December 30, 1910.

arrested Lyceum manager Burt Rice and threw him into jail. The Independents declared that moving pictures were a "civic right," that movies were "educators," and that Voliva's council "might just as well pass an ordinance against public education or against the right to read." The charges against Rice later were dropped by the mayor.²⁶¹

The Lyceum continued to have a variety of entertaining and edifying programs, but no movies. That same year, the Theocratic council passed an "Entertainment Ordinance" that required licenses for such diversions as public readings, concerts, or minstrel shows. Depending on the "class" of entertainment, the fees ranged from \$5 a day to \$200 a day. The Ladies Aid Society of the Methodist Church in Zion was the first to be compelled to pay the fee when they inaugurated an Entertainment Course, the first to be performed by the Harmony Concert Party, a Chautauqua circuit trio.²⁶²

Ironically, at the same time that the council and the police moved against movies run by Independents in Zion, Voliva had hired experts to film his services in the Zion Tabernacle. However, he only presented his moving picture in other cities where he held services, such as Galesburg and Rockford, Illinois. As special features of those

²⁶¹Council Minutes, July 7, 1913; "Walker Raids the Lyceum," *ZCI*, July 25, 1913; "The Moving Picture, A Civic Right," *ZCI*, July 25, 1913; "Local Happenings Briefly Stated," *ZCI*, September 19, 1913.

²⁶²"Harmony Concert Pleases," *ZCI*, December 5, 1913; "Entertainment Ordinance," *ZCI*, December 5, 1913; Council Minutes, October 5, 1913.

services, he showed a moving picture of "Panoramic Views of Zion City, of the Great Processional of Junior and Senior White-Robed Choirs." The spectacle included Zion bands, the Zion Guards, and a parade of Restoration Host. This had been filmed on July 20, the day after the raid on the Lyceum.²⁶³

Conclusion

The Theocratic seizure of political power in 1913 spelled the end of the Zion Independents' quest for a city befitting the ideals of Progressivism: clean, orderly, and with expectations of temperance and relatively free of vices inherent in other urban centers. While they sought a progressive agenda, the Independent forces maintained John Alexander Dowie's doctrinal foundations for which they initially had chosen to make the move to Zion City. The Independents claimed that Dowie originally planned to allow individual businesses that still would support the church with tithes on profits. Dowie, however, changed his mind after many already had invested in the city. His followers, for the most part, still believed in his message and in his vision.

Dowie's mismanagement of funds, and the ensuing bankruptcy created havoc for his congregants emotionally, spiritually, and economically. Nevertheless, the Independents considered Dowie's

²⁶³"Zion in Galesburg," *LOH* 33 (November 8, 1913):127; "Zion in Rockford," *LOH* 33 (November 29, 1913):196.

fiscal failure to be an opportunity to recreate a model city which would benefit from an industrial base, yet profit from individual small businesses. They could not know that their choice to rely on Wilbur Glenn Voliva to provide unity and to bring the organization out of debt would lead to such divisiveness. Nor could they know that it would be more than two decades before they would regain political power. Having lost that power, the Independents' successful pursuit of suitable industries to provide employment and an economic base ceased. Their absence of political power rescinded any negotiating ability with regional utility or sanitary enterprises to improve the infrastructure within the city. Many Independents continued to live, to work, and to own private businesses in Zion. However, their goals to make Zion into a successful city that openly embraced its religious foundation, yet was tolerant of other religions; one that exemplified Progressive ideals of a physically and politically clean environment; and one that would attract industrial leaders who both valued those same ideals and could benefit from Zion's location was unfulfilled.

Epilogue

In the face of the legal and political losses in 1913, the Independents, not knowing that they would not regain political power until 1935, redoubled their efforts to reclaim the city. In the summer of 1913, they urged Zion residents "to waken up to the fact that public and private rights of the Independent citizens are imperiled by the Theocratic administration," which had the "affrontery" to give the parks to Wilbur Glenn Voliva and to oust all the Independent aldermen. In an appeal to the people, the leaders of the Independents insisted that the "struggle now is fundamentally one for our constitutional rights—life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness—and one on which all Americans without regard to creed or party affiliations can absolutely unite."²⁶⁴

At a mass meeting held in the independent Christian Catholic Church, they organized a Committee of Twenty-Five "to direct the battle . . . in defense of their rights." To fund their fight, the Independents distributed subscription cards to which supporters pledged to contribute hundreds of dollars per month. For several years, the new committee took over both the ownership and the editorship of the *Zion City Independent*. They hoped this move would

²⁶⁴"Mass Meeting Tuesday Night," "An Appeal to the People," *ZCI*, August 1, 1913.

provide communal support from those who knew the history of the struggle to those who they feared would suffer oppression from the new administration.²⁶⁵

The Committee of Twenty-Five formed the critical core of the Independent Party, which passed a new constitution in November. The stated object of Article Two was "to guarantee a square deal to every resident . . . and to establish a purely representative government" Their reference to "a square deal" was reminiscent of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive platform in 1912, that proposed an equal playing field to all citizens. Essentially, this reorganization of Independents, created to protect their financial, educational, and social futures, accentuated the divisions between the parallel communities in Zion. By this time, Independents included not only the Voliva dissenters from John Alexander Dowie's church, but also members of the Methodist Church and newcomers to town who owned or worked at the two major outside industries, the Cook factory and Marshall Field's Zion lace factory. The independent Christian Catholic Church as well as the Women's League house served as the primary meeting places, although Voliva would purchase the Women's League Building in 1917.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵"Rousing Independent Rally," *ZCI*, August 1, 1913; "Rousing Independent Rally," *ZCI*, August 8, 1913; "Party Takes Over Paper," *ZCI*, August 29, 1913.

²⁶⁶An Important Mass Meeting," *ZCI*, November 14, 1913; "Smoke Up Zion City is Rid of That Drug Store," *CT*, September 23, 1917.

The Independent Party continued to run candidates for each election, but without success. The 1914 Platform of the Independent Party upheld the priorities of the era, including standing for a “constructive and progressive administration that would furnish the city . . . with streets, sidewalks, parks, sewers, gas, street railways, etc.” They supported “turning over the part of Sheridan Road . . . to The Lincoln Park Board for improvement according to their plan.” The Independents vowed to continue to support giving incentives to industries to relocate to Zion. Their goal was to afford “safe and high grade employment to our citizens.” This goal was unrealistic given Voliva’s unwelcome billboards erected along the railways and at the city limits. Nevertheless, the Independents, in the Progressives’ struggle to do away with political bossism and to reform elections, stood for “fair and legal elections and the ready yielding to the will of the majority.”²⁶⁷

Essentially, the Committee served as a surrogate administration for half of Zion’s population, albeit without the power to tax or to enact and enforce ordinances. They organized into various divisions, similar in some respects to the 1907 Municipal League that sought to advance the city, including a Finance Committee and a Publicity Committee. Others, such as the Committee on Pending City Elections, placed

²⁶⁷“Platform of the Independents,” *ZCI*, February 27, 1914.

greater emphasis on legal issues and on campaigns for the future. In addition to advertising their businesses in the *Waukegan City and Lake County Directory*, the *Independent* published directories of independent businesses in the paper as well as publishing ads for Waukegan businesses.²⁶⁸

The members of the Committee were elected each year by both men and women. Forty-four men entered petitions to run in the first election. Appointed judges oversaw the elections. They reduced their numbers from twenty-five to fifteen in early 1917. No specific reason was provided, but the decision certainly was not based on a lack of candidates. That year, more than sixty competed for fifteen seats.²⁶⁹

The Independents maintained their vision for a progressive city. They regarded Winnetka, on the North Shore, as a model, especially its emphasis on good public schools and its purchase of forty acres for a playground. Independents frequently criticized the Voliva-run school district in Zion as inadequate and discriminatory in that all employees of the schools must be members of or pay tithes to Voliva's church.

²⁶⁸"Directory of Zion City Businesses," *ZCI*, July 23, 1915; "A Review of the City of Waukegan which Reveals Business Men and Institutions, which have made this one of the most Progressive Sections of the Middle West," *ZCI*, September 15, 1921; *Bumstead's Waukegan City and Lake County Directory* (Chicago: Bumstead & Co., Publishers, 1916).

²⁶⁹"Committee of Twenty-Five Notes," *ZCI*, December 19, 1913; "Independent Party Election," *ZCI*, January 9, 1914; "Committee of Twenty-Five Organize," *ZCI*, February 6, 1914; "Committee of Fifteen," *ZCI*, January 19, 1917; "Independent Party Election for Committee of Fifteen" *ZCI*, January 12, 1917.

The Independents considered the Zion City High School to be “unaccredited,” which forced scores of Zion students to attend either Waukegan or Kenosha schools in order to receive a satisfactory education. Citing a 1914 case in which the Illinois Supreme Court ruled that if there was no high school in a given district, that district must pay for students’ tuition in another district, the Independents hoped in vain that the Zion administration would be financially obligated to pay tuition to higher quality high schools. The children of the Independents continued to attend Kenosha or Waukegan High Schools for decades.²⁷⁰

Children of Volivites attended the parochial schools, taught by “faithful Zion teachers.” Voliva initiated the Zion Educational Institutions in 1916, a private parochial school that included a kindergarten, an elementary school, and four years of a preparatory department. This freed him from state control and provided him the freedom to teach the Bible as he saw fit. The school was funded by assessments of church members, free will offerings, and investments in Zion Institutions. Reportedly, he took the best teachers as well as some equipment from the public schools to use in the parochial school. The public schools remained open in three different three-story frame

²⁷⁰“Winnetka Pattern for Zion City,” *ZCI*, January 23, 1914; “The Tuition Law Declared Legal,” *ZCI*, December 25, 1916; *Cook, Appellant vs. Board of Directors School District No.80, Appellee, Reports of Cases at Common Law and in Chancery Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois* 266:164.

buildings, but after the parochial schools opened, there was no public high school. In response to the needs of independent Zion students for a quality education, the Independents had organized a private school, the Lincoln School, which met in the Women's League Building for a short time. The Committee of Twenty-Five appointed the school board and tuition was \$4 per year.²⁷¹

Benjamin Hess served as the principal of Lincoln School. Hess previously had been the Superintendent of the Zion Schools under Voliva's rule, but left Voliva in October 1914. Hess testified at a 1915 Independent rally that one reason for leaving was Voliva's insistence that he had the right to hire any teacher he wanted, even if uncertified. Hess countered that there was not a shortage of certified teachers, but that Voliva refused to hire any Independents.²⁷²

The Independents continued to attend to the cultural needs of the city's residents. They sponsored festivals and invited Chautauqua circuit entertainers. The independent Christian Catholic Church and the Methodist Episcopal Churches served as the venues for such renowned groups as the Royal Hungarian Orchestra and Mason's Jubilee Singers. The latter was an African American group, described

²⁷¹"Announcement of Opening of Zion Schools Made," *LOH* 38 (July 22, 1916):387; "Zion Educational Institutions," *LOH* 38 (August 26, 1916):510-11; "Official Investigation Report," *ZCI*, July 11, 1919; "Lincoln High School," *ZCI*, March 23, 1917, May 25, 1917; "Commencement at the Lincoln High School," *ZCI*, June 22, 1917.

²⁷²"Rousing Rally of Independents," *ZCI*, April 16, 1915.

in a flyer highlighting their talent as superior in "musical culture, general education, sobriety and moral quality . . . [who] measures up to the highest public standard."²⁷³

On more serious topics, the Methodist Church sponsored a lecture on the causes and cures of unemployment. Shortly after the First World War erupted, the Zion Woman's Club supported a resolution adopted by the Illinois Federation of Women's Club in 1915 endorsing world peace. Zion Independent men and women continued to support organizations that embodied the foundational values for which they had joined Dowie's Zion movement. They attended and hosted rallies for the Anti-Saloon League and the Anti-Cigarette League. The local chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union held their Annual Institute at the Methodist Church in 1921 and at Grace Missionary Church in 1923. The *Independent* featured an article about Henry Ford's treatise on the evils of tobacco, *The Case Against the Little White Slaver*. Tobacco degenerated brain cells, especially in young men, and, according to Ford, there was a growing movement among industrialists to refuse employment to those "enslaved" by it.²⁷⁴

²⁷³"Zion City Mid-Winter Festival," *ZCI*, January 23, 1914; Mason's Jubilee Singers (1909) Redpath Chautauqua Collection, University of Iowa.

²⁷⁴"Lecture on Unemployment," *ZCI*, January 30, 1914; "Woman's Club Notes" *ZCI*, January 15, 1915; "Anti-Saloon League," *ZCI*, March 6, 1914, August 13, 1915, June 21, 1918; "Dr. Kress Gives Fine Lecture," *ZCI*, August 15, 1913; "Wntertainment Given by W.C.T.U. *ZCI*, June 30, 1921; "W.C.T.U. Institute to be

Consistent with the era's emphasis on healthy food and exercise, an emphasis that complemented Zion's dietary rules, a number of Independents attended the Bernarr Macfadden Healthatorium in Chicago. In fact, former Zion Independent Commissioner of Health John Speicher worked at the Healthatorium where he gave lectures on various issues including one on "Nature vs. drugs [sic]." One Zion client described her visit to the Healthatorium as a "vacation in the city," a vacation that featured calisthenics, swimming, wholesome food, and entertainment.²⁷⁵

The Independents opened a YMCA in 1918 with the help of the superintendent of the Marshall Field lace factory. Voliva's reaction was to declare that he would "send the Y.M.C.A. of Zion to hell." In the first six months, leaders of the organization had enlisted more than forty young men and had offered them athletic and musical classes. Young women and girls enjoyed the facilities as well, although their activities were not specified. The organization sponsored a reception

Held Here Thurs., May 24," *ZCI*, May 17, 1923; "The Little White Slaver," *ZCI*, May 7, 1915.

²⁷⁵"The Healthatorium in Chicago," *ZCI*, July 2, 1915; Ann Fabian, "Making a Commodity of Truth: Speculation on the Career of Bernarr MacFadden," *American Literary History* 5, No. 1 (Spring, 1993), 52-3; *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office* 210 (January, 1915):697.

to welcome returning World War One soldiers, which was attended by more than 200 civilians and veterans.²⁷⁶

Where the Independents had failed in their efforts to connect Zion to a regional sanitary district, the State of Illinois succeeded. In 1919, the state senate passed a bill that allowed the North Shore Sanitary District to extend its line north to the state line. While the Independents lauded the bill, Voliva sent his attorney to urge the senators to leave Zion out of the district, claiming Zion "would take care of its own sewage problems." President of the District W. J. Allen successfully urged the senate to deny that request, stating that any further delays "would be costly in health and in money."²⁷⁷

Independents continued to follow the Good Roads Movement and in particular the progress of Sheridan Road. While early projections optimistically predicted that Sheridan Road might be completed by 1915, delays were inevitable. Progress in Evanston was held up because of the prohibitive cost of a "sea wall" to protect the new road. Work through Wilmette had to wait until the Sanitary District made a

²⁷⁶"Voliva Expresses Himself on the Y.M.C.A.," *ZCI*, April 26, 1918; "What the Y.M.C.A. is Doing for the Boys," *ZCI*, May 3, 1918; "Zion City Community Young Men's Christian Association," *ZCI*, September 13, 1918; "Y.M.C.A. Launched in Zion City," *ZCI*, September 27, 1918; "First Six Months' History of the Community Young Men's Christian Association of the City of Zion, ILL.," *ZCI*, March 21, 1919.

²⁷⁷"Zion City Put in New Sewer District," *ZCI*, June 13, 1919; "North Shore Sanitary Association," *Illinois State Water Survey*, University of Illinois Bulletin 15 (November 12, 1917):177; "North Shore Sanitary District," Senate Bill 448 *Laws of the State of Illinois* (Springfield: Illinois State Journal Co., 1919):459.

final decision about the route for the sewage facility. By 1919, the only stretches that remained unpaved from Chicago to Milwaukee was a mile and a half stretch within Zion City and a macadamized section of road adjacent to the Great Lakes Naval Training Center. Lack of funding for construction contributed to the delay in Zion. Per state law, cities with a population greater than 2,500 were not eligible for state or county aid. The estimated cost to pave the road in Zion to specifications was \$35,000 to \$45,000, which would need to be funded through special assessments.²⁷⁸

Sheridan Road through Zion remained a dusty, rutted path in dry weather and a muddy morass after rain until 1922. Voliva reportedly made an agreement with the state that he would fill in pot holes in a short segment of Sheridan Road if the state agreed to pave a one-mile stretch on either side of that segment. In the fall of 1921, contractors completed those two sections, between Twenty-First and Twenty-Fifth Streets on the north, and between Twenty-Ninth and Thirty-Third Streets on south ends of Zion. This left roughly a half mile of the road through the central business district between Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Ninth Streets to be finished.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸"Sheridan Road Project Growing," *ZCI*, January 23, 1914; "Two Roads Leading into Zion City to be Paved," June 14, 1918; "Zion City Will Not Get Outside Aid for Roads," August 30, 1918; "Sheridan Road's Rough Spots to be Removed - Maybe," *CT*, July 20, 1919.

²⁷⁹"Zion's Highway Now Open To Public," *CT*, September 18, 1921; "Complete Cement Work on Zion Road Wednesday," *ZCI*, August 4, 1921; "South Road is

The city council initiated actions to complete that final half mile in 1922. They advertised for bids in June in a national trade journal. In September of that year, the Commissioner on Streets and Alleys reported on the prescribed widths of the various sections, the curbing, the parking, the street lights, the approaches, and the recommended speed limit, which would be ten miles an hour when the project was completed. More importantly, he acknowledged the importance of Sheridan Road to the furtherance of the Zion movement and to the national movement for good roads. Still referring to the road through the city as Elijah Avenue, he declared that it was a "continuation of a nationally known highway . . . used by the public from all over the country." This public use of a well kept thoroughfare would bring "the word 'Zion' . . . before the eyes of the world."²⁸⁰

The city's parks remained a thorny issue for decades. Voliva refused to comply with court decisions and maintained the parks belonged to him. Occasionally he ordered his police to arrest "trespassers." The Independents repeatedly filed lawsuits enjoining Voliva to open the parks to all the people. In 1921, the Independents, citing once again Dowie's original plat that depicted public parks, filed a suit enjoining Voliva to remove fences and padlocked gates from

Opened Saturday," *LOH*, September 22, 1921.

²⁸⁰"Street Paving" *American Contractor*, 43 (June 17, 1922):39; Council Minutes, September 25, 1922.

around the parks. However, the state court system occasionally contributed to the problem. After Voliva was forced into bankruptcy in 1933, Circuit Court Judge Edward D. Shurtleff overturned the 1910 federal court decision that declared the parks “exclusive of [Dowie’s] estate,” and conveyed the streets and parks to Voliva. This fueled a new spate of legal arguments, beginning with accusations against Judge Shurtleff during his campaign for reelection leveled by the then trustee of the Zion Estate, Charles Caldwell.²⁸¹

Ironically, in 1919, when Shurtleff was a member of the General Assembly, he had headed an investigation into Voliva’s activities in Zion. The investigation report included allegations that Voliva intended to drive out of Zion all who did not belong to his church, that he “professed” to be divinely appointed by God and to heal by Divine power, and that he “teaches that Zion is above all government.” The Illinois Supreme Court halted that investigation the following year. A Voliva follower filed a suit with the Supreme Court to restrain the state treasurer from funding the committee on the grounds that the

²⁸¹“Hope For Much For \$600,000 Damage Suits,” *ZCI*, October 15, 1920; “Shurtleff Issues Injunction Against Voliva,” *ZCI*, September 3, 1921; “Suit Brought to Force Voliva to Open Park Locks,” *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, July 17, 1921; “Park Plans of Zion City Halted by Federal Courts,” *CT*, December 29, 1910; “Illinois Votes on Dry Repeal Issue: 79 Judges Also Will Be Chosen, Assails Judge Shurtleff,” *CT*, June 5, 1933.

legislature lacked the authority to appoint an investigative committee.²⁸²

Members of the independent Christian Catholic Church unanimously voted to change the name of the church to Grace Missionary Church in 1920 to reflect the missionary emphasis of the congregation. By this time, Daniel Bryant, the primary ecclesiastical leader of the Independent movement from its inception, had stepped down from the overseership of the church, and in 1921, accepted a call to be an associate pastor for a Baptist congregation in Portland, Oregon. (Bryant had been a Baptist preacher prior to joining Dowie's church while it still was in Chicago.)²⁸³

In 1920, the Grace Missionary congregation raised money to build a parsonage, and within a year, began a fund raising campaign to build a structure above the flat-roofed basement they had been using as a church for a decade. By the spring of 1921, members had raised nearly \$10,000. Voliva blocked his opposition's plans by denying building permits several times for reasons including that the building

²⁸²*Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Fifty-First General Assembly at Their Regular Biennial Session* (June 30, 1919):1007-08; "Official Investigation Report," *ZCI*, July 11, 1919; "New Hearing Granted in Voliva Probe Fund Suit," *CT*, February 5, 1920; "Supreme Court Halts Investigation," *ZCI*, April 23, 1920; *Walter E. Greenfield, Appt., v. Andrew Russel, Auditor of Public Accounts, et. al.* 292 Ill. 392, 127 (N. E. 102, 1920) in *American Law Reports Annotated* 9 (Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Co., 1920):1334-1341.

²⁸³"Grace Missionary Church," *ZCI*, February 13, 1920; "Rev. Bryant Gets Call On Coast," *ZCI*, September 15, 1921; "Cheering Words from Zion Guests, Notes from Zion Home," *LOH* 6 (October 28, 1899 to April 21, 1900):23.

would be unsafe because of its height, that it did not comply with city fire codes, or that it would obstruct the view from Sheridan Road of Voliva's College Building. To thwart any legal construction following the application for a permit, Voliva's police department arrested construction workers, and Volivites erected billboards across the street to harass congregants. These actions forced members of the Grace Missionary Church to seek legal recourse multiple times, without success.²⁸⁴

In 1920, the Independents formed the "American Citizens' Protective Association, urging Zion residents to resist apathy and to raise money to fight Voliva in the courts. In 1921, the Independents organized the Benton Building Association to boost investment in the city. Their goals were to utilize and to profit from the many vacant lots owned by Independents. They first sought to find materials at wholesale prices to build houses, some of which they could purchase from post-war surpluses at the Great Lakes Naval Station. Secondly, they looked at the shortage of housing in Chicago and believed they could attract tens of thousands of people then living in cramped apartments. They hoped this influx of "energetic American citizens" who believed "in living in a civilized community" could force the city to

²⁸⁴"New Parsonage to be Built," *ZCI*, July 9, 1920; Grace Missionary Church and Grounds to be Beautiful: Work Will Begin in Two Weeks," *ZCI*, April 22, 1921; "Voliva Believes He Can Keep Church From Being Built," *ZCI*, June 9, 1921; "Church Case Appealed to Higher Court," *ZCI*, October 27, 1921; "G.M. Church Case Up In Court Again; Hearing Monday," *ZCI*, April 16, 1925.

take positive steps toward paving the streets and improving the infrastructure. There is no evidence of substantial success.²⁸⁵

Voliva's most successful era was the mid-teens to the mid-twenties. He continued to endorse Divine healing. He continued to exhort his followers to withstand all hardships and persecutions for the sake of future reward. He continued to urge his followers to support the "redemption" of the city through references to the work of founder John Alexander Dowie, to himself as Dowie's successor, and to biblical passages, such as "for the people had a mind to work." This excerpt from Nehemiah 4:6 refers to the Jewish people enthusiastically rebuilding the wall around Jerusalem despite mockery from their enemies. Voliva continued the annual consecration of the Temple Site in a processional ritual initiated by Dowie in 1900. Describing the twenty-second anniversary procession in 1922, Voliva praised the "order and system," the "discipline and organization," and that "Zion people are trained to obey those in authority."²⁸⁶

Maintaining his theme that righteousness and victory in Zion would not be achieved without sacrifice, Voliva continued to urge his followers to buy lots or acreage in Zion, or to invest in its industries

²⁸⁵"Citizens Now Well Organized, *ZCI*, September 3, 1920; "It's An Outrage!" *ZCI*, October 1, 1920; "Building Association to Boom City; Great Prospects of Reviving City Interest," *ZCI*, April 29, 1921.

²⁸⁶The Complete Redemption and Certain Establishment of the City of Zion," *LOH*, 50 (March 25, 1922):14; "The Annual Parade Around the Temple Site on the Twenty-Second Anniversary of its Consecration," *LOH* 50 (August 12, 1922):329.

and institutions. The Zion Institutions and Industries, all headed by Voliva, included the Zion Bank, the Zion Baking Industry, the Zion Building Industry, the Zion Creamery, Zion Feed Department, the Zion Candy Industry, the Zion Fuel Department, and the Zion Department Store.

While Voliva's persistent provocations aimed at Frank Cook and his employees were not cited as a reason, Cook returned his company to Chicago in 1923. Cook sold the Zion building, which had been purchased from the receiver in 1910, to Voliva. The National Office Supply Company (NOSCO), an outgrowth of Dowie's printing company that was purchased by Independents during receivership, moved to Waukegan in 1925. Like Cook, they sold their building in Zion to Voliva. The Zion Lace Factory, owned by Marshall Field, remained in operation throughout the Voliva era. Marshall Field and Company sold the building in 1952 to Warwick Electronics, an electronics firm that made Silvertone television sets for Sears and Roebuck.²⁸⁷

Although the Independents failed in their quest to attract "clean" outside industries, they continued to organize individual businesses within the city. Many of these businesses outlasted Voliva's reign, including Ashland Jewelers; Bicket's Sweet Shop, which became a drug

²⁸⁷"Cook Electric to Move Plant From Zion City," *CT*, April 17, 1923; "National Office Supply Sells: Will Move to Waukegan," *ZI*, January 29, 1925; "Industrial Landmark is Sold," *CT*, December 17, 1952.

store in 1938; Bicket and Ingram Stationers; and the Leader Department Store, which remained open under three generations of the Warren family until 2008.

Wilbur Glenn Voliva eventually came to an ignominious end. Often derided for preaching that the world was a flat orb, he offered five thousand dollars to anyone who could prove him wrong. He never had to pay because he simply refused any evidence contrary to his theory. Voliva repeatedly foretold the Second Coming. Articles in his *Leaves of Healing* were entitled "The Importance of Zion's Last Warning to the Nations" or "The Crowning Event Will Take Place in a Very Few Years." Promoting the *Leaves of Healing* in 1918 as "A Paper for these Last Days," he re-titled it *Final Warning* in 1935.²⁸⁸

Creditors and employees forced Voliva's Zion Institutions and Industries, Inc., into receivership on June 1, 1933. These involuntary bankruptcy petitions were filed against both the corporation and Voliva. In addition, the federal government levied an income tax lien against Voliva for \$100,000, which tied up the bankruptcy. This lien was removed in 1940 when Voliva and his attorney settled with the government. He was required to pay \$10,000, but the settlement

²⁸⁸"Zion Refutes the Astronomical Theories Taught in the Schools and Colleges," *LOH 50* (April 1, 1922):21; "5,000 For Proving the Earth is a Globe," *Modern Mechanics and Marvels* (October, 1931):70-74, 200-204; *LOH 50* (July 2, 1921):226; *LOH 50* (July 22, 1922):284; Cook, *Zion City*, 223. The media often reported that Voliva required his flat earth theories to be taught in his parochial school. There are no curriculum documents in evidence, but he did declare his beliefs to his congregants at large in the April 1, 1922, edition of *Leaves of Healing*.

freed a reported 2,100 parcels of real estate, which then could be sold. Once again, holders of those 1100-year leases could exchange those leases for deeds.²⁸⁹

The Theocratic Party's first loss was the 1934 school board election when three Independent candidates defeated three Theocrat candidates. Four Theocrats remained on the board. The following year, Voliva lost control of the school board and, in an angry response, closed the parochial schools. Because of that, a special election was called to increase the school tax levy to pay for the 600 students added to the public schools and to vote for a new high school board, both of which were successful despite Voliva's opposition. Members of the new board represented Benton Township as a whole, and they sought to fund a township high school. The funding was accomplished through a bond issue as well as through federal funds. The dedication of the new Zion Benton Township High School, the culmination of a nearly thirty year struggle, was celebrated in the spring of 1940, although the school had opened the previous fall to nearly 500 students.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹"Voliva's Zion Industries Put In Receivership," *CT*, May 30, 1933; "Settle \$100,000 Tax Claim on Voliva for \$10,000," *CT*, February 22, 1940; "Zion Property Holders to Get Titles to Land," *CT*, July 3, 1938.

²⁹⁰"Voliva Loses First Election in 23 Years," *CT*, April 14, 1934; "Voliva is Beaten Again in Zion School Election," *CT*, May 20, 1934; David Anderson, "Zion Prepares to Dedicate Public School," *CT*, March 10, 1940.

The many blue laws that formed the foundation of Zion as a refuge from the ills of society, as well as those added by Voliva, began to erode in the 1930s. Billy Bicket's Sweet Shop openly became a drug store in 1938. By a vote of 216 to 214, the new high school held a junior prom for its first graduating class in 1940. Dancing and dance halls had been forbidden in Zion. Sixteen hundred residents signed a petition in 1941 requesting a change in the ordinances to allow a bowling alley. Independent Mayor Hire threw the first ball. Bowling, billiards, and similar entertainments also had been prohibited by ordinance. Several years earlier, in 1937, a vote of Zion residents had rejected bowling alleys and movie theaters. In 1947, the Zion Theater opened, oddly enough on Christmas Eve. They were the first legal films shown since 1913, when Voliva's forces raided the Lyceum and the newly installed Theocratic Party outlawed movies.²⁹¹

Voliva died in October 1942 in a Chicago hospital. Five years prior to his death, the 6,000 seat, wooden tabernacle was destroyed in a fire set by a nineteen year-old who reportedly was getting even with Voliva. Despite repeated confessions, the jury found the teenager not guilty. The tabernacle had been built in 1902 by Dowie and was intended to be a temporary structure until it could be replaced by a

²⁹¹"Billy Don't Like the Drug Store," *ZCI*, May 7, 1915; "Frivolity Raises its Ugly Head in School in Zion," *CT*, May 12, 1940; "Mayor of Zion Strikes an Old Blue Tradition," *CT*, September 28, 1941; "Zion Voters Sign Plea to Legalize Bowling," *CT*, May 18, 1941; "Zion to Open Movie House on Yule Eve," *CT*, December 7, 1947.

grand, steel, stone and glass edifice. Dowie's financial failure had halted its replacement. In February 1954, Voliva's block-long Zion Department Store burned to the ground in an inferno caused by antiquated and overloaded wiring. Fueled by strong winds, the blaze not only destroyed the entire store, but severely damaged or destroyed a church and other businesses, buckled the pavement on Sheridan Road, and cut off the city's telephone service. Trains were delayed because fire hoses had been laid across the rails, leading from Warwick Industries water tanks to the fire site. In April 1959, fire consumed Voliva's Zion College Building and Auditorium in a second spectacular blaze within five years. Like the department store, this edifice took up an entire block on Twenty-Seventh Street between Elisha and Enoch Avenues. The College Building, a four-story block building, had been built during Dowie's reign and originally was to be one wing of a much larger structure. The financial crisis in the city stopped further construction. The attached 2,000 seat auditorium had been built in the late 1930s to replace the wooden tabernacle.²⁹²

The Christian Catholic Church built a new church in the early 1960s on the original Temple Site in the center of the city. The name was changed to Christ Community Church in the 1990s. The

²⁹²"Youth Tells How He Set Fire to Zion Tabernacle," *Chicago Daily News*, April 5, 1937; "Youth Accused of Firing Temple Freed By Jury," *Chicago Daily News*, November 4, 1937; "Blaze Levels Nine Buildings in Heart of Zion," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, February 7, 1954; "Zion Hit by \$500,000 Fire!: Wind-Fanned Flames Race Thru Stores," *Chicago Daily News*, February 7, 1954.

relationship between the church once controlled by Voliva and the Grace Missionary Church currently is amicable. Among other things, they share the responsibility of overseas missions and jointly sponsor community organizations.

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