

THE HARMONIE SOCIETY

George Rapp was born during a pietistic movement in Germany. In southwest Germany, the Rhine Valley, Holland and Switzerland, groups began meeting illegally outside the church for hours of worship and religious discussion in the late 16th century. When the state began to enforce its church attendance laws the movement became more radical. The first pietists had not encouraged separation from the Church, but rather wanted to purify the existing Church. But after persecution began, these groups urged separation. The movement became centered in Württemberg, the region around Stuttgart, by the 18th century.

The Germany into which George Rapp was born was not a united one, but a group of quarrelling principalities. Peasants and rising bourgeois suffered the most in these circumstances. Johann George Rapp was born in the village of Iptingen, in the province of Württemberg on November 1, 1757. His father, Hans Adam Rapp, was a peasant vine grower. George had one brother, Adam, who died on his way to America, and three sisters, Marie Dorothea, Elise Dorothea, and Maria Barbara, who all went to America.

George Rapp attended the local German schools set up on principles prescribed by Martin Luther, and then became a journeyman weaver. In 1783 he married Christina Benzinger; they had two children, Johannes (1783) and Rosina (1786). Rapp, inspired by the writings of 17th century German mystic Jakob Böhme and other pietists and mystics, became convinced that the individual can communicate directly with God, and the layman can interpret the Word of God for himself. Others who felt similarly soon joined Rapp; his Separatist group formed into a distinct sectarian movement around 1785, at which time Rapp officially broke with the Church. From this point the Separatists grew rapidly in numbers and influence. Because civil and religious affairs were so closely intertwined in the Württemberg of that time, Rapp's criticism was viewed as dangerous to the government and civil order. In 1787 the first of many official investigations of the Separatists took place. As a result Rapp was told not to hold Separatist meetings.

For holding services in his own house in Iptingen and gaining a following around his pietistic, pacifistic teachings, Rapp was briefly imprisoned and fined in 1791. Several of his followers were fined, and some were threatened with incarceration in an insane asylum. All followers feared being driven from their homes at any moment. In 1798, in an attempt to protect his followers, Rapp presented a petition to the Diet (government officials) at Lomersheim. Through these Articles of Faith Rapp explained the separatists' complaints about the Church. They objected to the empty ceremonies and practices such as baptism and confirmation. They objected to sending their students to school where Church (Lutheran) doctrine was taught, and they refused to serve in the military. They objected to communion being given by impure ministers to impure members of the congregation. They liked to express themselves as the spirit of God moved them, and they could not do this in Church. The Articles made no mention of communal living, millenarianism, or chastity/celebracy. However these future tenets of the Harmonist Society were being practiced in their formative stages in the late 1790s.

The harassment by local Church authorities caused Rapp to contemplate emigrating to America. It is reported that his followers numbered as many as 20,000 at this point. In July of 1803, Rapp, accompanied by his son Johannes, Dr. Christoph Müller, and Dr. Frederick Haller (who soon broke with Rapp to establish his own colony at Blooming Grove, Pennsylvania), sailed for America to find a location where his followers could settle. Frederick Reichert was left in charge of the congregation. While Rapp was gone new and stricter government regulations caused more persecution, imprisonment, and investigation; there is a sense of urgency in Reichert's letters to Rapp at this time.

On October 7, 1803, Rapp and his companions arrived in Philadelphia. Originally they were interested in government land in Ohio, and petitioned President Jefferson for special consideration in a land purchase, not realizing that such a petition would have to pass through Congress. On May 1, 1804 the first 300 of Rapp's followers left Iptingen on a ship called the Aurora. They arrived in Baltimore on July 4. The leader of the Baltimore group was Dr. David Gloss. Around September 14, 1804, a party of 257 arrived in Philadelphia aboard the Atlantic; they were led by Frederick Reichert. Another group arrived on September 19. The last large contingency reached America on August 26, 1805, on the Margaret.

In the beginning the followers were scattered, for a location for the community had not yet been found. Some settled in Ohio, expecting Rapp to settle there. When Pennsylvania was chosen many of these followers remained in Ohio under the leadership of Dr. Gloss. Others were scattered, camping with Rapp or living with German families.

On December 22, 1804, the first payment on land in Butler County, Pennsylvania was made. The land was not the most desirable; it was on the non-navigable Connoquenessing Creek, thirty miles north of Pittsburgh. The Harmonists could not secure as much land in one unbroken area as they needed. During the winter of 1805, thirty-one families arrived and began work. On February 15, 1805, Articles of Association were signed and the Harmonie Society came into being with about 500 members. These 500 did not include those followers still in Ohio, most of whom later sued to regain their funds placed in Rapp's common treasury. (Note: According to Karl Arndt, although the founding date of the Society is correct, the Articles were prepared later and backdated, possibly as evidence in a lawsuit of the 1820s.) In 1805, Rapp officially adopted Frederick Reichert as his son. Frederick became the invaluable business manager for this community-organized religious sect. The community grew slowly at first, for the group was relatively poor and did not expect to remain in Pennsylvania for long. Rapp's request for government land in Ohio was turned down in 1806; after this building went forward at an advanced pace.

George Rapp was accepted as the spiritual as well as organizational head of the Society. After 1809, his followers began to address him as "Father." In addition to preaching sermons, he heard their confessions, led prayers and religious discussions, and advised them in spiritual matters. Rapp also knew much about agriculture and manufacturing and was involved in all details of daily life in Harmony.

During 1807 and 1808 a religious revival occurred. From the late 1790s Rapp had preached that the second coming of Christ was imminent. Rapp saw the prophecy of the book of Revelation being fulfilled in historical events of his time, especially those dealing with the rise of Napoleon. To purify themselves for Christ's advent, the Harmonists gave up tobacco, and adopted a chaste or celibate life. The last marriage on record until 1817 is that of George Rapp's son John in 1807.

By 1815 the Society had planted orchards, vineyards, fields of grain, and tended merino sheep. The Harmonists, who became American citizens, operated several mills, a brewery, a tannery, and manufactured woolen cloth. The Harmony Inn accommodated visitors and the general store provided supplies for the community members. Each family had its own house on a quarter acre lot. A school was held, and a small brass band was formed. Religious services were held twice on Sunday and once in mid-week in the brick church (constructed in 1808) on the town square.

The Harmonists could not expand their land holdings; they had trouble with neighbors; and the climate was not good for the cultivation of grapes. For these reasons George Rapp, John Baker, and Ludwig Schreiber set off in 1814 to find a location for a new town. In May of 1814 they found it along the banks of the Wabash; in June Harmony, Pennsylvania was offered for sale. It was sold in May 1815 for \$100,000, half of the original asking price. Rapp originally purchased 7000 acres in Indiana; by 1817 the Harmonists owned 30,000 acres, including a strip of Illinois land along the river. In July of 1814 John Baker and 100 members arrived in Indiana; that same year the town was surveyed and laid out. The town was surveyed by William Harris, a surveyor, recommended by Nathaniel Ewing from the Vincennes Land Office who helped the Harmonists purchase land in the Indiana Territory. The summer had been unusually hot that year and the Harmonists were not used to the climate. Building came to a halt as many fell sick with malaria. About 120 Harmonists eventually died at New Harmony over the next two years until swamps on the land were drained and living conditions improved.

Once George and Frederick Rapp arrived and the sickness subsided building went forward quickly. The Harmonists called their second town both "Harmony" and the "new Harmony." Families first lived in log cabins, but later these were replaced with two-story homes of frame and brick like those built in Pennsylvania. Over the course of their decade in Indiana the Harmonists also constructed brick structures including a tavern, granary, mills and four large community houses. A brick cruciform church was built in 1822.

In 1816, a delegation of Shakers visited New Harmony to discuss the possibility of a union between the two groups. Differences in theology prevented this, but the groups remained close for years. Gertrude and Rosina Rapp were sent to live at a Shaker colony for a time and learn English.

There were ten transports of members and goods down the Wabash; the last one in May 1815 brought the number of Harmonists in Indiana to 730. During the 1817 to 1818 period, 150 new members from Württemberg were admitted to the Society. This last influx caused unrest in the community. These members were not as fully committed to the ideals of the community as the original congregation, and Rapp was forced to perform several marriages.

In 1818, the Book of Debts, containing the record of members' contributions upon joining, was ceremoniously burned on the anniversary of the Society's founding. More explicit, individualized agreements were drawn up in 1821, which omitted the earlier section on the return of property to members. Rapp was gradually making it more difficult for anyone to withdraw and was guaranteeing financial security for the Society by not allowing departing members to claim any of the Society's growing wealth.

In 1824, George Rapp decided to sell New Harmony. Though Rapp tried to justify the move by telling his congregation it was time for the Sunwoman of Revelation to again flee into the wilderness, there were several practical reasons for the move. New Harmony was far from the eastern markets where Harmonists products were sold, malaria was still a threat, there were problems with neighbors, and the group felt isolated from others of their cultural background. On April 11, 1824, Rapp commissioned Richard Flower of Albion, Illinois, to advertise New Harmony for sale. In that same month, 3000 acres on the Ohio River, in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, 10 miles north of Pittsburg, were purchased. In May an advance team started upriver on the steamboat William Penn. New Harmony was sold to Robert Owen in January 1825 and the last unit of Harmonists arrived in the new town of Economy in June 1825.

In Economy most of the shops and homes were larger and more comfortable. The Harmonists had better machines, and were able to develop their industries. Agricultural products were produced mainly for the Society's consumption. It was at Economy that silk manufacture began under the direction of Gertrude Rapp. The Harmonists had been planning silk production while still in Indiana, and had planted mulberry trees toward that goal.

At Economy disruptive events occurred almost immediately. Rapp became stricter; there were several withdrawals from the community over celibacy. New Articles of Agreement were drafted in 1826-1827 giving Rapp increased power. Many members did not approve of these new Articles, and some withdrew rather than signing them. Between 1823 and 1825 there had been only six withdrawals from the Society; in 1826 there were twenty-six; in 1828 there were twenty; and in 1829, twenty-four members withdrew.

At Economy, Rapp had predicted that on September 15, 1829, the age of the "three and one half times of the Sunwoman" described in Revelation was ended and a new age would begin. The Harmonists were greatly disappointed when that date passed uneventfully. Then on September 24, an impressive letter arrived from Germany, in which was written much about the Harmonie Society and significance of recent events to

the prophesy in Revelation. The letter was written by one who called himself the "Lion of Judah" who had been promised to the world in Revelation 5:9; in actuality he was Bernhard Müller. The Harmonists eagerly responded to his letter. In the two years between the letter and the arrival of Müller at Economy, Rapp preached that the Lion of Judah was the Anointed One who would lead the Harmonists into the new age. Rapp's congregation was in a state of great expectation by the time the Lion of Judah arrived in 1831 and adopted the name Count de Leon. Müller arrived with an aide and several European families of high standing, all of whom were housed at Economy as welcome guests.

However, it was not long before the Count and George Rapp were disappointed with each other. Rapp decided that the Count was not, after all, the man to lead his Harmonists into the millennium, and the Count was taken aback by the dissatisfaction he sensed among Society members. The two also disagreed over the issue of celibacy. Early in 1832 a third of the Society, about 250 members, proclaimed they were the "true Harmonists" and all others were seceders who had departed from the Society's original purpose. They organized a democratic form of government, deposing the Rapps as leaders. They named the Count as their temporary head. These members had based their faith in the Count on his claim to have found the Philosopher's Stone. George Rapp devoted much energy to finding the Stone after moving to Economy. In response the other two thirds of the Society also organized a pseudo-democratic form of government, consisting of a Council of twelve Elders to be elected annually by the male members; the Rapps were to remain as the Society's leaders.

An agreement between the two factions was reached in March 1832 when about 176 dissenters, including Dr. Johann Christoph Müller, agreed to leave Economy and to relinquish all claim to Harmonie Society property in exchange for their household possessions and \$105,000. Led by Count de Leon, the group organized a community in Phillipsburg, Pennsylvania, the New Philadelphia Society. Some of those members organized two other communities. Other Harmonists who had left Economy with the Count joined the "Keilites," who established communities of Bethel and Ninevah in Missouri, Willapa in Washington, and Aurora in Oregon.

The Schism of 1832 marked the beginning of the end of the Society. Rapp became increasingly uncompromising; he decided not to accept any new members, other than children already in the Society, and perhaps a few close relatives of current members. To help insure the economic stability of the community, Rapp directed the members to sign a statement declaring Article IV of the Articles of Association invalid, in 1836. This was the controversial requirement providing for return of property to departing members.

George Rapp died in 1847 at the age of 89. After his death 288 members signed new Articles of Agreement; a board of nine Elders was established to govern the society. By 1867 the Harmonists had been reduced to 146 members and had shifted to investments in oil and railroads, increasing the Society's wealth into the millions. The Society's membership declined because of its policy of celibacy and the lack of new

members. After Gertrude Rapp and Jonathon Lenz died in the winter of 1889-1890, several new members were admitted, among them John Duss, son of a hired worker for the community. Within six months he became a junior trustee, and gained absolute control of the Society after Henrici's death in 1892. Duss began forcing members out, and soon began liquidating Society property. He then succeeded in transferring all Society assets to himself. The Society officially dissolved in 1905; its real property went to the State of Pennsylvania in 1916.

Economy today is part of Ambridge, Pennsylvania. The site is now administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Today Old Economy Village is a six acre historic site with an extensive artifact collection and archives. Tours of its 17 restored Harmonist structures are presented by costumed interpreters.

ASPECTS OF THE HARMONIE SOCIETY

BRICK CHURCH

Construction of the Harmonist Brick Church was begun in 1822 and was not apparently completed in December of 1824 when Robert Owen was negotiating to buy the town. The structure was built between Tavern, West and Church Streets on the west side of the Harmonist wood church. This was a considerable project for the community to undertake and it seems to have taken longer to complete than expected. In August of 1822, there had been plans to decorate the interior of the building with painting and gilding, but there are no records that this work was completed.

During religious services, women were seated on one side of the church and men on the other. Music and singing were an important feature of the liturgy. Father Rapp gave his sermons from a pulpit which consisted of a raised platform with a bench and desk. The church was the center of the community and was used not only for religious services, but also for the celebration of festivals. On March 14, 1823, Helena Reichart wrote to John Reichart, "At the last Harmonie Festival.....you should have seen how beautiful and glorious and how solemn it looked when we were all together in our new church and had a dinner there....Many lovely songs were sung." The basement of the church was used as a wine cellar and to store grain.

The English traveler, William Herbert, who visited Harmony in 1822, wrote the following detailed description:

"These people exhibit considerable taste as well as boldness of design in some of their works. They are erecting a noble church, the roof of which is supported in the interior by a great number of stately columns, which have been turned from trees in their own forests. The kinds of wood made use of for this purpose are, I am informed, black walnut, cherry and sassafras. Nothing I think can exceed the grandeur of the joinery and the masonry and brick-work seem to be of the first order. The form of this church is that of a cross, the limbs being short and equal; and as the doors, which there are four, are placed at the end of the limbs, the interior of the building as seen from the entrance, has a most ample and spacious

effect.... I could scarcely imagine myself to be in the woods of Indiana, on the borders of the Wabash, while pacing the long resounding aisles, and surveying the stately colonnades of this church."

No definitive information was found to indicate a heat source or lighting sources though an 1830 account quoted a visitor as reporting that "The great Hall is lighted brightly every night".

The Harmonist Church was re-named the Hall during the Owen/Maclure era and it was used for a variety of purposes including school, meeting and lecture hall, theater and library.

A report in the New Harmony Gazette in 1825 describes the building and its uses:

"The Town Hall is a spacious edifice of brick, nearly on the figure of a regular cross, forming one room on the lower floor entered by a large door at the center of each wing, and measuring 125 feet in diameter within the walls. The ceiling is of twenty six feet elevation, supported in the body of the building by four pillars of two feet in diameter. The wings are separated from the square on each side by three arches; --the whole having a grand, and imposing appearance. The second stories of the wings are laid off in small rooms, which serve for music, reading, debating, and other social meetings. The lower room is appropriated to deliberative assemblies of the citizens--to balls, and concerts--and is lighted every evening for the convenience of those who may choose to pass their time together."

In drawings and early photographs, the building begins to show deterioration and disrepair. By the late 1860's, Jonathan Lenz and the other trustees of the Society became concerned about the condition of the Harmonist Cemetery and Church in New Harmony. It was reported to them that the graveyard was neglected and the trees in the area had been cut down. They had to negotiate to buy back their own graveyard for \$600 from the heirs of William Maclure.

In 1874, the Harmonie Society purchased the "lots and the building thereon known as the Hall" and donated the property and a sum of two thousand dollars "to aid in erecting a School House to be attached to the North Wing of such Hall, which is to remain as it now stands." This section of the building included the "Door of Promise" which became the north door of the school. The remaining sections of the church were demolished, and a wall was built with the bricks, enclosing the Harmonist Cemetery.

DAILY LIFE

Harmonist households consisted of four to six members. They were usually but not always related. As time went on and celibacy became an accepted practice for most members, the household became less of a family unit. Each household had a male "head" and the house was known by his name. Each house had a housekeeper, and the

remainder of its members worked outside the home. The dormitories provided housing for single men and women. The dormitory system was abandoned by the Harmonists when they returned to Pennsylvania; they built larger houses instead. George Rapp reported that the dormitories were a potentially disruptive element in the community.

Schedule:

5:00 to 6:00 a.m.	Wake to French horns, with morning chores such as milking cows and getting water
6:00 to 7:00 a.m.	Breakfast; schedule for day arrives on cart of milkman directing members to their jobs or special tasks
9:00 a.m.	Lunch of bread and cider
12:00 noon	Dinner
3:00 p.m.	"Vesperbrod" of bread and cider
6:00 to 7:00 p.m.	Supper
Evenings	Meetings, singing groups
9:00 p.m.	Curfew (not regarded for special events)
Sundays	No unnecessary work done; everyone went to church for hymns, prayers, and a sermon. In the afternoon, young people would sometimes return to church for more music and psalm singing. Sunday evening was considered a social time.

DRESS

The Harmonists dressed in a simple fashion, in clothes that were of different materials and colors, but of almost identical design. The clothes were inexpensive and efficient to make. This standardization was part of an effort to discourage pride and ensure equality among all members through uniformity. Members wore early 1800's German peasant style of clothing. Women wore high-waisted, ankle-length gowns in a variety of colors, modesty scarves, and aprons. Men wore plain dark frock coats or surtouts, trousers, vests, and broad brimmed hats. Men wore beards but no mustaches, and older men wore their hair longer. Later, at Economy, women altered their dresses to be more in keeping with current fashion, and began wearing silks. Women wore small bonnets at all times; black for workday, white in evenings or on Sundays and holidays. Both men and women wore straw hats when working in the fields.

ECONOMY

The reasons for the economic success of the Harmonie Society include the balance it achieved between agriculture and industry, and the communal labor force.

Technology

The Harmonists were a very progressive group for their time. They bought much of their machinery from the Shakers; they designed some themselves. Recognizing that power machinery reduced costs, expanded productivity, and increased profits, the

Harmonists always utilized the most up-to-date designs available. They operated six mills powered at first by water and animals, and later by a steam engine. They designed a steam-powered threshing machine which they never patented. They used the steam engine to power their cotton and woolen mills. At Economy they had laundry machines probably powered by a steam engine; these machines were possibly used in Indiana as well. The laundry machines included primitive agitator tubs and air dryers (used only on rainy days). Before leaving Indiana the Harmonists designed a steamboat, the *William Penn*, under the direction of Frederick Rapp.

Agriculture and Manufacturing

Through intensive efforts in both farming and manufacturing, the Harmonists succeeded in becoming almost entirely self-supporting. The Harmonists attempted to grow or manufacture all material goods that they required. Only a few items such as stoves, glass, and heavy machinery were not made by the Society. By 1815, the Society, with approximately 730 members, had planted orchards, vineyards, fields of grain, and tended Merino sheep. Six mills, a brewery, a distillery, a textile factory, and a tannery were also in operation at the Indiana community by 1824. Agricultural products included wheat, corn, rye, barley, peaches, apples, plums, lemons, oranges, figs, apricots, butter, cheese, eggs, sugar, honey, grapes, cherries, and various berries. The Harmonists raised geese, horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep.

Every member of the Society specialized in a certain trade or craft, each of which was overseen by a manager. The male members performed most of this skilled labor; the women worked with textile and agricultural production. Harmonie Society members worked together as a community when a task, such as pulling flax or gathering fruit or grain, required a large labor force. Robert Stubbs noted on a visit to Butler County in 1809, "91 men and 105 women were engaged at one time, in one field, pulling flax; on the banks of a creek, I observed 50 boys and girls, under the direction of one person, unloading a boat of brick; not one idle child appeared among them."

Some of the products produced in the various industries were housed at the town store, where they were distributed to the Society members. Members were not required to pay for the goods; however day books were kept recording all items taken from the store.

At Economy, Pennsylvania, the Society continued to expand its industries, which came to include a nationally-recognized silk manufactory. Directed by Gertrude Rapp, the manufactory received gold medals for its silk during exhibition competitions in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. As the members of the Society aged, and no new members were admitted, they were increasingly unable to perform the manual labor needed to support these industries. As a result, the Harmonists hired a number of workers from outside the community.

However, from the late 1840s to the 1860s the Society closed its factories and turned more and more to outside investments. They purchased a large tract of land near

Economy, subsequently called Beaver Falls, where they encouraged the establishment of a number of manufactories. The Harmonists acquired interests, and in some cases controlling interests, in many of these industries, including a cutlery works, steel works, and pottery works. The community also invested large amounts of capital in oil, coal, real estate, and railroads. The Harmonie Society, which disbanded in 1905, became even more prosperous due to these investments, surpassing the level of financial success achieved through their own manufactories in Indiana and Pennsylvania.

Commerce

As in Pennsylvania, in Indiana the Harmonists were successful at selling their surplus goods to people outside the community; these goods included cured meat and leather goods. Harmonist fruits, vegetables and flowers were so popular that they received many requests for their seeds and plants. Neighboring backwoods people were dependent on the Harmonists for supplies and grain milling.

The Harmonists manufactured oils from pumpkin seeds and peach kernels. They sold baskets, chairs, shoes, and pottery; 6000 pounds of rope were made per season. The Harmonists are perhaps best known for their manufacture of fine cloth and alcoholic beverages, including beer, whiskey, and wine. They had a distillery which produced twelve gallons of whiskey in six hours, and a brewery which produced 500 gallons of beer every other day. Wines and ciders were consumed by the Harmonists. Whiskey was used primarily for medicinal purposes by the Harmonists; most of it was sold outside the community. The Society raised Merino sheep and grew cotton and flax. From these they made their fine wool, cotton and linen cloth. Other popular merchandise included leather goods, shoes and boots, flour, salt, beef, rope, seeds and plants. The diversification of goods produced by the Harmonists helped prevent financial downfall during the depression which began in 1819.

The Harmonists had stores in Vincennes, Indiana, and in Shawneetown and Albion, Illinois. A number of consignment agents sold Harmonist goods across much of the country, reaching St. Louis in the west, New Orleans in the south, Pittsburgh in the east, and Boston in the north. In addition, private individuals often sent orders to be filled by the Harmonists. Trade was by flatboat for most of their years in New Harmony, as the first steamboat did not reach the town until 1823. By 1824 the Harmonists were trading with 22 states and 10 foreign countries.

Harmonist industry was directed by Frederick Rapp, George Rapp's adopted son, who acted as business manager of the society. Both George and Frederick Rapp believed that importing foreign goods retarded the national economy; they lobbied the state and federal government to support domestic industry, and encouraged the public to do the same. In fact, they believed that the depression of 1819 was caused by importation of foreign goods. This depression did not seriously affect the Harmonists; some of their factories were idle, but the Harmonists stepped up their agricultural production. In 1818 they had a cash profit of \$13,000; in 1819 they still profited over \$12,000. The total value of Society property in 1819 came to \$368,690.

Due to the success of their manufactories and high demand for Harmonist goods, the Society accumulated significant capital. All profit was placed in the communal treasury. Little of the money amassed was spent, for the society purchased few items from outside markets. According to the Census of Manufacture of 1820, the market value of New Harmony's manufactories, at \$50,000, ranked second highest in the state of Indiana.

The Harmonists kept detailed records of their production; the manager of each craft or industry made an annual report recording output of goods and their value. In addition, Society members wrote a considerable amount of correspondence concerning the distribution of goods to outside markets. Many of these records have been preserved in the Archives of Old Economy Village.

GARDENING

The Harmonists were well-known for their gardens, a subject in which George and Frederick Rapp had a great interest. In the European Baroque tradition, all Harmonist towns had a labyrinth composed of flowering shrubs, vines and trees with a small shrine in the center. George Rapp had formal gardens near his house which were considered open to the public; they included a moveable greenhouse, heated in the winter, in which Harmonists grew orange, lemon, and fig trees.

Dr. Müller had a large botanical garden at his residence. Every household had a garden which included herbs, vegetables, and flowers. Paths in all gardens were either dirt or pebble/shell covered. They were probably not paved with brick or stone. Herbs were grown for cooking and medicinal purposes. Vegetables grown by the Harmonists included cabbage, beets, celery, turnips, carrots, cucumber, eggplant, leeks, shallots, beans, and peas. They did not grow tomatoes, for they believed them to be poisonous.

The Harmonists' favorite flowers included roses and peonies, which they called "spiritual roses." Other flowers found in Harmonist gardens include: carnation, hollyhock, phlox, cornflower, hyacinth, tulip, lily of the valley, passion flower, trumpet flower, lilac, crepe myrtle, crocus, violet, delphinium, geranium, sweet alyssum, honeysuckle, poppy, and canna lily.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY ORGANIZATION

According to Frederick Rapp, the Harmonie Society did not hold elections; seven elders had been chosen in 1805 to administer different departments in the Society. George Rapp, spiritual leader, and Frederick Rapp, business manager, were leaders who did not need to be elected.

In Germany, George Rapp had been the leader of the group of people who later became the Harmonie Society, and he remained their leader until his death. His people called him "Father" and he was a patriarchal leader. He was interested in all activities of

his "children"; he worked sided by side with them and counseled them. Rapp's "co-manager" was his adopted son Frederick. He divided the Harmonist activities into seven departments, and appointed a manager, or elder, as head of each. Under each manager were five master farmers and one master craftsman in each trade.

The Harmonie Society had no written laws beyond the Articles of Association, and these were done out of necessity, for strictly legal reasons. According to the Articles, members of the Society promised to relinquish their property to the Society, submit to its authority, and to ask no payment for services should they leave. "George Rapp and Associates" promised that members would receive an education, the necessities of life, and a return of their estate without interest (or a cash donation), should they leave the Society. In 1818, the records of who had given what property were burned, and the Articles were amended so that members were required to relinquish all claims to their property should they leave.

Discipline was rarely necessary within the Society. If a member had sinned, he or she was usually spoken to by George Rapp. The only punishments used were ostracism and public reproof. No formal stratification existed in the Society; all were supposed to be equal. However, some members definitely had higher standing in the community, and their homes were given more desirable locations near the center of town. These individuals included John Baker; Dr. Müller; Frederick Eckensperger; and Peter Schreiber, who brought his large family into the Society in the early years and gave them the capital necessary to begin their industries.

After Rapp's death, a Board of nine elders governed the Society; two of these, Jakob Henrici and R.L. Baker, were appointed trustees. Baker was head trustee until 1868, when Henrici took over the position; Jonathan Lenz took Henrici's place as second trustee. In 1892, John Duss and family gained absolute control of the Society, which was dissolved in 1905.

HOLIDAYS

The Harmonists observed the religious holidays of Good Friday, Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. They also celebrated one civic holiday, the 4th of July. This celebration was open to the public and was a gala event. The Harmonists were celebrating the happy coincidence that 300 of their number had arrived in America on July 4, 1804, the Independence Day of their new country. In 1815, 150 outsiders attended the celebration.

In addition the Harmonists had three holidays of their own, the Harmoniefest, the Erntefest, and the Agape. Harmoniefest, February 15, was a celebration of the founding of the Harmonie Society; it was closed to outsiders. The Erntefest was a harvest festival celebrated in August. Usually hymns were composed especially for each festival. The band woke the town at 5:00 a.m. on feast days by playing from the church balcony. There were church services, speeches, singing, and feasting on the best foods and wines. Preparations were made days in advance. The Agape, or Lord's Supper (also called the

Love Feast), was formally observed in late October, but could be held at other times as well. This involved an entire meal, not just bread and wine; members were allowed to attend only if they had confessed any sins and asked forgiveness. At all feasts and religious services men and women were segregated.

INDUSTRIES AND CRAFTS

Among the many industries and crafts practiced by the Harmonists were carpentry, cooperage, pottery, shoemaking, stone masonry, and textiles.

Carpentry

Because of the abundance of timber around New Harmony, many of the Harmonist buildings were made of wood. Framing, siding, roofs, floors and also furnishings for the buildings were constructed using the stands of oak, cherry, maple, elm, walnut and yellow poplar which were all plentiful in the Indiana Territory. By 1817, the Society had two sawmills in operation where lumber was processed. The grist mill was situated two miles south of New Harmony on the east bank of Cut-Off Island.

When the Harmonie Society began the transfer to Indiana, they built log cabins as temporary shelter and storage. Later permanent wood-sided dwellings were built, followed by brick buildings. Their first church in New Harmony was built of wood. The brick church built in 1822 had fine wood work on the interior. In 1823 an English visitor recorded that, "the kinds of wood made use of for this purpose are, I am informed, black walnut, cherry and sassafras. Nothing, I think can exceed the grandeur of the joinery,..."

It can be assumed that many members of the community assisted the skilled carpenters in the construction of these buildings. Ten carpenters and four cabinetmakers were working in Harmony in 1810, and approximately that many are thought to have worked in New Harmony. Young men were apprenticed to master craftsmen and worked in the carpenter's shop supervised by the master carpenter or cabinetmaker.

The differences in the craft of the carpenter and cabinetmaker were many. The carpenter dealt mainly with straight lines, depending on the plumb line and framing square, while the cabinetmaker was called upon to work with sculptured lines of every conceivable shape. While the carpenter performed relatively heavy tasks on the building site, the cabinetmaker worked in his shop at his bench using the vise, turning lathe and planes.

The carpenter was limited primarily to building construction, which included framing the structure, building the stairs, and laying the floors. The wood used in construction was prepared using heavy tools such as the adz and different axes and saws; these tools were not needed if a saw mill was available for this rough cutting, as it was in New Harmony.

Other tools used by the carpenter in the various aspects of construction included chisels, gouges, planes, saws, hammers, rasps, and drawknives. Measuring devices included the try-square, used to insure right angles for corners and for pieces perpendicular to a base, and the plumb bob, used to test the vertical alignment of the framing. Carpenters also checked their work with gauges, bevels, and rules.

The carpenter employed a number of tools in the preparation of mortise and tenon joints, which were used in framing and consisted of a piece of wood with a cavity (mortise) joined to another wood segment with a projection of similar size (tenon). The joint was strengthened by a wooden dowel drilled through the frame. Mortises were cut out using mortise chisels. The twibil, a type of double-ended chisel usually pounded with a mallet, was used for squaring tenons and paring mortises. Carpenters drilled holes for the dowels with augers, and also used the tools to start the mortises. The dowels themselves were shaped using drawknives.

While the carpenter dealt mainly with rough woodworking, the cabinetmaker made finely worked items such as moldings, paneling and stair banisters, door and window framing, and furniture. Augers, chisels, saws, drawknives, mallets, carving tools, gouges, mitering tools, rasps, files, and patterns were all used in their production. Turned spindles for chair and table legs, banisters, tool handles, and other items were produced on a lathe; the cabinetmaker used calipers to measure the diameter of a piece as it was turned.

Wooden surfaces were smoothed and pared with a variety of bench planes, for rough and fine surface planing; decorative work; and special planes, including the rabbet plane, used to cut offset surfaces, or rabbets, such as the recesses of window muntins into which window panes were set. This plane was also used to prepare edges of floorboards, wallboards, and ceiling with tongue & groove joints.

Harmonist cabinetmakers produced a variety of furniture including beds, tables, chairs, chests, bookcases, boxes, clock-housings, stools, and coffins. Some of these items were sold at the Harmonist stores; in 1825 cupboards sold for \$9, fancy tables for \$8, and yellow chairs for \$1.

Cooperage

Coopers most commonly made barrels or buckets, using the process of wet cooperage for liquid storage, dry cooperage for "dry" products such as butter, syrup, and flour, and white cooperage for dry products such as apples and tobacco. Although the principles involved in each type of coopering were basically the same, the work differed considerably; wet cooperage demanded the greatest skill and effort. Barrels made by the wet cooperage method were constructed by inserting a froe, a cleaving tool, into the end of a rough section of oak timber. The froe was then struck with a club, forcing the wood to split. After the froe was completely buried in the wood, the handle was used as a lever to further separate the pieces. The split boards were then chopped along the grain to list,

or shape, the board to the double-tapered, bevel-edged shape of a stave. A gauge was used to produce the correct size of the staves.

After the required number of listed staves were completed they were taken to the drawbench, or shaving horse, where each piece was held in a vise at the proper height and inclination to shape the outer and inner faces with a drawknife. With a few long strokes of a large straight-bladed knife, the convex face of the stave end was shaped.

The concave face of the stave was hollowed out using a U-shaped knife with a curve roughly equivalent to the radius needed for the interior of the stave. The staves were then worked on a cooper's jointer, an upside-down plane, where each mating surface was trued by sliding the staves down the slope. The cooper worked without guides, using only his judgment and experience to create a tight barrel.

The staves were then raised, or assembled, into a barrel. Holding a metal hoop, the cooper filled it in with staves, forcing one against the other until the circle was closed. In order to draw the far end of the cask together, forming the bulging barrel shape, the cooper first softened the staves by soaking them in boiling water, and then built a small fire of shavings within the splay-bottomed cylinder. The cooper and an assistant then drove on a series of successively smaller wooden trussing hoops until the barrel took shape. Depending on the anticipated contents of the barrel, the inside of the barrel might be smoothed with a small rounded plane.

The ends of the cask were then chimed, or prepared to take the heads, using an adz and a topping plane. The howell and the croze were used to level and cut the grooves for the heads, or ends, which were fitted on by slackening the hoops. The diameter of each head, made up of three or more slats of wood, was measured using a compass, and a heading knife was used to cut the size of the circle. Finally, the hoops were then removed one at a time, the barrel outside smoothed with a buzz scraper, and permanent hoops hammered on.

Harmonist barrels were made to hold Society products such as wine, whiskey, cider and beer, as well as dry goods such as flour, for storage and for sale. Empty barrels were also sold at Harmonist stores. The Harmonist coopers also produced other items such as buckets, kegs, casks, and funnels.

Pottery

The Harmonist potters primarily produced earthenware, a ceramic made of clay and silica, which is fired at a relatively low temperature and remains porous after firing. They commonly used red earthenware clay, which contains iron mineral compounds that fire to a reddish/brownish hue in the kiln. Red earthenware, also known as redware, was the first pottery made in Colonial America; it had been made in England and France for many years. As early as 1625, redware was made at Jamestown Island, Virginia Colony by trained potters. The abundance of easily-accessible natural deposits of red earthenware clay made redware a popular ceramic in America for two centuries.

Because of redware's porosity, it was necessary to apply a glaze to waterproof the ware. Powdered lead, dusted onto the pottery, melted and fused with the silica in the clay when the vessel was fired; this resulted in a hard, transparent glaze. Lead glaze was known to be toxic as early as 1785, but lead-glazed redware continued to be used for food storage until early in the nineteenth century, when it was gradually replaced by salt-glazed stoneware.

Some Harmonist earthenware pottery was decorated with cream-colored slipware in scroll or serpentine designs against the red lead-glazed background. This was a typical decoration of the period and not exclusive to Harmonist pottery. Slip-decorated earthenware was very popular with the Pennsylvania German pottery manufactures. Slip, a combination of clay, water, and color, could be trailed onto the ceramic in a pattern with a slip-cup, or brushed over the entire surface. This latter technique was used on some Harmonist pottery, which has a green slip coating on the exterior and a rich yellow slip on the interior.

According to the Harmonist pottery manufactory's annual reports from 1818 to 1824, the pottery's kiln was fired three to six times a year; a February 1821 firing included 1,395 pieces of ware. In 1824 their total output was valued at \$740.62.

Harmonist pottery was a functional and inexpensive ware. Pieces made included mixing bowls, cider jugs, milk jugs, cream bowls, funnels, molds, plates, colanders and storage jars.

The pottery shop at New Harmony supplied ware primarily to the Harmonist membership. A small amount of pottery went to the other manufactories, such as the carpentry shop, tailor shop, and tannery. However, most of the remaining ware was sent to the town store, where it was sold to outsiders, mainly Indiana residents and people from English Prairie in Illinois who shopped at New Harmony. The Society also bought factory-made pottery from the East, including lustre china, queensware, and dishes with blue printed designs. These were sold at the Harmonist stores at Vincennes and Shawneetown, as well as in New Harmony; Harmonist earthenware was probably not sent to other markets because of the fragility of the pottery.

Shoemaking

The skins of calf, sheep, groundhog and even dog were prepared by the tanner for use as upper leather, side upper leather, and sole leather. Hides were soaked, stretched, scraped, and dried by the tanner. The leather pieces, once purchased by the shoemaker, were cut with a cutting wheel. Shoe sizes were determined with a measuring stick or a sizer. Wooden forms and lasts, which could be used for either the left or right foot, were used to shape the shoes. Right and left lasts, which had been used in Europe before the 17th century, were re-introduced in the 1790s, and were gradually being adopted in America during the 1810s and 1820s.

The shoes were assembled with flax thread, which joined the upper, side, and inner sole leathers; the leather segments were sewn together on the last. The sole was then attached using wooden pegs which joined the innersole and edges of the upper leathers to the outer sole. When the shoe was assembled the last was removed.

Ready-made shoes and boots were sold at Harmonist stores and other markets. Additionally, many individuals sent written orders to the Society shoemakers, either on their own or through a Harmonist business agent. Shoes were made from measurements sent with the order, with length and width drawn out on a paper. An order from J. Lockwood of Terre Haute explained this sizing for one pair of laced boots: "if there is two notches on the Paper one is the length and the other the thickness round the foot and the whole length round the heel and instep."

According to the Society daybooks, the types of shoes the Harmonists made included men's coarse shoes, men's fine shoes, Monroe boots, Cossack boots, Jefferson shoes, slippers, women's boots, women's pumps and heels, and children's shoes and boots. According to Matthäus Scholle's 1815 daybook, prices ranged from \$1.81 for coarse shoes to \$9 for Cossack boots. The shoemakers also offered repair service, mending boots for \$1 and half soling for \$.56.

Stone Masonry

Though the majority of large buildings in New Harmony were constructed of brick, sandstone and limestone from the Wabash River were used for the foundations, lintels and steps. The foundations of such surviving Harmonist buildings as Dormitory #2 and the Fauntleroy House were made of sandstone, as was the cellar of the Rapp-Maclure house. The Granary, adjacent to the Rapp-Maclure house, is the only surviving Harmonist structure in New Harmony with walls partially constructed of stone. Limestone was used for lintels of such structures as Dormitory #3 and the brick church.

A number of door lintels in Pennsylvania as well as in Indiana were carved by Frederick Rapp, a skilled stonemason and architect. Rapp was trained as a stone carver in Enderspach, Germany. His work in New Harmony included the Harmonist brick church's "Door of Promise;" the lintel of the doorway was carved with the inscription, "Micah 4 verse 8" and the Harmonists' Golden Rose motif.

In Pennsylvania, Harmonist stone workers made stone sinks for kitchens to contain water for washing and splash stones to take rain water away from the foundations of a building. They cut and set foundations for buildings and produced some decorative work for lintels on major buildings. The stone barrel-vaulted wine cellars in all three Harmonist communities were also the work of the skilled craftsmen.

While the Harmonists quarried their own stone for building construction and detailing, they did not quarry their own millstones. Because the types of limestone and sandstone indigenous to the New Harmony area are soft stones, it was necessary for the Harmonists to purchase millstones, made of a harder grade of limestone, from the

Shakers at South Union, Kentucky. From the Shakers they also bought hemp stones and tanners tables made of limestone.

American stoneworkers were distinguished according to their tasks: quarriers extracted and roughly shaped the blocks; rough-masons "dressed" or finished blocks and cut straight moldings; freemasons carved the more intricate shapes and cut curved moldings; layers or setters placed the blocks in a building.

Tools used by these different workers included sledgehammers, drills, and wedges, which were used to break off stone sections at the quarry. Stones were squared off to block form using pitching chisels. Punches, or clueries, were used with a hammer for removing superfluous stone; picks were also used for this purpose.

A variety of chisels were used to work each stone to the degree of finish desired, depending on the function of the stone and its placement. Finishing techniques included boasted or droved work, which consists of parallel chisel marks across the surface of the stone. Tooled work, which is superior to droved work, consists of continuous lines made across the surface of the stone to increase the effect of large plane surfaces by adding shadows and highlights. Tools such as bush hammers and patent hammers were used to drive the chisel along its path. Finely-worked stones were rubbed with abrasives, hard sandstone or another stone with wet sand, to achieve a perfectly smooth finish.

Textiles

Under Frederick Rapp's astute leadership, textiles, especially woolen broadcloths, became a major source of prosperity for the Harmonie Society while they were in Butler County, Pennsylvania. They acquired some of the fine Spanish Merino sheep that had been recently introduced to the United States, upgrading the quality of the wool in production. Rapp believed that the prospects for sheep farming and the woolen trade would be even better in Indiana. When surveying the land on the Wabash River in the Indiana Territory he said "On the high land I saw the most beautiful sheep pastures."

While in Butler County, Rapp engaged the services of an experienced cloth manufacturer, C.H. Orth to "take over the direction and improvement of the cloth factory of Mr. F. Rapp and to improve the same in all branches..." Orth and his partner Friedrich Strohn later opened a woolen factory in Steubenville, Ohio, but continued to communicate over the years with the Society about textile technology. In this way, the Harmonie Society utilized the latest textile manufacturing methods that were being developed in England and the eastern United States.

In planning the Indiana town, the Society decided to buy a steam mill to power their factories and mills. The woolen and cotton manufactory shared their source of power with a flour mill. A dye house was located next to the cotton and woolen mill. The fulling process that made woolen cloth more dense and warm for winter use demanded steam powered machinery. Later machinery was used for carding machines and wool and cotton looms. By 1820, 11 looms were weaving wool and cotton goods in New

Harmony. Mechanical pickers, roving billies, and spinning jennies driven by hand were also used while in Indiana.

Until the mills in Indiana began producing textiles, the Society sold woolens produced in Pennsylvania. After the end of the War of 1812, the American market became flooded with British woolen goods. Unfortunately this was shortly after the Harmonie Society settled in Indiana. In 1815, the price of Merino wool began to fall. Because the Society was so broadly based economically they were not so adversely affected as other sheep farmers. The price for fine wool broadcloth fell, but was replaced by the demand for cheaper common or domestic wool, especially on the Indiana frontier.

Instead of going out of production during the 1819 recession, the Society reinvested in more up-to-date power machinery. This enabled them to produce cheaper textiles such as cottons and cotton/wool mixtures. In 1822, they set up a new cotton spinning machine and by 1823, Rapp had ordered three new machines for weaving muslins and shirtings.

Wool, cotton and linen products included linseys, satinets, flannels, blankets, cassimeres, broadcloth and cotton ticking. While the Harmonists themselves used mainly black, brown, and blue colored fabrics, they produced a wider variety of colors, and some patterns, for outside customers. Sample books were assembled by the Harmonists so that customers could compare the different colors, types, and grades of quality available.

To accommodate the large textile manufactory, the Society operated a professional dye house. While they did cultivate madder and woad successfully in Indiana, the bulk of their dyestuffs, such as indigo, logwood, and mordants, were imported.

In addition to their own cotton, they sold calico in their store from other producers. In an 1822 letter to Abishai Way & Co. of Pittsburgh, Frederick Rapp placed an order in which he requested "more lively patterns this time, a nice deep blue with white flowers is the favorite Colour with the People in this Country..." Silk fabric and clothing were also purchased from other manufacturers for sale in Harmonist stores. When the Society moved back to Pennsylvania, silk manufacturing, under the management of Gertrude Rapp, became one of their most successful industries.

LEGAL REPRESENTATIVES

It appears that most, if not all of the attorneys whose services were used by the Society were not Harmonie Society members. Of the Harmonists, only Frederick Rapp, who referred to himself as "attorney in fact for George Rapp and associates" in several legal documents, could be considered a lawyer; he acted as the Harmonists' legal representative, although there is no evidence that he ever formally studied law.

Most of the legal work was handled by outsiders such as David Hart and William Duane. Hart, born c.1794, was a Gibson County lawyer and presiding judge of the

Fourth Circuit (1818-1819), which included Posey County. Arndt called him "the Society's Indiana attorney"; he appears to have begun work for the Society shortly after his resignation from the bench in 1819. He represented the Society in numerous lawsuits and settled tax disputes. Hart was also involved in the Harmonist cases dealing with the Bank of Vincennes and the transfer of its assets to the U.S. Treasury. An 1821 letter includes a bill for services, including \$ 7.50 for representation in the case of Rapp vs. Purcell. Hart died around January 1823.

William Duane was a Pennsylvania attorney who prosecuted Harmonist lawsuits such as that against the Lescher estate (beginning in 1820). He was also involved in the Miller v. Rapp suit, for which he took depositions. Duane's work for the Society dates back to at least 1816, when he collected monies due the Harmonists, and continued until at least 1824.

Duane consulted with attorney John Sergeant in 1821 in regards to the Lescher case. Sergeant was one of Philadelphia's pre-eminent lawyers at the time and a long-time member of Congress. Sergeant appears to have worked with the Harmonists on this lawsuit only. Although Sergeant and Frederick Rapp discussed the possibility of Sergeant's working on other cases, there is no evidence that he did.

Another attorney, John Law, arranged for transfers of deeds, dealt with tax difficulties, and also represented the Society in lawsuits, primarily in Indiana. Law, born in Connecticut in 1796, graduated from Yale in 1814, studied law, and came West. He settled in Vincennes where he established a successful practice. Law is known to have been an attorney for the Harmonists from at least 1822 to 1824.

John Ross, who Arndt called "perhaps the pre-eminent Pittsburgh lawyer of his era" represented the Harmonie Society in the Miller vs. Rapp lawsuit. Ross had been a two-term U.S. Senator in the 1790s and a member of Pennsylvania's constitutional convention in 1790. By 1822 he had returned to private practice. He was asked to represent the Harmonists in the Miller vs. Rapp case when it became clear that David Hart was too ill to take on the case. The case was settled by October 1823; Ross was paid \$200, a very large fee for the time.

Ross became the Harmonists' lawyer through his friendship with another Harmonist attorney, David Shields. Shields had settled in Washington, Pennsylvania, in 1800. During the Indiana decade Shields primarily acted as an agent, as well as an attorney, for the Harmonists' business affairs in Pennsylvania. He was given power of attorney by George Rapp in 1815. Shields oversaw the collection of debts, negotiated trade of goods, and bought and sold land for the Society. He had performed similar services since the early 1800s; in 1824 Shields wrote of his nearly 20 year relationship with the Harmonists. The earliest documentation of that relationship in Arndt is a letter dated 1807.

MEDICINE

The Society's doctor until 1832 was Johann Christoph Müller. The extent of his education and medical training in Germany is unknown; he did bring medical books and instruments with him to America. In his medical practice, Müller was conservative for his time; he very seldom bled patients, and he prescribed smaller doses of medicines than were generally given. He developed an interest in homeopathic medicine. Müller developed a static electricity machine to perform shock treatments as a cure of rheumatism.

Müller also treated patients outside the community and sold them medicine. When the Harmonists reached New Harmony many became ill with malaria; Müller did not come to Indiana until later though he was requested to by Rapp in several letters. Rapp's relationship with Müller started to decline in this period, for Rapp felt that Müller could have helped prevent some of the deaths if he had been in New Harmony to treat the ill.

MUSIC

The Harmonie Society was well-known for its excellence in instrumental and vocal music. Rapp encouraged an interest in music in his followers, yet none was allowed to treat music as more than an avocation. However it formed an integral part of life in the community; Harmonists spent much of their leisure time occupied with music. Choral and instrumental performances helped foster group cohesion, provided a means of personal expression, and were a constructive form of recreation for the Society's young people. Singing and music fundamentals were taught in the school, and instruction in instrumental music was available for all members. The musical program included an orchestra, with singers and instrumentalists, and various vocal groups.

As director of the music program until 1832, Dr. Müller arranged pieces for performance by the orchestra, ordered supplies, selected programs for concerts, directed practice sessions, gave instrumental and vocal lessons, and prepared musical publications. The program was expanded in 1817, by which time the community was well-established and the industries thriving. In that year the community purchased a piano and numerous music books. Most members of the Society sang; many composed their own hymns. The most numerous compositions were by Dr. Müller, George Rapp, Frederick Rapp, Frederick Eckensperger, and Jacob Henrici. The Society's first hymnbook, Harmonisches-Gesangbuch, was published on the community press in 1820.

Besides playing hymns the Society orchestra performed pieces by composers such as Mozart and Haydn and other secular music such as marches and waltzes. The band played at all occasions and gave performances for outsiders. Singers in the orchestra included Gertrude Rapp, Jonathan Lenz, Felix Wolf, Wallrath Weingartner, Hildegard Mutschler, and Jacob Henrici. Besides an extensive repertoire of hymns, vocal groups also performed anthem-like pieces called "odes." Instruments used by the Society included a pianoforte, violins, flutes, bugles, clarinets, and trumpets. There is no record of dancing of any kind taking place in the Society, though quadrilles, minuets, and other dance forms were performed by the musicians.

Dr. Müller concentrated even more attention on music at Economy. In 1827 the Society hired W.C. Peters, a professional Pittsburg musician, to give musical instruction. Under Müller's direction and with Peters' help, the orchestra performed increasingly sophisticated pieces by European masters.

THEOLOGY, SYMBOLS, AND BELIEFS

Celibacy

Celibacy is the condition of being unmarried. The Harmonists gradually adopted celibacy; however many were married, but practiced chastity (abstention from sexual relations). It is assumed that George Rapp and his wife Christina practiced chastity in Württemberg as early as 1786; possibly some of Rapp's followers did the same. In 1807 there was a religious revival among the group and chastity/celibacy became widespread, as part of an effort to purify themselves for the millennium. The practices were not required, but strongly encouraged. Those who were married were allowed to remain together as a family, but were to live "as brothers and sisters." Those who were unmarried were encouraged to remain so. In 1805 there were six marriages in the Society; in 1806 there were three; in 1807 only two. No marriages were registered from 1807 until September 1817 when Rapp relaxed the rule and performed eighteen marriages. Apparently about four couples continued to have children after 1808. They were not punished in any way except by the subtle disapproval of the community. Celibacy had its practical advantages. It freed women from the burdens of pregnancy and childcare; they could work in the factories, mills, and fields.

George Rapp had many Biblical sources to support the Society's adoption of celibacy, such as first Corinthians, Matthew, and various passages from the Old Testament. From Böhme Rapp took the ideas that God was perfect, and therefore was both male and female and could create life out of Himself. As man was created in God's image, man was also male and female and could create life out of himself without the assistance of a mate. When Adam made the mistake of wishing to have a mate, the female element in him separated from the male. This resulted in alienation from God and a loss of universal harmony--the Fall of Man. By ceasing sexual relations, the Harmonists sought to return to Adam's pure God-like state before the Fall and thus to effect the return of cosmic harmony. The Separatists would thus be pure for the Second Coming, at which time God, as Christ, would return; as God had visited with Adam before the Fall, Christ would dwell with them, in a divine Economy.

Communitarianism

Communitarianism is the belief in or practice of communal ownership, where all goods and property of a social group are shared equally. The Harmonists, like many religious and secular reform groups, adopted communal living out of necessity, for survival and solidarity. In Württemberg, they had a common treasury administered by Frederick Rapp, and communal practices continued in America.

George Rapp found justification for the practice in imitating the lifestyle of the first Christians in Jerusalem, as related in Acts 2:44-45 and 4:32. The early Christians also had practiced community of goods to survive, but, unlike the Harmonists, soon went back to individual property ownership. Their movement could expand without the restrictions of communal life and property. Rapp's communal idealism was also influenced by Andreae's Christianopolis, a 17th century work describing an imaginary communal Christian republic.

Economy

The Harmonists named their third town Economy, in reference to the new perfect world order (the "Divine Economy") they expected to come.

The Golden Rose

To the Harmonists, the golden rose was a religious symbol, representing God's future kingdom on earth, and Christ, who would usher in this kingdom. The association of the rose with the millennium comes from Martin Luther's translation of the Biblical passage of Micah 4:8: "And Thou, o Tower Eden, a stronghold of the Daughter of Zion, Thy Golden Rose shall come, the former dominion, the Kingdom of the Daughter of Jerusalem."

Millenarianism

Millenarianism is the belief in Christ's return to earth to reign during the millennium, a period of peace and joy prophesied in Revelation 20:1-5 when Christ will return to earth and rule for one thousand years. The Harmonists believed the millennium was quickly approaching, and as God's chosen people they would reign with him on earth during this time.

Pacifism

Pacifism is the opposition to war or violence as a means of settling disputes. The Harmonists embraced a policy of complete absence of violence in any form. This included not serving in the army or militia (they paid a tax instead), not using weapons, not hunting, refusing to defend oneself, and keeping a peaceful demeanor. In this belief the Harmonists are similar to the Amish, Mennonites, and Hutterites of today.

Perfectionism

Perfectionism is the belief that true harmony would only come when God perfected all worldly and spiritual affairs in the millennium. The Harmonists attempted to purify their lives in anticipation of that event.

Philosopher's Stone

The Philosopher's Stone was a magical substance which would turn base metals into gold. From the middle ages in Europe, alchemy (the making of gold) was practiced. In the early 19th century the existence and pursuit of the Stone were taken very seriously by many both in Europe and America. In the discovery of this Stone, the Harmonists believed they would have the key for transforming sickness into health, old age into youth, and earthly life into supernatural existence. George Rapp became obsessed with finding this substance after moving to Economy. The "Count de Leon" convinced the Harmonists that he had the Stone.

Pietism

Pietism is an interest in emotional, heartfelt religious experience as opposed to the more formal, even ritualistic, services offered by the state-sanctioned Evangelical Lutheran Church. Pietists believed that the established church was corrupt and that man should communicate directly with God. Pietism as a religious movement had its beginnings among the German Lutherans of the 18th century.

Woman in the Wilderness

George Rapp considered the Harmonie Society to be the embodiment of the Sunwoman, described in Revelation 12: "a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars..." She was forced to flee into the wilderness for she was pursued by a seven-headed dragon after she brought forth a man child who was to rule the world. The place where the Sunwoman settled was thought to be where Christ would return to earth. Like the woman, the Harmonists fled into the wilderness to prepare a place for the Lord. Their attempts to find the Sunwoman's place is seen by some scholars as a motivating factor in their moves to and in America; it was certainly used by Rapp as an explanation, and perhaps an excuse, for their moves.