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THE PICTORIAL ARTS OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY, 1805-1834

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THE PICTORIAL ARTS
OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY, 1805-1834

BY
Nancy C. Kraybill

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture.

August, 1983

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THE PICTORIAL ARTS

OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY, 1805-1834

BY

Nancy C. Kraybill

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

After four years of hard and not so hard work on this thesis, I would like to thank those who helped, ca­joled, waited, and understood. A special thanks goes to Paula Martinac, who was there at the beginning and stayed until the end.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Survey of the Literature</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Methodology</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PICTORIAL ARTS OF THE HARMONY</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIETY, 1805-1834</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Architectural Drawings and Maps</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Natural History Drawings</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Decorative Drawings</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ROLE AND FUNCTION OF THE PICTORIAL ARTS IN</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HARMONIST LIFE, 1805-1834</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Pictorial Arts and Religion</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Pictorial Arts and Education</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Pictorial Arts and Music</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. DECLINE OF ARTISTIC PRODUCTION IN THE HARMONY SOCIETY</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFTER 1834</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Survey of the Literature

The Harmony Society was one of the longest surviving and most economically successful American communitarian experiments of the nineteenth century.¹ Much has been published on the Society, from contemporary travelers' accounts to recent documentary histories.² Many of these sources simply restate previously published information or misinterpret heresay as fact.³ Aside from these derivative or erroneous treatments, however, a core body of scholarly research exists, mostly examining the Society's historical development, relationship to other communal sects, religious doctrines, and musical heritage. The study of the material culture of the Harmony Society as a key to understanding the group's complex and refined social and cultural structure has garnered little attention. Harmonist pictorial arts, as a subset of material culture, have been largely ignored.

Karl J.R. Arndt, Professor Emeritus at Clark University, has devoted nearly fifty years to unraveling the story of the Harmony Society by carefully translating thousands of original Harmonist documents from German. He relies heavily on this wealth of primary material in his two-volume
chronological history of the Society, George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847 and George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916. He has augmented this narrative with a series of annotated compilations of Harmonist documents; each volume focuses on a separate phase of the group's development. The type of document that Arndt selects for inclusion in his histories belies his main interests in theology, business, and political history. He rarely treats questions of social or cultural expression or material culture. Arndt's work, however, provides the basic contextual framework necessary to explore these specialized areas of study.

Although the Harmony Society formally disbanded in 1905, a rich legacy of artifacts survives. Harmonist buildings, furniture, ceramics, textiles, costumes, tools, books, manuscripts, decorative accessories, and artworks give testimony to the one-hundred-year existence of this association of German communitarians. Only a few authors have tapped the extensive resource of objects made and used by the Harmonists.

John Ramsey, in a brief article called "Economy and its Crafts," first addressed this topic. He used photographs of Harmonist artifacts to illustrate his summation of the history of the Society and identified these objects as creations of members of the Society. Charles M. Stotz, in "Threshold of the Golden Kingdom: The Village of Economy and its Restoration," discussed the architecture of the final
Harmonist settlement with some reference to cultural influences and stylistic characteristics. As the restoration architect for Old Economy Village from 1937 to 1965, Stotz primarily investigated the Harmonist built environment as it related to procedures and problems of building restoration. Donald E. Pitzer's article, "The Harmonist Heritage of Three Towns," superficially reviewed various building types in the three Harmonist towns—Harmony, Pennsylvania; New Harmony, Indiana; and Economy, Pennsylvania. In "The Material Culture of the Communities of the Harmony Society," Paul H. Douglas broadly surveyed his subject and presented little more than a descriptive introduction.

The pen and ink and watercolor drawings that make up the pictorial arts of the Harmonists have received even less consideration from students of Harmonist material culture. Although certain authors either mentioned the artworks in the text or featured illustrations of selected drawings, only two treated this topic exclusively. Daniel B. Reibel, former curator of Old Economy Village, pictured several different examples of Harmonist artwork in "The Graphic Arts of the Harmony Society." Reibel's most important contribution was suggesting the range and nature of Harmonist artistic forms. When describing the drawings, however, he failed to compare them to similar types within the Harmonist oeuvre or place them within the context of Harmonist cultural life.
Donald E. Pitzer focused on a manuscript book of ornithology drawings done in 1829 by a Society member in his article, "Harmonist Folk Art Discovered." Unfortunately, Pitzer came to the false conclusion that the drawings were original productions, so his study contributed little to our understanding of Harmonist drawings or, more generally, of folk art.

1.2 Methodology

The existing literature offered very little information on the Harmony Society's pictorial arts, so I first had to define my subject. For the purposes of this study, Harmonist artworks are those freely drawn or mechanically constructed, two-dimensional creations that serve either a primary or secondary aesthetic function. I did not consider level of technical skill, type of medium, choice of subject matter, originality of design, manifest or latent function, physical condition, or quality of aesthetic expression in selecting the items to be part of this study. I do, however, explore these points when analyzing the artworks. Three-dimensional decorative objects (e.g., wax flower arrangements or ornamental pictures made of dried natural materials) or utilitarian, three-dimensional objects that are decoratively embellished (e.g., stenciled furniture or redware with slip designs) fall outside of the established parameters of this study, although they are additional indicators of an artistic
tradition within Harmonist material culture.  

A few drawings were previously known, but a thorough search for and a systematic grouping of Harmonist pictorial arts had never been accomplished. I checked all public collections of Harmonist manuscripts and artifacts for surviving drawings. My search revealed 156 artworks. This body of art consisted of seventy-seven architectural drawings, three picture maps, two collections of ornithology illustrations, fifteen natural history drawings, and fifty-nine decorative drawings.

For clarity of description and analysis, I divided the artworks into three categories based on each work's primary function. Since a piece of art can serve several simultaneous and often divergent functions and since function can change with use and over time, isolating the primary function can be difficult and purely subjective. Determining the major use, however problematical, helped in understanding the meaning of the artworks and their role within the cultural life of the Society. I found this organizational framework more valuable than other classification determinants, such as subject matter (e.g., buildings, flowers, birds) or medium (e.g., watercolor painting, pencil sketch, pen and ink drawing).

The categories are: 1) Architectural Renderings and
Picture Maps—mechanical drawings and pictorial town plans that relate to built environmental forms as working drawings or proposed plans for buildings or as visual records of existing buildings; 2) Natural History Drawings—realistic depictions of botanical or zoological specimens for study purposes; 3) Decorative Drawings—ornamental images that are a part of and support a primary function other than an artistic one (e.g., fraktur nameplates that identify the owner of a hymnal, drawings used as gifts).

I completed individual worksheets on each drawing. The form contained the following information: museum collection and catalog number, artist, signature location, inscription and English translation, date, medium, colors, measurements, condition, and description. For artworks found in musical texts or business documents, I also noted the location of the drawing within the text and the type of text.21 As the final step, I photographed all items for a complete visual catalog of this study group.

The time period covered by this study, 1805 to 1834, came as a direct outgrowth of my findings. The year 1805 marked the official founding of the Harmony Society. I chose this starting date to label accurately all post-1805 artworks as "Harmonist." I discovered only five examples that predated 1805.22 I initially approached my research with no predetermined end-date other than 1905, when the
Society ceased to exist. Most dated drawings, however, were done between 1814 and 1834. The year 1834 also was a key date for the Society, for on June 24th Frederick Rapp, an important leader of the Society and a strong supporter of Harmonist cultural pursuits, died. Only five drawings were done after 1834.23

Along with analyzing the drawings themselves, I culled primary sources for references to Harmonist artistic training techniques, philosophy, artists, supplies, copy books, pictorial sources, and iconography. I conducted detailed research using Harmonist documents in published form and the original manuscripts.24 These records included personal and business correspondence, memorandum books, invoices, account books, bills of lading, sermons, and hymns. I also consulted myriad travelers’ accounts of visits to the three Harmonist villages and court proceedings from trials involving the Society. These sources provided scattered bits of information about the artworks.

When examining Harmonist pictorial arts, the problem of survival of the drawings is a critical limitation. Besides not knowing how many drawings are extant in private collections, I do not know how many drawings were lost or destroyed.25 This paper deals with a portion of a larger group of drawings of an indeterminate size.
While many of the drawings are signed or directly related to an individual Society member, I attributed a number of unsigned artworks to the Society. Most of these unsigned drawings were part of collections of documentable Harmonist artifacts or manuscripts and so could be safely assigned to the Society. Attributions were made also on the basis of family histories of specific artworks and similarities in subject matter, format, handwriting, and artistic technique between signed and unsigned pieces. Undated artworks were placed within the stated time period by linking them by style and subject matter to dated examples, by dating the type of paper and ink and the form of handwriting used, by fixing them within the life dates of the artist, if known, and by dating the musical text, if the artwork was found in one.

Because of limitations in style, iconography, range of subject matter, and variety of mediums and techniques, Harmonist artworks do not lend themselves easily to scrutiny on a symbolic, aesthetic, or technical level, although a discussion of these points is necessary to reach a full appreciation of the nature of Harmonist pictorial arts. With only scattered written references to Harmonist artistic philosophy and method of artistic training, concentration on these areas is not possible.

With these restrictions in mind, I chose a case-study...
approach by viewing the artworks as a group, inextricably tied to their specific historical, cultural, and sociological context— the Harmony Society. As artistic creations produced by members of this communal sect, they can offer an expanded perspective on the constellation of Harmonist life and culture from 1805 to 1834. When separated from this conceptual foundation, the watercolor hymnal decorations and presentation pieces seem almost indistinguishable from other nineteenth-century schoolgirl accomplishments (Figure 1); the natural history drawings are quite similar to other nature studies produced during a time of fascination with the order of the plant and animal worlds (Figure 2); the fraktur nameplates in the music books mirror other illuminations from the Pennsylvania German tradition (Figure 3); and the architectural drawings are nothing more than functional adjuncts to the building trade, with classical antecedents. But in context, they augment the understanding of the essential fabric of Harmonist life and gain additional meaning as more than simple amusements. They become conveyors of vital insights into the internal social and cultural structure of a vanished community.


3Reibel's comprehensive Bibliography contains many such entries. This type of reference has been excluded from this paper's bibliography; only selected primary and secondary works that reveal new information or proffer original interpretations are included.


6See the bibliography of this paper for the complete citations for all five volumes of Arndt's documentary histories.

7The last two members of the Harmony Society were Susan Creese Duss and Franz Gilman. They signed the legal documents that formally dissolved the Society in 1905.

8The five major public collections of Harmonist artifacts are: The Harmonist Historic and Memorial Association, Harmony, Pa.; Historic New Harmony, New Harmony, In.;
The New Harmony State Memorial, New Harmony, In.; New Harmony Workingmen's Institute, New Harmony, In.; and Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Ambridge, Pa. (This seven-acre historic site constitutes the central core of the Society's third town, Economy. The fifteen Harmonist buildings house the largest and most comprehensive collection of Harmonist artifacts.)

The following critique of the literature considers those works that deal mainly with Harmonist material culture, not those that may mention material culture in a subsidiary way.


17 Donald E. Pitzer, "Harmonist Folk Art Discovered," Historic Preservation, October-December 1977, pp. 11-12.

18 Representative examples of the different types of decorated and ornamental objects can be found in the artifact collection of Old Economy Village.

19 I discovered and examined artworks in the following collections: Music Archives, Research Files, and Artifact Collection, Old Economy Village; Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951, MG 185, Bureau of Archives and History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pa.; Artifact Collection, The Harmonist Historic and Memorial Association; Rappite Manuscripts, Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington; Map Collection, Archives and Manuscripts Division, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio. When I used the Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951, this record group had not yet been organized or indexed. Therefore, references to materials within this record group will not contain specific citations. Under the auspices of the Bureau of Archives and History of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, the Harmony Society Records have recently been organized, indexed, and microfilmed.

20 Robert Chenhall, in Nomenclature for Museum Cataloging: A System for Classifying Man-Made Objects (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1978), proposed a similar classification system for cataloging museum collections, based on the concept of the "first use" or primary function of the object.

21 The preliminary work for this study began in 1979 and resulted in "Hymnbook Watercolors and Nameplates of the Harmony Society" (Seminar paper, University of Delaware,
1979), pp. 1-35. I indexed 754 manuscript and printed musical texts located in the Music Archives at Old Economy Village. I found fifty-seven watercolors and nameplates in fifty-two books.

22 All five pre-1805 artworks are in the Music Archives at Old Economy Village. They are: a calligraphy nameplate in PP.2; a watercolor drawing of a tree and flowers in PP17.6; a flower in PP17.7; a decorative heart with the inscription "Sammlung einiger Musicalien, 1801, possessor Catherine Spor" ("Collection of music, 1801, possessor Catherine Spor"); and a drawing of potted flowers labeled "vergi0 mein nicht" ("forget me not") in VM1.6 (AEM). See Wetzel, Frontier Musicians, Appendix D, pp. 239-285, for a catalog of the Music Archives. Also, see Spear, "Vocal Music," p. 120, for a discussion of VM1.6 (AEM), one of the earliest manuscript songbooks in the Harmony Society Music Archives.

23 Of the five post-1834 artworks, three drawings are in the Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951. They are: a watercolor drawing of a carnation on form ledger paper dated 1892; a watercolor drawing of a rose on blue-lined white paper; and a chalk drawing of a little girl in Victorian dress. The other two artworks, located in the Music Archives at Old Economy Village, are: an 1886 lavishly illuminated songbook belonging to Jonathan Lenz, PM17; and an 1866 decorated nameplate inscribed "Dieses Buch gehört Philippine Wolfangel" ("This book belongs to Philippine Wolfangel") in HP2.30.


25 With limited access to private collections, I was unable to gauge the number of Harmonist drawings that had
been dispersed to individual collectors. In an interview on July 9, 1979, with Karl Arndt, he said that he owned a few drawings done by members of the Harmony Society, but never granted me permission to examine or photograph them. Charles Stotz donated over ten architectural drawings and pen and ink sketches of roses from his personal collection to Old Economy Village in the spring of 1983.

26 See Nancy C. Kraybill, "The Collection at Old Economy Village: Today and Yesterday," Harmonie Herald, October 1978, pp. 1-9. This article traces in detail the history of the music archives and artifact collection at Old Economy Village and the documents in the Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951. All but nine of the artworks were located in these collections.


28 The basket of flowers motif of the Harmonist watercolor drawing parallels other examples typical of nineteenth-century artistic expression by amateur artists. For similar examples see: Betty Ring, "Salem Female Academy," The Magazine Antiques, September 1974, p. 437, a memory book with a watercolor drawing of flowers, c. 1830's; and Johnson, "'To Expand the Mind and Embellish Society,'" p. 123, a watercolor drawing on paper of flowers by Adelaide Ruan at the Bethlehem Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, c. 1830-1840.

29 Note the similarities between the representative Harmony Society botanical drawings and those done by other amateur artists in the following examples: Nina Fletcher Little, The Abby Aldrich Folk Art Collection: A Descriptive

2. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY

In 1785 Johann Georg Rapp\(^1\) (1757-1847), a vinedresser, weaver, and self-styled prophet from Iptingen, District of Maulbronn, Württemberg,\(^2\) began holding religious discussion groups in his home as an alternative to the services of the state-sanctioned Lutheran Church.\(^3\) Rapp and his group felt that the Lutheran Church had deviated from the literal interpretation of Martin Luther's translation of the Bible. As Rapp's followers increased in number and became more openly critical of the Church, they attracted the attention of the authorities, making it more difficult for them to practice their religious beliefs. As tensions mounted, they looked to the United States as a haven.\(^4\)

Five to six hundred members of Rapp's congregation made the trip to America between 1804 and 1805, with smaller migrations arriving in the following decade. The group, which called itself the Harmony Society, purchased land in Butler County, Pennsylvania, due north of Pittsburgh, and built a town called "Harmonie" ("Harmony").\(^5\) The Society relocated after a mere ten years in Pennsylvania because of the remote site of Harmony and the unfavorable climate of the region for many agricultural activities. They moved to
the southern tip of Indiana and built the town of Harmony, often referred to as New Harmony by the Society, on the banks of the Wabash River. Despite their efforts in Indiana, the restless Harmonists relocated a final time. In 1824 the building of "Oekonomie" ("Economy") began on a bluff overlooking the Ohio River, eighteen miles northwest of Pittsburgh. Economy remained the home of the Harmony Society until the group's formal dissolution in 1905.

Although the three separate moves that the Society made were ostensibly prompted by practical reasons, the energy and willpower to sustain the group during these uprootings sprang from their well of deep religious conviction. Religious principles provided the basic underpinnings of the Society; Christian reverence imbued daily activities. To understand the Society, its internal structure, and its artistic expressions, the religious framework must first be outlined.

The Harmonists believed in the literal interpretation of Luther's translation of the Bible, especially the Book of Revelation. They saw God as an omnipotent being and Christ, God's son, as the key to salvation. Christ's second coming was the cornerstone of the Society's religious doctrine. The Harmonists were committed to leading a life of "Harmony"—a feeling of religious oneness that joined them to God through the acceptance of Christ as the Savior, that united them to
one another, and that linked them to God's creations in nature. The physical manifestation of the concept of Harmony was the establishment of a heaven on earth, or "divine Economy," which would reflect the Harmonists' purity of spirit and state of constant preparation for Christ's return. As part of this chiliastic dream, the Harmonists practiced celibacy as the ideal state to which all Christians should aspire.

The charismatic George Rapp was glorified by his followers as a prophet. He would lead his congregation in its quest for a pure life on earth, guide it through the destruction that was to accompany Christ's appearance, and deliver it to Christ's throne to reign for the millenium. "Father Rapp" or "the Father," as he was called by his flock, usually confined his religious preachings to Society members only.8

Privacy of religion was maintained by restricting outside visitors' attendance at spiritual services and by eschewing all efforts to proselytize. The Society envisioned itself as an integral part of Christ's chosen league. As George Rapp clearly proclaimed:

We have a special feeling that is not of this time, but belongs to another period for which we are designated. We must be true to our convictions regardless of the raging of the devil... Christ's church will be renewed and from the root it will be reborn. You must not look upon us as we are now, but how we will become...9
They directed their religious beliefs inward to enhance their communion with Christ and focused their temporal activities on developing a worthy site for Christ's return and heightening their awareness of God's ultimate power.

In imitation of ancient Christian practice, the Harmony Society based its internal social and economic organization on community of property. The communal structure was defined by the Articles of Agreement. This document, signed by all members in 1805, spelled out the contractual arrangement between the leaders of the Society and the individual members. The Articles, with several subsequent amendments, declared the members' willingness to pledge their property and services to the common good in return for the leaders' commitment to provide for the members' physical, spiritual, and educational well-being.

In this patriarchal organization, Father Rapp ruled as the undisputed spiritual director of his family of believers. Rapp understood that a strong leader was essential for the success and duration of a communal fellowship. Rapp was obviously thinking of himself when he wrote:

It has always been the plan and practice of mankind to choose or elect individuals whom they might have for their headmen or guides, and upon whom even depended most of their happiness, and whenever a nation or society happened to hit upon the right man...how fortunate and happy they were!10
George Rapp delegated the management of the Society's internal and external business concerns to his adopted son, Frederick Reichert Rapp (1775-1834). Frederick, a stonemason and surveyor from Schorndorf, District of Schorndorf, Württemberg, was a capable financial administrator and complimented the dynamic force of his father's mystical command.

Each member had a specific role in the Society, working for the welfare of the group as "one great machine, the principal wheel of which, when put in motion, puts all the rest in operation." The Society was divided into a number of mechanical branches (e.g., wool factory, farming, logging, blacksmithing) with a foreman acting as superintendent, working directly under Frederick Rapp. Jobs were assigned to men and women according to traditional, sex-specific spheres of work. In addition to the division of the Society members according to the mechanical branches in which they worked and their place of residence, the members were organized into five separate classes or companies. The groupings consisted of old men and women, younger men and women, and children. The classes met once or twice a week for "social intercourse and mutual improvements." Letters between Society members sometimes referred to giving greetings to their company.

The Society maintained a posture of self-sufficiency as much as possible by growing its own food; producing much
of its own cloth, clothing, fuel, home furnishings, and shelter; and providing for its own transportation, education, religious training, printing, and entertainment. The early agricultural basis of the Society was replaced by manufacturing as the Society became an important economic force in western Pennsylvania, largely as the result of success in the production of wool and cotton textiles. Although commu¬minal in nature, the Society exploited the lucrative markets in the capitalistic "outside world" by selling its products and buying items to supplement what members made for themselves.

Dialogue with the outside world was achieved mainly through the more public, English-speaking Society members, including Frederick Rapp, shop and factory foremen, and members designated as business agents for the Society. The majority of the members, however, were isolated from the mainstream English culture by their unusual religious beliefs, Germanic style of dress, Swabian dialect, communal structure, and customs. This sense of isolation and privacy helped in the establishment of a contained society in which the good of the group superceded that of the individual. The Society continually struggled with the interrelationship of the individual to the group as evidenced in its various solutions to satisfying housing needs. In Harmony, separate homes were built for individual conjugal family units. This ar-
arrangement gave way to a combination of homes for conjugal families and four communal dormitories for single persons in New Harmony. The communal dormitories were abandoned at Economy, but so were separate homes for conjugal families. Instead, separate residences housed eight to ten men and women, some from the same family units, to create "families" of celibate brothers and sisters.

The population of the Harmony Society never exceeded approximately eight hundred members at any time during its one-hundred-year existence. From an estimated population of eight hundred in Harmony, Pennsylvania, in 1811, the Society numbered 717 in Economy in 1830. The figure dropped by almost a third to a population of five hundred in 1835. This figure corresponds with the 212 dissenters who withdrew from the Society in 1832, after breaking with George Rapp and choosing to follow another self-appointed prophet of God, Maximilian Ludwig Proli, or Count Leon.\(^\text{15}\)

Before the 1832 schism, members sometimes withdrew for personal reasons on a case by case basis, occasionally appealing to the courts for just settlements from the Society. New members sometimes joined, but this practice was always discouraged. Because of the language barrier, the Society essentially remained an immigrant group, with the membership replenished with children of original members.
In this way, the Society maintained a close-knit atmosphere, with many members spending their entire lives as devout Harmonists. However, with celibacy the general rule after 1807 and with the membership books firmly closed after the 1832 schism, the population of the Society steadily declined.
CHAPTER 2 NOTES

1. In German, by convention, the first name is often dropped. Therefore, Johann Georg Rapp was commonly known as George Rapp.

2. Iptingen was a small village in Württemberg, one of the several German states in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Württemberg is situated in the southwest portion of present-day West Germany.

3. This capsulized history highlights the Harmony Society's one-hundred-year existence by summarizing its religious tenets, community organization, and economic structure. More detailed accounts, notably the historical and documentary works of Karl J.R. Arndt, are listed in the bibliography of this paper.

4. The movement led by George Rapp was but a small part of the wave of emigration from the separate German states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Kenneth Rexroth, in Communalism: From its Origins to the Twentieth Century (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), p. 133, explains the destructive and splintering force of the Thirty Years War on Germany. Donald Herbert Yoder, in "Emigrants from Württemberg: The Adolph Gerber Lists," Pennsylvania German Folklore Society 10 (1945): 111-114, links the background of the war, struggle, and unstable economic and political conditions to migration from Württemberg. He downplays the religious impetus. A pervasive theme underlying Arndt's treatment of the Harmony Society, as shown in "The Strange and Wonderful New World of George Rapp and His Harmony Society," The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 57 (April 1974): 141-166, stresses the power of religious conviction to stimulate migration. The Harmony Society is but a single case representative of larger migration patterns.

5. The written accounts of travelers who visited the three Harmonist settlements are a valuable source of information on the Harmony Society. These observers recorded the layout of the towns and gardens, the extent and nature of commercial establishments, the Harmonists' dress and manners.
the nature of the religious services, and the interior furnishings of George Rapp's home. This type of documentation is generally missing from Harmonist manuscript materials. For an extensive listing of travelers' accounts, see Reibel, Bibliography. For a sampling of selections from specific travelers' accounts, see Daniel B. Reibel, Readings Concerning the Harmony Society in Pennsylvania Drawn from the Accounts of Travelers and Articles in the "Harmonie Herald" (Ambridge, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978).

Intimating deeper religious motivations for the move from Indiana to Pennsylvania, George Rapp wrote on March 26, 1824, to Frederick, who was searching for a new settlement site: "This time it is not so accidental that we have such courage for the move. Certainly there is more behind this than we now see or know, although something of it can be known by premonition." Arndt, Indiana Decade, vol. 2, p. 812.


George Rapp to Jacob Neff, 10 April 1806, Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951.
George Rapp appointed Jacob Henrici (1804-1892) and Romelius L. Baker (1793-1868) as business agents for the Society's financial affairs when Frederick Rapp died in 1834. After George Rapp's death in 1847, Henrici and Baker jointly served as trustees of the Society. In a trial with a dissenter from the Society, Baker stated: "His [Frederick Rapp's] position as agent of temporal matters was considered a parental one—the same as George Rapp in spiritual matters." Joshua Nachtrieb v. Romelius Baker and others, Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Pennsylvania, 1849, p. 9.

3. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PICTORIAL ARTS
OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY, 1805-1834

3.1 Architectural Drawings and Maps

When five hundred to six hundred Harmony Society members arrived in the wilderness area of Butler County, Pennsylvania, in 1804 and 1805, housing became an immediate need. Hastily constructed log houses eventually were replaced by more permanent frame and brick buildings. Residences were built first in Harmony, with farm and manufacturing buildings, school- and meetinghouses, and craft shops following. Construction was still in process at Harmony when the Society abandoned its first town to relocate in the remote western region of Indiana in 1824.

At New Harmony, the Society repeated essentially the same town plan used at Harmony. In Germanic fashion, a central town square was surrounded by the more important community buildings, including the hotel, store, meetinghouse, and George Rapp's residence. The rest of the town was laid out in a rectangular grid of intersecting streets lined with houses and craft shops. Agricultural fields and factories were situated on the outskirts of town. The only major difference between Harmony and New Harmony was the construction
of four communal dormitories at New Harmony. In 1824, when the Society left New Harmony to build its third and last settlement, Economy, the completed town in Indiana was sold in toto to the utopian socialist, Robert Owen.

The building of Economy followed the same formula as that of Harmony and New Harmony. Log residences were built first to house the transplanted Harmonists, with frame and brick buildings constructed later. The Germanic town plan of a central square was replaced with the Anglo-style "main street" lined with the major commercial and community buildings. A street grid pattern was retained for the town proper with the fields and factories located away from the residential and social areas. In ten years, by 1834, the building of Economy was completed.

For thirty years building consumed a large portion of the Society's energy. To support the building trade, building plans were necessary. For this study, seventy-seven architectural drawings, skillfully drafted by members of the Harmony Society, were examined. They encompass a wide range of renderings: roof, facade, and side sections; facade and side elevations; floor, roof truss, foundation, floor board, and bridge truss plans; timber frame constructions; path and planting arrangements; plans for the layout of machinery in manufacturing buildings and of benches and tables in a large
hall; and building details (e.g., window frames, door entrances, and column orders). A drawing usually contains more than one type of rendering, sometimes as many as five different aspects of a single building. For instance, a drawing for a garden pavilion shows the elevation for the tower and the plan for the octagonal pavilion base and the encircling moat and path (Figure 4). In several cases a group of drawings relate to the same building. Most of the drawings have scales, both with and without annotations. Further descriptive information on dimensions is occasionally entered on the drawing. Notations identifying building function, construction material, room usage, location of the building, and date and maker of the drawing are rarely added.

The renderings are typically outlined in iron gall ink with a rule and compass and precisely washed with watercolors, although a few pen and ink drawings without wash are extant. Red, grey, pink, tan, blue, brown, yellow, orange, and green washes are used. The colors enhance the visual interest of the drawings by diversifying the monochromatic palette of black, grey, and white. Color also helps distinguish component parts of a building. In a few drawings, colors are keyed into a coding system. In a floor plan of the first floor section of the truss system of the museum building at Economy, red and orange designate masonry and yellow, wood. Brick is shown in pink, window and door open-
ings in black, and the roof and foundation in grey in a facade elevation and first-floor plan for George Rapp's residence at Economy.

More than two-thirds of the drawings were studies for structures designed and built by the Harmonists for their three towns. Some of the designs were executed exactly as they appeared in the drawings; others were modified. Charles Stotz identified many of the drawings as working plans for specific Harmonist buildings through his examination of the original portions of the surviving Harmonist structures.

The factual basis provided by the drawings complemented the visual record presented by the buildings themselves, old photographs, period travelers' observations, and oral histories and aided in the twenty-eight-year restoration effort at Old Economy Village and the restoration work at Harmony and New Harmony.

George Rapp's house, which still stands within the Old Economy Village complex, is represented in four separate drawings that delineate the floor plan of the first floor, the elevation of the facade, and a section of the central portion of the house. The differences in the four plans for the first floor suggest that several drawings were done as studies before a final solution was adopted. Four drawings depict the imposing Economy museum building that housed
the museum collection on the first floor and the cavernous second-floor saal, used for the Society's communal holiday feasts and celebrations. This building is also part of Old Economy Village. One drawing dated 1827 shows the section and plan of the truss system and the first-floor plan. The foundation and second-floor plan, a transverse and truss section, and the timber frame construction are studied in the remaining three drawings. Other buildings that are documented by architectural drawings include: the Bentel residence and bridge over the Connoquenessing Creek in Harmony; the cruciform meetinghouse in New Harmony; and the standardized brick members' dwelling, garden pavilion, meetinghouse, and hotel at Economy.

Several drawings probably are associated with Harmonist structures; since the structures were demolished and corroborative evidence is incomplete, attributions can only be tentative. This group consists of timbered frame buildings perhaps used as sheds or barns, window framing and door entrances, floor plans and construction details for buildings resembling manufactories (Figure 5), the layout of machinery in floor plans, and plans for labyrinths. The Harmony Society's agricultural pursuits required a full assortment of support buildings. Only a granary at New Harmony, Indiana and one at Old Economy Village remain.
Large-scale textile manufactories dwarfed other buildings in all three of the towns, but none have survived. One drawing dated March 10, 1834 is specified as the wool factory by an inscription in archaic German script. The factory at Economy burned down on November 25, 1833, and the building of a new factory commenced in 1834 and was finished in January 1835. The facade elevation, side section, truss and floor board plan, and first floor plan are outlined in the 1834 drawing of what probably became the new wool factory. Three distinct plans for labyrinths were done. Travelers commented on the labyrinths that graced all three Harmonist towns. Since these descriptions are vague and all traces of the plantings of the labyrinths have been obliterated, these drawings cannot be directly linked to specific Harmonist mazes.

The drawings demonstrate the variety of construction techniques with which the Society was conversant. Queen and king post trusses, wind braces, posts and lintels, tie beams, and keyed arches appear in the drawings and buildings. A knowledge of both Germanic and Georgian architectural vocabulary pervades the drawings and is manifested in the solid, and often simplistic, Harmonist buildings. Delicate string courses and traceried transoms in the Georgian tradition are blended with half-timbering and hipped gambrel roofs in the Germanic mode as part of the architectural compromise characteristic of the Society's building forms. A few complicated
architectural features belie the group's occasional reliance on contemporary building manuals. 9

A small collection of drawings either fall outside of the known Harmonist building formula or are drawing exercises. They include elevations and sections of elaborate French Renaissance edifices and majestic towered churches. A perspective drawing and a section of a church with explicit written instructions on how to construct mechanically a drawing of an arch constitute obvious drawing exercises.

Of all the renderings, only six are dated. They include depictions of the hotel at Economy, 1834; a wool factory, 1834; the museum building at Economy, 1827; a door entrance, 1806; a labyrinth, 1826; and a manufactory, 1834. Even though only a few of the total collection of architectural drawings are dated, all but a handful are directly or probably linked to buildings erected by the Harmony Society. Representations of specific buildings can be dated according to the completion date of the structure. The other renderings can be roughly dated between 1805 and 1834, the period of peak building activity.

Three drawings, all of towered churches, are signed. The identified artists are all from the same family. George Forstner (1771-1851) emigrated to America from Gundelsbach, the District of Maulbronn, Württemberg, with the original
group of Rapp's followers in 1805. He stayed in the Society his entire life and worked as a carpenter. Two of his sons, Lyaus (b. 1803) and Michael (b. 1798), were also carpenters, but withdrew during the 1832 schism. An elevation for a building in the French Renaissance style has the inscription, "maister bild für Friedrich Carl Müller" ("master plan for Friedrich Carl Müller"). Müller, who arrived in America in the initial 1805 migration, came from Unter-Weisach, District of Tinner-Bachnung, Württemberg. Although he was a carpenter and therefore probably skilled in mechanical drawing, the inscription advances the theory that the elevation was done for, rather than by, Müller.

Frederick Rapp's signature does not appear on any of the renderings, and yet the written record strongly implies that he was actively engaged in both creative and mechanical drawing. Although Frederick was a prominent, influential, and well-traveled member of the Harmony Society, as a dedicated disciple of God's word, he seemed to eschew self-aggrandizement. Nevertheless, spotty references to his artistic prowess emerge from the written record and from the memory of those in contact with him during his lifetime. Aaron Williams described Frederick as "a well bred gentleman and good musician, as well as amateur in works of art" and as "a man of fine aesthetic culture in poetry, music, painting, sculpture, and articles of virtu [who] endeavored
to infuse his own spirit into the people." William Alfred Hinds visited the Society in the 1870's; he combined his own observations with background on the Society's beginnings provided by Jacob Henrici, then a trustee. Hinds recounted Henrici's memories of Frederick:

Frederick Rapp was, in short, not only the business manager of the new Kingdom, but its architect and beautifier. He laid out their villages in symmetrical order, and designed their houses, and gave to them whatever ornamental features they possessed. ... Without the elder Rapp there would have been no Harmony community, but without the younger Rapp it would have lacked many of its most attractive features.  

In 1812 Frederick Rapp enclosed a sketch of a tract of Harmonist-owned land in a letter to David Douglass.  

With his vocational training and background in stonemasonry and surveying, Frederick possessed the skills necessary to design the town plan for New Harmony. In a letter to Nathaniel Ewing and John Badollet in New Harmony, Frederick wrote from Harmony in June 1814:

I have sent a plan by L. Baker for it [New Harmony], and would be very glad if you would do us the favor to assist our people in selecting the proper place for the town, and lay out the Lots as near to that plan as the situation will permit.  

George Rapp confirmed that Frederick's wishes were carried out in his letter of November 8, 1814, from New Harmony to Frederick, who remained in Harmony to settle business affairs: "The town has the plan as you have drawn it."  

Frederick was on the committee to lay out the city of
Indianapolis and also decided on the plan for Economy. With such an active role in the design of the Society's towns, with his background in masonry and building construction, and with his creative, artistic bent, Frederick can be assumed to have designed many of the buildings at the three villages.

Three pictorial maps of Harmony and New Harmony drawn by members of the Harmony Society survive. Gottfried Wallrath Weingartner (1795-1873) completed a plan of New Harmony in 1832 (Figure 6) and one of Harmony in 1833 from memory while he was living in Economy. As the inscriptions on both plans explain, the towns are represented as they appeared during the final year of Harmonist inhabitation (i.e., Harmony in 1815 and New Harmony in 1825). As such they are statements of the progressive development of these burgeoning frontier towns. Weingartner specifically charted the growth of New Harmony by noting the dates when some of the major buildings (e.g., the communal dormitories, old and new churches, George Rapp's residence) were finished.

The inscription on the map of Harmony reads: "So lag die Stadt Harmonie in Butler Counte im Jahr 1815. Sie wurde angelegt im Jahr 1805. im Juni 1814 gieng der erste Zug ab an der Wabasch. Gezeichnet von W. Weingartner der 22. Febr: 1833." ("So lay the town of Harmony in Butler County in the year 1815. It was laid out in the year 1805. In June 1814..."
the first transport left for the Wabash. Drawn by W. Weingartner, February 22, 1833." The plan of New Harmony bears the following inscription: "So lag die Stadt neu Harmonie, am Wabasch, sie wurde angefangen im Jahr 1814, u. vollendet 1825. Gezeichnet von W. Weingartner in Oeconomie, ds. 12. Nov: 1832." ("So lay the town of New Harmony, on the Wabash, which was begun in the year 1814 and finished in 1825. Drawn by W. Weingartner in Economy, this November 12, 1832."

In both maps, Weingartner combined mechanical constructions with freehand compositions. The streets, building plots, map compasses, fields, and orchards are delineated in iron gall ink with a rule and a compass. The trees, buildings, pumps, plants, streams, place names, and inscriptions (written in archaic German script) are freely drawn in iron gall ink and washed with either red, brown, blue, or green watercolor. Weingartner seemed to use red to indicate brick buildings and brown for frame or log structures, although this coding is not described in a legend. He juxtaposed two distinct perspectives in his picture maps of the towns. Individual structures are shown in elevation while the streets and physical features of the land are presented from a bird's-eye view. 17

Wallrath Weingartner arrived at Harmony in 1805 as a young boy with his siblings and parents, Frederick and Chris-
tina. The family emigrated from Gross Glattbach, District of Moulbronn, Württemberg. Frederick Weingartner donated a large amount of money to the Society's common fund and so was an influential early member. Wallrath joined the Society when he reached twenty-one in accordance with the official membership procedures of the group and remained an active member his entire life. He served the community as a washer and farmer. Because George Rapp forbade any member to pursue art as a vocation, Wallrath, like many Harmonists, engaged in artistic ventures as a pleasurable diversion from his regular work duties.\(^{18}\)

Weingartner completed these maps during his late thirties. His motivations for undertaking the projects of recording from memory the makeup of the first two Harmonist towns are not known. Perhaps one of the Society's leaders, aware of Weingartner's artistic abilities, requested the maps as documents of the early history of the Society. Or Weingartner, prompted by personal nostalgia, drew the towns in which he grew up and reached maturity.\(^{19}\) Whatever the reason, these maps preserve a vital historical picture of these now greatly altered towns.

Eusebius Böhm (1799-1869) also drew a map of Harmony. Böhm was originally from Vaihingen, District of Vaihingen, Württemberg, and arrived in Harmony in 1806. As the head
gardener for the Harmonists' pleasure gardens and a close companion of George Rapp, he resided in a wing of Rapp's house at Economy. Böhm's undated but signed map replicates Wein­gartner's in practically every detail. The text of the inscription varies from Weingartner's, but conveys the same message. Böhm's effort does not compare favorably with Weingartner's in precision of draftsmanship, neatness of inscription, and care of coloring. For example, he abbreviated the design of the individually articulated orchard trees depicted by Weingartner to simple dots.

Böhm apparently wanted to present his drawing of Harmony to Simon Beiter of Zoar, Ohio, in 1858. The map descended through Beiter's ancestors who eventually donated it to the Ohio Historical Society. Karl Arndt concludes that Böhm's map served as the rough working copy used by Weingartner in making his more polished map. Although difficult to determine, Weingartner's more skillfully executed and detailed plan was probably copied, and in the process simplified, by Böhm. With other artworks by Weingartner in existence and references to him as a watercolorist, it seems more likely that his map is the original and that Böhm, a less talented artist with no other known works to his credit, copied it.
3.2 Natural History Drawings

As will be explained at greater length in Chapter 4, the Harmonists felt a close bond to nature. In their religion, references to nature evoked images of God's creative power. In their educational program, the study of natural history was emphasized. In their villages, natural displays were featured in formal gardens.

The natural world offered the Harmonist artists a rich font of colorful and intricate images to capture on paper. Among the natural history drawings are realistic depictions of a variety of flowers and birds and an elk. Although each drawing is unique, they are all attempts to record the likeness of a bit of nature. In this way the drawings almost become portraits, studies in the appearance of the form and structure of life.

Roses, bluebells, dahlias, pinks, an unidentified wild flower, and a daffodil, all in full bloom and some with buds, are represented in the ten pictures of flowers. None are dated, signed, or inscribed. In eight of the drawings, the flowers are portrayed according to the conventions of botanical prints—only one type of flower is shown in each drawing, and the flower is displayed with a cut stem (Figure 22). Breaking with this pattern are watercolors of a daffo-
dil, with the flower growing out of a patch of ground (Figure 2), and of dahlias, with the bulb and root structure clearly presented. The artists could have drawn these pictures from examples in nature, since all of the flowers are native species to the area encompassing Harmony, New Harmony, and Economy; they could have studied specimens collected from the out-of-doors; or they could have copied available prints of flowers. One of the four pen and ink sketches of roses consists of a series of five different representations of the head of a rose, depicted in various stages of blooming and from different points of view. This drawing suggests the careful scrutiny with which the study of the natural world was approached by the Harmonist artists.

An adult male elk with a mature set of antlers, a red finch or cardinal with a pronounced crest, a tyrant fly-catcher in pursuit of an insect, a Dutch bird of paradise fully plumed, and an unidentified flightless bird (Figure 8) comprise the set of zoological watercolors on loose sheets of paper. All of the drawings suggest a heavy reliance on print sources for inspiration or for the exact rendering of the particular subject, because of the highly stylized, static poses and the regulated color modulation. In addition, the bird of paradise and the flightless bird are not species native to the United States and so could not have been drawn from nature. Although no verifiable print sources were found,
the drawing of the red finch (Figure 9), for example, utilizes a pose typical of an early genre of ornithological illustration.\textsuperscript{23} The bird is perched on a low branch that grows directly from the ground; the mount is purely a formal, pictorial device, not an observable segment of nature. There is the possibility, however, that the smaller birds were drawn from mounted specimens.

All of the ornithological drawings contain inscriptions that identify the species of bird, sometimes with the name written in archaic German script along with the scientific classification in Latin. The bird of paradise and the flightless bird are dated 1824, and the flycatcher, 1821. The drawing of the red finch has the letter "R" written in ink in the lower right corner; the drawing of the elk bears the inscription, "G.R. \textit{fec: Sept.21, 1821}"; and the likeness of the bird of paradise has had the name "Gertrud" penciled in, probably at a later time, over a portion of the original ink inscription. The initials and the name point to Gertrude Rapp (1808-1889), the granddaughter of George Rapp, as the possible artist.\textsuperscript{24}

Besides the four pen and ink sketches of the roses, the rest of the natural history drawings discussed above are watercolor drawings based on preliminary pencil sketches. The pencil guidelines are not erased. The sketch not only
provides the basic configuration of the subject, but also contributes to the shading and detailing of the composition (e.g., defining leaf veins, flower petals, feathers, and overall three-dimensionality). Ink or darkened watercolor painted over the pencil lines give greater shape to the contours and interior details. This often hard edge lends form to the watercolor wash that fills the space in between the borders. In the case of the flycatcher, the outline heightens the stylized quality of the drawing, but in the case of the bluebells, it helps in the modeling. As a general rule, the watercolor is applied lightly, and the colors are delicate and translucent, inherent characteristics of the watercolor medium. The colors were usually mixed before application, since close inspection of the drawings rarely reveals the overlaying of one color with another to achieve a desired shade. Blues, reds, oranges, yellows, greens, browns, greys, pinks, purples, and white are all used in the drawings.

The only bound collections of Harmonist drawings are two manuscript books containing ornithological illustrations. Although widely variant in style, presentation, and level of artistic skill, both manuscripts were inspired by American Ornithology; or the Natural History of the Birds of the United States, Illustrated with Plates Engraved and Colored from Original Drawings Taken From Nature, by Alexander Wilson (1766-1813). This nine-volume set, the first illustrated book on
birds published in America, was issued from 1808 to 1825. In *American Ornithology* Wilson followed the expanded Linnaean system of classification of natural specimens (i.e., class, order, genus, and species) developed by John Latham (1740-1837). Wilson, however, arranged the birds according to their natural settings instead of grouping them by order and genus. By adopting this format, Wilson could display a variety of birds on a single plate.

In 1829 Wallrath Weingartner completed an ornithology book bound in marbleized paper and gold-embossed red leather. The handwritten English title reads, "Ornithology or the Natural History of the Birds of the United States, Illustrated with Plats (sic), Economy, 15 January 1829, Wallrath Weingartner." The book contains an opening register listing in alphabetical order the sixty-four species of birds illustrated. Sixty-seven birds are actually portrayed since Weingartner included both the male and female of three species (Figure 10). The numbers given in the register correspond to the page numbers of the entries describing the individual species located at the end of the book. For many years students of Harmonist culture incorrectly surmised that this book contained original drawings of birds. Karl Arndt, however, accurately identified the Weingartner drawings as being directly based on illustrations in Wilson's *American Ornithology*. Arndt's finding was critical to a complete understanding of Weingartner's book of birds.

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Tracings made by this author of every drawing in Weingartner's "Ornithology" and compared with Wilson's individual renderings revealed that Weingartner did not only copy but traced Wilson's birds. Without exception Weingartner's drawings—the outlines and interior detailings of the birds, the configurations of the mounts or vestigial natural habitats, and the color selections—are exactly patterned on birds pictured throughout the nine volumes of Wilson's work. As a copyist, Weingartner rarely introduced motifs outside of Wilson's vocabulary of forms and even sometimes imitated the hatched lines and dots of the engraver's art. In addition, the descriptive entries in Weingartner's book are abbreviated versions of Wilson's.\textsuperscript{31}

Weingartner obviously had ready access to Wilson's complete nine-volume set. This suggests that American Ornithology numbered among the many technical and scientific treatises housed in the Society's extensive library. A bill from John J. Kay and Co. in Pittsburgh to Frederick Rapp in Economy for "1 American Ornithology, Vol. 4 $15" indicates that the Society did own the Wilson set.\textsuperscript{32} Although the bill is dated 1833, four years after Weingartner finished his "Ornithology," Frederick Rapp may have purchased the fourth volume to replace a damaged or missing volume from a set owned by the Society. Unfortunately, no invoices have been
found that clearly prove that the Society bought the entire set of *American Ornithology* in 1829 or earlier.

Even though the individual drawings of the birds are exclusively derivative, Weingartner did selectively choose his sixty-seven birds from Wilson's 317 examples and composed his own plates. The smaller pages of Weingartner's book made it impossible for him to duplicate exactly Wilson's larger plates. Weingartner displayed a goldfinch and a Baltimore bird taken from Plate 1, Volume 1 of *American Ornithology* in the first plate of "Ornithology," but, because of space limitations, did not depict the bluejay on this first plate, or anywhere else in his book. In his seventeenth plate, Weingartner created a composite view based on selections from Wilson's Plate 32, Volume 4 and Plate 37, Volume 5.

The typical Harmonist artwork consisted of an initial pencil sketch, black ink outlines and details, and a final watercolor wash. Weingartner's drawings of birds exemplified this standard Harmonist medium and artistic technique. Weingartner exhibited facility with and control of the watercolor medium by achieving a pleasing range of colors, often with subtle tonal gradations. He possessed the skill to translate his traced outlines into realistic depictions of birds, although his simplified and broadly
painted mounts and habitats lack verisimilitude. Weingartner achieved the impact of direct, unobstructed images in his plates, but in so doing, he sacrificed the visual complexity of Wilson's compositions.

The other Harmonist ornithological manuscript bears the handwritten title, "Alex Wilsons Ornithologia J Dr. Lathams System," on the front paper cover. Fifty-four different birds are represented in this twenty-one-page booklet (Figure 11). A listing of 101 birds, identified by Latham's system of classification but not related to the birds pictured, is also included. All of the drawings are numbered and labeled by the name of the bird written in English, sometimes in archaic German script, along with the Latin scientific designation. Many of the individual drawings are dated 1819.

Although the title of the manuscript refers to Alexander Wilson's famous work on ornithology, the freely drawn illustrations by this anonymous Harmonist artist bear no visual relationship to Wilson's. Unlike Weingartner, who carefully copied Wilson's birds down to the most minute detail, this artist seems to have referred to Wilson's work only tangentially. Comparing these drawings to Wilson's is further complicated by the anonymous Harmonist artist's lack of artistic skill. In addition, birds that are not native
American species, and so not pictured in American Ornithology, are featured in the booklet.

Most of the birds are posed on simple mounts or small plots of land, but some are displayed in more complicated environments. Twenty of the drawings are crudely executed pencil sketches; the remainder are sketched in pencil and ink and colored with a limited palette of yellow, red, green, brown, and blue watercolor. The color is not applied in washes, but rather in distinct brush strokes.

3.3 Decorative Drawings

The category of decorative artworks consists of drawings whose ornamental qualities enhance a primary function other than an artistic one. Embellishments in musical texts constitute the largest grouping within this category, with parallel examples found in two school books. Three highly stylized depictions of vases of flowers, a decorated sales ledger, an ink sketch for an ornamental surround, a watercolor drawing of two eagles framed in an upper panel of a mirror, and two presentation pieces complete this category of Harmonist pictorial arts.

Forty-eight of the decorative artworks are located in Harmonist printed and manuscript musical texts. The artworks almost always appear on the flyleaf or the inside
front cover, either drawn directly onto them, or on a separate piece of paper pasted into the book. These pasted-in nameplates vary from approximately one-seventh of the size of the book page to almost the size of the entire page.

In only four music books are artworks found within the text. Three of these four texts contain more than one artistic exercise. An unsigned 1823 songbook has six different drawings within its pages. In addition to their decorated frontispieces, the songbooks of Wallrath Weingartner and Adam Schreiber (1793-1847) include colored, geometrically shaped text dividers and floral motifs sketched in ink.

In twenty-three of the hymnals, the artistic impact is achieved through the use of ornamental Frakturschrift. Instead of establishing the book's ownership by a simple signature, the calligraphy pages not only identify the owner but embellish and personalize the book as well. The fraktur examples are as rudimentary as Figure 12 or as complex as Figure 3. The black letter calligraphy technique of forming letters by using parallel lines is most often employed. The space between the ink outlines of the letters is either left blank, filled in with ink, or, most frequently, washed with watercolor. The inscriptions are usually along a ruled base line, and in one instance, along arcs drawn by a compass. The lines of the inscriptions either align left or are ori-
ented along a central axis. Some are more freely constructed and are not carefully laid out (Figure 13). In most cases the entire page or pasted-in plate is filled with the Frakturschrift. In some examples simple floral motifs or abstract designs are incorporated into the composition, or the page is bordered with a watercolor band or ink cross-hatching.

The fraktur pages achieve their decorative force through the elaborate letter formations, the design of the overall composition, the introduction of representative or abstract motifs, and the application of a variety of watercolor washes (e.g., reds, blues, greens, yellows, browns, and oranges). The frontispieces serve the primary function of identifying the owners of the hymnals but can also be appreciated for their ornamental qualities.

In nine examples an inscription in archaic German script simply establishes the ownership of the hymnal but does not contribute to the decorative merit of the artwork. The inscription either occupies the upper portion of the page or is separated by a double-inked line from the lower space reserved for a representational watercolor drawing, or is contained within a decorative surround. Although the inscription is an integral part of the overall design of the page, the watercolor picture or surround provide the frontispiece with its ornamental features.
In the hymnal owned by Sabina Hartman (1807-1863), a heart made from a leafy vine encloses the inscription and is the only instance of a heart shape employed as decoration. Two hymnals use an ellipse with an intertwining vine to frame the inscription. Although not identical in size or coloration, both designs are based on the same formula (Figure 14). The nameplate in the hymnal of Jacob Zimmerman (1794-1871) has a vine ellipse combined with a watercolor drawing of a spray of carnations, pansies, roses, and pinks.

With only three exceptions, flowers and flowering plants constitute the representational subject matter of the ink sketches and watercolor drawings in the music books and two school books. The representational drawings adhere to the standard method of watercolor drawing described in Section 3.2. A pencil sketch establishes the basic pattern (Figure 15) and then is washed with watercolor (Figure 16). In a highly decorated unsigned 1823 hymnal owned by the Lilly Library, two small drawings of low, shed-like buildings are broadly painted. The one building is enclosed in a semi-circle, with the center of the arc surmounted by a cross within an omega. This represents the only religious symbol used in Harmonist art and perhaps stands for Christ, the beginning and the end. In an 1822 collection of arias and songs for Gertrude Rapp, the frontispiece bears a watercolor drawing of a crested bird perched in a berry tree surrounded...
by flowering plants. The painting of the bird, although not of a recognizable species, follows the style used in Figure 9.

Many of the drawings represent identifiable types of flowers, in particular roses, as well as pinks, forget-me-nots, bluebells, garden lilies, and pansies. The flowers are shaded and modeled to achieve the illusion of three-dimensionality. Two arrangements of different varieties of flowers, one in a basket (Figure 1) and another in a vase (Figure 17), survive. The other flowers are depicted according to the conventions of botanical prints—a single flower or two flower types displayed with cut stems. They are highly reminiscent of the botanical studies. The rose in Figure 18 is almost identical to one of the pen and ink sketches of roses discussed in Section 3.2 and is very similar to the watercolor drawing of a rose on the flyleaf of Gertrude Rapp's arithmetic book. This same rose motif was used as part of the carved and colored lintel decoration over the main doorway of the church at New Harmony.37 Despite the attention to anatomical detail and the skilled representation of part of the natural world, the flowers contained in the hymnbooks do not function primarily as nature studies. Their botanical function is transformed by their use as decoration. Although they remain as accurate likenesses of specific flowers, they become ornamental features of the hymnbooks.
The information within the fraktur and cursive inscriptions in the hymnals include the name of the book's owner, the location where the artwork was done, and frequently the date of execution. The standard inscription reads, "Dieses Gesang Buch Gehört..." ("This songbook belongs to..."). Occasionally, additional information is included. For example, Logina Hinger (1806-1884) notes her birthdate in her songbook decoration, and Catharina Langenbacher (1800-1874) adds the saying "Alles was odem hat Lobe Jesus Jehovah" ("Everything that has breath, praise Jesus Jehovah") as part of the decorative nameplate in her songbook.

Forty-two of the hymnal artworks are dated or are located within dated texts. The years of settlement in Indiana were the most prolific, with thirty-seven dated between 1814 and 1824; seventeen were drawn in the single year 1823. The remaining five were created in the early years at Economy, from 1825 to 1827.

Of the thirty-two hymnal artworks in which either the inscription itself serves an artistic function or is complemented by a representational drawing or decorative surround, a full range of decorative solutions is demonstrated. Differences in composition, level of skill, handwriting, and design make most of these artworks unique and highly individualistic. In most cases, the owner of the
hymnbook was probably responsible for creating the artwork in a personally pleasing manner. Accordingly, the owner's name constitutes the signature of the artwork, though in one example an artist actually signed his work. Jacob Zimmerman added his initials in the lower right portion of his elliptical design.

Twenty-nine different artists created the artworks and are counted in this study; Gertrude Rapp decorated three different musical texts and Jacob Zimmerman did two. There were nineteen women artists and ten men. Their ages can be calculated for the dated pieces only. Of the artworks done by men, two were undated and two were done by the same man. The age range for the men was eighteen to fifty-three, with a median age of twenty-five years. The men were listed in the membership register as having the following occupations: carpenter, weaver, washer, farmer, distiller, and blacksmith. Of the artworks done by women, three were undated and three were done by the same woman. The youngest female artist was fourteen, the oldest, fifty-five, with the median age being twenty-seven. Because of the invisibility of the work done by women, their occupations were not noted in the membership register.

Although most of the decorated music books bear the distinct mark of the owner/maker, a group of nine manuscript
songbooks (Figures 17, 18, 19, and 20), a manuscript arithmetic book and a handwritten book of English translations all have decorated frontispieces with inscriptions in the hand of Johann Christoph Müller (b. 1778; withdrew from the Society, 1832). In addition, several of the books have press-printed labels in the shape of inverted butterflies pasted on the front covers. As the Harmony Society's printer, school teacher, and music instructor, Müller not only could print the cover labels and bind the books, but also could transcribe the words and music to songs and prepare blank ciphering and translation books for his favorite students. This group of books includes an 1823 songbook for George Rapp's daughter, Rosina (1786-1849), an 1824 songbook for Eva Bauer (1803-1838), and an 1823 tenor part book with the inscription "Geistliche vier stimmige Arien und Lieder zum Gebrach der Harmonie, 1823, III, pro Tenor" ("Spiritual four-part arias and songs for use at Harmonie, 1823").

Three identical part books for soprano, tenor, and bass were made in 1824 by Müller for the Society's female quartet, consisting of Gertrude Rapp, Logina Hinger, and Sibilla Hurlebauss (1806-1883)(Figure 19). The alto part for Sibilla Hinger (1805-1891) is in the private collection of Karl Arndt. The flyleaves of the three part books are decorated in exactly the same manner, with a compass-drawn elliptical shape with four foci. A leafy vine dotted with
flowers forms an ellipse; a forget-me-not is centered at the bottom of the ellipse and a pinwheel-shaped dahlia at the top. The ellipse frames the name of the part and the saying "Lobe den Heren meine Seele" ("Praise the Lord my soul"). This same saying was used by Müller on the frontispiece inscription he wrote for an 1818 keyboard manuscript for Burghard Schnabel (b. 1804; withdrew from the Society, 1832), and on a black and gold framed illumination on glass that Müller made.

Although Müller was responsible for penning the inscriptions of all eleven books and appears to have decorated the three part books for the female singing group, other evidence mitigates the possibility that he also drew the watercolor floral pictures contained in the books. Müller always seemed to follow the same formula in inscribing the books. He placed the inscription at the top of the page and left room at the bottom for a drawing. The texts that he inscribed for Gertrude Rapp, Burghard Schnabel, and Thalia Bentel have inscriptions on the flyleaves and room left for decorations that were never done. All of these books were meant as presents, as the inscription to Thalia Bentel indicates: "Music-buch für Thalia Bentel in Freedom als ein Geschenk u. Andenken von ihren Freund, J.C. Müller. Bridge-water, December 21, 1843" ("Music book for Thalia Bentel in Freedom as a gift and memento from your friend, J.C. Müller . . . ."). It seems plausible that Müller made these books
for different individuals and gave them the option of deco-
rating them. In further support of this theory, the hymnal
Müller made and inscribed for Rosina Rapp includes a water-
color of roses and forget-me-nots (Figure 20). The picture
is almost identical to a drawing on a loose sheet of paper
signed "Florian Keppler, September, 1827" (Figure 21). Kep-
pler (1796-1851) and Rosina Rapp perhaps copied the same
source for their pictorial representations.

Five books were inscribed by Müller for one of his
prized pupils and music students, Gertrude Rapp (Figure 17).
All of the books contain different watercolor drawings, all
but one of flowers, by Gertrude Rapp. Examples of other
artworks by Gertrude Rapp were discussed in Section 3.2. As
George Rapp's only grandchild, Gertrude was specially treated,
even in a society committed to communal principles. Ger-
trude's education was that of a privileged child. Her singing
and piano-playing were fostered by the careful attention of
her instructor, Müller, and encouraged by her grandfather.
She received special packages of music from W.C. Peters, a
professional musician hired by the Society to arrange music
for its orchestra. Gertrude had her own piano: "Gertrude
reminds you not to forget to notify the builder of her piano-
forte, because some of the strings have a trembling after
sound. . . ."38 She frequently performed for visitors to
the Society. In 1816 Gertrude was sent, along with her aunt,
Rosina, to the Shaker settlement at West Union, Kentucky, to learn English.

As the granddaughter of the leader of the Society, Gertrude cultivated the friendships of many young women who were the daughters of the Society's business associates. Correspondence abounds between Gertrude and friends in Philadelphia; Vincennes, Indiana; New York City; Harmony, Pennsylvania; Sewickley, Pennsylvania; and Knox County, Indiana. Their letters mainly discuss their musical pursuits and ornamental accomplishments. Often Gertrude exchanged presents with her friends. Through these letters it can be documented that Gertrude made wax flowers and fruit, decorated thimbles, embroidery pieces, and drawings.

In 1827 Nancy Ann Hay wrote to Gertrude from Vincennes, "I was very much pleased to receive such a nice drawing from your friendly hand it gives me much pleasure to look over your beautiful drawing..." Mary and Ann Graff of Philadelphia wrote to Gertrude in 1829;

Write to us and tell us how your museum, music, Embroidery, etc. is improving...Ann still paints flowers and watch papers, a specimen of which accompanies this great letter, as well as a few sheets of rice paper which happened to be near us, for your use.

Gertrude also drew watch papers. Her 1823 arithmetic book contains designs for two circular and one heart-shaped watch papers with English inscriptions. At the top of the page,
Gertrude wrote:

Please der (sic) friend? accept of this memento of affection which although trifling in itself, may still claim a share of your regard, being accompanied by the best wishes for your future. ? ? recall to your remembrance your friend, Gert. Rapp, October 10, 1830.

Two of the legible sayings for the watch papers are, "When this you see, Remember me, Gertrud"; and "Accept this trifle from a friend, whose love to you will never end."

Drawings were also made by other Society members and given as gifts. A watercolor drawing of paired hummingbirds holding in their beaks the ends of a floral garland was perhaps meant as a present to Gertrude Rapp (Figure 22). The drawing bears the fraktur inscription, "A Tribute to Friendship. C.B. to G.R." The initials "C.B." may stand for Gertrude's friend, Carolina, mentioned in a letter to Gertrude from Caroline Wokety of Philadelphia: "Tell Carolina and thy companions we often think of them with pleasure." This drawing incorporates copies of the hummingbirds pictured in Alexander Wilson's *American Ornithology*, but are unlike the examples that Weingartner drew in his "Ornithology" (Figure 10). Weingartner concentrated on duplicating precisely all aspects of Wilson's hummingbirds. The artist of this presentation piece, most likely "C.B.," traced the outline of the Wilson depiction but created a hard-edged composition reminiscent of theorem painting. In fact, the coloration of
this entire painting has the crisp outlines and clear tonalities characteristic of designs made from stencils.

The pictorial arts of the Harmony Society encompass a wide spectrum of artistic expression: architectural drawings and maps, natural history drawings, and decorative drawings. Many were created during the ten-year period from 1814 to 1824 by a variety of artists of both sexes and many different ages. Although simple in form, design, and technique, the artworks suggest a cultural tradition fostered within the Harmony Society.
CHAPTER 3 NOTES

1 All but one of the architectural drawings are part of the collection at Old Economy Village. Most were carefully cataloged in 1969 by Janet Seapker. This data provided much of the technical terminology used in the following discussion of the architectural drawings. An illustration of the gears of a church clock is owned by the Harmonist Historic and Memorial Association.

2 Accession Catalog, Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Ambridge, Pa.

3 Because of the monumental effort to create functioning towns in the wilderness areas, the Harmony Society hired paid workers to assist in building all three of their towns.


5 For a comparison of a Harmonist plan of the first floor of George Rapp's house (later named the Great House) and a modern rendering of the house as it was restored that demonstrates the similarities of the two drawings, see Stotz, "Threshold of the Golden Kingdom," p. 149.

6 Arndt, Rapp's Harmony Society, pp. 531-533.

7 A recreated labyrinth, modeled after one of the extant Harmonist plans, is owned by the New Harmony State Memorial.


9 Ibid., pp. 142-143.

10 Williams, Harmony Society, pp. 46, 66; and William Alfred Hinds, American Communities and Co-operative Colonies
(1878; 2nd revision, Charles H. Kerr and Company, 1908), p. 90. It should be remembered that Jacob Henrici was a lifelong member of the Society, and upon Frederick's death in 1834, he moved into George Rapp's home and became his confidant and pupil. Henrici provided both Williams and Hinds with his observations and opinions of Frederick Rapp.

11 Arndt, Harmony on the Connoquenessing, p. 563. The accompanying sketch does not survive.

12 Arndt, Indiana Decade, vol. 1, p. 10.

13 Ibid., p. 71.

14 Reibel, "Graphic Arts," p. 21; Arndt, Rapp's Harmony Society, p. 177. Arndt and Reibel mention the existence of a manuscript map of Indianapolis drawn by Frederick, but it has never been found.

15 Only one decorative artwork possibly by Frederick has been located. A sales ledger kept by Frederick bears the following inscription in his handwriting on the front paper cover: "F.R., No. 3, 1827, a/c sales by A. Way, Oct. 1, 1827." The cover is embellished with a freely drawn watercolor picture of an eagle with outstretched wings perched on top of a beehive. The eagle holds a blue streamer emblazoned with the words "Account of Sales" in its beak and clutches an olive branch and several arrows in its talons. A typescript in the Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951, reads, "Plan for tombstone for John Rapp. Retraced by J.S. Duss, August 17, 1938. Original sketch for tombstone of John Rapp, drawn by Frederick Rapp, 1812." This drawing and the retracing could not be found. John Rapp (1783-1812), George Rapp's natural son, died in a mill accident. His burial plot in the graveyard in Harmony is the only one marked with a tombstone. The arched stone bears an inscription and carved roses.

16 Karl Arndt states that Weingartner drew "three picture maps of Harmonist towns," but this author knows of only two, both at Old Economy Village. See Arndt, Harmony on the Connoquenessing, p. 113.

Of Weingartner's three music books located in the Music Archives at Old Economy Village, one manuscript (PM3.4) contained a decorative fraktur nameplate with the inscription, "Dieses Gesang Buchlein Gehört Wallrath Weingartner in Harmonie den 25 Jule 1816" ("This little songbook belongs to Wallrath Weingartner in Harmony, July 25, 1816"). Weingartner employed the black line calligraphy technique, washed the letters with yellow watercolor, and bordered the plate in green. Recipes for mixing colors are entered at the end of the text: "Vermillion and white will make a peach blossom. Venetian Red and Lamb (Lamp?) black makes the best brown." Weingartner's only other known artistic effort is the book of ornithological illustrations, discussed in Section 3.2. John S. Duss (1860-1951), one of the last trustees of the Society, recalled that Weingartner taught him "watercolor sketching in 1866 to 1868." See John S. Duss to Lawrence Thurman, Curator of Old Economy Village, no date, Research Files, Old Economy Village.

No known hand-drawn maps of Economy exist. If Weingartner drew the maps of Harmony and New Harmony as nostalgic records, this could explain why he never attempted a similar project for Economy.

Arndt, Harmony on the Connoquenessing, p. 464.

Ibid.


Gertrude Rapp's role in the Harmony Society and her artistic accomplishments are analyzed in Section 3.3.

Portions of this section on the two Harmonist ornithology books were published in Nancy C. Kraybill, "Artworks of the Harmony Society: Two Ornithology Manuscripts," Oekonomie, June 1983, pp. 7-12.

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28 Wilson, American Ornithology, p. 8.

29 Lawrence Thurman, the first state-appointed curator of Old Economy Village, relied on Weingartner's bird book as a key source on developing the furnishing plan for the exhibition on the Society's museum. He assumed that Weingartner drew from mounted specimens in the Harmonist museum. See Lawrence Thurman to William Richards, Director, Bureau of Historic Sites, Properties, and Museums, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1963 (?), Research Files, Old Economy Village. Donald E. Pitzer, professor of history at Indiana State University, Evansville, touted Weingartner's art as a newly-discovered remnant of a once well-developed Harmonist artistic tradition in "Harmonist Folk Art Discovered," pp. 11-12. He later recanted his claim in "New Harmony's First Utopians, 1814-1824," pp. 294-295.

30 Karl J.R. Arndt to Nancy C. Kraybill, 1 August 1979.


32 John J. Kay and Co. to Frederick Rapp, 5 June 1833, Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951.

33 The manuscript texts include handwritten song lyrics and musical scores for vocal and instrumental parts. Although the Harmony Society used commercially available printed hymnals, in 1820 they had a songbook printed according to their specifications-- Harmonisches Gesangbuch, Theils neu verfasst, zum Gebrauch von Singen und Musik für Alte und Junge (Allentown, Pa.: Heinrich Ebner, 1820). In the early 1820's, the Society purchased its own printing press, which
was operated by Christoph Müller, the printer. In 1826 the Society printed *Feurige Kohlen der aufsteigenden Liebesflammen im Lustspiel der Weisheit* (Economy, Pa.: Harmony Society, 1826). The last major printing effort of the Society was a revised edition of the 1820 *Harmonisches Gesangbuch—Harmonisches Gesangbuch, Theils von andern Autoren, Theils neu verfasst, zum Gebrauch für Singen und Musik, für Alte und Junge* (Economy, Pa.: Harmony Society, 1827).

34 The drawing by Florian Keppler, Figure 21, may have been intended as a hymnal bookplate.

35 The vocal manuscript, VM1.6 (AEM), utilizes the heart shape as a framing device in its frontispiece decoration, but since this artwork is dated 1801, it was not included in this study.


37 See Stotz, "Threshold of the Golden Kingdom," p. 147. Stotz also includes a photograph of the original watercolor sketch of the carved "Rose of Micah" used as a study guide for the carving and identifies it as being located in the "Harmony Society Archives," p. 148, but the drawing no longer can be found among the Society's records.


40 Mary and Ann Graff to Gertrude Rapp, 22 November 1829, Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951.
4. ROLE AND FUNCTION OF THE PICTORIAL ARTS IN HARMONIST LIFE, 1805-1834

A more complete picture of the role and function of the pictorial arts in Harmonist life emerges by describing the cultural make-up of the Society during the period of peak artistic productivity. Art was not employed as a didactic tool by the leaders to solidify the mechanisms of social control. Artistic efforts were not primarily oriented towards recording the people, places, events, and routines of everyday life. The artworks did not manifest a codified philosophy of creative expression. The drawings were not used in campaigns to promulgate Harmonist religious beliefs to the outside world or associated with internal spiritualistic activities. Rather, the pictorial arts of the Harmony Society were integrated into the broad thematic passages of life and culture: religion, education, and music. The artworks also served as vehicles of personal expression, forms of entertainment, and presentation pieces. In all forms, the artworks were directed inward as part of the essentially closed communal structure of the Society or as the private aesthetic expressions of individual Society members.
4.1 Pictorial Arts and Religion

In those examples of Harmonist art with representational subject matter, there is a preponderance of nature images. Although some of the depictions are intentionally stylized and others are distorted by the lack of technical skill of the artist, most are delineated with careful attention to realism. Identifiable plants and animals are found in both the natural history and decorative drawings. Flowers are especially dominant in Harmonist art.

The plethora of nature images in Harmonist pictorial arts corresponds with the enthusiastic discovery of the natural world by middle-class Americans. During the nineteenth century, nature not only held a fascination for scientists and other scholars, but was of interest to the general populace.¹ As nature succumbed to the forces of human technology in the cultivation of fields, taming of the wilderness, and harnessing of natural power sources, people turned their attention to understanding the world around them.² The uneasy interface between nature and humans led many to consider nostalgically the order and pattern of God's natural theocracy.

Middle-class Americans translated this often rationalistic, sometimes spiritual desire to fathom the intrica-
cies of nature into a preoccupation with the subject, especially with flowers. The hybridization of flowers increased the variety and range of types and colors. The development of the nursery industry facilitated the dissemination of new hybrids. Flowers were popular as adornments for the interior of the home and were used for plantings outside. In schoolgirl art, depictions of flowers, either imitated from pictures in copy books or those done by the schoolteacher or "taken from nature," were commonplace in watercolor and theorem painting. Floral embroideries and dried and wax flower arrangements were other favorite schoolgirl art forms.

For the members of the Harmony Society, the concentration of floral images in their art was also reflective of the symbolic role of nature in their religion. As Richard Wetzel stated, "nature provided useful symbols to express their beliefs." The establishment and perfection of the divine Economy as a suitable site for Christ's return and the advancement of a deeper appreciation of God's omnipotence guided the Harmonists in their temporal activities. In the Society's deistic view of the natural world, all living things and inanimate objects were exalted as paradigms of God's handiwork and as means to commune directly with the Maker. By examining aspects of nature and preserving the likeness through an artistic representation, the artist
stepped closer to God. As Frederick Rapp explained:

The art of painting is certainly very delightful and amusing. Fleet and unnoticed hours pass away to finish an object to please our fancy or imitate the pattern from which we draw. Never have I been able to satisfy the magical power of my mind, in progressing as fast as I should wish in this beautiful accomplishment, not speaking of the infinite source the Creator has furnished us for contemplation and admiration of the great variety, beauty and wisdom exhibited in his works all through nature. Sometimes after reflecting on the curiosity of the structure, color and scent of a flower or herb, I feel greatly animated to express my feeling toward his omnipotence, who has made so many things for our youth and pleasure... I always find myself invigorated to pursue my usual studies with new courage, which, although various, still tend to the same object, to improve the mind and acquaint ourselves with nature and its Creator.

Nature was extolled in the religious writings and songs of the Harmonists as well. Flowers, in particular, became metaphors for the phenomenon of life. The stages of growth of flowers were suggestive of the human life cycle of birth, maturity, and death. But just as in the passing of the seasons or the rhythms of nature, the spring of rebirth and eternal life came with the acceptance of Christ. George Rapp often compared the Harmony Society with a lush and fruitful garden. In the second song in the 1827 edition of the Harmonisches Gesangbuch, the last two stanzas praise God for his powers as exemplified in nature:

Grow there in paradise's garden
Fruits of various kinds
In honor of him who bestows us his blessing;
Let us in our hearts rejoice.
And daily high praise the wonders and deeds
Which for us so wonderfully succeed;
While we stay there edified by the Lord
All in the world's eyes look on in amazement. 6

Harmony, the sense of community of spirit and
sharing achieved by common religious beliefs, was equated
with the maturity and beauty of a blooming flower in a song
written by George and Frederick Rapp: "Harmonie, thou flower
fair, in God's garden blowing; hallowed with a fragrance
rare, sweet and ever growing." 7
An undated Harmonist water-
color of a vase of stylized flowers is simply inscribed at
the bottom, "Harmoni- ." In the song, "Violet in the Valley," the rebirth that accompanies the Second Coming was told
through the image of the violet:

A violet blooms in the valley,
Awakens in the morning so fragrant,
And so blue, is home in the meadow.
Quietly it looks out of the moss,
His golden lap, sparkles dew so light and clear,
Like liquid gems.

Do you want to waste away unnoticed,
Here in the cold moss?
Come into a milder valley in nicer sunshine.
You shall live there in a warmer zone in blooming
hills.
But where spring forever stays. 8

The rose, the symbol of the resurrection of Christ,
held specific allegorical significance for the Harmonists
and figured prominently in their religious doctrine. In
the Martin Luther translation of the Bible, Micah 4:8 reads,
"And thou tower of Eden, the stronghold of the Daughter of Zion, thy golden rose shall come, the former dominion, the kingdom of the Daughter of Jerusalem." The citation for this verse was juxtaposed with a polychrome carving of a rose on the lintel above the main entrance of the second meetinghouse at New Harmony. The song, "The Rose," documented the Harmonists' usage of this image as a symbol of the resurrection of Christ and of the thorns of life that are overshadowed by the beauty and salvation of the open petals of Christ's love:

Rose, how beautiful and mild you are,
You are the picture of innocence.
You, which I choose for a natural gift,
Smiles friendly through the thorns.

Rose, you are drinking heavenly dew,
Decorating the garden and meadow.
Dying you send your fragrance to us,
Rose so gracious, I will live and die like you.

The rose frequently adorned the flyleaves of songbooks and appeared in the natural history drawings. The design of the rose is also found on the ceiling medallion of the garden building, the Grotto, located in the ornamental gardens at Economy, on two pressing irons, in the patterns of silk ribbons, on the stairway bannister termini in George Rapp's house at Economy, and as the trademark for Harmonist-made products for sale.

Because religion was the dominating force in the
community and images of flowers played a significant role in the preaching and practice of Harmonist belief, floral images permeated many aspects of Harmonist life. Flowers were constantly alluded to in sermons and glorified in songs; they provided a source of subject matter for artistic creations and were incorporated as design motifs in other types of Harmonist material culture. Flowers decorated the homes and factories of the Harmonists. After visiting Economy, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach commented in 1826 on the "vessels containing fresh, sweet-smelling flowers standing on all the machines" in the cotton factory and George Rapp wrote in 1815 to Frederick Rapp that "everything is moving to a new birth. Flowers blossom in our gardens. I have a glass full here which the people brought me."11 In Harmonist religious ceremonies, flowers were used. Attendants at the funeral services of deceased Society members threw flowers onto the plain pine coffins as they were lowered into the unmarked graves.12 The flowers, signs of life, denoted the birth of spiritual fulfillment with God in the hereafter. The strewing of flowers and the singing of hymns were the only rituals associated with Harmonist funerals.

Flowers were planted in the gardens around each Harmonist dwelling. The most spectacular displays of flowers were located in the five- to six-acre ornamental gardens
contiguous to George Rapp's residence in each of the Society's villages. Although the gardens were always laid out in close proximity to Rapp's houses and served as the site for official hosting of visitors, the grounds were freely accessible to all Society members. Within the elaborate, idyllic garden settings were exotic and indigenous trees, shrubs, and flowers, including tulips, hyacinths, pinks, passion flowers, dahlias, snap dragons, geraniums, bachelor's buttons, camellias, and fig, orange, and lemon trees. Each community's garden contained a labyrinth which demonstrated the enigma of the course of life on earth.

Various buildings, vineyards and arbors, garden seats, and pools dotted the gardens. At Economy, one of the most notable structures is the Grotto, a round building with a thatched roof and a door made of bark. Constructed of rough boulders and smooth interior walls, it was emblematic of the unpolished exterior of humans and their inner spiritual finish. This building, as well as the entire garden, was a perfect setting in which the Harmonists could reflect on and commune with the wonders of nature and God's creations. The gardens provided ample opportunity for the study of nature, the contemplation of the powers and presence of God, and the transformation of images from nature through their artistic depiction to a generalized symbolic role in Harmonist religious belief.
As suggested by the surviving body of artworks, Harmonist artists sought inspiration almost exclusively in nature for the subject matter of their simple creations. The Society, however, owned a large collection of oil paintings and engravings of secular and religious subjects done mostly by unidentified artists. Frederick Rapp began purchasing art as early as 1815 and continued until his death in 1834. He contracted several art dealers and merchants to procure art for the Society's collection. The mercantile firm of Boller and Solms of Philadelphia responded to a request by Frederick Rapp in 1818: "We shall try on occasion to buy good etchings and religious subjects for you."\(^{13}\) Largely through the efforts of Frederick, the art collection grew to an impressive size. By the time the Society had moved to Economy in 1824, the art collection, along with the minerals and plant and animal specimens, was substantial enough to be installed in three rooms on the first floor of the major town building, the Museum Building, later called the Feast Hall.

Many of the paintings and engravings from the original Harmony Society art collection survive at Old Economy Village. Secular subjects include Napoleon and a soldier, landscapes with cattle, and a storm scene. Most of the works, however, feature biblical scenes and characters por-
trayed in a highly realistic, Baroque manner. The subjects include: "Christ Healing the Sick," "The Adoration of Christ," "The Flight into Egypt," "Abraham and Hagar," "Sampson and Delilah," "Laban and Rachel at the Well," "Joseph, Mary, and Jesus," "Christ Blessing the Children," "Elijah and the Ravens," and "The Meeting of Isaac and Rebekah." During their leisure time, members were able to view the paintings and prints; yet as far as can be determined, none of the purchased artworks were ever copied by Harmonist artists.

4.2 Pictorial Arts and Education

Many of the Harmonist artworks were probably produced as part of the Society's formalized educational curriculum, which was organized to further religious principles. As George Rapp explained in *Thoughts on the Destiny of Man*, "He \( \text{man} \) is destined to make use of the faculties implanted in him by his Maker. . . He has to learn and that learning must be acquired among his fellow creatures."\(^{14}\) He elaborated on his philosophy of education as it related to the embodiment of Harmonist religious doctrine:

Why could there not be established. . . a permanent condition of true and essential happiness, and a compound whole be brought to existence, for which the human race have been originally destined? Can this great work be accomplished without the increase of knowledge? Surely not—Hence the arts, the sciences and every kind of learning are necessary, in
proportion as they operate for the common good.\textsuperscript{15}

George Rapp considered education a serious obligation of the Society; the Articles of Agreement guaranteed that the leaders of the Society would provide the members with "the necessary instruction in church and school which is needful and requisite for temporal and eternal felicity."\textsuperscript{16} The separate schoolhouses of Harmony, New Harmony, and Economy had been among the first buildings constructed in the towns.

Boys and girls, from six to fourteen, attended formal classes in the mornings and worked in the afternoons. The curriculum stressed basic skills, such as German and English reading, writing, and arithmetic. The Lancastrian method of teaching was followed in the classroom.\textsuperscript{17} Music, natural history, and drawing were also taught, but these subjects were not classified as idle amusements as long as they were oriented towards the glorification of God. Superfluous refinements had no place in the Society's educational structure, as George Rapp explained:

\begin{quote}
The proper education of Youth, is of the greatest importance to the prosperity of any plan, for the melioration of mankind. That kind of learning, and those fashionable accomplishments, which are useless and only calculated for show, should be entirely abolished.\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

The merits of work as a morally uplifting activity
and the fostering of good work habits were integrated into the daily school schedule. John Melish observed in 1811 that

the school hours are in the forenoon, and the afternoon is devoted to such labour as they can easily perform, it being a branch of the economy of the society to teach the youth to labour as well as to read and write. . .At 14 the male youths make choice of a profession and learn it where it is carried on in the society. The females, at the same age, are occupied in the usual branches of female labour.19

The apprentice system prepared young men for skilled trades. Because of the time required to learn a trade, apprentices were expected to commit their entire work lives to the same pursuit. Henry Schoolcraft visited New Harmony in 1821 and noted that "every individual is taught that he can perform but a single operation. . .no time is lost by changing from one species of work to another: the operator becomes perfect in his art."20

The Harmony Society's educational program transcended merely administering to elementary needs. When a child reached the age of fourteen, classroom instruction did not completely end. Educational training existed for adults in the community as well. Much of the education of adults took place in the informal groupings of members, called companies, based on age or vocation. They met in the evenings for mutual improvement, religious study, sing-
ing and instrumental instruction, and natural history study. Drawing was probably taught as an adjunct to the study of natural history, and decorative calligraphy was stressed as part of the teaching of writing. Specialty classes were occasionally arranged to satisfy a particular need. Gertrude Rapp wrote from New Harmony in 1825, when she was seventeen, to her grandfather, who had already relocated in Economy, about her adult English class: "My studying moves along the same course and agreeably to your wish. We have started a small english school every night from eight to nine." 21

Members could also avail themselves of the numerous newspapers and magazines to which the Society subscribed and could enjoy the extensive community library. The library collection consisted of works of philosophy, religion, natural history, and educational instruction. Scientific and technical treatises, how-to manuals, and encyclopedias rounded out the holdings. That members had access to the library and could request the procurement of specific titles is documented in a letter from Romelius Baker to Frederick Rapp, who was on a business trip to Philadelphia in 1832: "Our people would like to have a book whose title is Complete Explanation of the Calendar by Grater and Blumm." 22

In addition to the library, the museum collection of paintings, minerals, and natural curiosities and the ornamental
and botanical gardens functioned as learning laboratories available to all Society members.

Drawing and watercolor painting were taught as part of the program of study in the schools. In 1823 George Rapp asked Frederick Rapp to buy "for the schools: for rubbing colors a grating bowl Wedgewood holding 1 pint with pistol. . . ." Supply orders include references to art materials: reams of drawing paper, boxes of watercolors, cakes of specific colors, lead pencils, and camel's-hair brushes.

In keeping with the Lancastrian method of instruction followed in the Harmonist schools, the art of drawing was perfected by copying pictorial sources. Frederick Rapp wrote in 1815 to one of the Society's business associates, David Shields, requesting "one Dozen of small Books with Pictures, containing the first Instruction for Children in the art of drawing." Copy was accepted as an artistic pursuit in the nineteenth century and a standard part of artistic training. Students mastered techniques of composition, construction, modeling, and coloration by imitating other artworks, often those done by their instructor. Wallrath Weingartner copied illustrations from Alexander Wilson's *American Ornithology* for his collection of ornithological watercolors. The other depictions of birds
drawn by Harmonist artists seem to rely heavily on print sources for structure and configuration. The similarity among the various renditions of roses suggests a common pictorial source.

The large body of artworks with nature subjects is associated with the study of natural history, which was emphasized in the Society. Christoph Müller, the schoolteacher, was also an avid student of natural history, especially botany. His interest in botany perhaps stemmed from his medical training, which stressed the use of medicinal herbs in treatments. Isaac Cleaver, a botanist from Philadelphia, encouraged Müller's study:

I can assure you nothing could be more agreeable to me than an endeavor to cooperate with you in your career of Natural History. With this view I took the liberty to place your name on the subscription list of Elliott's Botany of the Southern States.25

Sandor Farkas visited Economy in 1831 and stated that schoolchildren, under the supervision of Müller, collected herbs in the spring as part of the course of study in natural history.26 Although Müller's proficiency in drawing cannot be strictly documented, a few of the watercolors in the hymnbooks can be attributed to him. As the Society's schoolteacher and because of his passion for botany, he probably stressed the artistic depiction of nature as part of the classroom instruction and perhaps drew finished pic-
tures for his students to copy.

In addition to the general school curriculum that offered classes in drawing and painting to children and adults, the Harmony Society's educational system included instruction in architectural drawing. An 1833 volume entitled A Gazetteer of the State of Pennsylvania describes the Museum Building at Economy as housing a "mathematical and drawing school." Several of the surviving architectural drawings appear to be student exercises and probably were products of the Society's specialized school. With the intense building activity from 1805 to 1834 that gave tangible form to three separate interpretations of the divine Economy, people trained in drafting and architectural design were essential. Nothing specific is known about the method of training, instructor, or class participants. Presumably, instruction was limited to men since only signed architectural drawings were done by men and only men were involved in the building trades; the Harmony Society adhered strictly to the traditional spheres of work for men and women.

The designation "schoolgirl art" for the artistic productions of Harmony Society members is perhaps a misnomer. Both boys and girls attended school and were exposed to the same program of study; there is no indication that only
girls received training in drawing and watercolor painting. In addition, the ages of the artists for those artworks that are signed and dated indicate that drawing was not an activity reserved solely for children. The known male artists ranged in age from eighteen to fifty-three and the female artists from fourteen to fifty-five. Because of the large body of unsigned and undated artworks which were possibly done by school-age children, the above statistics merely substantiate that adults in the Harmony Society did continue to engage in artistic endeavors, most likely within the setting of the company groups.

Art instruction complemented the core curriculum that satisfied the educational needs of the members of the Harmony Society. The artworks themselves, in conjunction with written references to artistic training, indicate that drawing was an important element of the educational system that served all members regardless of age, sex, or vocation. The art of drawing and painting, like other intellectual pursuits, were condoned in proportion to their advancement of the underlying religious goals of the Society.

4.3 Pictorial Arts and Music

Religion provided the rationale for the Harmonists' artistic impulse; the educational system afforded the oppor-
tunity for artistic training and supplied the setting for the creation of the artworks. During the period of 1805 to 1834 when the Society was experiencing a surge of enthusiasm for actualizing its millenialist dream, cultural pursuits such as art and music were fostered. The growing emphasis placed on cultural refinements helped maintain a level of artistic productivity that paralleled the development and sophistication of the Harmonist musical tradition and repertoire. Within the boundaries of Harmonist life, music was the lyrical adjunct to drawing and painting. The interrelationship of art and music in the Harmony Society is most clearly seen in the forty-eight artworks that decorate manuscript and printed musical texts.

All aspects of Harmonist life were touched by the leitmotif of music, both vocal and instrumental. The ministry of George Rapp incorporated the Lutheran style of unison singing of hymns by the congregation. Group singing, often with instrumental accompaniment, was a vital part of the Harmonist church service, for it not only reinforced religious principles but also strengthened the sense of community spirit. In the same way, music was employed as an educational tool in the schools, with songs geared toward conveying religious messages and strengthening personal discipline. Celebratory occasions, such as community holidays, were marked by communal feasting and the renewal of the Society's
communal pact and religious mission. These holidays were punctuated by group singing and musical performance by the more talented members.

Music helped insure the smooth functioning of the Society. From the melodious cry of the town watchman in the morning until his closing salutation at night, the Harmonists enjoyed the pleasures of music. Music was incorporated into the daily pattern of work. John Melish observed that in the spinning house in Harmony the roving billies and spinning jennies "were principally wrought by young girls and they appeared perfectly happy, singing church music most melodiously." 29 Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach witnessed a singing display in the cotton factory:

Mr. Rapp finally conducted us into the factory again and said that the girls had especially requested this visit, that I might hear them sing. When their work is done they collect in one of the factory rooms, to the number of sixty or seventy, to sing spiritual and other songs. 30

Music and other cultural diversions helped maintain a balance between work and leisure time, communal and individual activities, religious devotion and simple temporal pleasures. Aaron Williams reflected on George Rapp's attitude toward music:

While all were expected to be busy, none were allowed to be burdened with work. Ample time was afforded for rest and recreation. Being fond of music, as all Germans are, he encouraged the cultivation of
both vocal and instrumental music among all the members, especially the young people. On one level or another, all members participated in music: in the interludes in the cycle of work, education, and religious devotion; in the formal staged performances for visiting dignitaries and guests; and in their personal entertainment.

Musicologists Richard Wetzel and Lee Seaman Spear both have thoroughly examined and analyzed the hundreds of manuscript songbooks and instrumental partbooks, as well as the myriad purchased and Harmonist-printed musical texts, that survive in the Music Archives of Old Economy Village. In tracing the history of Harmonist music, they concur that musical activity in the Society began in the earliest days of the Society's association, but did not see a full flowering until the decade of Indiana inhabitation from 1814 to 1824. These dates coincide with the period in which a great number of the dated artworks were created. The proliferation of the arts, both visual and musical, may be best explained by the coalescing of the Harmonist religious fervor into a well-functioning and efficient organizational machine. Karl Arndt concluded that "the communism of the Society reached its height in the Indiana Decade." In this climate, George Rapp could feel confident enough of his control to allow members to indulge their interests in art.
and music.

Christoph Müller spearheaded the musical program in the Society, lobbying for the purchase of musical instruments and supplies and convincing George Rapp that music could enhance the divine Economy. The Society had several musical ensembles and an orchestra that rivaled those of the major cities on the East Coast. During the decade in Indiana when the impetus for music resulted in a time of intense musical study, Müller and Society members concentrated great amounts of energy on transcribing musical scores and lyrics. By 1820 the Society had printed its first songbook consisting of songs selected by Müller and George Rapp. This first edition of the Harmonisches Gesangbuch was followed in 1821 with an enlarged edition with an appendix of 117 more song texts. In 1827 the Gesangbuch was enlarged again, revised, and reprinted on the Society's press. The 1826 volume of songs, Feurige Kohlen, was a compilation of verses, many written by Society members and sung to traditional tunes; this songbook was also printed on the Society's press.

Each member had a songbook for religious services and other singing occasions. Artworks were found in both manuscript and printed volumes. As schoolteacher and music instructor, Müller probably encouraged his students, both

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children and adults, to decorate and personalize their songbooks with representational images or fraktur nameplates.

While the art of drawing and painting never attained a prominent position in the Harmony Society, it was an integral part of the matrix of Harmonist life. Besides its interrelationships with religion, education, and music, Harmonist art manifested other levels of Harmonist experience.

As individual or group activity, drawing and painting could serve as a form of entertainment. Frederick Rapp expressed this sentiment in his statement that painting was "very delightful and amusing" and allowed "fleeting and unnoticed hours to pass away to finish an object to please our fancy." The artworks could also be interpreted as a type of personal expression. In a society in which group goals superceded individual needs in most circumstances, art became an avenue for individual members to display their artistic skill and express their personalized artistic interpretations of a subject. The hymnbook, one of the few personal possessions owned by Society members, was given additional meaning when decorated by the owner. Certain members chose to individualize their experience as much as the dominant communal environment permitted through the simple act of artistically embellishing their hymnbooks. And finally, there is documentation that artworks were used by
the Harmonists as gifts and presentation pieces for one another. The delicate watercolors made pleasing gifts that served as expressions of friendship and devotion.
CHAPTER 4 NOTES

1 See Lynn Barber, The Heyday of Natural History, 1820–1870 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980) for a discussion of the natural history craze that swept England and the United States.


3 Wetzel, Frontier Musicians, p. 49.


5 Rapp, Thoughts, pp. 11, 65, 69, 79.


7 Centennial Program, Economy, Pa., 1924, Research Files, Old Economy Village.

8 "The Violet in the Valley," VM1.3, Music Archives, Old Economy Village.


12 Williams, Harmony Society, p. 115.

13 Arndt, Indiana Decade, vol. 1, p. 455.
Rapp, Thoughts, p. 1.

Ibid., p. 4.

Arndt, Rapp's Harmony Society, p. 74.


Rapp, Thoughts, p. 89.

Melish, Travels, p. 330.


Arndt, Indiana Decade, vol. 1, p. 133.


Reibel, Readings, p. 28.


Spear, "Vocal Music," p. 60.

Melish, Travels, p. 325.
30 Reibel, Readings, p. 21.
31 Williams, Harmony Society, p. 41.
32 Spear, "Vocal Music," p. 84; Wetzel, Frontier Musicians, p. 23.
33 Arndt, Indiana Decade, vol. 1, p. xviii.
34 Wetzel, Frontier Musicians, p. 20.
5. DECLINE OF ARTISTIC PRODUCTION
IN THE HARMONY SOCIETY AFTER 1834

After the early halcyon days of millenialist fervor had passed and confident predictions of imminent salvation failed to materialize, the members of the Harmony Society struggled with the frustrations of a dream unfulfilled. Although the members registered their dissatisfaction as early as 1807, George Rapp, through his charisma and firm hand, managed to preserve the cohesiveness of the group, while Frederick Rapp, through his business acumen, insured the Society's economic success. As with any institution with a codified leadership hierarchy and tacitly understood regulations and rules of conduct, disaffected individuals, unable or unwilling to conform, sometimes withdrew from the Society. In this communal organization, the delicate balance between individual freedom and group identity tipped in favor of the whole over the parts.¹

The year 1818 signaled the beginning of a period of heightened unrest within the Society that culminated in "the revolution that occurred in 1832."² Rapp was disturbed by the interest that the children of the original signers of the 1805 Articles of Agreement paid to the amount their par-
ents had contributed to the Society's common fund. To head off possible challenges to the founding precept of community property, Rapp destroyed the official register itemizing the property donated by each family or individual to the common fund. This act only caused further discontent with the younger members of the Society and those alarmed by the autocratic methods of their leader.

Rapp's technique of control was exemplified by his treatment of the growing number of members who wished to leave the Society. In 1819 he wrote to Frederick Rapp and John L. Baker:

I scared them with the rights and power which the law gave me, and I told them that I would act most strictly. . . when I ask: why do you want to leave, they know no reason at all, except, Unless one is like you, one cannot live here.

During this same time interested parties were discouraged from seeking entry into the Society, as Rapp tried to reinforce the solidarity of his disgruntled congregation.

With his control flagging, Rapp sought to rally the Society around a common cause. In 1823 preparations were made to relocate the Society for a third time. With attentions and energies focused on the move from Indiana back to Pennsylvania, Rapp could sustain a sense of community commitment to the original religious goals of the Society and to the legitimacy of his ultimate authority. As Frederick
Rapp explained in 1832 to an outsider seeking membership in the Society, "...every member of the community must be obedient (sic) to the ordained superintendents [George and Frederick Rapp]" and nobody can "...act or do according to his own will."  

To strengthen the patriarchal management of the Harmony Society and to bind the members together more closely, the original 1805 Articles of Agreement were rewritten, and in 1827 the revised constitution was signed by 615 members of the Society. But the unrest continued unabated with a significant number of members leaving in 1829. In a letter from Romelius Baker to Frederick Rapp, who was in Philadelphia in 1829, Baker enclosed letters from members "to Germany, which the Father has allowed to be sent"; this further indicates the means employed by Rapp to maintain control of the Society's members.

In this same year, Rapp received a letter of introduction announcing the arrival of Count Leon in Economy in the fall of 1831. Rapp initially embraced this man as the Messiah whom the Society had been patiently awaiting. Soon after meeting Count Leon, however, Rapp decided that he had been mistaken and that the Count was a false prophet. The Count, taking advantage of the mounting tensions in the Society, divided the group into two separate camps-- for and
against Rapp. In 1832 the Count left Economy and took along with him one-third of the membership of the Society. Most of the secessionists were intellectuals or second-generation members who savored the relaxed rules and freedom in social matters offered by Count Leon. Rapp responded by closing the membership in 1832 and authorizing an amendment to the Articles in 1836 to deny all withdrawing members the right to claim the money or property they originally donated to the Society.

The Harmony Society's move from the more open, outward-oriented phase characteristic of the period from 1814 to 1824 to the more repressive and insular atmosphere of the late 1820's and early 1830's is a typical phenomenon in the metamorphosis of any movement. The enthusiasm and dedication of the first generation gave way to the questioning and criticism of the second generation members who were removed from the immediacy of the emigration from the German states and the force of the chiliastic prophecy. As the group waited year after year for Christ's return, the power of George Rapp's charisma to weld the group together waned. In a social group that is organized according to a religious philosophy espoused by and embodied in the spiritual figurehead of the group, unfulfilled prophecies resulting in challenges to the legitimate authority of the leader can ultimately undermine that authority. A leader such as George Rapp, who de-
rived his legitimacy from charisma, constantly had to prove his own value to his followers and guard against the institutionalization of his charisma. Once his power was effectively shaken, as with the 1832 schism, Rapp reacted with more repressive measures directed at reestablishing his authority.

This process of moving from an outward- to an inward-oriented posture was a gradual one and by no means totally spelled an end to the Society's participation in cultural endeavors. It did, however, indicate Rapp's growing preoccupation with solidifying his position as the undisputed leader of the Society and his suspicions of activities that smacked of luxury in a "heavenly kingdom that admits of no idle time." By concentrating on shoring up his eroding base of support, and in doing so creating a climate of repression, George Rapp adversely affected the cultural refinements that were once an integral part of Harmonist daily life.

Although no firm evidence pointing to attacks on artistic efforts exists, an analogous experience documents the direct effects of the Society's inner tensions on musical activities. In Christoph Müller's memorandum book containing notes of musical performances at Economy, he commented on the interruptions in his regularly scheduled bi-weekly concerts, which had started in March 1828. In 1829 George
Rapp canceled concerts on January 12, February 8 and 22, March 8 and 22 and instructed the musicians to spend their Sunday evenings with their study groups or companies. In June 1831, a nineteen-week suspension began and "on September 19, 1831, the music room without my knowledge was locked up, and when I made enquiry, I was told that music shall cease entirely for an entire month. . . . "

To describe fully the psychological and functional impact of this atmosphere of intolerance on the pictorial arts is difficult because of the dearth of written accounts concerning this subject. And yet the dated artworks show a flourish of artistic activity from 1814 to 1824, with a steady decrease of activity until virtually no drawings were done after 1834. With such a heavy concentration of artworks dating from the first thirty years of the Society's association, it seems more likely to presume that artistic activity was no longer encouraged after 1834 than to suppose that artworks created after that time were either destroyed or lost.

An interesting paradox is the relatively few artworks done by members who withdrew from the Society to follow Count Leon. Only an architectural drawing by Lyaus Forstner, one by his brother Michael, a decorated nameplate by Maria Schmied (b. 1809), and the artworks of Christoph
Müller can be associated with the secessionists. Instead of supposing that other defectors did not create artworks, it is more plausible to theorize that they took their artworks along with them as part of their personal belongings. There also are indications that evidence of the secessionists' role in the Society was purged. In Christoph Müller's 1829 list of instrumentalists and singers in the orchestra, located in VM3.4 in the Music Archives at Old Economy Village, the names of members who withdrew in 1832, including Müller, were scratched out. In addition, three artworks in volumes of the 1820 edition of the Harmonisches Gesangbuch were intentionally destroyed. Several of the flyleaves from Harmonist musical texts were cut out, perhaps to remove nameplates or watercolor drawings. These hymnbooks may have been owned by members who had withdrawn.

Along with the change in emphasis away from the refinements of life back to the basics of religion and deference to the leaders of the Society, three other factors had a detrimental effect on the production of artworks.

Christoph Müller withdrew from the Society and left with Count Leon in 1832. The music program at Economy greatly suffered without him. The void left by Müller also affected other areas of cultural life. As botanist and schoolteacher, he had provided the guiding force in the
study and artistic documentation of nature. As the director of the museum, he had steered George Rapp's attention and support toward that cultural and intellectual resource. As the printer, he had initiated the printing of Harmonist hymnbooks and religious tracts. As Gertrude Rapp's mentor and friend, he had fostered her artistic and musical development.

The death of Frederick Rapp also severely affected artistic production. Besides being a creative and mechanical artist, Frederick endorsed the support of the arts, purchased many of the paintings and objects for the museum collection, actively participated in instrumental music, and provided a balance to George Rapp's authority. With Frederick's death in 1834, there was no longer an effective foil to George Rapp's single-minded religious purpose.

With the Society finally situated in Economy and with no further resettlements attempted, efforts were concentrated on establishing a permanent home. Building steadily progressed in Economy from 1824 until the early 1830's when all major community structures and factories were completed and brick residences replaced the temporary log houses. In fact, with the departure of one third of the members in 1832, many houses stood empty. The need for architectural plans for the construction of hundreds of
buildings in Harmony, New Harmony, and Economy was dissipated by the early 1830's as Economy reached its height of development. Architectural renderings ceased to have a useful outlet and so became a superfluous activity.

The Harmony Society in 1834 had weathered the trauma of the 1832 schism and had adjusted to the loss of Frederick Rapp. Although cultural pursuits did not have Christoph Müller and Frederick Rapp as champions, the daily routine of work, Christian fellowship, and the vision of heavenly deliverance continued. The rise and fall in the production of the delicate watercolor drawings done by members of the Harmony Society reflect the events and the atmosphere of the period from 1805 to 1834. As the material extensions of the people who created them, these artworks add another perspective to this period of enthusiastic growth followed by retrenchment.

The Harmony Society persevered in its dedication to its original plan of communal organization and belief in the second coming of Christ despite these setbacks. As George Rapp explained the events of 1832 in a letter of October 1834:

Nothing further happened here but that our Society was cleansed of rubbish and thereby strengthened its growth. New is our ground which we founded 30 years ago according to the scripture that no one have any personal belongings but that there be spiritual and
bodily brotherhood. . .it behooves us to be on guard and to take heed of John 14:16 and find a heavenly kingdom here on earth where the tree of life can be transplanted and where it soon will bear fruit and our brotherhood; actually our community already has such a place in miniature because we have peace and unity of action among us. A cross and attack unites the same opinions.11
CHAPTER 5 NOTES

1. Rapp, Thoughts, p. 44. "... the unity of conjunctive powers of many members to the promotion of one whole for the welfare of all... is HARMONY."


8. Rapp, Thoughts, p. 35.


10. "Muller was the superintendent of the museum until he left the Society. Conrad Feucht, a student of Müller's and a physician for the Society, took over Müller's responsibilities, but interest in the museum had begun to subside. In 1834 the Society offered its magic lantern and slides for
sale and in 1836 tried to sell its "cabinet of minerals." The last entry for proceeds from the sale of admission tickets to the museum is dated 1846. Efforts to sell the museum intensified after Feucht's death in 1847, with a portion sold in 1848 and the remainder purchased in 1853 by the Western University of Pennsylvania (now the University of Pittsburgh) in Pittsburgh. The location of the collection today is unknown.

11 George Rapp to Johann and Michael Bengel, 12 October 1834; Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951.
Figure 1. Painting of a basket of flowers; Harmony Society, c. 1826-1834; pencil and watercolor on a piece of paper mounted on the inside front cover of a volume of Feurige Kohlen; H. 4 1/16", W. 6 3/4" (Music Archives, Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Ambridge, Pa.).
Figure 2. Painting of a daffodil; Harmony Society, 1805-1834; pencil and watercolor on paper; H. 6 1/4", W. 3 7/8" (Old Economy Village).
Figure 3. Nameplate: "Dieses Lieder Buch Gehört Margaretha Rosdaiin, Economy Den: 20:ten Feber: 1825"; Margaretha Rosdain (1792-1838), Harmony Society, 1825; watercolor on paper in manuscript volume pM11.1; H. 6", W. 3 5/8" (Music Archives, Old Economy Village).
Figure 4. Architectural drawing of a garden pavilion; Harmony Society, c. 1824-1831; ink and watercolor on paper; H. 21 7/8", W. 17 3/8" (Old Economy Village).
Figure 5. Architectural drawing of a manufacturing building; Harmony Society, c. 1805-1834; ink and watercolor on paper; H. 7 ½", W. 22 ½" (Old Economy Village).
Figure 6. Map of New Harmony, In.; Wallrath Weingartner, Harmony Society, 1832; pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper; H. 21 11/16", W. 17 7/8" (Old Economy Village).
Figure 7. Painting of bluebells; Harmony Society, c. 1805-1834; pencil and watercolor on paper; H. 6 5/16", W. 2 3/4" (Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951, MG 185, Bureau of Archives and History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pa.).

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Figure 8. Painting of an unidentified flightless bird; Harmony Society, 1821(?); pencil and watercolor on paper; H. 7 1/2", W. 5 1/4" (Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951).
Figure 9. Painting of a red finch; "Rot Fink, R"; Harmony Society, c. 1816-1834; pencil and watercolor on paper; H. 5 3/4", W. 7 7/16" (Old Economy Village).
Figure 10. Painting of a male and female hummingbird; Wallrath Weingartner, Harmony Society, 1829; pencil and watercolor on paper in the manuscript volume "Ornithology or the Natural History of the Birds of the United States, Illustrated with Plats (sic), Economy 15 January 1829, Wallrath Weingartner"; H. 6 1/8", W. 7 1/2" (Old Economy Village).
Figure 11. Drawings of a raven, magpie, cuckoo, and woodpecker; Harmony Society, c. 1819; pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper in the manuscript volume "Alex Wilsons Ornithologia Dr. Latham's System"; H. 7 3/4", W. 6 5/16"; (Old Economy Village).
Figure 12. Nameplate; Maria Vester (1791-1865), Harmony Society, 1823; ink and watercolor on paper mounted on the inside front cover of a volume of the 1820 edition of Harmonisches Gesangbuch; H. 3 1/8", W. 3 7/8" (Music Archives, Old Economy Village).
Figure 13. Nameplate; "Dieses Lieder Büchlein Gehört Adam Schreiber, in Harmonie, Juli den 1, 1817"; Adam Schreiber, Harmony Society, 1817; ink and watercolor on paper in manuscript volume pM4.3; H. 6 1/8", W. 3 3/4" (Music Archives, Old Economy Village).
Figure 14. Nameplate; "Fridrika Mutschlerin, Harmonie den 23 May 1823"; Fridrika Mutschler (1788-1866), Harmony Society, 1823; pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper in manuscript hymnal; H. 6", W. 3 1/2" (Music Archives, Old Economy Village).
Figure 15. Sketch of pansies; Harmony Society, 1823; pencil on paper in manuscript songbook; H. 1 1/8", W. 1 7/8" (Rappite Manuscripts, Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library, Bloomington, In.).
Figure 16. Painting of pansies; Harmony Society, 1823; pencil and watercolor on paper in manuscript songbook; H. 3", W. 3 1/4" (Rappite Manuscripts).
Figure 17. Nameplate with painting of a vase of flowers; "Choral Buch für Gertraut Rapp. geschrieben zu Harmonie, Ta., im Augs. 1822": Gertrude Rapp, Harmony Society, 1822; pencil, ink, watercolor on paper in keyboard manuscript volume KM1.15(AIZ, AJA); H. 7 5/16", W. 9 5/16" (Music Archives, Old Economy Village).
Figure 18. Nameplate with painting of a rose; "Dieses Gesangbuch gehört Eva Baurerin, in Harmonie, in Ind-a., A.D. 1824"; Eva Bauer, Harmony Society, 1824; pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper in a volume of the 1820 edition of Harmonisches Gesangbuch; H. 6 7/8", W. 3 7/8" (Music Archives, Old Economy Village).
Figure 19. Frontispiece decoration; "Basso, Lobe den Heren meine Seele"; probably Christoph Müller, Harmony Society, 1824; pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper in manuscript hymnal volume HM2.3-1 (AFW): H. 4 1/4", W. 8" (Music Archives, Old Economy Village).

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Figure 20. Nameplate with painting of roses and forget-me-nots; "Rosina Rapp gehörig, Harmonie, Ia., 1823"; Rosina Rapp, Harmony Society, 1823; pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper in manuscript hymnal volume pM9.1; H. 6", W. 3 5/8" (Music Archives, Old Economy Village).
Figure 21. Nameplate with painting of roses and forget-me-nots; Florian Keppler, Harmony Society, 1827; pencil, ink, and watercolor on paper; H. 4 1/8", W. 3 1/2" (Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951).
Figure 22. Painting of hummingbirds with a floral garland; probably "C.B.", Harmony Society, c. 1805-1834; ink and watercolor on paper; H. 6 5/8", W. 10 1/2" (Old Economy Village).
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129


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MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES


