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# **THE JOINERS OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY**

by

**Lisa Ann Porter**

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

Spring 1999

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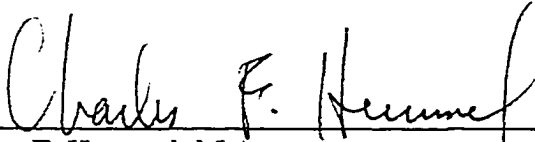
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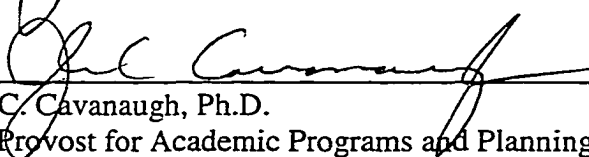
## THE JOINERS OF THE HARMONY SOCIETY

by

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## ABSTRACT

The Harmony Society was organized by German Separatists, under the leadership of George Rapp, in 1805. Reaching its apex in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Harmony Society was one of the most successful American religious communes. After nearly two hundred years of excellent scholarship on this remarkable group, we still lack any comprehension of the lives, even the identities, of individual members.

This study attempts to rediscover the experiences and decisions of individual Harmonists through one subgroup of the community, the joiners. Primary documents, including Mechanic Books, registers, and correspondence, survive to partially reveal the identity and careers of these men. To complete the portrait, surviving furniture, attributed to the Harmony Society, provides insight into the cultural identity of these men through the objects they created.

In conclusion, this study confirmed that the Harmonist joiner maintained his German cultural heritage within the context of settlements in North America. This heritage found expression in the creation of Germanic furniture forms, such as the chest and the schrank. Several factors facilitated the continuation of European traditions. First, the Harmony Society did not export furniture, and thus, the joiners did not need to compete with outside American cabinetmakers. Second, the first joiners were at or over middle-age upon their arrival in the United States. Comfortable with their craft skills, these men continued to practice the trade they first learned in Germany. Since the craft structure of the Harmony Society used the traditional apprenticeship system, these skills were transmitted to the next generation. Finally, the short existence of the joiners' shop prohibited the development of a unique Harmonist style.

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION TO THE HARMONY SOCIETY

The Harmony Society incited commentary from the very start. Travelers, social scientists and historians attempted to describe this unique religious community through letters, articles, and books. In 1819, one traveler observed the Harmonists, or Rappites, at their settlement in New Harmony, Indiana. He wrote to a friend:

“I arrived here last evening after five or six days ride over the prairies of Illinois & have landed safely in the capital of Missouri. I am so fortunate as to have the excellent company of our mutual friend, G.F. Randolph whom I fell in with at Madison, Indiana -- finding it would not take us greatly out of our route, we visited Rapp’s settlement on the Wabash [Harmony, Indiana], to me entirely a novelty as I [had] no idea of a settlement existing in this country. ...[It] consists of about 800 souls, men, women, and children. We rested our horses a day which being the first of the week, we had an opportunity of seeing them all together in their going & returning from meeting, attendance at meeting being denied strangers. About 1 o’clock P.M. a fine band of musick [sic] struck up in the street & headed a procession which marched about 3/4 of a mile to the Wabash. We followed at a short distance & on our arrival upon the dry & Gravelly bed of this beautiful river the irregular procession poured, the Band again played a tune “mournful yet soothing” to the ...stranger. The motley group now seated themselves around [the] leader who addressed them in German in a most animated publick [sic] manner, this was followed by reading for some time, the audience then arose - and again our ears were saluted with exquisite musick [sic] proceeding from instruments touched by the most skillful hands. It was a scene which seemed to partake more of romance than reality, on one side flowed the majestick [sic] Wabash, on the other hand the deep shade of the mighty forest the growth of a century, with its gloomy solitude, added to the solemnity of the religious performance.”<sup>1</sup>

The freedom to practice this “religious performance” formed the primary motivation for the emigration of this group of German Separatists to North America in

1804. To maintain their congregation and survive the harsh American wilderness, the group soon adopted a communal lifestyle as the Harmony Society. This remarkable community built three successive towns, created a thriving textile industry, and sparked hundreds of stories over the next century.

Building upon a long narrative tradition, this thesis seeks to delve into the lives of the Harmonists. It continues the scholarship on the Harmony Society, yet, it diverges from this same scholarship in its focus and approach. Rather than repeat a general history of this religious commune as a whole, this study seeks out the individual experience among the collective. Writing on contemporary issues, Lisa Lowe rejects the homogenization of a group of people as an essentialization of that group into a static, dependent entity.<sup>2</sup> Only through the acknowledgment of differences and movements within the group will we be able to construct greater narratives for the past and the future. This idea resonates with the work of a scholar closer to the field of material culture, Dell Upton. Writing on the study of vernacular architecture and objects, Upton concludes with a statement on the collective identity in comparison to the singular identity as he writes,

“It [the connection between artifacts and identity] sets forth an almost unattainable ideal in the study of architecture and material culture: to recover some of the tension between individual action and collective culture that of necessity we allow too often to tip too far in the direction of the collective. To the extent that we can restore that balance, we will create a more satisfying account of human experience.”<sup>3</sup>

One problem frustrates a complete restoration of individual, Harmonist experience. In spite of the immense amount of surviving Harmonists papers in the Pennsylvania State Archives, no personal accounts stem from an individual. No diaries, no memoirs, no letters. Business correspondence, sermons, account books, and tax records form the majority of the written record, however, these items were produced by a

very small number of members, primarily members of the leadership. As a result, this study must turn to other sources in its description of individual members of the Harmony Society.

Fortunately, thousands of Harmonist objects survive in the collection of Old Economy Village, a site administered by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. These objects testify to the relationship between the community and the individual through their manufacture and use.<sup>4</sup> Due to the overwhelming size of the surviving materials, however, and the limited time of this project, this thesis focuses on one group of individuals within the Harmony Society, namely, its joiners. Not only did the Harmonist joiner produce objects according to his own ability and ideology, but he created objects both familiar and comfortable to his community.

Furniture production, and other joinery work, commenced with the first Harmonist town. As this study demonstrates, furniture differs from other Harmonist products, especially textiles, since it was not exported outside of the community. The joiners, therefore, did not need to please the taste of outside consumers nor compete with other craftsmen. Furthermore, their clientele consisted of their fellow members who presumably shared the same cultural and economic backgrounds. A study of Harmonist furniture and more importantly, the joiners, serves to meet both goals of this investigation. First, we can discover the experience and identity of individual members of the society. The objects that they produced express their personal abilities while further demonstrating the needs of their community. Second, through a more complete understanding of the individual Harmonist, we may develop a more complete description of the community as a living whole.

The Harmony Society originated in the Duchy of Württemberg, Germany, with a charismatic leader, Johann Georg Rapp. Born to a successful farming family in Iptingen, Germany in 1757, George Rapp worked as a vinedresser and weaver.<sup>5</sup> Before 1785, he

struggled with his growing dissatisfaction with the hypocritical rites of the established Lutheran church and his own experiences with the spirit of Christ. Finally, Rapp decided to dedicate his life to his vision of God's salvation and he openly broke with the church in 1785.<sup>6</sup> Soon thereafter, eager followers started to attend meetings at Rapp's home and practice his message.

As Rapp's congregation grew, local authorities expressed great concern over his influence and they even imprisoned Rapp for a short period in 1791. By 1798, authorities in Württemberg demanded a statement of Rapp's political and religious ideas. He answered with a preliminary document that summarized his congregation's beliefs. These ideas were later refined and incorporated into the Harmony Society. The religious practices of Rapp and his followers conflicted with the established Lutheran church on a number of points. For instance, children were not baptized, rather, baptism remained for repentant and consenting adults. The Lord's Supper took place only at a few, specific times of the year. These Separatists, as German state and church documents named the congregation, refused to bear weapons of war or to send their children to the local schools.

Rapp developed his tenets within the ideology of Radical Pietism in the Protestant tradition. Inspired by the mystical spiritualism of Jakob Böhme (1575-1624), Pietists sects pulled their language and symbolism from his teachings. In practice, Radical Pietists chose to separate from the established or state church. Two theological principles were primitivism and millennialism. Primitivism involved using the early Christian church as a social model. Millennialism was a strong belief in the Second Coming of Jesus Christ within a lifetime.<sup>7</sup> Rapp, as prophet and leader, would guide his congregation into this new world.

George Rapp drew his Separatist followers from the peasantry of Iptingen and Stuttgart. In Württemberg, the Separatists underwent numerous hearings on their new

system of beliefs. Both husbands and wives defended their religious beliefs before church and state investigations. The resulting state reports showed that Rapp's followers were primarily families of farmers and craftsmen.<sup>8</sup> While it is difficult to estimate the proportion of farmers to craftsmen within the group, the first Mechanic Book recorded for the Harmony Society in 1807 included thirty-three craftsmen.<sup>9</sup> For the most part, entire families joined the congregation and later followed Rapp to North America. For instance, an 1804 Iptingen church report included Johann Georg Bentel, a cooper, his wife and their eight children as bound for America with George Rapp.<sup>10</sup>

Due to growing antagonism with the Lutheran church, Rapp and his associates decided to seek a new environment for their religious community.<sup>11</sup> Rapp's group equated itself with the Sunwoman of Revelation who "fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days." <sup>12</sup> Sailing in 1803, Rapp and a small party arrived in Philadelphia in quest of suitable lands. After investigating several areas, they purchased land located twenty-five miles north of Pittsburgh. Soon thereafter, over five hundred Separatists, including Rapp's wife, children, and adopted son, Frederick, arrived in western Pennsylvania and started construction on the town of Harmony.<sup>13</sup>

It is important to understand that these immigrants did not arrive in North America as an official society. Only after immigration and the start of a settlement did this congregation decide to adopt a communitarian model. The seeds for this decision originated in the Separatists' interest in the early Christian church. The first Christians, as described in the Book of Acts, lived a shared, religious life and held all goods in common.<sup>14</sup> The desire to find this more pure faith spurred Rapp and his followers to create a communal society. In another perspective, communal life fulfilled a practical need. The immigrants faced great hardship, even starvation, in this foreign wilderness. Communal life pooled resources, such as capital and labor, and assured survival.

In 1805, with one year of experience, Rapp's followers agreed to the Articles of Association which legally bound them into the Harmony Society. George Rapp and his Associates, or board of trustees, made agreements with the "Subscribers" wherein they guaranteed to provide all the "necessaries of Life" which included food, lodgings, health care, education, and religious instruction. In return, the "Subscribers," or community members, pledged to give all their property to the community, to submit to its laws, and to work towards its welfare. If a member decided to leave the community, they agreed to never demand compensation for their initial donation or their labor from the Harmony Society.<sup>15</sup>

Harmony grew rapidly. One traveler wrote:

"This year [c.1811] they built 46 log-houses, 18 feet by 24; a large barn and grist-mill, to which a race was dug of nearly three-quarters of a mile in length; 150 acres of ground were cleared for corn... In 1806 they built an inn partly of stone, ...an oil-mill - a blue dye's shop-, and they sunk a tannery; ... In 1807 they erected a brick store-house, a saw-mill, and a brewery; - 400 acres of land were cleared for grain and meadow, and four acres of vines were planted."<sup>16</sup>

Since the exact date for Christ's return was not known, the Harmony Society pursued agriculture and industry for their welfare during their period of waiting. At Harmony, they started their first productions of textiles with the importation of Merino sheep and the purchase of carding machines and spinning jennies.<sup>17</sup> Agriculture remained the main support for the community, even when Frederick Rapp began to market Harmonist goods, such as textiles and whiskey, to merchants outside of the Society.

In 1807, the Harmonists added another tenet to their religious doctrine, a tenet which would provide a source of some dissension in the future. In a wave of religious fervor, members agreed to a rule of voluntary celibacy with husbands and wives living as brothers and sisters. Family units remained as the social structure of each household. While George Rapp continued to celebrate occasional marriages among members,

celibacy was viewed as a more pure condition of religious life, a lifestyle which found its source in the early Christian church. By the 1840s, celibacy evolved from a matter of choice to a strict doctrine.<sup>18</sup>

After only ten years in Butler County, the Harmony Society decided to leave its new town and move to the Wabash River in the Indiana Territory. Concerns over the productivity of the soil and the harsher climate in Pennsylvania prompted Rapp to seek out these new lands. After the sale of Harmony, the entire community floated in flatboats down the Ohio River. The construction of New Harmony commenced in 1814 and settled by 1815. Like Harmony, this new town quickly grew from the wilderness. A new influx of immigrants from Germany increased the population to nearly eight hundred members. Despite a growth in industry, with new markets in New Orleans and other cities, discontent started to plague the peace of New Harmony. The congregation suffered, according to Rapp, from moral laxity due to a prosperous life and unruly new members. Furthermore, the unpredictability of the river system often disrupted the shipment of goods. The Indiana climate proved unsuitable for their agricultural practices. Rapp initiated plans to move the Society again to Pennsylvania. With New Harmony sold to Robert Owen, the community traveled back up the Ohio River to their final home, Economy, in 1824.

Economy, located in Beaver County and north of Pittsburgh, experienced both the golden years of growth and the decline of the Harmony Society. At Economy, the economic basis of the community shifted from agriculture to industry. The woolen and cotton mills produced the main source of revenue through an extended market. As time passed, the Harmony Society prospered and awaited the return of Christ with only individual complaints against the order. Some members chose to leave the community for a variety of reasons while others sought admission to the group.

Religious dissension burst upon the community in the form of Count Leon, the



self-proclaimed “Archduke Maximilian of the Stem of Judah and the Root of David,” in 1832.<sup>19</sup> Leon proclaimed, and Rapp believed, that Leon was the anticipated prophet who would lead the faithful through the millennium. Rapp welcomed Leon to Economy but, Leon soon proved to be anything but a prophet. Leon’s philosophy, especially in his disregard of celibacy, strongly contradicted Rapp’s teachings and created a schism among the laity. About one-third of the members joined with Leon to challenge George Rapp’s authority over the community. In his dissertation, Paul Douglas, looking closely at the members who decided to join Leon, concluded that these were usually individuals young enough to have children and relative newcomers to the Society. In 1832, the Harmony Society came to a settlement with Leon and 250 former Harmonists with a grant of \$105,000. Leon and his followers moved north on the Ohio River to create a new community, the New Philadelphia Society, and a new settlement, Phillipsburg or Freedom (present-day Monaca, Pennsylvania).<sup>20</sup> Some Harmonist craftsmen joined Leon’s faction in the move north as shown in a letter from Zelig Passavant to her father, Dettmer Basse-Müller. In a letter dated April 20, 1833, Passavant described that during a winter trip, her wagon broke on the road. Fortunately, Passavant’s party “found in the small town of Freedom a skillful carriage builder (a defector from Economy), who made it possible for us to return home...”<sup>21</sup> Within a year, Phillipsburg failed and the Count moved south to Louisiana. After the failure of Leon’s settlement, his followers scattered to other communities and lives.

The events of 1832 greatly influenced the future direction of the Harmony Society. The remaining members drew into a more isolated and deeply private community. The group did not actively recruit new members, even turning away many petitions from souls eager to join the Society. Economy never regained the population lost in the crisis. Through the next century, the community slowly began a decline that would spell its dissolution in 1906. However, this decline was not immediately visible

and the antebellum years of the Society were extremely prosperous. With growing assets, the Harmony Society increased its investments to include numerous industrial enterprises throughout the Ohio River Valley.<sup>22</sup>

Frederick Rapp, the genius behind this financial boom, died in August of 1834. Romelius L. Baker, one of Frederick's assistants, replaced him as the Society's financial leader. George Rapp continued to govern the community until his death in 1847. Even upon his deathbed, Rapp held firm to his belief that he would lead his Society into the new kingdom of God. This spirit endured in the Harmony Society as it entered a new period under the leadership of Jacob Henrici and Romelius L. Baker.

As the vitality of the labor force disappeared, Henrici and Baker replaced manufacturing with capital investment. Textile production ceased. By the end of the nineteenth-century, the Harmonist shops closed, one by one, as their craftsmen died. Investment profits permitted the Society to hire a nonmember labor force for its remaining businesses. Economy lost its early bustle and noise, retiring into a quiet, picturesque village.<sup>23</sup>

The 1890s served as the final phase of the Harmony Society. Gertrude Rapp, granddaughter of George Rapp, died in 1889 and Jacob Henrici died in 1892. As members died, the Society found itself beset with legal suits from "heirs," or descendants of former Harmonists who left the Society much earlier. The rumor of Harmonist millions stored in the foundation of George Rapp's house lured many people to make these claims of inheritance. Furthermore, imprudent investments embroiled the Society in a number of debts and failing businesses. In 1906, the last two members, Susanna Duss and Franz Gilman, formally dissolved the Harmony Society. Economy became the property of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Gilman signed his interest in the Society's remaining assets to Susanna Duss and her husband, John S. Duss.<sup>24</sup> With this simple act, one hundred and one years of history closed for one of the most successful

communal societies in the United States.

Throughout this history of migration and change, the Harmony Society maintained their cultural lifestyle from Europe. The continuation of “German” culture among the Harmonists was not a theological rejection of the outside world and its styles. Nor was it a result of isolation from the exterior society. Rather, this continuation originated in the maintenance of basic life skills by individual members. For example, the Harmonist craftsman produced objects according to his training. Many of the craftsmen were of middle-age at their arrival in North America. These men would not alter their skills at this age. The second-generation of Harmonist craftsmen learned their trades through an apprenticeship system which instilled those same skills in them. The resulting shop tradition mirrored the larger German traditions upheld by the entire community and confirmed through daily practice.

This brief history of the Harmony Society defines the context for the actions and artifacts of the Harmonist craftsman. To understand further the lives and production of the Harmonist joiner, we must take a deeper look at the internal economic and social structure of the Harmony Society. The traveler through Indiana in 1819 believed that “the Germans [were] not communicative upon subjects relating to their religious order or domestic economy....” We shall discover that indeed the Harmony Society can be very communicative on such topics through the artifacts which survive them.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>Anonymous letter, 13 October 1819, Brown Family Papers, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup>Lisa Lowe adeptly writes on this and many topics relative to cultural and ethnic studies in her essays about Asian immigrants and Asian Americans. This short paraphrase draws attention to her inspiration to this author rather than a specific application of her methodology. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996).

<sup>3</sup>Dell Upton, "Ethnicity, Authenticity, and Invented Traditions," *Historical Archaeology* 30, no. 2 (1996): 1-7.

<sup>4</sup>As Edward Cooke explains in his discussion of Connecticut joiners, "The creation and use of objects are integral parts of a dynamic social process, not just static events or ends unto themselves. Artifacts evolve and gain meaning out of cultural values and social relationships and, in turn, shape and maintain cultural values and social relationships." Edward S. Cooke, Jr., "The Social Economy of the Preindustrial Joiner in Western Connecticut, 1750-1800," in *American Furniture, 1995*, ed. Luke Beckerdite and William Hosley (Hanover, NH: Chipstone Foundation, 1995), 113-114.

<sup>5</sup>Richard D. Wetzel, *Frontier Musicians on the Connoquenessing, Wabash, and Ohio: A History of the Music and Musicians of George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1805-1906* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1976), 5.

<sup>6</sup>Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Separatists, 1700-1803* (Worcester, MA: Harmony Society Press, 1980), 74. Arndt, the preeminent scholar and historian on the Harmony Society, gathered and translated sources from Germany and the United States to produce important publications of primary documents. His books are required reading for any study of the Harmony Society.

<sup>7</sup>Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Radical Pietism as the Foundation of German-American Communitarian Settlements," in *Emigration and Settlement Patterns of German Communities in North America*, ed. Eberhard Reichmann, La Vern Rippley, and Jörg Nagler (Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1995), 32-33.

<sup>8</sup>Arndt, *George Rapp's Separatists*, 164, 450.

<sup>9</sup>Mechanic Book, 1807, Harmony Society Records, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg, PA. The following abbreviation will be used as a reference to the Harmony Society archival collection in the Pennsylvania State Archives: HSR.

<sup>10</sup>Arndt, *George Rapp's Separatists*, 451-451.

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<sup>11</sup>Rapp was not the first Radical Pietist leader to seek out a new home for his congregation. German communitarian societies, such as the Society of the Woman in the Wilderness, Irenia, and Ephrata, preceded the Harmonist settlement in Pennsylvania.

<sup>12</sup>Revelations 12:6.

<sup>13</sup>Karl Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 17. George Rapp married Christine Benzinger in 1783. They had two children: Johannes (b. 1783) and Rosine (b. 1786).

<sup>14</sup>Acts 2: 44-45. "And all who believed were together and had all things in common; and they sold their possessions and goods and distributed them to all, as any had need."

<sup>15</sup>John S. Duss, *The Harmonists: A Personal History* (Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Book Service, 1943), 419. Duss reprints an 1835 translation of the Articles in his Appendix. Manuscript copies of the Articles of Agreement and their amendments are located in the Pennsylvania State Archives.

<sup>16</sup>John Melish, "Account of a Society at Harmony, (twenty five miles from Pittsburg [sic]), Pennsylvania, United States of America," taken from *Travels in the United States of America, in the years 1806 and 1807, and 1809, 1810, and 1811 by John Melish* (London: R. and A. Taylor, 1815), 3-4.

<sup>17</sup>Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society*, 123.

<sup>18</sup>George Rapp's granddaughter, Gertrude Rapp, was born in Harmony after the adoption of celibacy. For a more complete discussion of celibacy and Harmonist religion, see Paul Douglas, "The Material Culture of the Communities of the Harmony Society" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1973), 9-12.

<sup>19</sup>Douglas also offers a good discussion of the Leon schism drawing on the more detailed histories of Karl Arndt.

<sup>20</sup>IBID, 25.

<sup>21</sup>Zelie Passavant to Dettmer Basse-Müller, 20 April 1833, Zelienople Historical Society, Zelienople, PA. Dettmer Basse-Müller founded the town of Zelienople and had numerous business dealings with the Harmony Society. Another letter by Passavant further discussed the events surrounding the Leon schism.

<sup>22</sup>The Harmonists operated or invested in industrial projects such as the Economy Lumber Company, the Economy Planing Mill Company, the French Point Planing Mill and Lumber Company, the Economy Oil Company, and the Harmony Brick Works. Records for these and other companies survive in the Pennsylvania State Archives.

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<sup>23</sup>Arndt, *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs*.

<sup>24</sup>John S. Duss lived in and out of Economy from childhood. Faced with a leadership crisis in 1890, the Harmony Society admitted Duss and his wife to membership. Duss served as a senior trustee from 1892 to 1903. Susanna Duss was senior trustee from 1903 to 1906. Wetzel, 106.

## Chapter 2

### CRAFT STRUCTURE

From its very conception, craftsmen played an integral role in the construction of the Harmony Society. George Rapp worked as a weaver in Iptingen. Frederick Rapp was an architect and stonemason. Johann Georg Bentel, a cooper, and Michael Conzelmann, a shoemaker, stood with George Rapp before the Iptingen church council to testify to their common Separatist beliefs.<sup>1</sup> Not only did these families hold a strong religious belief, but also they shared a social and economic style of life as farmers and craftspeople in Württemberg. Despite a traumatic move to Pennsylvania, these people maintained their identity and their social structures. They used their existing knowledge and skills to build a society which, on the craft level, was simply a continuation of their lives in Germany.

Clearing land and building homes filled the first years of American settlement for the newly associated Harmonists. As soon as possible, the craftsmen began to produce goods and the Society organized into different spheres of production. The first travelers' accounts focused great attention on the construction of trade shops at the first settlement, Harmony, and the speed of the Society's industrial establishment. John Melish, a British traveler in the United States, devoted the largest chapter of his published travel account to a tour of Harmony, Pennsylvania conducted by Frederick Rapp. The Society's economic growth and rapid settlement impressed Melish and so, he offered a detailed description of that aspect:

“The improvements were going on rapidly when we visited them, and every thing [sic] wore the appearance of an old established settlement. A great variety of articles of the manufacture of the Society had been sold -- besides the produce of the ground-- such as shoes, boots, saddles, smith-work, cloth, &c.; and these and other manufactures were rapidly increasing.

After breakfast we visited the different branches of manufacture. In the wool-loft eight or ten women were employed in teasing and sorting the wool for the carding machine, which is at a distance on the Creek. From hence the roves are brought to the spinning-house in the town, where we found two roving billies and six spinning jennies at work.<sup>2</sup> They were principally wrought by young girls, and they appeared perfectly happy, singing church-music most melodiously. In the weaving-house 16 looms were at work, besides several warpers and winders. In our way through the town we observed shoemakers, tailors, and saddlers at work; and we passed on to view the smith-work, which was extensive. They have four or five forges for ordinary work, and one for nails, at which we were diverted by observing a dog turning a wheel for blowing the bellows...

After dinner we visited the soap and candle works -- the dye-works -- the shearing and dressing works -- the turners, carpenters, and machine makers; and finally we were conducted through the warehouses, which we found plentifully stored with commodities. Among others, we saw 450 pieces of broad and narrow cloth, part of it is of Merino wool, and of as good a fabric as any that was ever made in England.”<sup>3</sup>

The Harmony Society incorporated a great variety of trades. A short list included nearly every producer of goods required for the support of any town: coopers, smiths, weavers, saddlers, hatmakers, shoemakers, tanners and curriers, carpenters, joiners, turners, wheelwrights and wagonmakers, blue dyers, potash makers, breeches makers, tailors, potters, tinnerns, and distillers. Some trades, notably shoemaking and hatmaking, contributed greatly to the early trade between the Harmony Society and local markets.<sup>4</sup> Yet, the main sources of income for the community centered in its agricultural produce and its textile manufactures.

While agriculture remained the dominant occupation in the earliest years of settlement, of 175 tradesmen, approximately one-fifth, or thirty two men, were employed in textile production. Daniel Reibel, writing on Harmonist textile production, estimated that the profit from cloth was \$1600 in 1811. By 1814, their profit increased to \$13,000 or one third of the yearly profit for the Society.<sup>5</sup> Woolen and cotton goods flowed from



all three settlements to merchants all along the Ohio River and as far south as New Orleans. When discussing the Harmony Society, contemporary authors, like J. Leander Bishop, always mentioned its textile production. Bishop included the Harmony Society in his extensive volumes, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*, published in 1866:

“The Harmony Society, under Mr. George Rapp... commenced operations at Economy, ... where they built a large town -- an elegant church, a large cotton and woolen factory, store, tavern, large steam mill, a brewery, distillery, tanyard, and other workshops. Their factories and workshops were warmed by means of pipes, connected with the steam engine, and in other respects the Society were ready to adopt the latest improvements. They purchased annually from sixty to seventy thousand dollars' worth of wool, and twenty to thirty thousand dollars' worth of other articles for manufacture and consumption, and three years after commenced the culture and manufacture of silk.”<sup>6</sup>

Harmonist women worked in the textile mills, as Melish noticed on his tour. Young girls apprenticed to the Society for the art of housekeeping and/or spinning. George Rapp's granddaughter, Gertrude Rapp, initiated and supervised the production of silk fabrics and ribbons, an occupation that won her many medals at national exhibitions.<sup>7</sup> There is no good examination, however, of women's roles in the Harmony Society. There are no indications that women served in any mechanical branch other than textile production. In this respect, the Harmony Society, although egalitarian in its property and religion, followed traditional, patriarchal structures for the division of labor between men and women. Furthermore, the role of women mirrored contemporary American and European perspectives.

Another traditional aspect of the Harmonist craft structure was the system of apprenticeship. As young girls served in the houses and textile mills, boys worked at husbandry or some suitable trade. Indeed, the majority of indentures for children pertained to these two fields. With these contracts, a male representative for the Society

served as the “master” for that child. The indentures did not list the exact duties of each apprentice. Children indentured in this egalitarian community probably learned skills from different men and women and received a formal education in the Harmonist school rather than remain under one master.

Martin Scholle, a founding member of the Society and a master shoemaker, signed indentures as both a representative of the Harmony Society and as a master craftsman. In the 1820s, Scholle served as a Director of the Poor for Economy township. In this capacity, Scholle ensured the welfare of poor children from the local area by assigning them as apprentices for husbandry and housekeeping. At the same time, Andrew Goetz and Lewis Laupple became Scholle’s apprentices specifically in the shoemaking trade.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, Scholle taught at least two apprentices his trade while his other apprentices learned skills from different members of the Harmony Society.

Like Goetz and Laupple, twenty-six other boys signed indentures for learning the art and mystery of trade rather than husbandry. Beginning in 1824, these trades included shoemakers, turners, carpenters, masons, blue dyers, saddlers, weavers, coopers, tanners, and tailors, with shoemaking being the predominate trade. In addition to a trade, the masters agreed to teach each child to read and write. Most Harmony Society indentures bound the child until the age of twenty-one. At that time, the apprentices received their freedom dues of two suits of clothes with one suit to be of new clothes.

Apprentices came to the Harmony Society from many different paths. Most of the founding members emigrated from Europe as family units. Their children probably served as the first apprentices within the Society. Other children were born in the early years of the Society’s settlement. Heinrich Hahn, a founding member, bound his son, Heinrich, to John Reichart to learn the art of a turner in wood in 1831. The younger Heinrich was fourteen years of age.<sup>9</sup> After the Society’s adoption of celibacy in 1807, fewer children were born to members. The issue of celibacy drew great attention from

outside observers of the Harmony Society. Evidently, some authors felt that they must comment on the poor condition of the Harmonist women since they were without young children running through their streets. Aaron Williams, one of the first historians of the Harmony Society, replied to one such writer's article by describing the "true" situation at Economy in his 1866 publication:

The twaddle of the writer about the silly weakness of the Harmonite women at the very sight of a child, is also a gross caricature. All true women (the *strong-minded* perhaps excepted) love children. And so do these. But children are every day to be seen among them, being apprenticed orphans, or the children of recent members, or of their hired people, or of lodgers and visitors at their hotel.<sup>10</sup>

As early as 1830, orphans and other "poor" children became apprentices to masters within the Harmony Society. Clearly, apprentices were available to Harmonist craftsmen although they were not always members of the Harmony Society or shared its spiritual beliefs.

Apprenticeship in the Harmonist settlements did not equate to membership within the community. Some of these young boys remained in the Harmony Society all of their lives, others left, and still others never became members but disappeared after their release. Andrew Goetz, born at Harmony in 1807 and apprenticed to Matthew Scholle in 1824, departed the Harmony Society in 1837.<sup>11</sup> In 1865, Ernst Wölfel apprenticed to the Trustees of the Harmony Society for the trade of cooper.<sup>12</sup> He remained a member of the Society until his early death in 1890, a few short months after named a junior trustee.<sup>13</sup> The last child bound to apprentice in a trade was in 1870. After this point, all contracts ceased to name a specific member of the Harmony Society as the master for each child. Rather, children apprenticed to the *trustees* of the Harmony Society for some "useful trade" or husbandry.

The Harmonist apprenticeship system adhered to the common, European craft

tradition in another way - it was not flawless. While there is not a great deal of surviving evidence to estimate the number of apprentices who broke their contracts with the Harmony Society, one letter from Frederick Rapp hinted that not all apprentices were content with their situation. Writing from Economy, Pennsylvania in 1826, Rapp sent the following inquiry to John Schnee in Harmony, Indiana:

“...On the night of the 10th of May, three Boys of 18 years absconded [sic] from here in a Skift, named Zeno Schnabel and Jonas Nachtrieb both bound apprentices [sic] to the hatting Business and Elias Weber who can work at the Joiner and Potters trade. They being under age their parents and Society are not satisfied with their going away, and some expressions they made previous to their leaving here give me reason to believe that they have gone back to Indiana — if you should see or hear of them, I would consider it a particular favour if you would inform me of the place where they or either of them stay at the same time not to notify them of this my request to you.”<sup>14</sup>

Frederick Rapp directed the Society's financial affairs from the time of emigration to after the construction of Economy. As George Rapp carried the spiritual leadership of the community, Frederick Rapp held the business leadership. Frederick first met George Rapp in Württemberg before 1800. At that time, Frederick, born Frederick Reichert in 1775, supposedly traveled as a mason and architect for his work. Upon meeting Rapp, he quickly became a devoted believer and part of Rapp's household. As an adopted son, Frederick cared for Rapp's family as Rapp searched for land in America and he orchestrated the emigration of the first members.<sup>15</sup> All financial affairs, including the mechanic shops, fell under the supervision of Frederick Rapp. He dealt with suppliers, merchants, stores, and other business associates. Rapp and his assistants maintained voluminous correspondence, bills of lading, receipts, and inventories for all their mercantile ventures. Curiously, Rapp kept the majority of business papers in English rather than German, perhaps for legal considerations. This included private books, such as Mechanic and Family Books, which related only to the internal affairs of the Harmony Society. Frederick Rapp died in June 1834 while the financial empire he

built was in its golden years. In his service to his community, Rapp created a stable economic foundation of agriculture and industry that ensured the material success of the Harmony Society.

Under Frederick Rapp's supervision, the Harmonist craftsmen continued the familiar craft traditions of master and shop. The master managed the shop production, expenditures, and income for his trade. The difference between an independent craftsman and the Harmonist craftsman rested in the use of shop profits. An independent craftsman found standard of living and personal gain to be the prime motivations for his/her work. The communitarian structure of the Harmony Society provided the necessities of food, shelter, and health care to its members. The egalitarian aspect of the community replaced personal profit with community profit. The Harmonist craftsman did not labor for himself, he worked for the welfare of his community.

One tangible result of this ideology was the formation of a centralized craft structure. Frederick Rapp stood at the top of the business pyramid, supervising external trade and managing internal production. Rapp and his assistants traveled to different regions of the country to conduct business transactions and observe new markets or technologies. These assistants also managed the central store within the settlement. First, local merchants and customers came to the store to purchase commodities produced within the Society. Second, the store also served as the main repository for account books and other receipts. In this capacity, the store served as the hub for the collection and the distribution of goods within the community. Family Books were a unique document in which listed every head of household. Under each name, the store maintained an account of the items and quantities each household received for a month. These goods mainly consisted of food staples, clothing, and shoes, along with an occasional looking glass and almanac.

In a similar vein, craftsmen held a close association with the store. Mechanic

Books recorded credits and debits for each shop.<sup>16</sup> The shop master received his capital and some supplies and tools from the store that became a debit to his account. On a regular basis, the master made cash deposits at the store from his shop profits, or he credited his account. While the Mechanic Books did not record every transaction made by the trades, these documents permitted Frederick Rapp and his associates to monitor the craft production within the Harmony Society.

With the operations managed by Frederick Rapp and the lack of surviving account books within each trade, the control of each master over his own trade is not clear. Many contemporary travel accounts portray the Harmonists as unable to communicate with their neighbors due to their isolation and their adherence to their German dialect. Yet, one source reveals that craftsmen did form independent business relationships with local customers. In testimony for a court case, James Prous described a conversation with Elija Lemmix, a watch and clockmaker in the Harmony Society. Prous visited Lemmix in the Economy carpenter shop on a number of occasions and he details one conversation in the following testimony taken on October 13, 1851:

“...At another time, I was borrowing a small pair of watch planes from Mr. Lemmix, he told me that he wished I would keep them at my house that it would be all the way that he could procure any tools from the Society also he wished me to take a mantel clock that he had. I told him I would not. [Lemmix, caught in a clandestine meeting with former Harmony Society members who left with Count Leon, was exiled from Economy] ... [Lemmix] asked me what he should ask from the Society. I told him I did not know. He says they have offered me two hundred dollars, and I am well satisfied and have found a place to work already, at good wages, with Mr. Faber in the upper end of Pittsburgh. He remarked I am sorry you didn't take those things and that he had no chance of getting any tools away from the shop, being discovered.”<sup>17</sup>

This, and other testimony from the Nachtrieb case, shows that some craftsmen developed close relationships with their customers. John Prous, a local man, sat in Lemmix's shop and shared his confidence. Although all profits and supplies passed through the store, the

craftsmen retained some individual management of their own shop and clientele.

Very few shop account books survive for any of the trades once practiced by the Harmony Society.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, the Mechanic Books become a primary resource for understanding craft production. Books survive for all three settlements (Appendix). The Mechanic Books demonstrate, in part, the systematic shift from a community of independent craftsmen to a society of anonymous mechanics with equal share in that anonymity. In Germany, these men operated their own shops or used their trade to supplement their farm income. Now, they functioned in a different economic environment, an environment of equals. The language of the Mechanic Books hint at the consequences of this transformation on the craft structure.

The earliest Mechanic Books listed the specific names of masters or foremen for the trade shops.<sup>19</sup> The important factor in these books is the use of individual names. The men who operate within that building, men who act with their own agency, personify these shops. The first change appears in the language of the Mechanic Book for 1811-1812. Individuals represented most trades, yet the hatters, joiners, smiths, and weavers are now lumped together as a shop. Two hatters, George Conzelmann and William Lichtey, retain their identity as hatmakers, however, their shop maintains an independent account. Individual joiners, smiths, or weavers sink into a collective entity in the form of the shop.

The remaining books strikingly eliminate individual names. After 1815, trade names stand for each account. Georg Bentel, one of the first members, always started the mechanic book as the sole cooper. In 1815, "Cooper" replaces his name. This phenomenon reflects the slow consolidation of the mechanical branch into an organized and controlled economic system. This trend culminated in the printed Mechanic Book for 1826-1853. Before 1826, the bookkeeper haphazardly wrote each book by hand. Occasionally, a bit of German script interrupted the English accounts of the earliest

books. The first book for Economy, Pennsylvania, is also the first book where shop names are printed in bold, block letters. Every page exudes control. This book embodies the final organization of the craft structure within the Harmony Society. The shop replaced the individual craftsman.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup>A 1795 Iptingen church report lists Johann Georg Bentel and his wife as Separatists with George Rapp. Michael Conzelmann and his wife testify with Rapp in April 1785 and June 1787. Arndt, *George Rapp's Separatists*, 67, 135, 260.

<sup>2</sup>The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a "rove" as "a slightly twisted roll or strand of textiles fibers." Roving is the final process of reducing and drawing out fibers before spinning them into a yarn.

<sup>3</sup>Melish, *Travels in the United States of America in the years 1806 and 1807, and 1809, 1810, and 1811*, 4-6. John Melish (1771-1822), a Scottish merchant and cartographer, soon emigrated to the United States after this publication. He devoted his full energies to making and publishing maps of each state and the entire United States. His works were very popular and he is today considered one of the founders of commercial map publishing in America. See Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985).

<sup>4</sup>For a study of the hatters' shop, see Oliver J. Ogden, "Hatters and Hat Making at the Harmony Society, Economy, Pennsylvania, 1826-1875," *The Chronicle of the Early American Industries Association* 43, no. 1 (1990): 3-5.

<sup>5</sup>Daniel B. Reibel, "It All Came from Cloth," *Carnegie Magazine*, June 1967, 203.

<sup>6</sup>J. Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608 to 1860*, vol. 2, (Philadelphia: Edward Young & Co., 1864), 302.

<sup>7</sup>Gertrude Rapp was born at Harmony, Pennsylvania in 1808. She lived her entire life within the Harmony Society and died at Economy, Pennsylvania in 1889. For more information on her life and her supervision of Harmonist silk production, I recommend the following sources: Mary E. Swinker, "An Artifact Study of Harmonist Patterned Silk Textiles, 1826-1852" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1991); and Deborah Cannarella, "The Story of Gertrude Rapp: Piety, Prosperity, and Lovely Silk Ribbons," *Piecework*, July/August 1994, 38-44.

<sup>8</sup>"Indentures, 1809-1889," HSR.

<sup>9</sup>Heinrich Hahn to John Reichart, April 12, 1831 to November 21, 1837, HSR.

<sup>10</sup>Aaron Williams, *The Harmony Society at Economy, Penn'a* (Pittsburgh: W.S. Haven, 1866), 32.

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<sup>11</sup>Goetz Testimony of Nov 18, 1850, *Joshua Nachtrieb v. Romelius L. Baker et al.*, Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Pennsylvania, No. 28, November 1849.

<sup>12</sup>"Indentures, 1809-1889," HSR.

<sup>13</sup>Ernst Wolfel became a full member of the Harmony Society in 1879. He died of a stroke at the age of forty-one. Arndt provides a summary of Wolfel's funeral as described in the July 31, 1890 Pittsburgh *Commercial Gazette*. Arndt, *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs*, 169-170.

<sup>14</sup>Karl J.R. Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio, 1826-1834* (Worcester, MA: The Harmony Society Press, 1984), 34-35.

<sup>15</sup>Williams, 44.

<sup>16</sup>Mechanic books survive for the years 1807, 1809-1810, 1811-1812, 1813-1815, 1815-1826, 1820-1825, 1826-1853, and 1854-1883. Not only do they serve as lists of individual craftsmen, but also these books give some perspective on the production levels for each trade. Yet, the books are not complete and they ignore other aspects of trade such as the interaction between related trades and the actual items produced by a trade.

<sup>17</sup>John Prous delivered coal to the Harmony Society. He was not a member of the Society. He testified to at least three conversations with Elija Lemmix in the carpenter shop at Economy, Pennsylvania. Elija Lemmix and Joshua Nachtrieb, both craftsmen, left the Harmony Society after the discovery of their meeting with the "untouchable" secessionists of Count Leon. Both men received compensation before their departure, as was a traditional practice for the Society. Both men sued for a greater reimbursement for their labor in the Society. The Harmony Society won both suits and defended their articles of association. *Joshua Nachtrieb v. Romelius L. Baker et al.*, Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Pennsylvania, No. 28, November 1849.

<sup>18</sup>The Pennsylvania State Archives contains one blacksmith's account book, two dyers' books, three shoemakers' books, and two saddler's books.

<sup>19</sup>Shoemakers seem to be the exception to this rule. Too many shoemakers' names appear to support individual shops. Rather, the mechanic books may represent the intense consumption of leather by these men rather than shop operation. Second, not all of the trades are represented in a given year and this raises questions on the reliability of these books as reflections of trade production.

### Chapter 3

## THE JOINERS

As the mechanic books became more standardized and stable in their format, the Harmonist shop tradition broke apart. The shops slowly ceased to exist as economical and social factors changed the community from an agricultural and small industrial complex to an economy of capital investment. The Harmonist craftsmen disappeared from the shop and the historical record. Within fifty years, about two generations, the Harmonist craft structure grew, flowered, and died. By 1850, many of the trades were starting to fall away. The Mechanic Book for 1826-1853 contains many printed pages that were never used to keep a single record. Within this small window of time, the Harmonist joiner labored for the benefit of his faith and his society.

Who were the “Harmonist joiners” who produced what is today called “Harmonist furniture?” The two previous chapters have set the stage for a general understanding of the Harmonist philosophy and craft structure. The Harmonist joiner shared a common religious belief based in the sermons of George Rapp. He felt such a strong faith that he followed Rapp to a foreign country and labored to construct three settlements. He and his fellow members came from the same social and economic background as farmers and rural artisans in Germany. He labored within a centralized craft system, which placed group welfare over personal profit.

Hidden within these general, blanket statements on the Harmonist joiners, there are individual stories. What were the names of these men? How did they perceive their own identity? Did they share every belief with the community or did they offer dissension? Did they all remain in the Harmony Society? The answers to these questions

reveal that in most aspects, the joiners upheld George Rapp's statement, "Those who occupy its peaceful dwellings [at New Harmony, Indiana], are so closely united by the endearing ties of friendship, confidence, and love, that one heart beats in all, and their common industry provides for all."<sup>1</sup>

Rapp's statement should have included *culture* as one of the "endearing ties" which held the Harmony Society together. The members and joiners shared a common German vocabulary that manifested itself in their furniture. The retention of German styles and forms was not the result of a conscious decision to cling to European roots. Rather, this maintenance was the result of age, economics, and experience.

Only two men are identified as the earliest known joiners. Both men, with wives and children, emigrated in 1807 in the first wave of settlement from Germany to Harmony, Pennsylvania. These first-generation Harmonists, John Daut and Georg Adam Jung, learned and practiced the art of cabinetmaking or joinery in Europe. John Daut, born in 1777, and his wife, Sophie, also born in 1777, had at least five children: Rosina (1799), Michael (1800), Daniel (1806), Lora (1809), and Rebekka (1813).<sup>2</sup> Georg Adam Jung and his family also traveled to America in 1807. Jung brought his wife, Catharina, and their four children, Eva (1793), Margretha (1794), Jakob Heinrich (1801), and Johannes (1805).<sup>3</sup>

Jung, born in 1761 was forty-six years of age when he decided to immigrate to North America. Daut was thirty. Born into the European craft tradition, these men probably learned their skills as woodworkers as apprentices and journeymen. To support their families in a rural community, they may have mixed agriculture with their trade activity. Their clientele, the farmers around Iptingen, shared this rural way of life. They all understood a common vocabulary of furniture form and style. Many of these same neighbors traveled with Daut and Jung to Harmony, Pennsylvania.

Most of the Harmonists moved as family units. Men and women, like Daut and

Jung, at middle age and faced with an unknown land were not about to discard their life skills. Extreme need eliminated any luxury or penchant for experimentation. They needed chests and wardrobes for storing goods, tables and chairs to furnish the new houses, interior woodwork to embellish those houses, and coffins for burying the dead. The joiners, already well trained, quickly turned out these items for their former neighbors, now their fellow members.

The production of chests by Harmonist craftsmen demonstrates this maintenance of a German craft tradition and furniture form after emigration. Germanic people used the chest extensively in Europe and in the United States.<sup>4</sup> A chest is a simple piece of furniture used to store textiles and other personal goods. A rectangular box with a hinged lid, a woodworker easily manufactured a plain chest. Furthermore, the similarities in style among the Harmonist chests show a single craft tradition over a period of time.

Surviving Harmonist chests exist in two forms, painted and walnut. The painted chests, with a Harmony Society provenance, are constructed of pine and/or poplar. In construction, they consist of six boards joined by dovetails, lacking the German construction technique of wedges. Applied moldings finish both the lid and the base of each case. They are finished in one paint color with one exception, a chest finished in blue with red moldings. Harmonist chests do not bear any other painted decoration. One chest, painted red, shows the most basic shape of a Harmonist chest in both walnut and pine (Figure 1). Simple bracket feet complete the object. On the interior, butt hinges now replace an early type of hardware while the lock appears to be original. On each side, heavy, forged iron handles staple through the case. These C-shaped handles regularly appear on other Harmonist chests.

Not only was the Harmonist community comfortable with such a furniture form, but it seems possible that other craftsmen were skilled enough to produce the same objects. No surviving furniture bears the signature of a maker thus making it impossible

to attribute one piece to any particular joiner. Forms like the chest were so familiar to the community that any woodworking craftsman could manufacture at least the simple version of this piece. As the community needed their skills or their lives changed, there is some indication that Harmonist craftsmen moved between similar trades. For instance, David Kõnig changed careers during his life in the Harmony Society. Born in 1764, Kõnig followed Rapp to the United States at the age of forty-one. He was accompanied by his wife Rosina, born in 1781, and four children: Jakobina (1795), Christiana (1800), Rosina (1802), and David (1804). Their fifth child, Simon, was born at Harmony, Pennsylvania in 1808.<sup>5</sup> David Kõnig remained in the Society until his death, but two of his children, Christiana and David Kõnig, left the Harmony Society in 1832, as followers of Count Leon.<sup>6</sup>

The loss of two children and the Society's loss of one-third of its members to Count Leon may have greatly affected David Kõnig. Around this period, he changed his occupation from a carpenter to a joiner. First listed as a carpenter in the Mechanic Books of 1809 and 1811-1812, David Kõnig had changed occupations by the time of a tax assessment of the Harmony Society in 1834.<sup>7</sup> His name began to appear among transactions for the joiners' shop as early as November 1835.<sup>8</sup> Kõnig probably followed this occupation until his death at Economy in July 1844.<sup>9</sup> By 1834, both Jung and Daut had departed from the Society. Kõnig, as a carpenter, may have always made furniture and so, a transfer to the joiners' shop would not be a radical change in occupation. With the Count Leon schism, a need for more skilled hands in the shop may have helped Kõnig in his decision. Finally, Kõnig turned seventy years old in 1834 and may simply have preferred the pursuit of cabinetwork to the occupation of carpentry. Regardless, if Kõnig decided to produce furniture before or after his official designation as a joiner, his carpenter skills were easily adapted to at least the simplest forms of chest and wardrobe, or *schränk*.

The second predominate furniture form produced in the joiners' shop may add more perspective to this inquiry. The schrank, a large case piece, has a long association with German peoples. An architectural piece of furniture, the schrank towers over other objects and dominates a room. It functions as a wardrobe, a storage unit primarily for textiles and other personal goods. Many German groups brought designs for a schrank with them to the New World. Numerous Pennsylvania German examples exist in a great and stunning variety of styles and colors.<sup>10</sup> In this way, the Harmonists did not differ from other German immigrants.

Schranken, although much smaller in scale and design than eighteenth-century examples, do survive from the Harmonist settlements. Like the chests, the majority of Harmonist case pieces are constructed of pine and/or poplar and painted in different colors (Figures 2 & 3). The vertical line plays the most important role in the design of this tall and narrow piece of furniture. A small applied cornice molding finishes the case's top. The case stands on plain feet that are either brackets or extensions of the case boards. Harmonist schranken have only one door which always has a fielded panel construction. Overall, the pieces share a common vocabulary of form that identifies the object as a Harmonist piece when compared to other furniture with a Harmony Society provenance.

Jung, Daut, and later Kōnig, are the only identified joiners for the most productive period of the joiners' shop, approximately 1804-1840. The joiners' shop production never formed a profitable segment of the Harmonist economy. Textiles and agricultural produce far outstripped the profits of the joiners' accounts. Yet, this shop supplied the needs of three separate settlements and hundreds of members.

For supplies and tools, the cabinet shop turned to the community store. The store kept the Mechanic Books for each year. When a supply was ordered through the store, the item and price were recorded as a debit to the joiners' account. On occasion, the

name of the person who picked up or ordered the item accompanied the transaction. Through these notes, a picture of the tools used in the shop developed for the first decades of the Harmony Society.

Each year, from 1811 to 1855, the shop posted charges for the same basic tools. Files, chisels, gimlets, plane irons, “pinsels” [pencils], rules, squares, compasses, augurs, rasps, bits, and sandpaper were among the most common and the least expensive orders. Saws, appearing less frequently, cost more per piece. In the shop, the joiners used handsaws, compass saws, sash saws, tenon saws, “German steel” saws, and dovetail saws. To finish items, the shop ordered numerous hinges, screws, handles, and locks for tables, chests, and bureaus. For the new copper glue pot, there were orders of glue by the pound. On occasion, the shop received a special item like an almanac or oil stove or four pounds of “Turkey Umber,” probably a paint pigment. Coupled with the paint brushes and alcohol ordered, and surviving furniture, it is clear that paint was a common finish for Harmonist schrankes and chests.

These tools and supplies came, for a large part, from the urban areas of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. When traveling on business, representatives of the Harmony Society kept memorandum books of the orders they placed with different merchants. The books included notes detailing these transactions along with travel expenses, meeting minutes, and personal notes. Sometimes, the memorandum book served as a “shopping list” such as a “Memorandum to Philadelphia commenced 1 April 1826.” Among the items on this list, the traveler wanted to order some carpenters gouges, handsaws, and brass lamps while in the city.<sup>11</sup>

Surviving invoices reveal an extensive and long-lasting relationship between merchants in these cities and the Harmonist settlements. The Society purchased a wide variety of things ranging from a gilt looking glass from A. Cochran & Company in Pittsburgh to a bassoon from John G. Klemm of Philadelphia and a pianoforte from



Nunn's of New York City.<sup>12</sup> Included among the hundreds of surviving bills of lading and invoices, records exist which testify to the large amounts of hardware and tools ordered from these cities. A continual hardware and metal supplier is Richard Paxson of Philadelphia. On March 19, 1829, the Society received a shipment of metal goods that included:

1/2 gro. Commode eschutcheons (sic)	2.10
1 doz. 3 1/2 in. plain Chest locks	1.10
1 doz. 3 1/4 in. Screw fancy Chest locks	2.62
1 doz. 3 1/4 in. whl. fancy Cupboard locks	1.30
1 doz. 3 in. 1 cop. whl. screw'd Cupboard locks	3.50 <sup>13</sup>

In addition, wood screws, tacks, handsaw files, and augers were included in the shipment. Cochran & Irwin of Pittsburgh was another common supplier of tools to the Society, even shipping one-half dozen furniture brushes to Economy in 1831.<sup>14</sup> Another supplier of tools to the Society was the merchants, Darlington & Peebles of Pittsburgh. One invoice, dated 1833, includes turning chisels and gouges among a tool shipment.<sup>15</sup>

As stated previously, the store maintained Mechanic Books for all of these supplies. A modern analogy to the Mechanic Book is the credit card. When a joiner needed a new saw or a few pounds of glue, he ordered it through the store. The store purchased the item from a vendor. The store paid for the item, thereby, acting like a credit card company. Now, the store held the debt for the tools or supplies. The store, on occasion, even managed the joiners' debts to other shops. For the reckoning of accounts in December of 1822, the joiners owed \$14.24 to the blacksmith and \$9.06 to the wheelwright. The Society bookkeeper added these debts to the store debit account. The joiners then made payments to the store to settle this debt. At the end of each year, the books were balanced and ideally, the credit and debits balanced to zero. Of the years with complete credit and debit reports, only three years achieved a balanced account,

1820, 1822, and 1823. In general, the accounts do not balance with the shop showing more outstanding debts than credits.

The “credit card” system prohibits the scholar’s use of these mechanic books for statistical estimates of productivity. First, the surviving accounts between 1811 and 1855 have twenty-two years of incomplete credit information. Second, the joiners’ shop only made payments to fulfill their debt to the store. For example, in 1820, the joiners’ shop charged \$126.50 in tools and supplies. In return, the shop made payments each month in either cash or work to the store account. When the accounts were totaled on December 12, these payments equaled \$126.50 for a balanced account.<sup>16</sup> In reality, the shop may have produced double or triple the amount of goods which settled accounts with other shops or other vendors. In forty-four years of accounts, there is only one mention of lumber charged to the joiners’ shop through the store. Where did the joiners purchase raw material for their products? How did they pay for these products? It seems likely that the shop master, in his daybook and as an independent account, maintained these accounts. Perhaps the master dealt with a local supplier or even another shop within the Society for these materials. Therefore, the store did not record these transactions.

Although total productivity cannot be determined through the Mechanic Books, looking at the flow of numbers over a forty-four year period gives some indications of the rise and decline of the joiners’ production levels over time. While the earliest Mechanic Book, 1807, does include individual joiners, the first accounts for the entire joiners’ shop start in 1811 and continue through 1855. Beginning in 1811, the accounts were relatively small with neither debits nor credits surpassing \$50. Starting in 1819, the joiners’ shop increased its purchasing level through the store. The following twelve years witnessed the peak of shop purchasing with every year, except three, incurring debits totaling over \$50. The year 1832, a landmark year for the Harmony Society because of the Count Leon schism, also marked a milestone for the joiners’ shop. Despite a huge credit total of

\$114.25 for the year, the buying of supplies quickly ground to a halt soon after this year. Credits remained strong for another five years, but by 1838, the joiners' shop rapidly declined. To the end of 1855, the store randomly recorded a few debits and credits to the shop account. It was inactive.

During the more productive years of the shop, joiners made payments to their accounts in three general methods: cash, work, and products. Cash, by far, is the most frequent form of payment. Work is second and valued goods rate a distant third. Cash payments hide the products produced in the shop. Fortunately, many objects survive to provide a picture of the joiners' design vocabulary. Through these objects, we can confirm or deny the existence of a Harmonist style.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>George Rapp, *Thoughts on the Destiny of Man, Particularly with Reference to the Present Times* (New Harmony, IN: Harmonie Society Press, 1824), 66.

<sup>2</sup>“Tabel Buch der Namen Der Kinder So In Harmony Geböhren Seyn Nach Dem Buchstaben Zu Finden,” HSR. Listed as a joiner in the 1807 and 1809-1810 Mechanic Books, Daut’s name disappeared from those records in 1811 when the books used the appellation “Schreiners shop” for all the joiners. Daut’s name appears periodically for transactions in the joiners’ shop with the last note being in February 1819.

<sup>3</sup>IBID. First listed among the craftsmen in the 1809-1810 Mechanic Book, Jung’s name continued to appear sporadically in account books until 1816. Catharina Jung died at Harmony in 1814. Between that year and 1834, Jung and his family withdrew from the Harmony Society and disappeared from these historical records.

<sup>4</sup>Collectors and museums have long sought after the painted chest of the Pennsylvania Germans. Thousands survive in a bewildering number of styles, forms, woods, and ages. Many large and small museums contain chests in their collections and numerous publications address these objects. See Monroe H. Fabian, *The Pennsylvania German Decorated Chest* (New York: Universe Books, 1978).

<sup>5</sup>“Tabel Buch der Namen Der Kinder,” HSR.

<sup>6</sup>Register of Souls [undated], HSR.

<sup>7</sup>“Triannual Assessment of Economy Township for 1834 and 1835,” 29 November 1834, HSR.

<sup>8</sup>Mechanic Book, 1826-1852, HSR; “List of names and occupation for the Economy Society” [c. 1840], HSR.

<sup>9</sup>“List of deaths at Economy, 1825-1893,” HSR.

<sup>10</sup>Two good publications introduce the Pennsylvania German tradition and the schrank. Beatrice B. Garvan and Charles F. Hummel, *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Celebration of Their Arts, 1683-1850* (Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1982). and Beatrice B. Garvan, *The Pennsylvania German Collection* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1982).

<sup>11</sup>Memorandum Book, [R.L. Baker], 1825-1826, HSR.

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<sup>12</sup>On February 11, 1829, Frederick Rapp bought twelve "Gilt" looking glasses from A. Cochran & Co. of Pittsburgh. On April 7, 1829, the Society received one bassoon and four reeds from John G. Klemm of Philadelphia. Frederick Rapp purchased a "Plain Round cornered Piano Forte, 6 octaves, Metallic Plate- Grand Action" from R.W. Nunn's of New York for \$260. "Unbound Accounts," HSR.

<sup>13</sup>Invoice, March 19, 1829, HSR.

<sup>14</sup>Invoice, February 21, 1831, HSR.

<sup>15</sup>Invoice, January 29, 1833, HSR.

<sup>16</sup>Mechanic Book, 1820-1825, HSR.

## Chapter 4

### FURNITURE

Is there a Harmonist style? No. There is a Harmonist craft vocabulary. In this study, the term “style” indicates a conscious desire to create objects relating to a higher cultural standard shared by the dominant culture. For example, the neoclassical style in the United States involved an effort by consumers and craftsmen to create an imagined style of furniture as pictured in design publications and artistic ideals. In contrast, a craft vocabulary is simply the construction of a utilitarian piece of furniture. It is an inherent set of skills, maintained throughout a craftsman’s life, which directs his ideas of basic furniture elements like legs, doors, and moldings.

The members of the Harmony Society did not consciously design a unique form of furniture to represent their community’s ideals. The Harmonist joiner retained his design vocabulary, learned as an apprentice in the rural lands of Württemberg, and created identifiable forms for his clients. In looking at a number of pieces with a Harmonist provenance, that design vocabulary becomes clear.

To begin, the joiners evidently produced more than just furniture. For the houses at Harmony, Pennsylvania, they produced window sash for \$20.00 in 1813.<sup>1</sup> In Indiana, they did \$3.75 worth of work for the Great House in 1820.<sup>2</sup> The shop received credit for building coffins [1813, 1820, and 1823] and an occasional pump [1823]. The years 1814, 1819, and 1820 showed the only record of actual pieces of furniture credited to the joiners’ account at the store. Two bedsteads, valued at \$2.00 and \$4.00 respectively, were produced in 1814. In 1819, the joiners made six tables, ranging between \$6.00 to \$6.50 along with two bedsteads. The most expensive piece, a “beaureaux”, credited the

account by \$22.50. Like most craftsmen, the shop also took in all sorts of work including repairing items like a table in 1813.

At its peak, the Harmony Society numbered approximately 800 people. Working to furnish homes for these members, the small joiners' shop quickly developed a common design vocabulary drawn from their German heritage, a heritage shared with their "customers." The immediate needs of new settlements spurred the creation of quick and easy furniture forms to supply the growing community. Comparing the painted chest, first mentioned in Chapter Three (Figure 1), with a walnut chest demonstrates this vocabulary (Figures 4 & 5).

The dimensions of both are nearly identical and the form is the same. The black walnut chest has a history of ownership by Caroline Wolfgang (1857-1957), a member who withdrew from the Harmony Society before its dissolution. It differs from the painted chest in a few details. First, it does not have handles nor is there any indication that such handles ever existed. Second, the black walnut chest has strap hinges with the strap extending on the lid interior and its tail terminating on the interior rear board of the case. Finally, the moldings around the base differ with the painted chest having a concave molding and the walnut chest having a convex molding. These differences are easily attributed to choices by the craftsman.

Easily constructed, this type of chest probably served every member of the community. A more elaborate version of the painted chest maintained the same shape of moldings and bracket feet but added three drawers in the base of the chest (Figure 6). Above the drawers, a decorative molding bands the chest around the middle. Like the above painted chest, the chest boasts massive forged iron handles on each side which are stapled into the case. Two forged iron hinges, ten inches in length, extend down the back of the case. Since at a later period, the chest was lined with cedar shakes, the interior hinges, located on the lid, and the hinge staples are hidden from view. However, the

cedar shakes do not cover the large, original lock.

Two additional chests closely resemble the painted chest with three drawers. The added interest with these two chests is not just the use of a more expensive wood like walnut and cherry, but the additional labor required decorating an object with inlaid patterns. The first chest, unusual for the use of cherry as a primary wood, has the same three-drawer construction (Figure 7). Butt hinges join the lid to the case. No evidence remains to suggest iron handles were ever part of this object. The chest and drawer locks have been replaced or altered over the object's period of existence. The two vertical bands of diamond inlay create a simple decoration for the front of the chest. Unlike the previous chests, the bracket feet have some shape.

The second chest, constructed of walnut, shows a similar diamond inlay on its corners (Figure 8). Yet, the craftsman chose to add a few more inlaid designs to this piece. Diamond inlays highlight the keyholes of the case and the three drawers. Each drawer bears an outline of string inlay near its outer edges. A vertical pillar of dark and light inlay separates each drawer from the next. Like the previous chest, the feet are shaped but with more flair. In terms of hardware, this chest has the large, forged handles, circular lock and strap hinges similar to the painted, three-drawer chest.

It is difficult to conclude that the walnut chest with three drawers, inlaid decoration and forged iron handles expressed greater prestige or position than the simple, painted chest with imported, butt hinges. With the cost of materials and the amount of labor, the walnut and cherry chests do have a greater monetary value than the painted pine chests. Tradition associates the walnut chest with George Rapp and the cherry chest with the Society's physician, Conrad Feucht. Those associations raise a question as to whether or not these objects express a hidden social hierarchy within an egalitarian community? Without proof of ownership, that question will remain unanswered.

The second predominate furniture form produced in the joiners' shop gives more



perspective to that question of social hierarchy. Like the chests, the majority of Harmonist schranken are constructed of pine and/or poplar and painted in different colors. The vertical line plays the most important role in the design of this tall and narrow piece of furniture. A small applied cornice molding finishes the case's top. The case stands on plain feet that are either brackets or extensions of the case boards. Harmonist schranken have only one door which always has a fielded panel construction. Overall, the pieces share a common vocabulary of form that identifies the object as a Harmonist piece when compared to other furniture with a Harmony Society provenance.

Yet, like the chests, when one takes a closer look at individual pieces, we discover differences that mark each piece as unique. The makers made choices in their selection of moldings and door configurations. They expressed different construction techniques and attempted to show variety within their group vocabulary. Individual agency found expression through their products, and we may conclude, that agency was valued. Looking at three Harmonist painted schranken, the variety becomes evident. First, the doors show different arrangements in the fielded panels. One schrank, has a single panel door with the fielded panel taking up the entire space (Figure 2). It sits upon a separate base, a base similar to the feet of many chests, and it has an extra band of bead molding above the door. A second schrank has two fielded panels, of equal size, which visually divide the narrow door (Figure 9). A third painted schrank has a different variation with three fielded panels of graduated size (Figure 10). These last two case pieces do not have attached feet. Rather, the case sides extend to the floor and the feet are cut as half-moon shapes into the base of the boards. Therefore, while all these pieces are similar in form and share the same functions as storage pieces, the joiners injected subtle differences into their design. Overall, the moldings and feet on both schranken and chests give the feeling of a relationship between all of these pieces.

Three related schranken stand out among their fellows. This unusual group of

walnut schrank, without paint, shows a finer quality of wood and greater decorative detail using fancy cornice molding and banded inlay. The workmanship on these pieces required more hours of labor, and hence more cost, than the painted, softwood schranken. At first glance, the walnut schranken, with their use of inlay, side more with high-style pieces produced in accordance with fashion. For the joiners trained in Württemberg, the use of inlaid wood in furniture was part of their furniture tradition.<sup>3</sup> With these objects, they demonstrated their ability to embellish their own tradition and create elaborate objects.

All three schranken share a similar size and construction technique. Each has applied moldings, a single door with double panels, and inlaid decoration. At the base, a wide board separates the upper case from the feet. Only the top panel of one of these schranken is decorated with inlay (Figure 11). The pattern uses alternating ribbons of banded inlay to create a rectangular shape. Another schrank has the same feet and construction as the first schrank (Figure 12). It differs in its inlaid design. On two fielded panels, a single band of inlay creates a rectangular outline with an unusual key at each corner.

A third schrank (Figure 13) differs in three ways from the previous two pieces. First, the case rests upon simple bracket feet rather than turned, ball feet. Second, the door does have two panels but these are not fielded panels. On either side of the door, lines of inlay create a simple, rectangular column to run the vertical length of the case. A single band of inlay outlines each door panel. Each side of its case has two fielded panels. The final difference rests in construction of its case. The other two schranken appear to be dovetailed and nailed together. This schrank, as is true of most Pennsylvania German schranken, is mobile. Large wooden keys hold together different sections of the case. With the keys removed from the interior, the schrank disassembles into six pieces including sides, cornice and base. This object, coupled with the chests

having handles, implies that some pieces of furniture moved with the Harmonists to each of their new settlements.

In truth, the walnut schrank is a more elaborate variation of the painted schrank. Painted and walnut schranks are approximately the same size. They share the features of a crown molding, single door, and fielded panels. All schranken, walnut or pine, have the same function as storage units. Plus, these joiners lived in an egalitarian society where all goods are held in common and, logically, there should be no distinction among members with material goods. So, why did the Harmonist joiners choose to create these three walnut schranken when a painted schrank served the same function? No documentary answer exists, and thus, it rests upon us to create the narrative around these items. As Julian Yates reminds us, we build “layers of narrative” that can offer us the inroads to a greater understanding of experience and action.<sup>4</sup>

The very use of walnut as a primary wood speaks to a narrative by the creator of furniture. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the type of wood used in a piece of furniture influenced its desirability on the part of the consumer and hence raised its price. At the top of the hierarchy stood mahogany, a rich dark wood obtained only through importation to the United States. Walnut stood next in the line of expensive woods followed by cherry and maple. Soft woods, such as pine and poplar, were generally restricted to vernacular furniture or painted furniture, or these woods were stained to imitate the hard woods. Therefore, black walnut implies a ranking of these schranken above painted schranken in terms of materials, cost, and appearance.

The presentation of the walnut objects shows a more powerful use of design elements. The crown molding at the top of the case is much wider on the walnut schranken. The sweeping curve of the molding is far more grand and dramatic. The darkness of the walnut and the wood's density, coupled with moldings that are more dramatic, give an impression of greater size and sturdiness than the softwood cases

despite their similar dimensions. Furthermore, applying a painted finish takes much less time and labor than chiseling grooves for inlaid wood. The use of inlay also requires forethought by the joiner as to the overall finished design he wishes to create. According to the skills of the joiner and the desire of the customer, inlaid patterns can range from simple lines to a more complex landscape complete with lolling figures. Here, the walnut Harmonist schranken rest on the side of simplicity with the inlay patterns consisting of geometric shapes in banded inlay.

The joiners, while showing their own skills in the “art and mystery” of cabinetmaking, constructed an object of pride for their community. The walnut schranken have a long association with the leaders of the Harmony Society and they are currently exhibited in the Great House at Old Economy Village. The Great House was home to George Rapp, and later, the trustees who succeeded his leadership. The Great House served as a background for visitors to the Harmony Society. Outsiders from America and Europe toured this house, dined with the leaders, and admired the furnishings. In this house, the visitor saw the great skills of the Harmonist joiner in the execution of design and construction. The German form, its richness and stability, spoke to the collective pride of the Harmony Society as a successful communal society.

The Harmony Society was not completely isolated. Although exclusive in its religion and society, it did not prohibit knowledge of the outside world. The Society purchased books, music, paintings, and instruments for its members’ enjoyment. They subscribed to newspapers and other periodicals and maintained correspondence. From its accumulated wealth, the Society freely gave donations to local and national organizations. One interesting letter survives from Josiah F. Polk, the Agent for the American Colonization Society. To thank the Society for its sixty dollar donation, Polk writes that it will be used towards the “transportation of Free people of colors (sic) of the United States to the Colony of Liberia in Africa.”<sup>5</sup>

Considering these outside contacts, it is probable that the Harmony Society easily ordered furniture from outside craftsmen. Bills of lading and invoices survive which note shipments of chairs, tables, bedsteads, and a sole secretary.<sup>6</sup> However, Frederick Rapp ordered such few pieces that it seems unlikely these objects were widespread in the community. Indeed, it is more probable that these objects were used in the Great House, or home of the Society leaders. The secretary with bookcase, purchased in 1830 from William Alexander of Pittsburgh, likely served Frederick Rapp rather than another Society member. Included in that lot of furniture was a pair of side tables and a breakfast table, probably destined for the Great House as well.<sup>7</sup>

One import, chairs, may have reached all members of the Harmony Society. Shipped from Pittsburgh, chairs arrived in large quantities. It is not clear whether the Society dealt directly with a chair manufacturer. Rather, it appears that they used their merchant networks to receive these goods. Men, such as George Cochran, supervised or worked for larger merchant associations and supplied a range of goods to the Harmony Society. In return, the Society provided mainly textiles to these merchants. Accounts ran for years and included thousands of transactions.

The Harmony Society did have the capacity to produce seating furniture. Yet, with the combination of surviving invoices and the lack of credits involving chairs, it appears that chairmaking was not extensively pursued, especially at Economy, Pennsylvania. The occupation of chairmaking likely fell into the hands of Gottlob Regori Ruff, the Society turner. Ruff is one of the most recorded names in the joiners' accounts in the Mechanic Books. He worked primarily as a turner and/or wheelwright. Born in 1773 and immigrated to the United States in 1805, he remained in the Society and in his occupation until his death in February of 1856.<sup>8</sup> There is no indication of the types of objects Ruff produced for the joiners. Since the shop did make bedsteads and tables, and likely chairs, Ruff's skills as a wood turner would be an integral part of shop production.

While there can be no absolute answer that Ruff never made a chair, his accounts do not include one piece of seating furniture. In the Mechanic Books, the occupation of Ruff is that of wheelwright. In addition, he is credited with making and mending spinning wheels. Considering the importance of trade, textiles, and agriculture, Ruff's skills would be more efficiently employed in those occupations, especially since chairs were inexpensively shipped from Pittsburgh. Over three years at Economy, 1828 to 1831, at least 126 chairs traveled up the Ohio from Pittsburgh. J. Hanson, a Pittsburgh merchant, charged \$8.50 for a dozen of "Common chairs" and \$18.00 for a dozen of "Fancy chairs," in 1828.<sup>9</sup> In November 1830, John D. Davis shipped forty-eight chairs to Economy and two months later, George Cochran sent thirty-six common chairs at \$9.00 a dozen.<sup>10</sup> In the end, the Society selected a more efficient option for seating furniture. The purchase of chairs from Pittsburgh, where specialists could turn them out in huge quantities, permitted Ruff and the joiners to pursue other projects within the community.<sup>11</sup>

The importation of chairs and other furniture reveals that the Harmonist joiner did have access to the outside furniture forms like secretaries and sideboards. Evidently, it proved more efficient to order these items from specialists rather than build them in the shop. The Harmonist joiner restricted his production to more simple objects. Changing economic and demographic factors also affected the retention of these simple pieces. Population loss due to defection and death eliminated the demand for more furniture. Society profits increased the ability to purchase household items. Simply, there was eventually no need for joinery. Consequently, the shop closed before there was any development of a distinct Harmonist style.

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<sup>1</sup>Mechanic Book 1813-1815, HSR.

<sup>2</sup>Mechanic Book 1815-1826, HSR.

<sup>3</sup>A publication by a museum in Württemberg recently highlighted early eighteenth-century furniture. While these examples are high-style pieces, they demonstrate an amazing use of inlaid woods. *Barockmöbel aus Württemberg und Hohenlohe, 1700-1750* (Stuttgart: Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1985).

<sup>4</sup>Graduate Seminar discussion, December 9, 1998. University of Delaware.

<sup>5</sup>Josiah Polk to Frederick Rapp and the Harmony Society, September 1, 1829.

<sup>6</sup>Invoice, April 22, 1830, HSR. "From George Cochran, agent of the Pittsburgh Manufacturing Association to Frederick Rapp: 5 single beadsteads, 4 double beadsteads, and 5 small tables, shipped on the keel boat, Beaver Packet."

<sup>7</sup>Invoice, September 17, 1830, HSR; Bill of Lading, September 17, 1830, HSR.

<sup>8</sup> "Tabel Buch der Namen Der Kinder," HSR.

<sup>9</sup>Invoice, May 16, 1828, HSR. Frederick Rapp purchased two dozen of the "Common chairs" for \$17.00 and one-half dozen of the "Fancy chairs" for \$9.00. Later, on September 18, 1828, Rapp received another set of "Fancy chairs" from Hanson for \$10.00.

<sup>10</sup>Bill of Lading, November 5, 1830.; Invoice, January 6, 1831, HSR.

<sup>11</sup>Little research exists on the Pittsburgh furniture industry. In her article on Windsor chairs and the "West," Nancy Goyne Evans touches on some of the trade networks and relationships between the East Coast and the Ohio River Valley. She notes that, in 1807, there were five manufacturers of Windsor chairs in Pittsburgh. Nancy Goyne Evans, "Design Transmission in Vernacular Seating Furniture: The Influences of Philadelphia and Baltimore Styles on Chairmaking from the Chesapeake Bay to the West," in *American Furniture 1993*, ed. Luke Beckerdite (Hanover, NH: The Chipstone Foundation, 1993), 75-116.

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSIONS: THE END OF A TRADITION

On May 28, 1824, Michael Daut, the son of joiner John Daut, sent the following request to George Rapp:

“We have heard that you want to move away from this place [New Harmony, Indiana] and therefore I want to ask if you would be so good and let me and one of my siblings have a little pieces of land to live on. I do not think that you could deny me this request since my father and my mother for 17 years have put their sweat into this harmony (sic). Yes, you will say why do they not remain? (Yes dear brother, they cannot cross my path it was too hard for us.)”<sup>1</sup>

At some time between 1819 and this letter, John Daut and his family withdrew from the Harmony Society. The reasons behind this decision may never be clear. As Michael writes, the family found communal life too difficult. Furthermore, the Dauts may have felt confident that they could now survive in this new world without the support of a communal society. The original decision to band together and share goods for survival lost its potency as the settlements flourished and prospered. The departure of the Dauts was the first known defection from the joiners' shop.

Georg Adam Jung soon followed Daut. Jung's name continues to appear sporadically in the Mechanic Books until 1816. At some time between that year and 1834, Jung defected from the Society. Jung may have remained in Indiana along with Daut. It is possible that he moved back to Pennsylvania and Economy only to leave with the Count Leon faction in 1832. In either respect, the joiners' shop lost both of its known joiners within the same period.

Two men stepped into the vacancies around the year 1835. David König, the



former carpenter now in his seventies, worked as a joiner until his death in 1844. The second man was Daniel Schreiber, the only known second-generation Harmonist joiner. Born enroute from Europe in 1806, Daniel Schreiber was the only child of Ludwig (1782-1852) and Elisabeth Schreiber (1790-1859).<sup>2</sup> Daniel, received his education within the Harmony Society, learning both German and English. Schreiber worked as joiner as early as 1835 until before 1868.<sup>3</sup> After this date and to his death in 1883, Schreiber served as the innkeeper of the Economy Hotel, a hotel operated by the Harmony Society for visitors and travelers.

Several factors facilitated the end of cabinetmaking at Economy. First, Economy was the final move in three decades of migration. Some pieces of furniture imply movement. One walnut schrank, discussed in Chapter 4, disassembles into moveable pieces. Some chests have large, iron handles on their sides to facilitate lifting and moving them. Therefore, it appears that the Harmonists were able to bring furniture with them as they returned up the Ohio River. In the first years at Economy, the shop filled with all sorts of work. To think of the construction of a town, including a granary, mills, houses, barns, and numerous structures, all woodworkers contributed to the work at hand. Once the houses were built, they needed to be furnished, not just with chests, schranken, tables, and beds, but moldings, shelves, cupboards, and enough other work to keep the joiners, carpenters, and turners occupied.

After construction at Economy ceased, the joiners' shop settled into a period of calm. The town prospered but the Society had reached its peak of membership. Eight years after the start of Economy, a series of events occurred, events that contributed to the end of shop and community. In 1832, the crisis over Count Leon carried 140 members away from Economy.<sup>4</sup> Frederick Rapp died in 1834. George Rapp died in 1847. With the ensuing change in leadership, the Society slowly turned from manufacturing to capital investment for its income and growth. This change to

investment was the result of another set of factors. The decision to adopt celibacy started to create economic repercussions within the community. By the 1830s and 1840s, the first-generation of Harmonists grew old and passed away. After the traumatic events surrounding Count Leon, the Society's leadership usually refused to accept new people into the community. As the population decreased, there were fewer people to manage the workshops, mills, and farms. The Society turned to outside, hired labor to work in the remaining industries and invested their great wealth.

The joiners' shop suffered from this decline in activity. As life at Economy quieted into settled patterns and all construction ceased, there was no more need to manufacture furniture for members. Although Schreiber remained listed in tax records as a joiner, the joiners' account in the Mechanic Books dropped dramatically in production after 1838. After this date, the joiners' shop became just a traditional name in the Mechanic Books, a name printed as a force of habit. Effectively, production ceases after this period and remaining entries are sporadic and small. After 1868, Schreiber formally adopted the title of innkeeper for the Economy Hotel.

The Harmony Society did not consciously create its own distinct style of furniture. No documents, nor objects, survive to entertain ideas that the Society strove to reject, or accept, contemporary styles. Rather, the common vocabulary in Harmonist furniture is the result of a static shop tradition. This shop tradition developed from the interaction of a few craftsmen with clients of the same religious, social, and economic background. The members of the Harmony Society mainly came from the region around Iptingen. Outside visitors frequently commented on the maintenance of regional costume, German language, and customs within the settlements. The Harmonists were familiar with the forms of chests and schranken produced by the joiners' shop. Since the joiners were able to meet the taste of their primary clientele, there was no need to make changes in form or function.

Furthermore, the Harmonist joiners maintained their German heritage due to their own age and skills. Among the first generation of Harmonists, two men are positively identified as joiners. Other craftsmen, a few carpenters and a turner, perhaps contributed to the production of the joiners' shop. All of these men were near or at middle age upon their arrival in the United States and the construction of the first settlement. At this age, these men had already acquired their cabinetmaking skills in Germany and did not learn new skills in the United States. If these men trained apprentices, they likely passed on these same skills and styles. Since the joiners' shop remained active for only about one generation of craftsmen, there was not sufficient time or impetus for the Harmonist joiner to develop a truly unique heritage.

The Harmony Society did not export furniture for sale in outside communities. Therefore, the joiners did not deal with clients who wanted fashionable pieces of furniture or different forms of furniture. Neither did the Society import large amounts of case furniture for its own members. Without the stimulus of competition, the joiners were free of fluctuations in taste and decoration. They did not have to compete with other cabinetshops for the domination of their market.

This does not imply that the Harmonist joiner became isolated from contemporary styles and outside cabinetwork. Bills of lading and invoices indicate that Frederick Rapp did order some case pieces from Pittsburgh that included a secretary.<sup>5</sup> In March, 1837, Mrs. Way, the widow of Pittsburgh merchant, Abishai Way, came to live at Economy. Abishai Way had long been in business with Frederick Rapp acting primarily as a buyer of Harmonist textiles. Upon his death, his widow, her family, and her furniture went to live in the community. A bill of lading lists the extent of Mrs. Way's furniture:

3 chests, 1 Wardrobe, 2 Settees, 1 Stand, 2 Craddles (sic), 3 bundles Chairs, 2 benches, 3 mahogany tables, 2 arm chairs, 1 washstand, 1 stool, 1 Sideboard, 1 Cott (sic), 1 Curtain frame, 3 Bed Steads (sic), 1 dz. green chairs, 1 dough trough, 2 Bureaus, 1 Pine table, 2 Rocking chairs, 1 table, 1 sick chair.<sup>6</sup>

A sideboard with a Way family provenance is now in the collection of Old Economy Village. It is unlike any surviving Harmonist object with its paw feet, veneered surfaces, and gothic arches. This sideboard is a fashionable piece of furniture in the Empire style. This piece was available to the Harmonist joiners and members, yet, there is no surviving objects which imitate it.

The joiners were capable of creating fashionable objects with more complex construction techniques. The more elaborate Harmonist case pieces, such as the small walnut and cherry cupboard and the walnut schranken show an innovative and masterful use of inlaid pattern and architectural design. However, their primary concern was the needs of their own community, a community without a stated desire for gothic arches and paw feet. Overall, the Harmony Society, as it settled into a retirement on the Ohio River, expressed a satisfaction with the work of its joiners' shop.

This look at the Harmony Society attempted to frame these ideas within the context of case pieces with a Harmonist provenance and the experience of the Harmonist joiner. Taken as a whole, the objects produced in the joiners' shop share a collective vocabulary of design. Each piece varies in a few details of construction or decoration. Likewise, the joiners themselves have both traits of a collective identity and an individual identity. These men shared a religious belief based in the theology of George Rapp. They all made the same decision to commit their lives to his teachings and their own religious faith. Some joiners chose to exercise their own individual will through leaving the Harmony Society. Others labored for its welfare until their deaths.

In Ambridge, Pennsylvania, a few city blocks from the current Economy museum site, there is a large, flat park bounded by streets. This level plane of grass is the cemetery for the Harmony Society. No gravestones mark where individual members rest. The Harmonists did not acknowledge individuals, great or small, with monuments. Nor

was the goal of this thesis to raise monuments to individual craftsmen. Indeed, the goal was to seek a better understanding of this community of people through the media of one subgroup and their objects. From it, we learn that the Harmonists did not radically alter their style of life upon migration to the United States. They maintained their German craft tradition and style in the midst of developing a new economic and religious system in a foreign land. The maintenance of a style was not an active decision to glorify their Germanic heritage or develop a unique material identity, rather, this was a passive decision to utilize a style of life which already worked. The Harmonist joiner chose to pursue a new religion and new world, yet he comfortably retained his own, individual, skills and traditions.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup>Michael Daut to George Rapp, 28 May 1824, HSR. Dautt wrote from an unidentified town probably in or around Indiana. The original letter is in German script. I am indebted to Professor Baerent, Department of Foreign Languages, Virginia Commonwealth University, for her translation of the transcribed text.

<sup>2</sup>Burial Register, [undated], HSR.

<sup>3</sup>Mechanic Book 1826-1853.; "Tax Book of Harmony Township, Beaver County, Pennsylvania, 1868," HSR.

<sup>4</sup>Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, 1983, 3.

<sup>5</sup>Invoice, September 17, 1830. Bill of Lading, September 17, 1830. HSR.

<sup>6</sup>Bill of Lading, March 4, 1837. HSR.

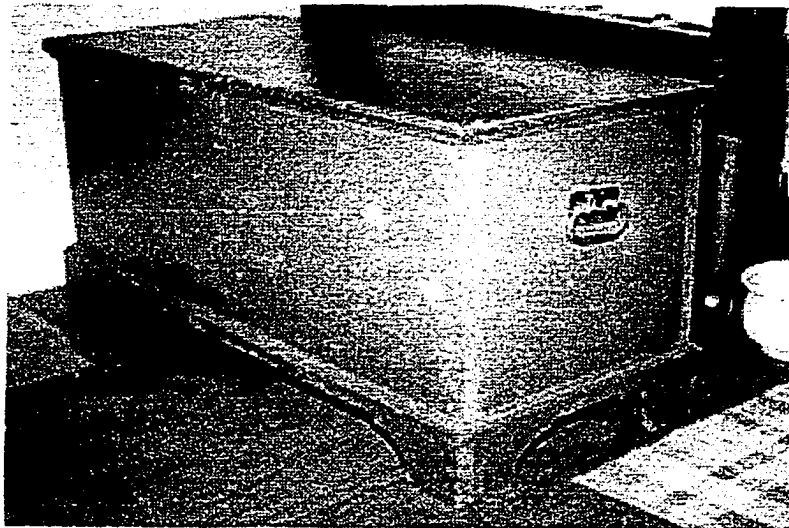


Figure 1. Chest. Harmony Society, 1805-1850. Pine or poplar with red paint; H. 12 3/4," W. 45," D. 19 1/4." (Courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999.)



Figure 2. Schrank. Harmony Society, 1810-1850. Pine or poplar with red paint; H. 74," W. 40 1/4," D. 17 1/4." (Courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)



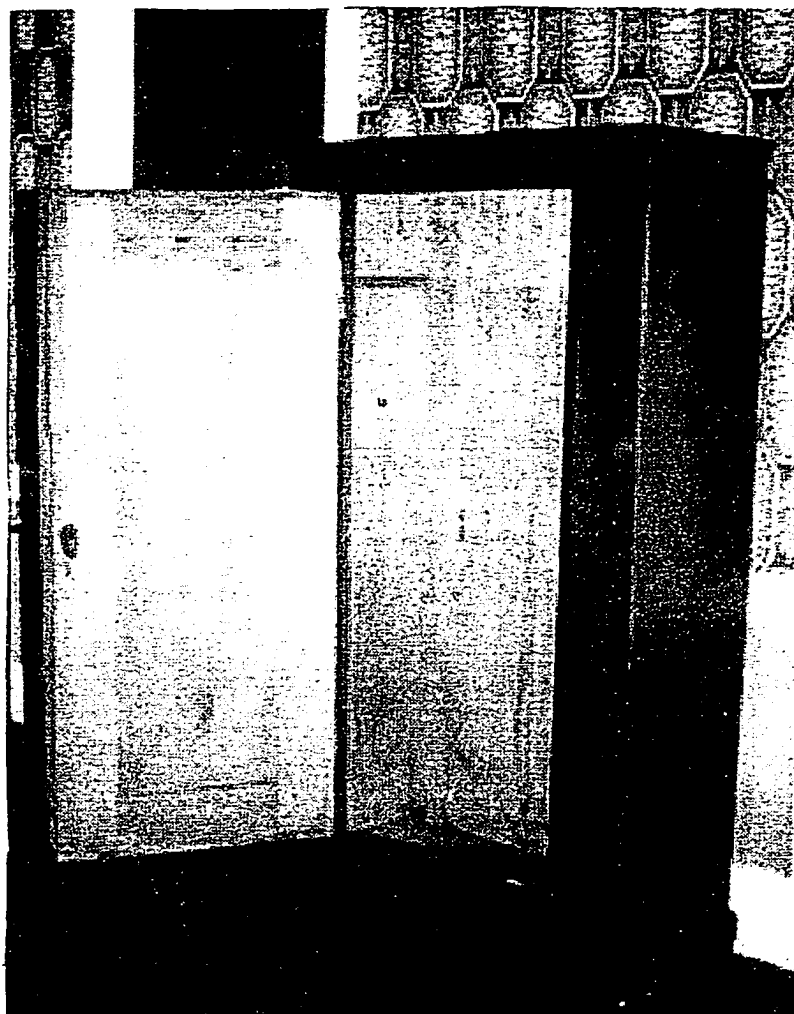


Figure 3. Interior of schrank in Figure 2.  
(Courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania  
Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)

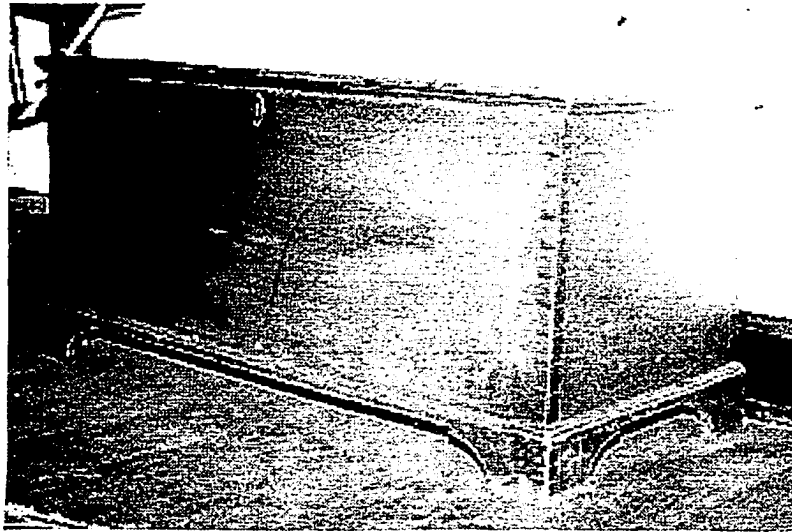


Figure 4. Chest. Harmony Society, 1805-1860. Walnut with pine; H. 20 5/8," W. 41 7/8," D. 19 1/8."  
(Courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)

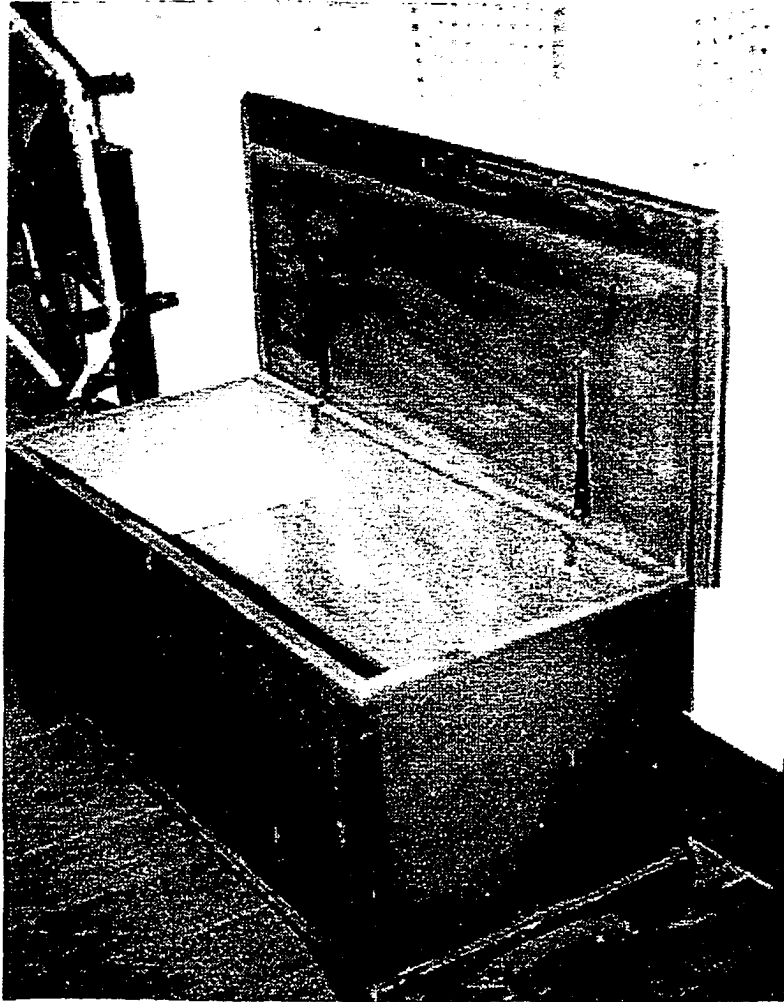


Figure 5. Interior view of Figure 4 featuring strap hinges.  
(Courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania  
Historical and Museum Commission, 1999.)

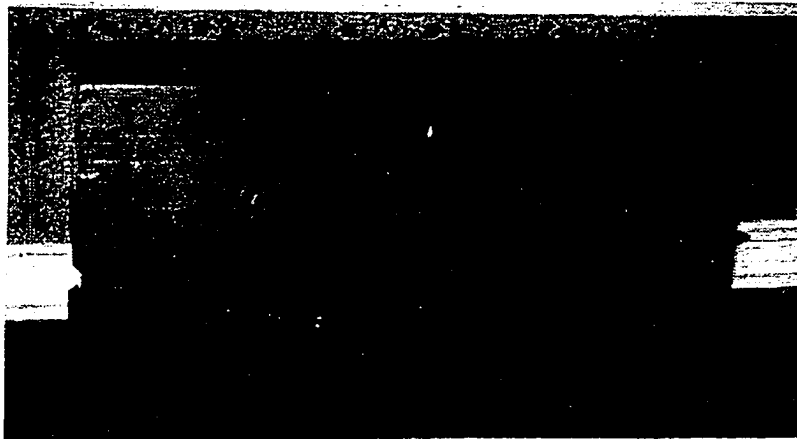


Figure 6. Chest. Harmony Society, 1805-1840. Pine or poplar with red and blue paint; H. 27," W. 53," D. 24."  
(Photo courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)

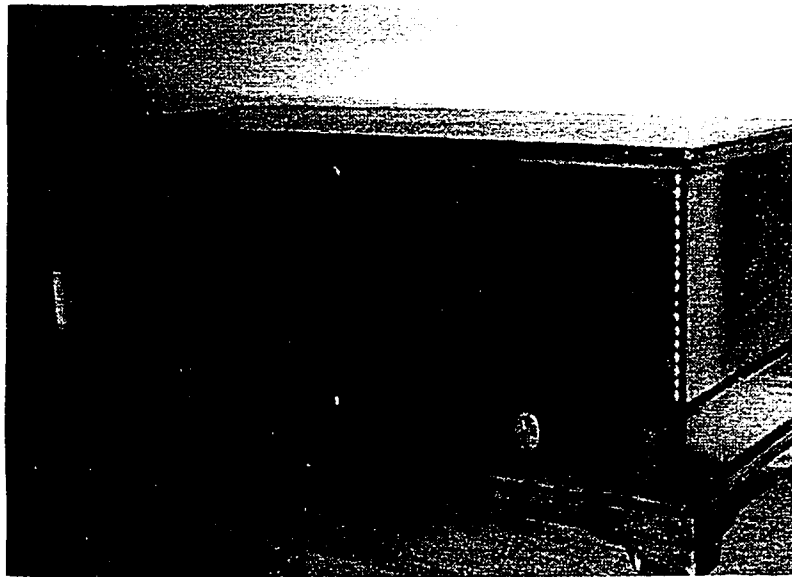


Figure 7. Chest. Harmony Society, 1805-1830. Cherry with pine; H. 23 1/2," W. 46 1/2," D. 19 1/2."  
(Photo courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)

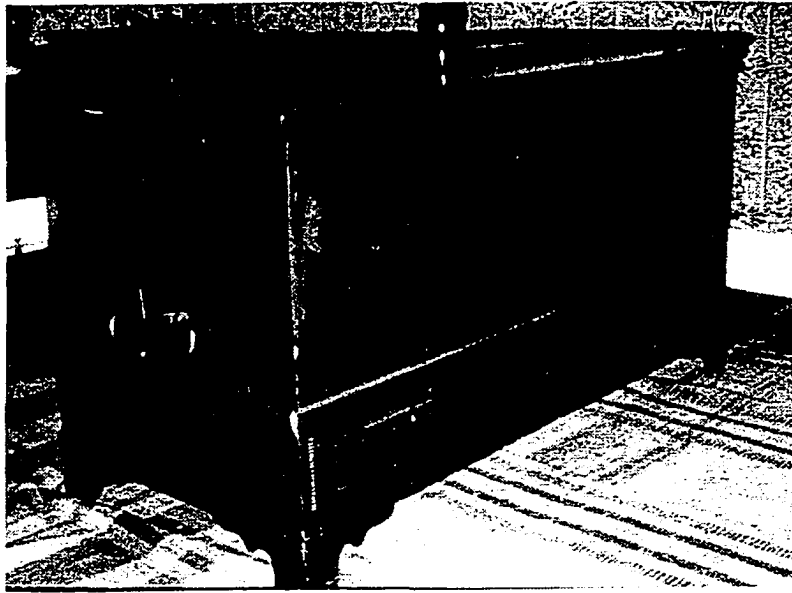


Figure 8. Chest. Harmony Society, 1805-1830. Black walnut with pine; H. 29 3/4," W. 51," D. 24 1/2."  
(Photo courtesy of Old Economy Village,  
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission,  
1999)



Figure 9. Schrank. Harmony Society, 1805-1850. Pine or poplar with dark brown paint; H. 76 3/4," W. 41 1/2," D. 17 3/8." (Courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)

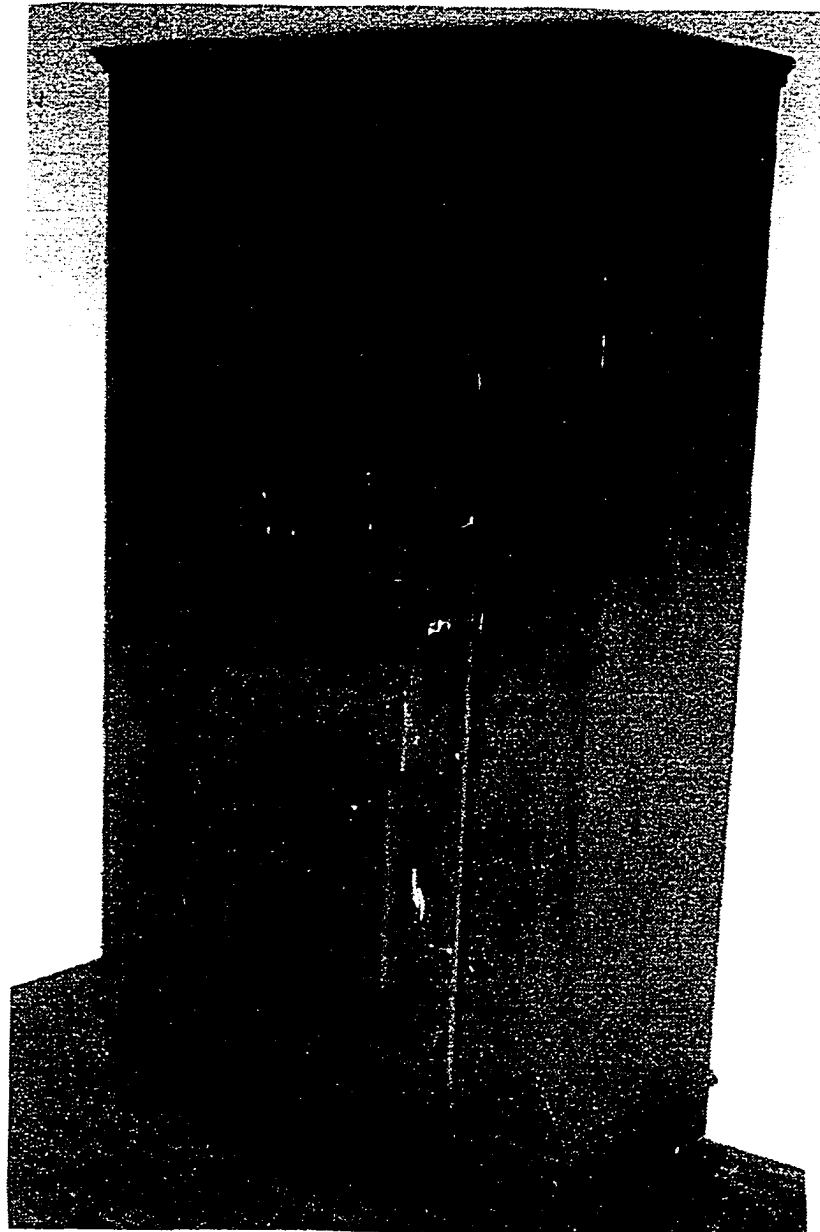


Figure 10. Schrank. Harmony Society, 1805-1850. Pine or poplar with brown paint; H. 73," W. 40 1/4," D. 18 1/4." (Photo courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)





Figure 11. Schrank. Harmony Society, 1805-1830. Blackwalnut with pine or poplar; H. 78 1/2," W. 46 1/2," D. 20 1/4." (Photo courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)

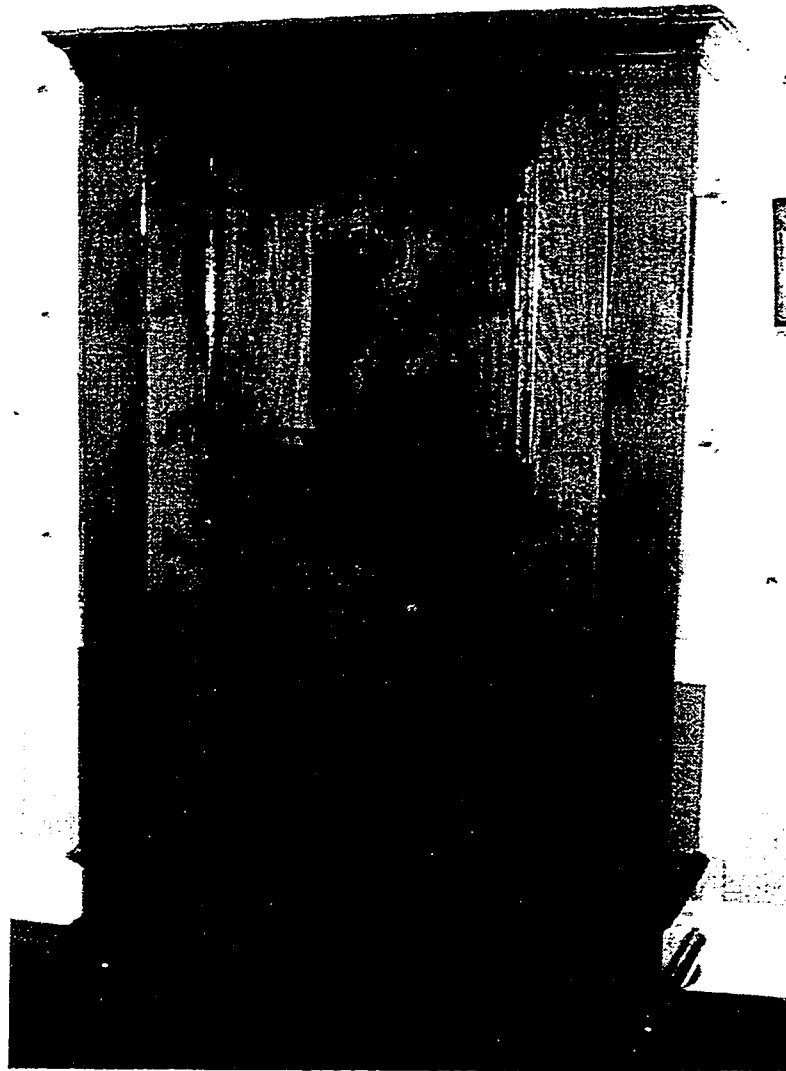


Figure 12. Schrank. Harmony Society, 1805-1830. Black walnut with pine or poplar; H. 81 3/4," W. 52," D. 13 3/8."  
(Photo courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)



Figure 13. Schrank. Harmony Society, 1805-1825. Black walnut with pine or poplar; H. 78," W. 49 1/4," D. 23."  
(Photo courtesy of Old Economy Village, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1999)

**APPENDIX**  
**MECHANIC BOOKS**

# Mechanic Book 1807

Craftsman/Shop	Trade	Credit	Debit
Bentel	Liefert [cooper]	\$16.79	
Bohringer	Wagner [wagoner]		\$0.40
Friederich Braun	Schneider [tailor]	\$3.00	
Conrad Boehm		\$25.56	
Christian Barohet	[shoemaker]		\$39.58
Chrisin Wohrle	Shuemaker [sic]		\$1.00
Thomas Wohrle	weber [weaver]		\$0.63
Bernhard Durrwachler	liefter [cooper]	\$0.27	
Jacob Durr	taylor [sic]		
John Daut	schreiner [joiner]		\$2.29
Jacob Durr	Weber [weaver]	\$1.84	\$1.00
Micheal Dukenbrod	[shoemaker]		\$912.62
Georg Forshner			\$6.95
Georg Gaier	nagelscheid [nailmaker]		\$43.85
Christoph Bauer			\$0.40
Joseph Gotterwa	schmidt [smith]	\$105.27	\$648.24
Ludwig Hagmaier		\$11.29	\$0.67
Peter Haftele	shoemaker	\$0.22	\$2.33
Christo Muller	doctor	\$259.84	\$353.05
David Laible	shoemaker		\$75.35
David Konig			\$5.25
John Myer	zimmerman [carpenter]		\$0.15
Jacob Kingenstein		\$36.88	\$73.52
Wilhelm Henger	[shoemaker]		\$151.13
Friederich Laible	shoemaker		\$75.35
Jacob Launer			\$4.52
Gottlob Ruft	[woodworker]	\$6.03	\$55.00
Georg Rhuckenbrod			\$5.44
Philip Keppeler	blue dyer		\$154.76
Michael Ruckenbrod	shoemaker	\$292.57	\$377.73
Georg Schmid	smith	\$53.01	\$802.52
Jacob Laible	shoemaker	\$10.00	\$27.87
Peter Schreiber			\$2.00
Jacob Schnekenburger	shoemaker		\$51.83
David Krauter			\$63.89
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$822.57</b>	<b>\$3,939.32</b>

# Mechanic Book 1809-1810

Craftsman/Shop	Trade	Credit	Debit
Christian Barchet	shoemaker		\$32.91
John Dout	[woodworker]		\$5.55
Georg Forshner	[woodworker]	\$2.00	\$13.21
Christoph Bauer	[woodworker]	\$2.32	\$7.72
Joseph Gotterwa	schmidt [smith]	\$44.68	\$383.23
Christoph Muller	doctor	\$731.91	\$721.65
Adam Jung	[cabinetmaker]		\$13.81
Ludwig Hagmeier	schneider [tailor]	\$185.64	
Johannes Myer	zimmerman [carpenter]		\$0.14
David Laupple	shoemaker		\$191.10
David Konig	zimmerman [carpenter]		\$8.00
Jacob Klingenstein	weaver	\$278.02	\$12.85
Whilliam Hanger	shoemaker		\$143.43
Fredk Saible	shoemaker		\$118.97
Weber		\$85.88	\$7.57
Jacob Launer	weaver	\$37.26	\$4.69
Godlob Ruff	wheelwright	\$154.06	\$37.11
David Krauter	terner [tanner]	\$2,801.40	\$559.98
Philip Keppeler	blue dyer	\$1,635.02	\$807.96
Michael Rukenbrodt	[shoemaker]	\$2,079.81	\$3,127.36
Georg Schmidt	schmidt [smith]	\$465.27	\$2,050.67
Jacob Laible	shoemaker		\$72.52
Chrisian Riesh	[shoemaker]		\$13.81
Christian Wohrle	shoemaker		\$19.70
Thomas Wohrle	weber [weaver]		\$1.70
Peter Shriver		\$25.50	\$5.59
Matthias Reiff junior	weaver		\$0.86
Jacob Shnegenburger	[shoemaker]		\$151.27
John Rapp			\$11.50
Fred Z(?)ller		\$7.25	\$18.27
Sattler Master		\$425.78	\$383.33
Salomon Harcher	shoemaker		\$0.51
David Muller		\$8.40	\$39.22
Johannes Schnabel	potash maker	\$800.22	\$56.21
Georg Weingartner		\$16.71	\$2.64
John Schreiber	sadler	\$1,250.63	\$900.82
John Reichard		\$1,135.69	
David Krauter		\$1,602.71	\$83.85
John Conselman	hatmaker	\$221.38	\$149.60
<b>TOTAL</b>		\$13,997.54	\$10,159.31

# Mechanic Book 1811-1812

Craftsman/Shop	Trade	Credit	Debit
George Bentel	cooper (master)	\$755.42	\$33.37
John Boehringer	wagonmacker [sic]	\$124.43	\$8.99
Conrad Boehm	bridgesmaker [breeches maker]	\$89.19	\$1.00
Christian Barchet	shoemaker		\$33.47
Christoph Bauer	wheelwright	\$4.50	\$3.56
George Conselman	hatmaker	\$890.33	\$650.45
George Forshner	zimmermann [carpenter]		\$16.38
David Grauter	tanner	\$9,427.53	\$3,246.84
William Haenger	shoemaker		\$798.65
Lewis Hagmeier	taylor [sic]	\$322.57	\$7.52
David Koenig	zimmermann [carpenter]		\$18.73
Fredk Keppler	bluedyer	\$3,368.67	\$1,891.67
David Laible	shoemaker		\$93.62
Fredk Laible	shoemaker		\$106.57
Jacob Laible	shoemaker		\$70.48
Christoph Muller	doctor	\$1,037.15	\$581.99
David Muller	horse farrior	\$9.00	\$0.75
Godlob Muller	potash worcks [sic]	\$192.36	\$8.88
Godlob Ruff	wheelwright	\$281.37	\$27.72
Michael Rukenbrodt	shoemaker		\$8.14
Sholly & Woehrly	shoemaker	\$3,363.26	\$2,063.14
Christian Riesh	shoemaker		\$45.49
John Reichart	ropemaker	\$620.76	\$1.25
Smith shop altogether		\$887.58	\$2,295.26
Peter Shriver	windmill maker	\$25.00	\$4.36
Jacob Schreckenburger	shoemaker		\$74.48
Schreiner Shop all together		\$5.70	\$45.71
John Schriver	sattler [sic]	\$1,375.43	\$872.11
Weber shop alltogether		\$560.62	\$37.02
Christoph Weber	poter [sic]	\$300.00	\$94.66
George Weingartner	skindresser	\$524.25	\$318.79
Millers tools alltogether			\$20.47
Hatter shop in full		\$2,010.07	\$1,316.92
Wool Carding machines			\$6,647.55
Fredk Muller	tinner	\$187.09	\$254.84
David Ruff	paperstamper	\$207.64	\$149.85
William Lichtey	hatter	\$67.55	\$67.72
William Blumpee	skindresser	\$80.00	\$80.00
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$26,717.47</b>	<b>\$21,998.40</b>

# **Mechanic Book 1813-1815**

<b>Craftsman/Shop</b>	<b>Trade</b>	<b>Credit</b>	<b>Debit</b>
Georg Bentel	cooper	\$1,335.34	\$71.02
John Boehringer	wagonmaker	\$322.44	\$11.85
Conrad Boehm	breechesmaker	\$309.66	\$150.95
Georg Conzelman	hatter	\$4,893.12	\$2,365.08
Fredk Ekensperger	tavern		\$4,222.94
George Forshner	carpenter		\$27.22
Lewis Hagmayer	taylor [sic]	\$502.98	\$21.85
William Hinger	shoemaker		\$2,138.65
Joiner Shop		\$57.17	\$51.00
Fredk Keppler	blue dyer	\$31,429.26	\$17,798.40
David Krauter	tanner	\$10,340.37	\$4,494.91
Christoph Muller	doctor	\$1,445.40	\$1,825.02
Fredk Muller	tinner	\$230.64	\$142.61
Godlob Muller	potash works	\$177.11	
Mills			\$14.11
Wool Carding Machine			
Cotton Machine		\$100.87	\$306.16
Nail Machine		\$325.70	\$360.20
John Reichert	ropemaker	\$715.84	\$260.59
David Ruff	tapestry macker [sic]	\$372.60	\$459.00
Gottlob Ruff	wheelwright	\$94.63	\$32.15
Matthew Scholle	shoemaker	\$6,477.01	\$2,315.48
John Shriber	sadler	\$4,295.06	\$4,003.87
Peter Shriber		\$3.80	\$2.59
Smith shop		\$1,495.49	\$1,544.24
Weaver shop		\$597.35	\$62.82
George Weingartner	skindresser	\$1,499.39	\$590.46
Christoph Weber	potter	\$300.00	\$100.53
Spitzenberger	furier [sic]	\$606.80	\$221.74
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$67,928.03</b>	<b>\$43,595.44</b>



## List of Trades

### Mechanic Book 1815-1826

Wheelwrights  
 Carpenters  
 Joiners  
 Taylors [sic]  
 Potters  
 Carders (wool)  
 Doctor  
 Manufactory [sic]  
 Weavers  
 Dyers  
 Nailmanufactory [sic]  
 Shoemaker (Sholley)  
 Sadlers  
 Smiths  
 Tavern  
 Tinner  
 Distillery  
 Land Clearing  
 Sto[c]king weaver  
 Coopers  
 Breeches maker  
 Mill  
 Shoemaker (Hinger)  
 Tanners  
 Hatters  
 Cloth for Society  
 Wagonmackers [sic]  
 Rob[e]maker  
 Brewery

### Mechanic Book 1820-1825

Brewery  
 Breechesmaker  
 Barber  
 Carpenters  
 Coopers  
 Cordwood  
 Doctor  
 Dyers  
 Distillery south  
 Distillery north  
 Hatters  
 Joiners  
 Landclearing  
 Mills  
 Manufactory wool  
 Manufactory cotton  
 Potter  
 Ropemakers  
 Sadlers  
 Shoemakers Scholle  
 Shoemakers Hinger  
 Smiths Shop  
 Stocking weavers  
 Tavern  
 Tanner  
 Tinner  
 Taylors [sic]  
 Weavers  
 Wagonmakers  
 Wheelrights [sic]  
 Wool carder

### Mechanic Book 1826-1853

Blacksmith  
 Brewery  
 Cotton Factory  
 Cloth  
 Cooper  
 Doctor  
 Distillery  
 Glovemaker  
 Hatter  
 Joiner  
 Mill  
 Machinery  
 Oil Mill  
 Potter  
 Reed maker  
 Saw Mill  
 Society  
 Shoemaker  
 Sadler  
 Soap Boiler  
 Silk Factory  
 Tanner  
 Tinner  
 Turner & Painter  
 Tavern  
 Taylor [sic]  
 Wool Factory  
 Wagonmaker  
 Museum

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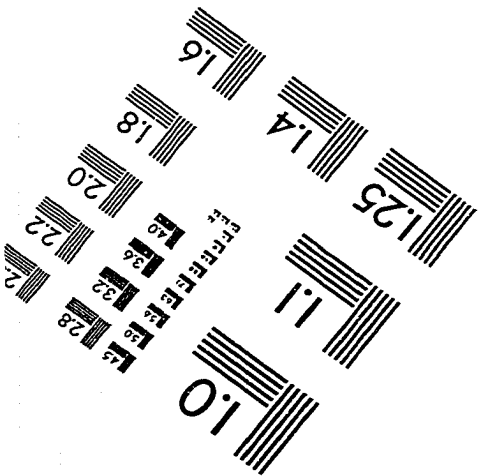
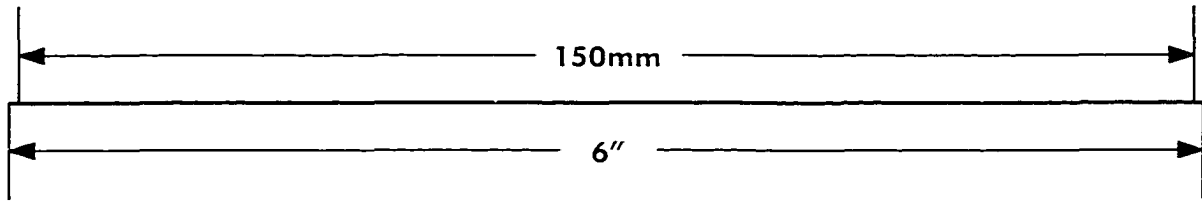
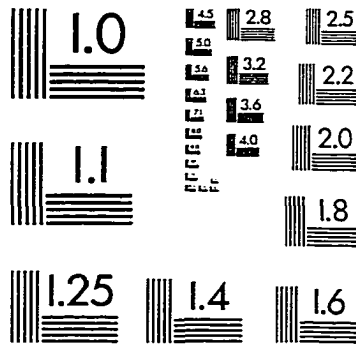
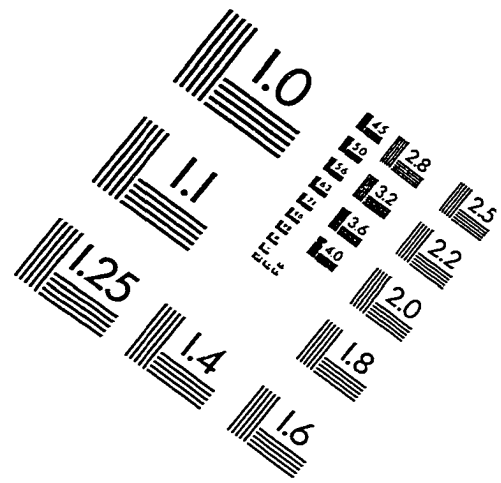
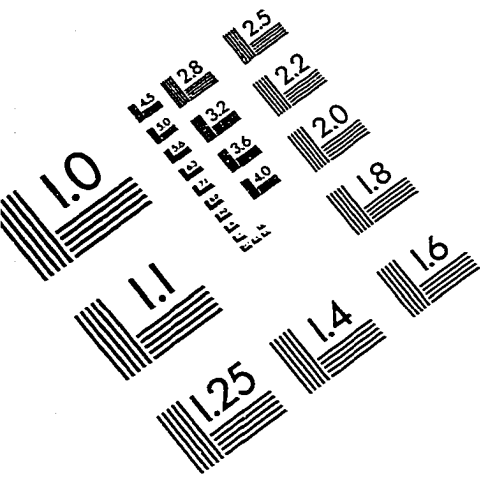
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