

The Road From Harmony

By Eileen Aiken English

The Harmony Society dissolved in 1905—one hundred years after its founding, and one hundred twenty years after Georg Rapp first drew a following in Germany. In 1992 an effort was made to compile a directory of its membership, including some demographic information; it was published as *Georg Rapp's Disciples, Pioneers, and Heirs: A Register of the Harmonists in America*.¹ Sadly, the work is incomplete and contains errors.

This author has undertaken a revision, based on information from a variety of public and private records and a review of documents in the Harmonist archives. As the search nears completion, some interesting facts are emerging. One is that more people joined the Society than was previously thought. The number of Harmonists identified to date is approximately eighteen hundred. Another surprising fact is the rate of attrition. Previously it was believed that relatively few brethren left the community; however, only about half of those who joined remained lifelong members.

In the amended edition, the *Demographic Directory of the Harmony Society 1805-1905*,² the membership is classified in several different ways, enabling a reader to detect patterns. This article addresses patterns and trends in the section, “Secession,” wherein Harmonists are listed by date of departure, with ages noted. The author subdivides her observations according to epochs of Society history, constructing profiles of seceding classes, and analyzing them for differences. The purpose is to enable the reader to observe the ebb and flow of secession as the Society evolved.

The Early Years

Georg Rapp was an avid Separatist who profoundly disagreed with the mandated faith in the church-controlled Duchy of Württemberg. He and his disciples in Iptingen, their native village, refused to take the requisite oath of homage, send their children to school, or have them baptized or confirmed in the church.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Rapp's popularity soared. He had supporters in dozens of villages across at least eighteen districts.³ The number has been estimated at more than ten thousand. Yet Georg

Rapp was just one of many Separatist leaders, and as the movement gained strength, it became an increasing threat to the church/state government. Tolerance ended when Duke Ferdinand II ascended to the throne in 1797; six years later, his power was greatly expanded. In January of 1804, his electoral decree decrying Separatism was read publicly to the people of Iptingen.⁴

Meanwhile, Rapp and his closest allies at Iptingen—Christian Hörnle, Michael Conzelman, and others—were openly flouting authority. Rapp's doctrine continued to evolve and became defined as Radical Pietism. Gradually, differences emerged between his thinking and that of his disciples. When Hörnle and Conzelman broke away, their shared congregation divided into factions. Rapp maintained a large following, although many supporters attended meetings of other leaders as well.⁵

Increasing adverse pressure from the authorities caused all Separatists to consider their priorities. In 1798, Rapp acquired a new lieutenant, Friedrich Reichert, who became his colleague for life, and later changed his name to Friedrich Rapp. The two organized a mass emigration to America, where a colony of Radical Pietists was to be founded. Not all of Rapp's German followers signed on to the plan. Many went to other parts of Germany, Europe, or America, while some managed to co-exist with the established church and remain in their native villages.

By the time Ferdinand's decree reached Iptingen, Georg Rapp was already in America. He had left the previous summer to scout for land, leaving Friedrich to organize those who would emigrate. Accompanying Rapp on the mission were three close colleagues—his son Johannes, Dr. P. Friedrich Conrad Haller, and Dr. J. Christoph Müller. For many months the four scoured the frontier, seeking sufficient acreage to build a town surrounded by large farms. Eventually, Rapp settled on a tract of land near Zelienople, on Connoquenessing Creek in western Pennsylvania.⁶

During their foray, Haller left on his own for Baltimore, and broke off communication with Rapp. Later it became apparent that he had not been pleased with the evolving plans. When an early shipload of Separatist immigrants arrived in the summer of 1804, Haller led a group of them to northeastern Pennsylvania. By October 19, they were settled in Blooming Grove, the locale of his new colony.⁷

Regarding those who left with Haller, neither their numbers nor their names are known. However, their departure was significant. If the groups lost to Hörnle and Conzelman marked the first major secession of Rapp's

followers, this was the second. Already things were not going well for Rapp, and the Harmony Society was yet to be founded.

Harmony, Pennsylvania

By autumn of 1804, a large congregation of Rapp's followers had gathered near Connoquenessing Creek, where the town of Harmony was taking shape. On February 15, 1805, the Harmony Society was chartered, with all members signing a contract called "Articles of Agreement." This document contained three demands: that brethren donate all material possessions to a common treasury, that they obey Georg Rapp, and that they not ask for anything should they decide to leave the Society. In return, they were to receive lodging, food, clothing, health care, a good secular education, freedom of religious discussion, and more. At Georg Rapp's discretion, anyone leaving might receive a small donation;⁸ however, neither the individual's initial contribution nor his work time would be a factor in this token.

Apparently, the conditions for membership were not widely debated before the "Articles of Agreement" was presented for signatures. The plans discussed in Germany seem not to have included communality of goods. Just months after joining, a number of Harmonists found this arrangement less congenial than individual ownership. Under the leadership of Dr. David Gloss, a large number tendered resignations; by November, many of them were settled in Columbiana County, Ohio. In accordance with the covenant, their endowments were not returned. They sued over this issue; however, the "Articles of Agreement" was a binding contract, and their lengthy battle was largely unsuccessful.⁹ Altogether, about one hundred people left Rapp's community in 1805-1806, many of them farmers.¹⁰

After the departure of that group, Harmony began to live up to its name. Between 1807 and 1814, only eleven families and six men left. The Society flourished. Babies were born, and a host of new members arrived each year. The adults appeared to be at ease with their leader and lifestyle, and they reared their children to follow suit.

In 1808, the Society agreed to adopt celibacy to ensure their purity as they eagerly awaited Christ's return to earth. The decision was not universally popular, but only one resignation was recorded that year, that of 46-year-old Jacob Schaal. He had joined a few months earlier to please his wife, and was miserable as a member. The business manager, Friedrich Rapp, provided a divorce contract. Although Jacob won his freedom, he

lost his wife, children, and money to the Society. Unable to survive, he appealed again and again to the Rapps. In some letters he begged for financial assistance and in others he asked to return; all, however, seem to have gone unanswered. A lawsuit brought no redress. At one point, the Society had him jailed for libel against Georg Rapp. The last reports describe him as a drifter, living in dire circumstances.¹¹

New Harmony, Indiana

In 1815, the congregation made a bold move: they sold their Pennsylvania acreage and relocated to southwestern Indiana. There they built their second town, New Harmony. This, too, was a community of great concord, but the Indiana lowlands presented problems. Mosquito-borne disease claimed hundreds of lives; however, the deceased members were replaced by just as many new arrivals, who had not been allowed to leave Germany until the death of King Ferdinand in 1817.¹²

Sadly, few of the new emigrants had been able to take money or property from their homeland, so most arrived in poverty. The Society paid their travel expenses in return for labor, and they signed contracts of indenture for their children as well as themselves. These arrivals of 1817-1818 may have found life far more difficult than the senior members, yet most of them remained Harmonists for life. During its entire ten-year period on the Wabash River, few members were lost to discontent.

Those who did withdraw from New Harmony between 1815 and 1824 present a different profile from those who left the community in Pennsylvania (post-1806 until 1814). While emigrants from both towns tended to secede in families, New Harmony lost just five households, while almost a dozen left Harmony, Pennsylvania. Moreover, three of those New Harmony units hardly deserve to be counted, because they broke away soon after reaching the site.

A greater difference between the two communities was in the number and type of individual seceders. More singletons struck out from Indiana, the lot was more mixed in composition and motive, the average age was younger, and for the first time, children left on their own. Thirteen of these individuals were adults, ranging in age from 21 to 44, with a mean age of 30. By contrast, just six single individuals resigned at Connoquenessing Creek. All were adult men, ranging in age from 32 to 49, with a mean age of 42.¹³

In addition, six minors seceded on their own from New Harmony, two

of them fleeing apprentices. One runaway was 13-year-old Allen Cook, the son of an Illinois farmer who had placed five children in the Society for keep and education, in return for their labor. Young Allen returned to his parents, and died two months later.¹⁴ The other was an orphaned shoemaker's helper, Ludwig Knödel. Seventeen-year-old Ludwig and another youngster, Johannes Speitel, fled to Henderson, Kentucky, to the home of Johannes' brother. The brother, however, refused to take them in. Johannes was returned to the Society, where he remained for fourteen more years. Ludwig was tracked, but managed to outpace his pursuers. A warrant was put out for him, reading in part, "If he should get into your hands, you should bring him [back to the Society]. Although he is a bad person, he should remain [at Economy] until he is of age."¹⁵ Ludwig did not return.

Five of the departing New Harmony singletons formed a curious group. Heading the ensemble was 39-year-old Johannes Schreiber, son of a major supporter of Georg Rapp. His companions were siblings of the runaway Allan Cook. Edona, age 18, was the eldest, and the others were her three youngest brothers. Edona, seeking more excitement than either the Harmony Society or her father's farm offered, persuaded Johannes to leave New Harmony and marry her, in what appears to be the earliest elopement of members.

The five set off on a packet boat. Johannes booked a compartment for his wife and her brothers, while he shared bachelor's quarters with other male passengers. This idea of wedded bliss did not sit well with Edona. Within two weeks, the pair parted. Johannes returned to Georg Rapp's fold, and later was appointed Justice of the Peace.¹⁶

Economy, Pennsylvania, the Early Years

Ten years in the Wabash wetlands were enough for Georg Rapp. Against the wishes of many followers, the Society purchased land on the Ohio River, eighteen miles northwest of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. There a third town, Economy, was erected, and in 1825 the congregation settled in. The new community was a state of the art showplace, widely touted throughout North America and Europe, but in spite of luxurious accommodations, modern and efficient factories, and visits by a host of distinguished visitors, consensus began to fray.

By now the Society was in its twenty-first year, and its demographics had shifted. Those who had joined as children were coming of age. The

maturing population was offset by youthful newcomers. Of the 249 souls accepted between 1825 and 1831, the majority were minors. The new class included 101 adults, 136 children, and in time, 13 babies born at Economy. Of the adults, two-thirds had not yet observed their fortieth birthdays.

These incoming members were of a different ilk. Few, if any, had known Georg Rapp in Germany. Secession records testify that the majority were not committed to Radical Pietism. Perhaps they were lured by Economy's high standard of living, the opportunity for children to get a first-rate education, and the chance to master one of a number of respected trades.

These newcomers would have had a different perception of Georg Rapp than the original followers, who had been attracted by his positive qualities—tremendous rhetorical ability, strong personal charisma, vast knowledge, and eyes which could inspire amazement or terror in an audience.¹⁷ They knew him as a brooder, a deep thinker whose greatest passion was preaching. All of these observations had been recorded by schoolmasters at Iptingen. But Rapp's teachers had made note of dark traits as well, including narcissistic tendencies and a desire to dominate others.¹⁸ Throughout the early years at Economy, most Harmonists focused on their leader's promise to deliver the keys to heaven. An ever-growing number, however, saw him as a man obsessed with money, bent on power, and fraught with selfish interests.

Rapp's negative qualities were exhibited in several different ways. Most obvious was the Rapp lifestyle. Compared to other brethren, Georg, his family, and Friedrich lived in opulence. Although many have contended that this high standard of living was necessary for entertaining Economy's many prestigious and powerful visitors, others have perceived the difference as an unjustifiable double standard. The other brethren lived well but far more simply, in spite of great sacrifices to the treasury and tireless labor. Georg Rapp would have been aware of their sentiments, for the women of the community kept him apprized of everything that went on.¹⁹

With few exceptions, Harmonists were not permitted to disagree with Georg Rapp. When the Society's postmaster and surgeon, Dr. Wilhelm Schmid, objected to the leader's interception of members' mail, Rapp not only relieved Schmid of federal responsibility, he also discredited him as a medical practitioner. Most of these purloined letters pertained to gifts from Johannes Huber, a European relative of two women in the Harmony

Society. Huber intended these gifts for the families of his sisters, but hesitated to give them for fear they would fall into the Harmonist treasury.²⁰ Rapp, however, had his eye on such bequests to fatten his church fund, and he backed more than one clandestine ruse to lure the gifts from Europe.²¹

Another negative quality was Georg Rapp's partiality to certain members of the Society. An instance was described earlier, when he not only welcomed Johannes Schreiber back into his fold, but elevated him to Justice of the Peace. An even better example was his treatment of Hildegart Mutschler, who observed her twentieth birthday in 1826. Hildegart was the attractive and seductive daughter of one of Rapp's important backers, and the subject of several untoward incidents. Georg Rapp found the young woman to be quite engaging, and on several occasions took her into his alchemy laboratory. The incidents caused tongues to wag throughout Economy, accusing Hildegart of being "damsel" not only to Georg, but also to Friedrich. The business manager anguished over the gossip, and wrote at least one chastising letter of protest to the leader.²²

Jacob Klein, the 30-year-old son of a Harmonist farmer, had also been smitten with Hildegart. When Rapp learned of this, Jacob was banished from the Society. Hildegart, however, was allowed to remain. Later she ran away with the Society's physician, Dr. Conrad Feucht. During a service, Rapp asked the congregation to pray for her return, a move that did not sit well with the audience. The couple did come back, and although both were full members of the celibate Society, they became parents several times over, Georg Rapp baptizing each of their children.²³

Other allegations, too, were made against Georg Rapp, and a growing number of Harmonists began to harbor doubts about their leader. Between March and November of 1826, nearly three dozen brethren severed ties with the community—five families, an eloping couple, and a dozen singletons. At least one household, that headed by Johannes Mayer, was drawn by the promise of a new utopia, Concordia, which in fact never materialized. Among the single seceders were two women, the first females known to strike out on their own. They left at separate times, and since no men withdrew with them, marriage cannot be identified as a motive.²⁴

Economy's location was ideal for members wanting to leave. It was only eighteen miles from Pittsburgh, easily accessible by boat, and becoming more accessible by road. Pittsburgh had blossomed into a sophisticated center of about twenty thousand people, and offered plenty of opportunities for work in almost every trade. In addition, just twelve miles downstream

was Phillipsburg, where a major manufacturer of packet boats and other vessels maintained a thriving factory.

Georg Rapp realized this, and was also aware that those who had grown up in the Society were at or nearing the age when they could legally leave. Not only would this be a loss of Harmonist labor, but each would expect a donation, which would cut into his church fund. To circumvent problems, he required each member to sign a revised “Articles of Agreement,” which had fewer loopholes and stricter regulations than the previous contract. Many balked, but almost all members signed it in March 1827.²⁵

This effort, however, did not deter those who wanted to leave. Almost as many seceded in 1827 as in the previous year, although the profile of this class is very different. Leaving in groups were one family, three related twosomes, and an eloping couple. Of the nineteen singletons, two men were in their 40s, and the rest were under the age of 29. For the first time, more women than men resigned.²⁶

The departing family was headed by Peter Kaufmann, a school master with a wife and three small children, who left in November. Kaufmann intended to found a competing society called Teutonia in eastern Ohio. Although just a handful of Harmonists left with him, Teutonia’s constitution was signed by many former members.²⁷ Among those to join were the family of Johannes Mayer, the erstwhile Concordians,²⁸ and others who had resigned the previous year.

Resignations continued to be tendered in 1828 and the first months of 1829. Georg Rapp was aware that if his congregation were to remain intact, something needed to be done. Up to that point his sermons about the Second Coming of Christ had been vague. He pored over scripture, meditated, and prayed. In time he determined that the congregation could expect a herald in mid-September of 1829.

Two weeks after the predicted date, Rapp received a letter announcing the arrival of “The Lion of Judah” to Economy. This message was touted throughout the community as fulfillment of his prophecy. The Harmonists refocused on their goal, preparing themselves for the long-awaited day. No resignations were recorded between September 12 of that year and July 19, 1830. In fact, only four people withdrew during the whole of 1830—an eloping couple, a runaway apprentice, and a 46-year old man.

By January of 1831, however, the congregation had become uneasy again. No prophet had appeared, and many Harmonists were doubting Georg Rapp’s prophetic abilities. Old hurts resurfaced. Those of

marriageable age appealed to their leader to permit matrimony, but their request was denied. In July, Georg Rapp complained to a European visitor about a lack of obedience in the second generation.²⁹

Dissension increased. According to a contemporary, Rapp suspected Music Director Dr. J. Christoph Müller of trying to spearhead a coup against him.³⁰ Rapp, outraged by the thought, ordered the music room locked, and all music ceased for a month. This accusation and humiliating retribution seem to have broken Müller's spirit, for music was his life. He gave a final concert, and then set aside his musical career except to give private lessons later in life. Rapp judged him wrongly, however, since accounts show that Müller played no role in events leading to secession.

Early in the autumn, a visitor from another German society visited Economy. About his experience he wrote, "there is dissatisfaction among [Rapp's] personal body guard, because no one knows what he does with the accumulated money, and a crisis threatens the entire unnatural Rappish establishment soon."³¹ This comment proved prophetic.

The Great Schism

The man who called himself "The Lion of Judah" reached Economy two years after his letter, in October 1831. It did not take Georg Rapp long to discover that the visitor was not the long-awaited prophet he had promised to his people. Disappointed and disliking the guest, Rapp sequestered himself to pray and meditate. This may have been the worst thing to do because the man, now calling himself Count Leon, soon began winning the hearts of a large number of Harmonists.

Like Rapp, Leon was charismatic, with a propensity for rhetoric. He, too, possessed extensive knowledge of scripture, presented fresh views of cherished ideals, and delivered his thoughts persuasively, relishing debate.³² Leon was filled with dreams of establishing his own commune. In fact, he had received the blessing of President Andrew Jackson for his endeavor.³³

Leon's utopia would not merely allow marriage; rather, conjugal life was to be an integral part of the new community. This appealed to many second-generation Harmonists who desired marital fulfillment. Most of them wanted to remain in Economy, however, so they circulated a petition calling for both Rapps to step aside and for Leon and his privy secretary to head the Society. The appeal, dated January 25, 1832, was signed by nearly two hundred brethren, now called Leonites.

The desire for marriage was just one motive for endorsing the petition.

Another was disaffection with their leader. The signers included the family of cast-out Jacob Klein; many relatives of Johannes Huber, whose gifts had never reached them; Dr. J. Christoph Müller, disgraced and hurt by allegations of treachery; Dr. Wilhelm Schmid, who had been stripped of his duties as postmaster; and the family of Jeremiah Stag, former slaves whose freedom was purchased in Indiana, who likely yearned for people of their own culture.

The petition endorsing Leon is remarkable for the type of members who signed it. The signatories included forty-four charter members of the Society (those arriving in the first year), and more than half of the adults who had joined during the previous two years. One man had already marked his seventy-first birthday.

Although the petition was widely popular, the majority of Harmonists did not sign it. Weeks later, Georg Rapp presented yet another revision of the “Articles of Agreement” which garnered twice as many signatures as the petition. The Leonites refused to remain under the mandated conditions, and negotiated terms of severance. The final settlement was signed on March 6, 1832, by 175 people. During the next few weeks, thirty additional members withdrew. Including five dozen children, Georg Rapp lost 265 members that spring—one-third of Economy’s population at the time.³⁴

The profile of this seceding class reveals some profound developments. Spouses left spouses. Sons and daughters left parents. Some parents bid farewell to young children, although many families were reunited later. Compared to those who remained at Economy, the seceders were younger and more able, and included a higher percentage of males and skilled workers.³⁵ Most of the shoemakers left, as well as the clock maker, and both of the Society’s doctors.³⁶

Economy after the Great Secession

This Great Secession dramatically changed the demographics of the Harmony Society. Both the average age and the percentage of females were higher. In the following years the Society would use hired labor for fields and factories, and ultimately would turn to investments as a major source of income.

In the aftermath of the secession, however, the community enjoyed a return to peace and harmony which lasted sixty years. To forestall further disquiet, applicants were more carefully screened and relatively few new

members were accepted. The only other secession during Georg Rapp's lifetime occurred on July 6, 1836, when five families left. At the time of the founder's death on August 7, 1847, his congregation remained at peace.

Few members withdrew during the tenure of the second Harmonist leader, Romelius L. Baker (1847-1868), while the third governor, Jacob Henrici (1868-1892), may not have witnessed any loss of membership other than through deaths. Apparently the fourth leader, John S. Duss (1892-1903), was not as well regarded. By then Economy's population was quite small. Nevertheless, Duss presided over seventeen resignations during the decade of his tenure.³⁷ The last was his own. His plan was to organize the Society's assets for future liquidation, something he could not do while a member. Economy's final leader was Susie Creese Duss, John's wife. In spite of his non-member status, Duss appears to have remained active in Society matters. In 1905, he would have been present as Susie and the only other remaining member dissolved the Society.

The Seceders at Phillipsburg

Count Leon's New Philadelphia Society was established in March, 1832. It proved to be a short-lived endeavor. From the beginning, membership was fluid. Leon's policy that each departing member take what he had contributed plus a fair share for his work was a major cause of the Society's bankruptcy.³⁸

At least three who left the New Philadelphia Society went to the community of Zoar in Ohio. The Society there was founded by others from Württemberg, and shared roots with the Harmony Society. In fact, correspondence shows that some Harmonists had relatives at Zoar. Perhaps that is why Georg and Elisabeth Fink settled there, along with Johannes Lutz.³⁹

From Phillipsburg, most former Harmonists traveled west and south. Leon left for Louisiana on September 1, 1833, taking two Harmonist families with him. One was headed by the widow of Georg Früh, the other by Johann Jakob (J. J.) Stahl, Sr. The colony of Germantown was established near Minden, after Leon's untimely death. J. J. Stahl, his wife, and two boys were members; in fact, one son later married Leon's daughter. Eva Dorothea Früh and her daughters chose to live nearby, as adjunct brethren.⁴⁰

In 1836, the Zundel family was attracted by Mormon ideals. Four of them with their spouses and children joined the Latter Day Saints at

Nauvoo, Illinois. Later the community settled in the area of Salt Lake City, Utah.⁴¹

In 1844, a number of Phillipsburgers teamed with an itinerant preacher, Dr. Wilhelm Kiel. They purchased suitable land in Shelby County, Missouri, and built a community, Bethel Colony. The founders included Johannes Bauer, Georg and Michael Forstner, Adam Keller, Georg Schnauffer, Christian Schmid, Samuel Schreiber, Adam and Matthäus Schüle, Jacob Vaihinger, David Wagner, and Georg Ziegler. In time Kiel relocated his followers to Aurora, Oregon, but some chose not to go on. Several remained in Shelby County, and others returned to Phillipsburg.⁴²

Not all of Economy's seceders joined other communal groups. Many have been traced to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, (West) Virginia, and other states. A handful remained in Phillipsburg (today called Monaca), where their descendants continue to live. One, 75-year-old Margaretha Blessing, returned to Economy.⁴³

Summary

Over the years, the Harmony Society lost about half of its eighteen hundred members through secession. As numbers eroded, however, the community adapted and moved forward. If secession were a factor in the ultimate dissolution of the Society, its role was not decisive. Georg Rapp's utopia survived for a century, far longer than most communal enterprises.

Of those who chose the road out of Harmony, very few returned. Some sojourners found only heartache. Others found peace and, eventually, fulfillment. Most lived to see the children of their children. That is something the road into Harmony did not offer.

Notes

1 Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Disciples, Pioneers and Heirs: A Register of the Harmonists in America* (Evansville, Ind.: University of Southern Indiana Press, 1992); commonly called the Harmonist Register.

2 Eileen Aiken English, *Demographic Directory of the Harmony Society, 1805-1905* (publication pending, 2007).

3 English, *Demographic Directory*.

4 Eberhard Fritz, "Johann Georg Rapp (1757-1847) and the Separatists of Iptingen" (unpublished manuscript, Old Economy Village archives, 1977; translation into English by Doris Dumrauf, 2001).

- 5 Fritz, "Separatists of Iptingen."
- 6 Karl J. R. Arndt, *Harmony on the Connoquenessing 1803-1815* (Worcester, Mass.: Harmony Society Press, 1980), 1-8, 22.
- 7 Arndt, *Harmony on the Connoquenessing*, 50-52.
- 8 Arndt, *Disciples, Pioneers and Heirs*, 21-23.
- 9 Arndt, *Harmony on the Connoquenessing*, 96-100, 108-12.
- 10 In 1805-1806, Harmonist men signed a petition to President Thomas Jefferson, requesting permission for the Society to purchase land farther west. In *Disciples, Pioneers and Heirs*, the entries for about four dozen men read, "Signed Jefferson Petition. No further record." In the *Demographic Directory*, these seceders are identified as the class of 1805-1806. Whether they left together is not known, but a letter from David Gloss to Johannes Langenbacher, dated May 28, 1807 (*Harmony on the Connoquenessing*, p. 228), gives news of many who were or had been his close neighbors.
- 11 Arndt, *Harmony on the Connoquenessing*, 284-438 scattered throughout.
- 12 English, *Demographic Directory*: Between 1815 and 1823, 223 people joined the Harmony Society, including 22 newborn babies. Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society 1785-1847* (Rutherford [N.J.]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), 300-1: The associate business manager of the Harmony Society, Romelius L. Baker, counted 226 deaths.
- 13 English, *Demographic Directory*.
- 14 Karl J. R. Arndt, *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society*, vol. 2, 1820-1824 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society 1978), 728-29.
- 15 Arndt, *Indiana Decade*, 2:643.
- 16 Arndt, *Indiana Decade*, 2:839-40, 860-63.
- 17 Eberhard Fritz, comment during a presentation at Old Economy Village, October 2006.
- 18 Fritz, "Separatists at Iptingen."
- 19 Jacob Wagner, "Reminiscences of the Two Leaders and their Two Societies from the Recollections of a Survivor" (article published in a Cincinnati German newspaper, 1879, copy in Old Economy Village archives); and Karl J. R. Arndt, *George Rapp's Years of Glory: Economy on the Ohio 1834-1847* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 738.
- 20 Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, 689, 871, 928, and scattered throughout.
- 21 Activity concerning the Huber bequests is described in Arndt, *Harmony Society 1785-1847*, 214-545 scattered throughout.
- 22 Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, 425-501 scattered throughout.
- 23 Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, 59, 886.
- 24 *Peter Kaufmann Papers*, Box 2, Folder 6, and Box 3, Folder 2 (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio Historical Society Archives).
- 25 Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, 88
- 26 English, *Demographic Directory*.

- 27 Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, 206-8.
- 28 *Peter Kaufmann Papers*, Box 2, Folder 6.
- 29 Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, 581.
- 30 Philipp Passavant to Dettmer Basse-Müller, 11 May 1832. The Zelienople (Penn.) Historical Society Archives, reprinted in the *Harmonie Herald*, June 1979.
- 31 J. A. Roebling, builder of the Brooklyn Bridge and founder of a German colony at Saxonburg, Penn., following a visit which included attending a Harmonist church service in the autumn of 1831: Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, 626-27.
- 32 Wagner.
- 33 Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, 587-91.
- 34 English, *Demographic Directory*.
- 35 English, *Demographic Directory*.
- 36 Arndt, *Harmony Society 1785-1847*, 499.
- 37 English, *Demographic Directory*.
- 38 Wagner.
- 39 Arndt, *Economy on the Ohio*, 136.
- 40 Eileen Aiken English, *The Harmonist Founders of Phillipsburg* (publication pending).
- 41 English, *Harmonist Founders of Phillipsburg*.
- 42 English, *Harmonist Founders of Phillipsburg*.
- 43 English, *Harmonist Founders of Phillipsburg*.