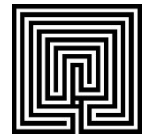


# The Harmonist Labyrinths

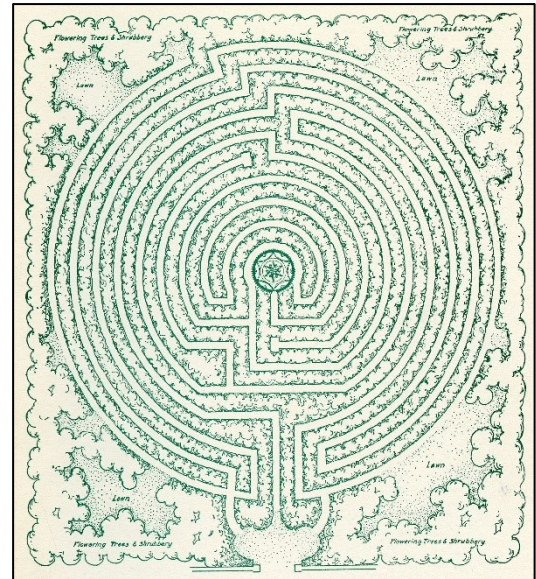
Lilan Laishley



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The Harmony Society built three labyrinths, one in each of the three towns it settled in the American frontier from 1805-1905. Most people today know of the Harmony Society labyrinths from the large hedge maze at New Harmony, Indiana. That labyrinth is a 1939 recreation of the original labyrinth that was built, in what was then called Harmony, around 1815. Because their labyrinths were made of plant materials, they disintegrated without the constant care of the Harmony Society members; hence there is no original Harmony Society labyrinth in existence.

The Labyrinth at New Harmony, Indiana was made according to an architectural drawing in the Harmony Society archives of the original labyrinth. The grotto in the centre of the labyrinth is a re-creation of the only existing grotto of the Harmony Society, still in relatively good shape in Economy, Pennsylvania.



*The New Harmony hedge maze, the 1939 plan prepared by Schnitzelus & Sprague*

A note of clarification is needed here. Though the terms labyrinth and maze are often used interchangeably, today there is a growing distinction between the two words. A labyrinth usually denotes a unicursal path that takes a convoluted way to the centre and back out again; whereas a maze has a multicursal path, with the journey to the centre being marked by dead-ends and missed turns. Based on this recent distinction, the Harmony Society Labyrinth would be considered a hedge maze. But the Harmonist distinctly called their hedge maze a Labyrinth, with a capital "L", making the term a formal name.



*The hedge maze at New Harmony, Indiana. A postcard from c.1955*

## Historical Background

The Harmony Society originated in Germany in 1785 in a small Lutheran village in Württemberg. It consisted mostly of farmers and mechanics who were not part of the religious, intellectual, political, or economic elite of Württemberg. They came from a pietistic tradition and developed as a small group dissatisfied with the state church's overly educated ministers and the lack of spiritual rebirth in the congregation. They contended that the church had decayed and that through the guidance of the Holy Spirit they were trying to restore Christianity to the state of the first Christians as described in Acts of the Apostles, including communal living.<sup>1</sup> They refused government oaths, and military service. They wanted their own schools and to be able to worship as they saw fit.<sup>2</sup> Under the leadership of a charismatic "prophet" named George Rapp (1757-1847), they met in individual homes eschewing the compulsory church attendance, which led them to be persecuted with fines and imprisonment under a Separatist law.<sup>3</sup>

Despite attempts to explain their religious position and their request to worship separately, they continued to be subjected to harassment. So George Rapp left Germany for America in 1803 to look for suitable land to build a community where they could worship according to the dictates of the Holy Spirit. At that time he had approximately 10-12,000 followers in Germany.<sup>4</sup> By December 1804, land had been bought in Pennsylvania and a small group arrived on three separate ships to begin building their first town of Harmony in Butler County.<sup>5</sup> On February 15, 1805 Articles of Association were signed, creating the legal entity of the Harmony Society.<sup>6</sup> Those 450-500 who signed agreed to bind themselves and their heirs to communal living, giving all estate and property to George Rapp and his Society in return for church and school instruction and a supply of all the necessities of life during sickness and health for any family member, including orphans and widows.<sup>7</sup> The Harmony Society stayed in Harmony, Pennsylvania for 10 years, 1805-1815, then moved to Indiana on the Wabash River for better shipping access. They called this town Harmony (now New Harmony) as well and lived there for 10 years, from 1815-1825. Their final move was back to Pennsylvania where they built the town of Economy, which they owned from 1825 until the dissolution of the society in 1905.

The Harmony Society was originally run as a theocracy, with George Rapp as the spiritual leader and ultimate head of the commune. He was an imposing man, over six feet tall and a weaver by trade. Though he had no formal religious training, he was very intelligent, a gifted orator, and “considered as having the call of God.”<sup>8</sup> George Rapp made all the religious and communal decisions, and appeared to be genuinely loved and respected by most members of the Society, who called him “Father.”<sup>9</sup> However, the influence and services of his adopted son, Frederick Rapp, on the success of the Harmony Society cannot be underestimated. It was Frederick Rapp who was the administrator and financial genius of the Society, as well as the liaison between the Harmony Society and the outside political and economic world. Frederick Rapp was an architect by trade and it was he who designed and engineered the Harmony Society’s three towns.

The Society had about 1200 members at its peak. The Harmonists were incredibly self-sufficient and hardworking. At a time when 70% of the surrounding population lived in one-room log cabins they had built three entire towns, combining industry and agriculture. In addition to their well-made homes, they had farms, and businesses such as pottery, rope making, distillery, winery, tavern, blacksmith, wagon making, carpentry, shoe making, and cloth making. Visitors, including those from Europe, visited Harmony to see the secrets of their success and were impressed by the Harmony towns. The Harmonists did not engage in proselytizing and, according to letters and accounts, membership into the society was discouraged.<sup>10</sup> After the death of George Rapp, a council of elders was chosen to handle internal affairs and a council of trustees to handle external affairs.<sup>11</sup> Due to the practice of celibacy and the lack of new membership, the Society declined and was dissolved in 1905, with the last legal issue settled in 1916.

### **Harmony Society Religious Beliefs**

Though from a Lutheran background the Harmonists had a combination of religious beliefs that included millennial Christianity, mysticism, and alchemy. Their belief in the imminent return of Christ and the millennium appeared to be unending throughout the existence of the Harmony Society. They had calculated the date of Christ’s return and believed that they would be joining Christ in Jerusalem in the year 1831.

In addition to communal sharing of goods, millenarianism, and celibacy, the Harmonists were also very influenced by the Bible, especially The Revelation of John. The Harmonists especially identified with the story of the Sun Woman as told in Revelations 12.<sup>12</sup> The Harmonists thought of themselves as the Sun Woman who had fled the dragon (the established Church of Germany) and gone into the wilderness (America).<sup>13</sup> In 1844 George Rapp wrote: “The key to the Revelation of St. John has been entrusted to our congregation. The woman clothed with the sun and with the moon at her feet has given birth, her son lives in the community spirit...”<sup>14</sup> Just as the Sun Woman fled three times to escape the dragon, the Harmonists moved three times - from Harmony, Pennsylvania (1805-1815) to Harmony, Indiana (1815-1825) and finally to Economy, Pennsylvania (1825-1905). Also, in Revelations 12:4 the dragon’s tail “swept down a third of the stars of heaven and threw them to the earth.” George Rapp believed he saw this prophecy come to pass when in 1832 Count Leon led 250 dissenting Harmonists away from Economy and into their own community, leaving 500 members (2/3 of the group) behind with George Rapp. At that time George Rapp was said to have said “the tail of the serpent drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to earth!”<sup>15</sup>

The Harmonists also believed, as indicated by their hymns and sermons, that they were the chosen people and the Bride of Christ.<sup>16</sup> Revelations 21:2-4 stated: "And I saw the holy city, the New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying 'See, the home of God is among the mortals. He will dwell with them; they will be his peoples...'"<sup>17</sup> Rapp stated to his congregation in a sermon: "And you should know that the Revelation of St. John was not given for the world but for the Congregation... and you should know that God has appointed you..."<sup>18</sup>

## The Labyrinth

In each of their three towns (Harmony, Pennsylvania 1805-1815; Harmony, Indiana 1815-1825; and Economy, Pennsylvania 1825-1905) along with churches, homes, farms, and businesses, the Harmonists built a Labyrinth. As an important symbol for the Harmony Society it represented, in physical form, the philosophy and beliefs that were the basis of their entire commune. To fully understand the significance of the Labyrinth to the Harmony Society, it is necessary to look at what the labyrinth was, what it represented to the Harmonists, and how they used it.

The idea of the garden as paradise is an important theme in understanding the Labyrinth's connection to the garden. Mircea Eliade points out in *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries* that the symbolism of Paradise is prevalent in the gardens of Christian Monks, with the monastery gardens reflecting and anticipating Paradise.<sup>19</sup> This longing for Paradise is central to Christianity, including a desire to recover the conditions of Paradise that existed before the fall. Eliade further states that it is mysticism that brings the soul to its earlier state, which to the Harmonists was a complete, androgynous Adam.<sup>20</sup>



There are reasons to believe that the Harmonists saw their gardens as symbolic of Paradise. They saw themselves as the Sun Woman of Revelations and that America was the new Paradise, a Paradise that they were chosen to build for the coming Christ. Raymond Shepard, director of Old Economy for fifteen years, believes that Rapp's garden represented the Garden of Eden, and that the deer park in both Harmony, Indiana and Economy, Pennsylvania, where George Rapp had animals eat out of his hand, was symbolic of the Peaceable Kingdom.<sup>21</sup> The labyrinth as part of the garden was also used for worship and biblical study.<sup>22</sup>

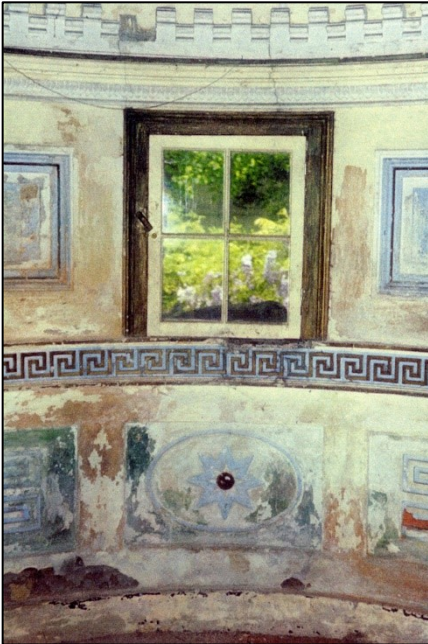
### ***Gardens and statuary in the Harmonist Garden at New Harmony. Photo: Lilan Laishley***

The importance and centrality of the Labyrinth to the Harmony Society is seen by the fact that they made a Labyrinth in each of their three towns. There are three distinct architectural drawings of their Labyrinths in the Harmony Society archives located at the Pennsylvania State Archives in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Each drawing is in pen and watercolour. It is likely that Frederick Rapp did the architectural designs for the Labyrinths, as he was an architect by trade and was engineer of the Harmony towns.

Each one of the three architectural drawings (see appendix at the end of this article) follows the basic pattern of a hedge maze: a circular design with multicursal paths, some which led to dead ends. Only by a correct selection of turns at each junction could a walker reach the goal of the labyrinth - a small building, the grotto, placed at the centre. Each architectural drawing shows a circle in the centre for the placement of the grotto. This grotto, sometimes referred to as a temple in the writings of visitors, was a circular structure approximately ten feet in diameter and made of very rough stone or wood, a thatched roof, and a rugged wooden door. This rough exterior belied the loveliness of the inside of the grotto, which was finely designed and painted with beautiful colours, as well as having symbols, designs, and written words. Aaron Williams, who lived as a guest in Economy, Pennsylvania, wrote in 1866 about the grotto:



But most surprising of all was the Grotto, constructed on the Chinese principle of pleasing by contrast. You approach, by a narrow tangled path, a small rude structure, of the roughest stone, overgrown with wild vines, and with a door apparently of rough oak bark. You enter - and you stand in the midst of a beautiful miniature Grecian temple, with a life-sized piece of emblematic statuary before you, and the dates of the great events in the Society's history conspicuously engraved in niches around you.<sup>23</sup>



*The interior of the grotto at Economy*



*The surviving grotto at Economy, Pennsylvania, USA*

*Photos: Lilan Laishley*

### **Writings about the Harmony Society's Labyrinths**

The writings in letters, diaries, and books confirm that the Harmonists had a Labyrinth in all three towns, further supporting the three architectural drawings that exist within the Harmony archives. These sources also affirm that the Harmonists saw the Labyrinth as having symbolic importance and was used as a didactic tool. There is no question that the Harmonists used symbolic metaphors. Aaron Williams wrote:

...they make much use of the allegorical method. While not denying the literal verity of the historical facts, they seek a deeper typical or symbolical meaning beneath the surface; and thus they spiritualize the letter.<sup>24</sup>

John Melish in 1812 described the Labyrinth at Harmony, Pennsylvania, thus:

From the warehouses we went to the Labyrinth, which is a most elegant flower-garden, with various hedge-rows, disposed in such a manner as to puzzle people to get into the little temple, emblematical of Harmony, in the middle... The temple is rough on the exterior, showing that, at a distance it has no allurements; but it is smooth and beautiful within, to show the beauty of harmony when once attained.<sup>25</sup>

Melish's account also shows that the Labyrinth was used by George Rapp as a way to let people experience the difficulties of Harmony. Melish stated an experience he had with Dr. Isaac Cleaver of Philadelphia who went to Harmony with him:

Mr. Rapp abruptly left us as we entered [the Labyrinth], and we soon observed him over the hedge-rows, taking his seat before the house. I found my way with difficulty; but the doctor, whom I left on purpose, could not find it, and Mr. Rapp had to point it out to him. The garden and temple are emblematical. The Labyrinth represents the difficulty of arriving at Harmony.<sup>26</sup>

Harmony, Indiana became the subject of greater scrutiny than either of the other two towns, largely because it had been sold in 1824 to Robert Owen, a Scottish Industrialist for his own utopian experiment. Robert Dale Owen, eldest son of Robert Owen, wrote in his autobiography *Threading My Way* (1874) of the Labyrinth, shown to them when they came to purchase the town:

When my father first reached the place, he found among the Germans - its sole inhabitants - indications of plenty and material comfort, but with scarcely a touch of fancy or ornament; the only exceptions being a few flowers in the gardens, and what was called "The Labyrinth," a pleasure-ground laid out near the village with some taste, and intended - so my father was told - as an emblematic representation of the life these colonists had chosen. It contained small groves and gardens, with numerous circuitous walks enclosed by high beech hedges and bordered with flowering shrubbery, but arranged with such intricacy, that, without some Daedalus to furnish a clue, one might wander for hours and fail to reach a building erected in the centre. This was a temple of rude material, but covered with vines of the grape and convolvulus, and its interior neatly fitted up and prettily furnished. Thus George Rapp had sought to shadow forth to his followers the difficulties of attaining a state of peace and social harmony. The perplexing approach, the rough exterior of the shrine, and the elegance displayed within, were to serve as types of toils and suffering succeeded by happy repose.<sup>27</sup>

### **Meaning of the Labyrinth as seen in books distributed to the Harmonists**

The labyrinth was a symbol for the Harmonists that combined the spiritual and the physical including: the idea of harmony, the existence of paradise, the journey to paradise, the travails of such a journey, the transformation of the self, the union of opposites into one whole, the unwavering goal, that the spiritual nature is difficult to attain, and rebirth into spiritual perfection.

George Rapp wrote a book anonymously in 1824 entitled *Thoughts on the Destiny of Man particularly with Reference to the Present Times*. This book gave a first person account of the beliefs of the Harmony Society, written by their leader. A major theme expressed by Rapp was the necessary balance between physical and spiritual life, a balance that was a theme the Harmonists applied in their strong economic, yet deeply religious commune. Rapp stated:

Whoever imagines the Kingdom of God too spiritual, errs in head and heart. Every spirit in its progressive development seeks symmetry, equilibrium, and proportion, with its bodily substance, that it may be enabled to express itself, and act physically, in the human sense.<sup>28</sup>

Rapp wrote that this connection between body and spirit was difficult to obtain, and that it took practice to learn to use spiritual facilities in the body while avoiding carnal lust. Jesus Christ was the Harmonist model for this balance as he was the spirit of God in a physical body. For the Harmonists, Christianity had a strong social component, and once the perfect balance of physical and spiritual was reached in the individual, it should be used to help others fellow humans in their return to the original state of Godliness that was lost at the fall. Rapp stated: "In this religious and natural union exists practical Christianity."<sup>29</sup> For the Harmonists this focus on spirit in matter was more important than concerns of what happened after death in eternity.<sup>30</sup> The Harmonists lived a life of Christ in the actions of their daily life. They were extremely practical in their use of time and resources, blending spirit and matter in building Paradise for the coming of the Lord in a visible body.<sup>31</sup> Paradise, not just a spiritual concept, was seen in the Harmonist gardens which were a living Garden of Eden. Their Labyrinths too, were a physical representation of the spiritual beliefs of the Society. The Harmonists combined their religious and work life, singing hymns while working in factories and fields, and having religious services outside or in the homes, in addition to the church.<sup>32</sup> In fact, they did not build a church in their first town of Harmony until they had been there three years, and the church in Economy was not finished until six years after they arrived.<sup>33</sup>

Even their interest in alchemy would show this striving for balance between material and spiritual realms; for the alchemical quest of turning lead into gold was not only a physical procedure for making money, but also a metaphor for the transformation of temporal man into a spiritual one. The fact that they took alchemy seriously is confirmed by the fact that there were at least three alchemical laboratories in Economy, Pennsylvania, their final town: one each for George Rapp, Frederick Rapp, and Count Leon.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to this balance between temporal and spiritual affairs, Rapp wrote that all opposites needed to be united into “*one great whole*” (Rapp’s italics).<sup>35</sup> Rapp described this union as containing meaning and purpose that connected even seemingly unrelated events to each other. Rapp stated that “...nothing does exist nor happen without a cause, every power and nation must stand in union with others...”<sup>36</sup> This Harmony, this union of opposites into one great whole, was represented by the Labyrinth. Visitors remarked that the path of the Labyrinth represented the difficulty of arriving at Harmony, which was symbolized by the grotto in the centre. Therefore the Labyrinth represented both the path and the goal. Rapp wrote:

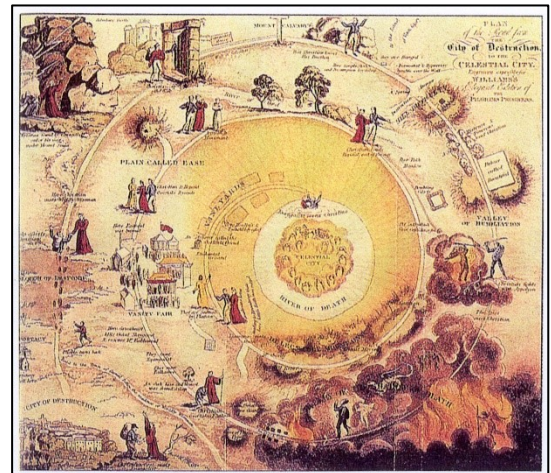
What a harmonious people! To thee alone the path is not too narrow, nor the ascent too steep; in safety thou reachest the lofty summit, where few can travel & from which many fall, or become lost and bewildered in the labyrinth of the artificial philosophy of the world. But to thee o better race of men, a beautiful spring appears to reward thy painful efforts...<sup>37</sup>

In addition to this direct reference to labyrinths in *Thoughts on the Destiny of Man*, Rapp also made allusions that were reminiscent of the comments made by visitors to the Harmony Society about the Labyrinth. For example, he wrote of the confusion and chaos of the human spirit that needed to be worked out (the path), and of the rough external appearance of the chosen people (the grotto).<sup>38</sup> He also wrote of the difficulty of wandering while in search of a home.<sup>39</sup>

This reference of Rapp’s to wandering in search of a home is similar to the theme of John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (1678), another book of the Harmonists and important enough to merit one hundred copies bought for the Harmony households.<sup>40</sup> John Bunyan wrote *The Pilgrim’s Progress* while in jail for preaching without a license. It was a metaphorical tale, told as a dream, of a pilgrim named Christian as he made his way from the doomed City of Destruction, along a difficult journey, to the blissful City of Heavenly Jerusalem. This journey of going from the City of Destruction to Jerusalem was very much like the Harmonist’s journey from their persecution in Germany to the Paradise of America, described via the Labyrinth by Robert Owen as “types of toils and suffering succeed by happy repose.”

The labyrinth has been used to describe a pilgrim’s journey to God in many different contexts, including the medieval church labyrinths which were called “The Path to Jerusalem,” and seventeenth and eighteenth century drawings. In *The Pilgrim’s Progress* the confusion in Christian’s travels was described thus: “I saw also that he looked this way, and that way, as if he would run; yet he stood still, because as I perceived, he could not tell which way to go”.<sup>41</sup> This passage fits with the earlier descriptions by Harmonist visitors of the difficulty of entering into the Labyrinth and returning, the perplexity of the path, and losing oneself in the maze.

***Spiral pathway to Jerusalem from a 19th century edition of The Pilgrim’s Progress***



Not only is the difficulty of the pilgrim’s journey portrayed by the Labyrinth’s path, but also the final destination of God was represented by the Labyrinth’s centre. Jerusalem was identified as the central goal of the medieval labyrinths, and in a nineteenth century illustration of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, Jerusalem was situated in the middle of a circle, reached by a spiral path. Jerusalem was also the final destination for the Harmonists, who had \$510,000 to make the trip with Jesus when he arrived. In the Harmony Labyrinths, the goal was the grotto, that structure of contrasts, which though rough on the exterior, was painted with gold and decorated with stones on the interior. The description of Jerusalem in *The Pilgrim’s Progress* was similar to the temple-like quality of the inside of the Labyrinth’s grotto:

It was builded of Pearls and precious Stones, also the Street thereof was paved with Gold. Now as they came up to these places, behold the Gardener stood in the way; to whom the Pilgrims said, Whose goodly Vineyards, and Gardens are these? He answered, They are the Kings, and are planted here for his own delights, and also for the solace of Pilgrims.<sup>42</sup>

The garden image as the final destination also fits with the Harmonists belief that they were creating a Paradise like the one before the fallen Adam, a Paradise that would be ready for Christ upon his return.

Philip Edwards in his essay *The Journey in The Pilgrim's Progress*, sums up the notion of the journey as it deals with the following five aspects of Christianity:

1. the vicissitudes of the Christian life,
2. following the commands of faith,
3. practice of the Christian life,
4. the larger road of which the path is only one part,
5. the final goal of union with God.<sup>43</sup>

These five aspects can not only apply to The Pilgrim's Progress but also to the symbolism of the Labyrinth for the Harmonists, as written in the visitors accounts previously mentioned:

- 1) The Labyrinth represented the "difficulties of arriving at Harmony," a difficulty punctuated by leaving the land of their birth and literally carving out a place in a new world.<sup>44</sup>
- 2) For the Harmonists, following the commands of faith included celibacy, communal sharing of goods, and preparing a worldly Paradise for an expected heavenly Christ; a path that was narrow and "the arrangement was such that it was almost impossible for anyone not accustomed to the construction to find their way..."<sup>45</sup>
- 3) Their practice of Christian life was in their daily living which focused on preparing both body and soul for the forthcoming millennium. To the Harmonists this simple lifestyle was "rough on the exterior, showing that, at a distance, it has no allurements."<sup>46</sup>
- 4) That the single path is but one part of a whole is reflected in the Harmonist philosophy that the smaller microcosm is but part of the larger macrocosm and that "all things are interconnected."<sup>47</sup>
- 5) To represent the final goal of union with God, the Harmonists had the "little temple, emblematical of Harmony, in the middle... smooth and beautiful within, to show the beauty of harmony when once attained."<sup>48</sup> This grotto is the end of the journey, reached despite obstacles and losing one's way. It is the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Bride married to the Bridegroom, and the community that acts as a single, united soul - the ultimate Harmony.

Lilan Lashley, Pittsburgh, PA, USA; May 2001

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- 1) Karl Arndt, ed. *Economy on the Ohio 1826-1834: The Harmony Society during the period of its greatest power and influence and its Messianic crisis*. Worcester: Harmony Society Press, 1982, xvi.
- 2) as translated in Arndt 1972, p. 35-40.
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- 4) Arndt 1972, p. 46.
- 5) V.F. Calverton. *Where Angels Dared to Tread*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941, p. 69.
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- 7) As translated in Arndt 1972; p. 72-74.
- 8) John Melish. *Travels in the United States of America in the years 1806-1811*. Philadelphia: 1812, p. 78.
- 9) Karl Arndt, ed. *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society 1814-1824*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1975, Vol I. 1814-1819, p. 746.
- 10) Hilda Adam Kring. *The Harmonists: A Folk-Cultural Approach*. Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., and The American Theological Library Association, 1973, p. 34.
- 11) Kring, p. 31-32.
- 12) Arndt, 1972, p. 8.

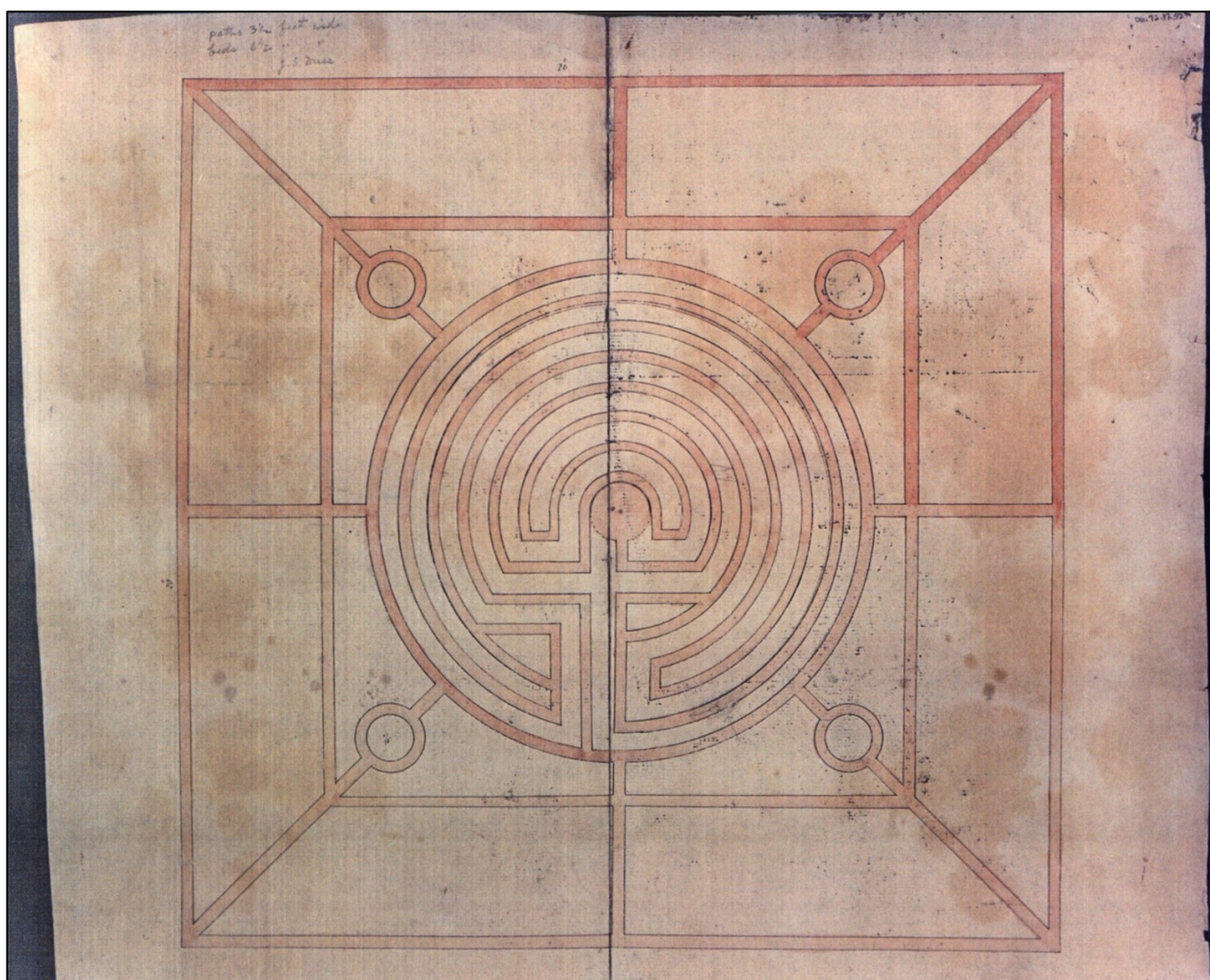
- 13) Arndt, 1972, p. 101.
- 14) George Rapp in a letter to Dr. Ernst Ludwig Brauns on Feb. 1, 1844, as quoted in Arndt, 1972, p. 594.
- 15) William A. Hinds. *American Communities and Cooperative Colonies*. (1878). Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1975, p. 15.
- 16) Kring, p. 12; Arndt 1972, p. 587-589.
- 17) *The Oxford Annotated Bible* NT 385.
- 18) As found in Arndt, 1972, p.588
- 19) Mircea Eliade. *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries: The Encounter between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Realities*. Trans. By Philip Mairet. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960, p. 68.
- 20) Eliade 66-70
- 21) Personal interview with Raymond Shepard, director of Old Economy for fifteen years, May 8, 1998.
- 22) Kring 61
- 23) Aaron Williams. *The Harmony Society, at Economy, Penn'a*. Pittsburgh: W.S. Haven, 1866, p. 67-68.
- 24) Williams, p. 111.
- 25) Melish, p. 72.
- 26) Melish, p. 72.
- 27) Robert Dale Owen. *Threading My Way: An Autobiography* (1874). New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967, p. 242-243
- 28) George Rapp. *Thoughts on the Destiny of Man particularly with Reference to the Present Times*. 1824.
- 29) Rapp, p. 2.
- 30) Gertrude Rapp in a letter to Frederick Rapp, April 8, 1824 as quoted in Arndt, 1978, p.838.
- 31) Rapp, p. 17-19.
- 32) Kring, p. 58, 61, 64.
- 33) Kring, p. 43.
- 34) Shepard, personal interview, May 8, 1998.
- 35) Rapp, p. 6.
- 36) Rapp, p. 29.
- 37) Rapp, p. 16.
- 38) Rapp, p. 9-10.
- 39) Rapp, p. 9.
- 40) Shepard, personal interview, May 8, 1998.
- 41) John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That which is to come: Delivered under the Similitude of a Dream Wherein is Discovered, The manner of his setting out, His Dangerous Journey; and Safe Arrival at the Desired Country*. (1678) New York: Payson & Clarke Ltd., 1928, p. 2.
- 42) Bunyan, p. 218-219.
- 43) Philip Edwards, "The Journey in The Pilgrim's Progress" *The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views*, ed. Vincent Newey. Totowa: Barnes & Noble Books, 1980, p. 111-117.
- 44) Melish, p. 72.
- 45) Victor Duclos as quoted in Ross F. Lockridge, *The Labyrinth of New Harmony, Indiana*. New Harmony: New Harmony Memorial Commission, 1941, p. 13-14.
- 46) Melish, p. 72.
- 47) Rapp, p. 3.
- 48) Melish, p. 72.



- 49) Harmony Society Archives, document no. 06.72.17.52. The Archive is located at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission/ Pennsylvania State Archive, Third and North Streets, Box 1026, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17108, USA.
- 50) Harmony Society Archives, document no. 06.72.17.51.
- 51) per. interview with Jean Lee of the New Harmony State Historic Society, August 5, 1998.
- 52) Lockridge, p. 93.
- 53) Harmony Society Archives, document no.06.72.17.24.

### **Appendix: Plans of the Harmonist Labyrinths**

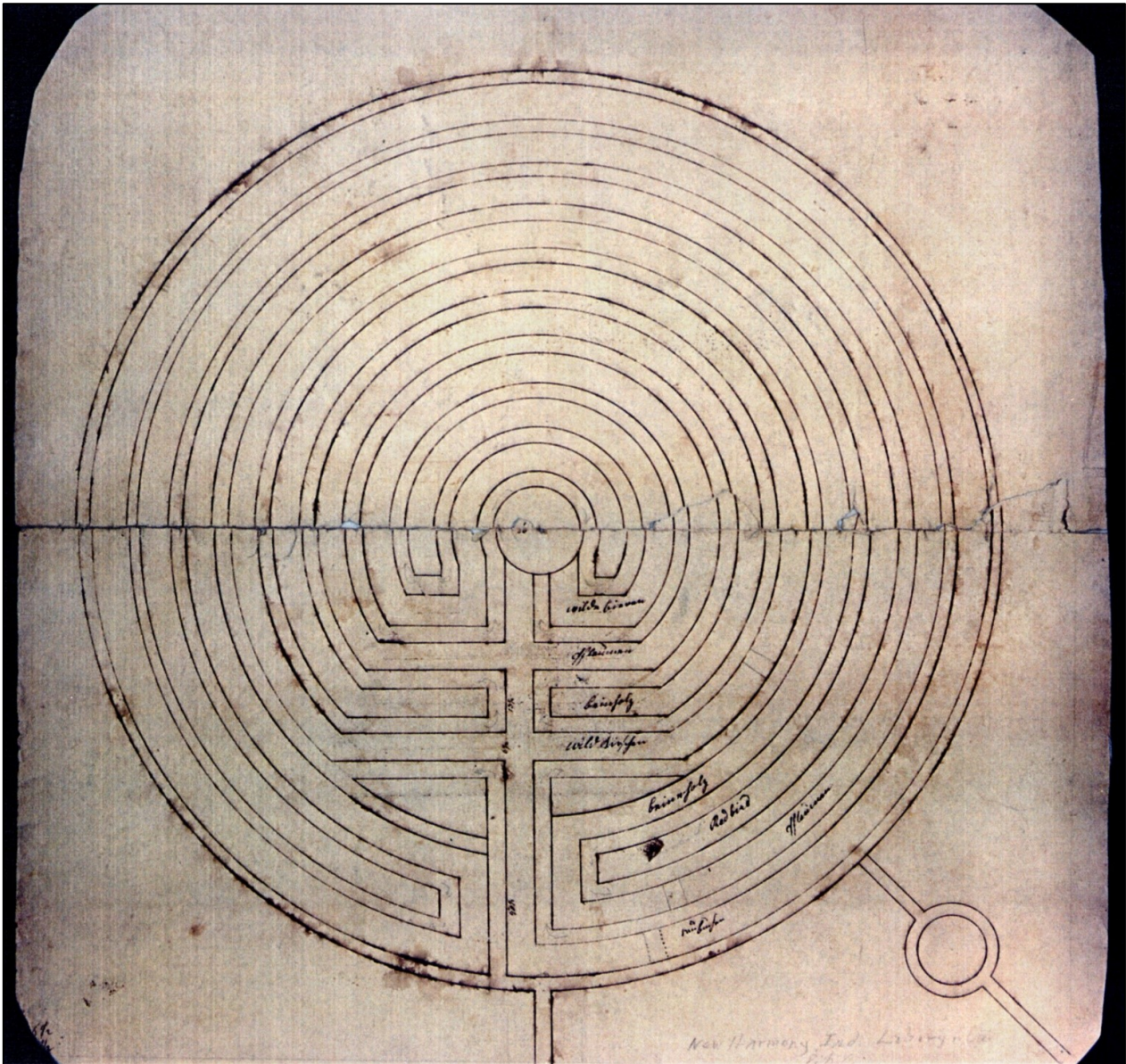
Plans for three labyrinths are preserved in the Harmony Society Archives in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, although as none of the plans are labelled, it is difficult to be sure which labyrinth was constructed at which location, but evidence to assign each drawing is given below. Each of the plans are hand drawn and coloured and over two feet (60cm.) square. All photographs courtesy of the Harmony Society Archives.



**Labyrinth 1**

This design is a circle within a square. The circular part of the Labyrinth has seven rows of hedges. There is no scale given. There is note on it signed by J.S. Duss (final trustee of the Harmony Society) that says “paths 3½ feet wide, beds 6½ feet wide.” Based on these dimensions the circular part of the labyrinth would be approximately 160 feet in diameter, and the entire square would be approximately 270 feet across. Since there is some indication that the other two labyrinth designs were for Harmony, Indiana and Economy, Pennsylvania, this labyrinth might have been designed for Harmony, Pennsylvania.<sup>49</sup>



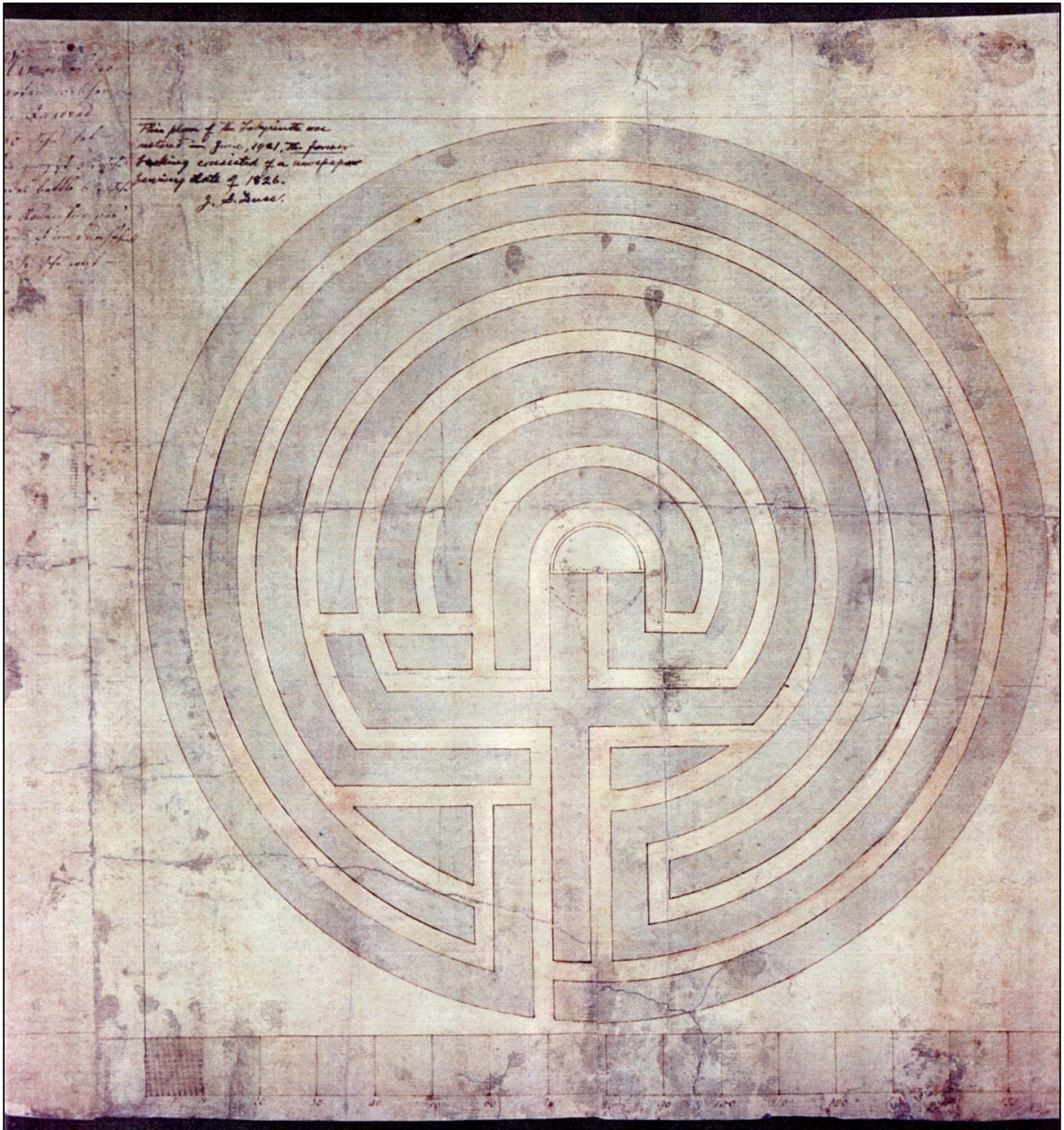


## Labyrinth 2

This design is circular with nine hedge rows and does not have a scale. This design has a handwritten note on it with no signature or date that says "New Harmony Ind. Labyrinth likely." Harmony, Indiana was renamed New Harmony by Robert Owen, a Scottish industrialist, when he bought the town from the Harmony Society for his own experiment in a communal utopia. If this was the Labyrinth at New Harmony, then it has been noted as being at least 140 feet in diameter. This design does have notation of the plants to be used.<sup>50</sup>

In 1941 the New Harmony Memorial Commission used this design, chosen on the recommendation of John Duss, Harmony Society's final trustee, to recreate a Labyrinth, including a grotto, at New Harmony, Indiana.<sup>51</sup> They used different plants than those noted on the original design to enable it to be easier to maintain. They constructed the grotto based on the only remaining Harmonist grotto, located at Old Economy, Pennsylvania. Though the re-built grotto at New Harmony meets the basic size and conceptual specifications of the Harmonist grotto, it does not capture the rough quality inherent in the original. The writings for the inside were chosen by the Commission and are not believed to be what was in the original grotto, but were instead chosen because they were in keeping with the philosophy of the Harmony Society. These writings were taken mainly from George Rapp's 1824 book *Thoughts on the Destiny of Man particularly With Reference to the Present Times*.<sup>52</sup> The Labyrinth is open for the public to walk in New Harmony, Indiana, and captures the size and complexity of the Harmony Society labyrinths.





### Labyrinth 3

This Labyrinth has a scale and was designed to be 160 feet in diameter with paths of 3½ feet and hedges of 6½ feet. The centre circle for the grotto is 16½ feet in diameter. There is no indication on this drawing what plants were to be used. There is a note on it written by John Duss that states that when the backing was restored in 1921, the drawing was on a newspaper dated 1826. The Harmonists left New Harmony in 1825 to settle in Economy, Pennsylvania, so it is possible that this is the Labyrinth designed for Economy.<sup>53</sup>

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