

“A Pleasent & Peaceful Village”: Mid-Nineteenth-Century Letters Relating to the Economy, Snow Hill, and Ephrata Societies

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Among the papers of the Snow Hill Society recently deposited at Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, are three letters pertaining to the Harmonist Society of Economy in present-day Ambridge, Pennsylvania. They begin with a visit paid to the communitarian society by a member of a comparable, but much smaller and less prosperous, contemporaneous community. Taken together with four related letters preserved in the Harmony Society Records (now in the Pennsylvania State Archives), they provide useful information on both communitarian groups, as well as some limited information about the Ephrata Society.¹

The Snow Hill Society, often called locally the "Nunnery," was a daughter colony of the famed Ephrata Society of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The latter community had taken shape as a largely monastic body in the early 1730s under the brilliant if occasionally erratic leadership of Conrad Beissel (1691-1768), a native of the Electoral Palatinate in Germany.²

The monks and nuns at Ephrata, evangelistic in temper, organized several offshoot colonies, few of which, however, were blessed with longevity. The major exception to this generalization was Snow Hill, founded in 1798 by members of the Snowberger/ Schneeberger family. Barbara Karper Snowberger (1746-1810) was the actual founder, aided reluctantly by her husband Andreas (1744-1825). It grew from a congregation of Dunkers (currently called Church of the Brethren) in the Antietam region. Its site was on the south edge of what is now Quincy, Pennsylvania, in Franklin County, several miles north of Waynesboro. Peter Lehman (1757-1823) was the first pastor.³

Though at its peak in the 1830s and 1840s Snow Hill never achieved a

membership of much more than thirty persons, the members constructed several substantial buildings. Four were eventually joined into one extended structure, still standing, with sections erected in 1814, 1835, 1838, and 1843. The completed two-story brick structure measures almost 150 feet in combined length. In addition, besides outbuildings for the farming economy, Snow Hill members erected a stone meetinghouse in 1829, still in regular use as a house of worship by the continuing religious body, the German Seventh Day Baptist Church.⁴

The primary writer and recipient of these letters was Samuel Snowberger (1799-1883), one of the active celibate members at Snow Hill. He became the prior (spiritual leader) of Snow Hill in 1825 at the age of twenty-six upon the death of his father, Andrew Snowberger. As Andrew Snowberger's father had also been a prior, this marked the third generation in leadership positions. Samuel Snowberger was also made one of the trustees in 1829. He was a signatory when the society incorporated five years later as "The Seventh Day Baptist Monastical Society of Snow Hill" and in 1836 also became its treasurer, in addition to his duties as prior.⁵

Samuel Snowberger was also active as a poet and hymn writer at Snow Hill, with many manuscripts in his hand or with his initials appended found in the Snow Hill papers. One manuscript contains some 309 hymns of his composition.⁶

The first letter of the three preserved in the Snow Hill papers was written shortly after Samuel Snowberger arrived at Economy, having walked all day from Pittsburgh in early October, 1851. Though he was disappointed about not being immediately admitted to a private meeting of the Harmonists on the first evening of his stay, he evidently soon became known and accepted by his hosts. Snowberger noted in the letter that non-Harmonists might not take him to be an outsider, with the inference that his manner of dress and demeanor was comparable to that customary in Economy. It is probable that Snowberger stayed at Economy from October, 1851, to January, 1852, when news of his return to Snow Hill was received in Economy.

Samuel Snowberger wrote in 1863 that he longed to visit the "pleasent & peaceful village" of Economy once more, but doubted that this would be possible because of his increasing age. Despite this problem and the difficulties of travel, Snowberger indeed again visited Economy in the fall of 1865. After he returned home, he reported to his friends in Western Pennsylvania about his homeward journey, which in this case included a visit to co-religionists at Ephrata.

The acceptance of the Snow Hill leader is attested by the cautious but cordial tone of the two letters Snowberger received from Romelius L. Baker (1793-1868), the head trustee of the Harmonists following the death of the imperious founder of the Harmonist movement, "Father" Georg Rapp (1757-1847). A native of Württemberg, Baker was originally named Gottlieb Romelius Langenbacher, but changed his name for ease in conducting business with the outside world in North America. He filled the role of business agent of the society after Frederick Reichert Rapp died in 1834.⁷

Baker has been characterized by historians of the Harmony Society as a deeply religious and sincere man, who provided wise and steady leadership during the transition period following Rapp's demise, a period called the "golden age" of Economy by one of its last trustees. Baker is credited with guiding the Harmonists during a period of strong economic development. He was, however, criticized by one historian because of his animus against former members. A well-educated man, he was active in the Pennsylvania Society of Agriculture and a charter member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.⁸

For the latter R. L. Baker wrote in 1845 a "description of Economy, Beaver County, Pennsylvania," later published in 1850. In it he described its 3,000 acres as having "the appearance of a well-cultivated farm." Further, "having by this time ... more taste for manufacturing, they erected large woolen and cotton factories, a steam grist-mill, a large hotel for the accomodation of strangers, storehouses, a large brick building for a town hall...; also a brick church, supplied with a high steeple, two bells, and a large town clock; a roomy school-house, apothecary shop, and post-office."⁹

Although the Snowberger/Baker correspondence does not contain extensive information on the internal life of the Harmonists, the comments by Baker in one letter describing the state of the community during the Civil War period are of interest. He reported to Snowberger that in 1863 their male members (who as non-resistant pacifists would not have served willingly in military organizations) had not been impacted by the draft because there had been sufficient non-members in their township to satisfy the requirements. He did mention economic contributions expected of northern manufacturers to support the war effort, evidently acceptable to the Harmonists. The avoidance of conscription by Harmony members contrasts with information in a letter written previously to Baker by Snowberger describing the impact of the draft in the Waynesboro area.

The letters follow, exactly as written.¹⁰

1) Samuel Snowberger to Snow Hill

Economy Hotel oct 9th 1851

Beloved Brethern and Sisters

I left Br. Knobs¹¹ on monday morning being 54 miles from pittsburg traveled on to greensburg 25 miles lodged at a temperance house a very Comfortable entertainment on tuesday I passed on within 11 miles of Pitts where a plank road Commences I concluded to take that rout after walking 3 miles an omnibus Came up and I took a seat to pittsburg Cost 25 Cts I reached pittsburg (31 M.) about sun Down & took lodging with Mr Mish formerly from Chambersburg wednesday morning I Called at B. A. F's Drug store found R. Bauman¹² in good health at this time I thought to spend the Day in pittsburg walking through town and seen J. E. Brady found prospect gloomy still he told me to Call before I return by this time I felt tired of the noise and confusion of the town at once concluded to start for the Economy the cars¹³ left pittsburg at 10 oclock I was present when they started but made joice of walking thought to save fifty Cents but I found it Dear money the Day was very warm & the road taking most all the way along the river bank I got warm & tired still I arrived just when the town Clock struck 5 I was not very much deceived in my imagination of the place only there are more buildings than I expected to see I stopt at the hotel & found Comfortable entertainment they had a meeting the same evening in the church but said it was a private meeting and was not customery to admit strangers I made the 2d application but they said they must first consult the preacher and it was now too late so I was Disapointed. This morning (thursday) the landlord accompanied me through the principle part of the town and in the meetinghouse but I have no room to give a full history of what I seen but will only mention that their tract of land is 1 mile wide & 4 1/4 long Containing 2700 acres. about their manners & customs I can not say much yet, but they apear very friendly I suppose if a stranger will see me among them he will not suspect me to be [a] forreigner I intend to spend some time here but know not how long. I have been blessed with reasonable health so far. The river is so low that the large steam boats can not go. I was surprised to see the gardens all so green yet the frost has Done no Damage yet the cars pass here 4 times a day that is 2 trips from Pittsburg to newbrighton 28 miles they come from pittsburg to this place in one hour (18 miles) stoping several times on the road. I have nothing more to say at Present but to Commend us all under the protection of a kind Providence.

S. Snowberger

--

Economy, Pa
Octbr 10

Henry Bauman¹⁴

Snowhill
Quincy P. O.
Franklin County Pa

2) Samuel Snowberger to R. L. Baker

Snow Hill January 10th 1852

Beloved Friend

The same day I arrived at Pittsburg in your company I took Passage in a Canal boat to Lockport from thence I took the Cars to Holid[a]ysburg where I arrived the 2d Day at about 2 o'clock then traveled afoot to a Friend about 8 miles from Holidaysburg next Day I reached my friends and acquaintances in Morrisons Cove Bedford County¹⁵ where I remained till the Meeting on 8th November after the meeting we sat in Committee a few days finishing the Hymn Book Selection (which is now in the hands of the printer in Chambersburg and is expected to be finished about next April I intend to send you one of the Books when finished)¹⁶ on the 12th we started for home and arrived at home next Day I found the members all in usual health except an old aunt Barbara Snowberger she died while I was in Morrisons Cove.¹⁷

Elder A. Fahnestock¹⁸ was also at our meeting in the Cove from thence he came on to Snowhill and remained a few days During this time our Prior H. Bauman and a Sister E. Fyock¹⁹ concluded to go with him to Ephrata. when Bauman was gone the Members insisted on me to accept the Priorship again and under existing circumstances I could not well refuse but at the same time I find no comfort in attending to the Cause as the Society is in a downgoing Situation and I know not where it may end

I received a letter from Wm. Grosse²⁰ informing me that he arrived at the Economy the next Day after I left if I knew it I would [have] remained a few Days longer which I could have Done with Pleasure as I found the Economy a City of Refuge for weary Pilgrims and I shall never regret the visit I enjoyed at your village Some more of our members would be anxious to visit you but the great Distance will likely prevent them we shall be happy to see you or any of your members give us a visit Please to write us a letter and let us know how you come on

I shall now conclude with my best respects to you and all the Brethern & Sisters in your Community

Samuel Snowberger

[Notation:] Letter/ Samuel Snowberger/ Jan. 10. 1852

3) R. L. Baker to Samuel Snowberger

Economy Jan: 19. 1852

Mr Saml Snowberger

Snowhill

Dear Sir

Your Letter [of] 10 inst. came to hand, in which you inform of your Voyage home and how matters stand with you.

I will be pleased to get one of your Hymn Books when finished.²¹

We shall certainly call to see you, when any of our society come that Way, which however is not very likely soon.

I have nothing new to say to you, things go on as when you was here, spiritually and temporary [temporally], we are striving to do our duty to one another externally; and inwardly to prepare the Heart for the Kingdom of God which we hope soon to be realized, by gathering the people of God, into one sheep fold, that the Lord may be King over them, and his name but one over all.²²

With my best Wishes for your health & happiness and those of your People

I remain your friend

R. L. Baker

4) Samuel Snowberger to R. L. Baker

Snowhill Dec. 5th 1852

Beloved Friend

by the present mail I send you one of our hymn books²³ the printers have Delayed longer than we expected I also send you a tract on the Subject of the Sabbath by J. W. Morton. Concerning our institution we have nothing particular to say we are moving on in our weakness as well as we can. a Brother was appointed a few months ago as an assistant in the ministerial office but he is a man with a family and therefore can not be much assistance in the Monastic family I visited Ephrata last august Elder A. Fahnestock was in good Spirits but his society is also small and in my opinion not much appearance of Prosperity

I am asket many questions Concerning your rules & Doctrine but I am not able to give a full explanation. we have a man here now a few months he was among the Shakers a few years but was not Satisfied with their Doctrine²⁴ he also visited a Society near Bufloe who call themselves the True inspired believers²⁵ he is a school teacher both in German & English he wishes to know what qualification will be required to obtain membership with you and also whether you admit Children and upon what Conditions. we seen it published in news papers that a certain man formerly a member brought suit against your Society please let me know how the thing was settled and also a

few words concerning membership in your society.²⁶

you have seen the Composer of the following hymns in our Book German
No. 40. 64. 66. 71. 82. 87. 99. 108. 134. 174. 175. 185. 196. 204. 215. English
130. I will now conclude with my best respects to you all.

we are all in usual health

Samuel Snowberger

[Notation:] Letter/ Saml. Snowberger/ 5 Dec. 1852

5) Samuel Snowberger to R. L. Baker

Snowhill February 14th 1863

Dearly Beloved Friend

I once more take up my pen to inform you how we are coming on, a Serious change has taken place in our Society, our aged Elder Andrew Fahnestock Departed this life on 5th inst. aged 82 years 2 months & 9 days²⁷ he had a long & wearysome life in particular these last years while a contention took place among the Ministers, his opponents gained a majority, which caused a Separation in our meetings, therefore the old Elder held his meetings in our meeting room, our meetings were generally Small mostly our own members, some few collected from the neighbourhood. The other party held their meetings in the meetinghouse only about 20 rods from our institution. I suppose many expect the 2 branches will now reunite again, but time must show the result. it appears the Spirit of revolution is raging as much in the Christian Church as it is now raging in our nations Government. I often wonder how your Society is treated in this Dreadful war, I Suppose your members are also Drafted and perhaps unwilling to serve. in our neighbourhood this caused great Disturbance in almost every family my Brother has 3 sons, when this Drafting was near at hand one of them concluded he would sooner be a free-will soldier as to be a forced one and enlisted in L. Kurtzes Cavelry Company and was taken to Harrisburg, he was not a very healthy man and being exposed, he got Sick with Typhoid fever, and was send home and is confined to Bed ever Since, now over 17 weeks, and is not yet out of Danger, it appears turning into Dropsy the other 2 Boys were both Drafted, one is Delicate in health and was exempted, but the other one had to go in the army and was at last accounts in North Carolina. Such is the case with many other familys. O May the God of Peace Speedily bring this Dreadful war to an end, this Should be the prayer of all God fearing People.²⁸

I shall be very happy to receive a letter once more from you, be assured my thoughts often wander over the Mountains & Valleys to view your pleasant & peaceful Village, and I would be happy to visit you once more, but know not whether I can ever accomplish it, I am geting old and can not expect many years to Come. therefore, I consider it necessary to make it my chief concern to prepare for an other world, which is a very serious task on account of the

many trials and temptations which beset our Pilgrimage, but if we are faithful we have the promise not to be tempted above what we are able to bear. therefore we may take courage to Press toward the mark for the Prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Now concerning our External affairs we have nothing particular to complain we all (through the blessing of a kind Providence) enjoy reasonable good health and are also blessed with the necessaries of life, Such as food & raiment, and with these blessings we must often share with those who are in want, many travelers call for assistance and lodging, among whom are already some Crippld Soldiers, and many poor familys whose husbands are in the war and are unprovided, therefore must Depend upon the Charity of the Benevolent.

now to sum up all these matters will surely make the way narrow that leads to life Eternal, because so many obstacles come in our way by which we may fall into error, therefore we ought always to watch and Pray that we enter not into temptation, and with a Cheerful heart bear our Daily Cross and follow the footsteps of our Blessed Redeemer for we all must very soon realize the lines of a certain Poet

The time is short it swiftly flies

The hour is just a hand

When we shall mount above the skys

To reach the happy land

If we can obtain such a Condition Death may be a welcome Mesenger for all we have in this world is vanity and vexation of Spirit. this most asuredly was the Portion of our Departed Elder we hope he Departed in peace. I will now conclude with our love & best respects to you & the members of your Congregation.

remaining your humble Friend

To R. L. Baker

Samuel Snowberger

if you will be so kind as to favour

me with an answer Direct Quincy

P.O. Franklin County Pa

[Notation:] Letter/ Saml. Snowberger/ 14 Feb. 1863

6) R. L. Baker to Samuel Snowberger

Economy febr 20. 1863

Samuel Snowberger

Quincy

Franklin Co. Pa

Dear Friend!

your Letter [of] 14 inst. came to hand by which we learn that you are still in the Land of the living, but that your Old Friend "Fahnestock"²⁹ had departed this Life, no doubt he was ready to leave this corrupt World & to change it for a

better, yet those friends remaining will miss him very much. Mostly such old and sincere christians take with them a certain part of the strength, solidity, and faith which the younger race are scarce of, but so God will'd it that each person shall make manifest the deepest of the heart and to show the Fruit which the Tree can and does bear. We would cheer and comfort you, to bear up, be strong in faith and love to god and man. Truth is mighty and will prevail.

Although the Spirit of Revolt, Murder, Robbery & Corruption is strongly developed in our Country, about which any honest man must feel vexed & sorry, particularly a follower of Christ, who knows well how happy the whole U. S. could & would be if the Precepts & Doctrines of our Lord, were put to practice. this is not done, and the Country at large must bear the Curse, which is certainly very heavy, and we have all to bear our share. At the same Time, while the exterior, the Worldly [illegible] is thus under Judgement, we can cultivate the inner man, by yielding our own will, to the will of God in all things, leading a life of self denial, preparing the Way for the Kingdom of God, where certai[n]ly only One Will, must rule and reign. Where the Lord is one, and his name one.

We have not had any solders nor camps near us, and have remained undisturbed in our peace-full Village so far; for which we daily thank our God the giver of all good -- We have been under heavy con-tributions of various kinds, in aid of the Union Cause, the U. S. Taxes too begin to work on all manufacturers but all this is only temporal. When the draft for militia men took place last fall, our Township furnished its quota [of] Volenteers, and no dft [draft] was necessary. Those Volenteers were not members of our Society, but resided within the Limits of our Township.³⁰

If you come to the West sooner or later, call and see us.

Truly yours

R. L. Baker

Economy Pa

from R. L. Baker

21 febr

Mr Samuel Snowberger

Quincy

Franklin Co.

Pa³¹

7) Samuel Snowberger to R. L. Baker

Snowhill october 28th 1865

Dearly Beloved Friend

I will give you a short history of my journey homewards. The same Day I left you about 4 oclock, I took the Cars for Lancaster, and arrived next morning at Daylight, from thence I walked to Ephrata (13 miles) where I met 5 of our

members. Saturday next [crossed out] Day (sept. 30th) we had a meeting and sacrament in the evening. 5 of our Preachers were present, viz George Specht & Emanuel Specht from Summerset County, Christian King from Bedford County, John Riddlesberger from our County (Franklin) & Timothy Konigmacher residing at Ephrata.³² 65 members were present, we remained until wednesday morning, then took Cars to Greencastle, where Carriages awaited us and conveyed us home (9 miles) Through Care of a kind Providence we all arrived at home safe & [in] good health. I shall never forget the kind treatment I received while I sojourned with you, and also at Zoar.³³ I would with pleasure return the Compliment by waiting on you, or any of your members, if you will favour us with a visit. it apears we Differ in Some points concerning our Spiritual Creed, but this will not revoke our friendship, feeling confident we are all willing to yield Submission to the true Doctrine of our Blessed redeemer, as far as we can comprehend it. Concerning the resurrection I admit is a very misterious Problem to solve. when Christ was Crucified he said to the penitent malefactor, to Day Shalt thou be with me in Paradise. and of the rich man we read "And in hell he lifted up his eyes being in torment." many other pasages I might quote but after all I am inclined to believe that two Classes of People will be immediately Sent to their place of Destination but I will close on the Subject not considering myself able to solve such an important question. Remaining your Sincere Friend S. Snowberger
[Notation:] Letter/ Snowberger/ 28 Oct. 65

ENDNOTES

¹ On the donation of the Snow Hill records, see "Snow Hill donates rare books to Juniata," *The [Huntingdon] Daily News* (March 1, 1997): 1; Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Receiving a priceless legacy: Snow Hill artifacts come to Juniata College," [Church of the Brethren] *Messenger* (July, 1997): 10-11; "Old Press, Snow Hill Artifacts Given to JC," *Morrisons Cove Herald* (July 17, 1997) A9; "Snow Hill Historical Artifacts Are Removed," *Fellowship of Brethren Genealogists Newsletter* 29 (Fall, 1997): 41, 43. The Harmony Society Records (1786-1951) are contained in Manuscript Group 185, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg. See Roland M. Bauman, ed., *Guide to the Microfilmed Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951 in the Pennsylvania State Archives* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1983).

² A generally accurate recent overview of Ephrata is E. G. Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune: An Early American Counterculture* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985). The best study of the Radical Pietist ideology of Ephrata is

by Jeffrey A. Bach, "Voices of the Turtledoves: The Mystical Language of the Ephrata Cloister," PhD thesis, Duke University, 1997. The only full biography of Conrad Beissel is the tendentious volume by Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel: Mystic and Martinet, 1690-1768* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), with two mistakes in the title alone: Beissel's name was Georg Conrad Beissel and he was born in 1691.

An accessible source for writings by Beissel and his colleagues is Peter C. Erb, *Johann Conrad Beissel and the Ephrata Community: Mystical and Historical Texts* (Lewistown, Me.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985). A brief sketch of Ephrata, which places the community in the broader frame of early American communes, is Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Communitarian Societies in Colonial America," in *America's Communal Utopias*, ed. Donald E. Pitzer (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 22-27.

Eugene E. Doll and Annaliese M. Funke, eds., *The Ephrata Cloisters: An annotated Bibliography* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1944) can be supplemented by Philip N. Dare, *American Communes to 1860: A Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 61-70.

³ The standard monographs on Snow Hill are Andrew W. Treher, "Snow Hill Cloister: A Unique Attempt at Quasi-Monastic Protestantism in Franklin County, Pennsylvania," in *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society* (Allentown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1968), 7-114, and Denise A. Seachrist, "Snow Hill and the German Seventh-Day Baptists: Heirs to the Musical Traditions of Conrad Beissel's Ephrata Cloister," PhD thesis, Kent State University, 1993. See also the booklet, Emma C. Monn, *Historical Sketch of Snow Hill (Nunnery)* [Waynesboro, Pa.]: Caslon Press, 1935), and Julius F. Sachse, *German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1742-1800* (Philadelphia: author, 1900), 360-371. Some additional references are found in Dare, *American Communities* (1990), 70-71. A special issue of *Old Order Notes*, No. 17 (1998) is devoted to Snow Hill.

⁴ On the building efforts, see Treher, *Snow Hill Cloister* (1968), 47-55. A recent history of Seventh Day Baptists also contains material on the German Seventh Day Baptists; see Don A. Sanford, *A Choosing People: The History of Seventh Day Baptists* (Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman Press, 1992), 102ff. See also Corliss F. Randolph, "The German Seventh-Day Baptists," in *Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America* (Plainfield, N.J.: American Sabbath Day Tract Society, 1910), 2: 933-1257.

Although most members of both Ephrata and Snow Hill were celibate brothers and sisters, the communities also had members who pursued customary family lives, the so-called "householders." Their offspring (with a few later converts) constitute the present membership of the small denomination.

For contemporary descriptions of the last decades of Snow Hill, see I. H.

McCauley, *Historical Sketch of Franklin County, Pennsylvania* ... (Harrisburg, Pa.: Patriot Publishing Company, 1878), 218; Benjamin M. Nead, *Waynesboro: The History of a Settlement* ... (Harrisburg, Pa.: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1900), 296-299; C. W. Cremer, "Historical Incidents Connected with Waynesboro and Franklin County," *Kittochtinny Historical Society* 9 (1923): 353-355; Jacob H. Stoner, *Historical Papers: Franklin County and the Cumberland Valley, Pennsylvania*, ed. Lu Cole Stoner (Chambersburg, Pa.: Craft Press, Inc., 1947), 252-261; and Freeman Ankrum, *Sidelights on Brethren History* (Elgin, Ill.: Brethren Press, 1962), 35-50. The last two books contain quotations from earlier writers.

⁵ For his birth and death dates, see Elmer Q. Gleim, "Snow Hill Cemetery Records Located at Quincy, Penna.," *Brethren Roots and Branches* 1 (January, 1977): 11-14.

⁶ Treher, *Snow Hill Cloister* (1968), 51-53, 58-59.

⁷ Karl J. R. Arndt, ed., *George Rapp's Disciples, Pioneers and Heirs: A Register of Harmonists in America*, eds. Donald E. Pitzer and Leigh Ann Chamness (Evansville: University of Southern Indiana, 1994), 136 (#812).

⁸ The consummate historian of the Harmony Society was the late Karl J. R. Arndt; see especially his two narrative histories, *George Rapp's Harmony Society, 1785-1847* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), revised edition (Rutherford, N.J.: Associated University Presses, 1972) and *George Rapp's Successors and Material Heirs, 1847-1916* (Teaneck, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1971). There are many references to Baker in these volumes; Arndt judged that Baker was too harsh in his attitude toward former members (page 60). See also Daniel B. Reibel, *A Guide to Old Economy* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1972), 8-9.

It was John S. Duss, *The Harmonists: A Personal History*, ed. E. G. Alderfer (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Book Service, 1943), who called the period a golden age. The book was sharply attacked by Arndt in a critical review: *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 26 (Sept./Oct., 1943): 159-166; the reply by Duss appeared in the same journal, 27 (March/June, 1944): 79-85.

Bibliographical references to Harmony may be found in Dare, *American Communities* (1990), 93-104, and [Daniel B. Reibel], *Bibliography of The Harmony Society, With Special Reference to Old Economy* (Ambridge, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1968).

⁹ R. L. Baker, "Description of Economy, Beaver County, Pennsylvania," in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Volume IV - Part II* (Philadelphia: Henry C. Baird, 1850), 183-187 (185).

The well-known novel by Louise Zehnder-Weil, *Geläutert* (Stuttgart: D. Gundert, 1891) describes life in Economy; the author lived with Baker during her stay in the communal village. See the comments in G. A. Mulfinger, "Lenau in Amerika," *Americana Germanica* 1 (1897): 2: 7-61 (40).

¹⁰ Snow Hill Papers, Juniata College Archives, Huntingdon, Pa.; Harmony Society Records, 1786-1951, MG 185, Business File, Incoming Correspondence, 1788, 1800-1914.

¹¹ Not identified but evidently a member of the German Seventh Day Baptists.

¹² This is possibly a relative of the Henry Bauman who received the letter.

¹³ Cars, i.e., the railroad.

¹⁴ Bauman, a Snow Hill member, died in 1878 at the age of 74 -- Treher, *Snow Hill Cloister* (1968), 104.

¹⁵ Although the German Seventh Day Baptists had their main centers in Ephrata (Lancaster County) and Snow Hill (Franklin County), by mid-century they had established a third center in Morrisons Cove, Bedford County, near New Enterprise. Members erected a meetinghouse there in 1847-1848. This congregation had no celibate members but consisted rather of "householders," that is to say, church members with traditional nuclear families. On this development, see "Seventh Day German Baptist Church at Salemville May Be Last Refuge of Historic Religious Colony," *Morrisons Cove Herald* (Nov. 21, 1963): 1.

¹⁶ Snow Hill members used the numerous hymnals issued by the Ephrata Society until they published their own hymnal (mentioned here) in 1852. This was *Die Christliche Harmonie, enthaltend eine Auswahl geistlicher Lieder zum Allgemeinen Gottesdienst* (Chambersburg, Pa.: M. Kieffer and Company, 1852), with 238 text-only hymns. See Seachrist, "Snow Hill" (1993), passim.

¹⁷ Barbara Snowberger died on October 23, 1851, at the age of 83 years, 5 months, and 25 days -- Treher, *Snow Hill Cloister* (1968), 104.

¹⁸ Andreas Fahnestock, a member of a family centrally important for Ephrata/Snow Hill affairs, died on February 5, 1863, at the age of 81 years, 2 months, and 9 days -- Treher, *Snow Hill Cloister* (1968), 84-84, 104; Sachse, *German Sectarians* (1900), 369, 371. He is mentioned in several of the Snowberger letters, especially in that written on February 14, 1863.

¹⁹ Elisabeth Fyock (Sister Zenobia) died on Nov. 13, 1894 at the age of 83 years, 5 months, and 3 days -- Treher, *Snow Hill Cloister* (1968), 104.

²⁰ William Grosse withdrew from the Snow Hill Society -- Treher, *Snow Hill Cloister* (1968), 104.

²¹ See note 16.

²² The Harmonists were known for their eschatological expectations. On this, see Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Work and Hope: The Spirituality of the Radical Pietist Communitarians," *Church History* 39 (March, 1970): 72-90. Rapp wrote to an inquirer in 1822: "And we also believe without doubt that the kingdom of Jesus Christ approaching near will even so and not otherwise be governed and carried on, as well here on earth as in the spiritual kingdom, and indeed all humanity, until there will no longer be an enemy of truth and of Jesus -- which the writings of the old and

new testaments sufficiently tell us ..." -- Arndt, *Harmony Society* (1965), 240. This belief is stressed in the interesting poetry about Economy published by C. E. Straub, *Rise and Fall of Harmony Society -- Economy, Pa. and Other Poems* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: author, 1911).

Baker's words about gathering the people of God "into one sheepfold" may be an allusion to a possible union of Snow Hill with the larger Harmony Society. The original leader of the Harmonists was known to wish an amalgamation of Radical Pietist communarians under his tutelage.

²³ See note 16.

²⁴ The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, commonly called Shakers, is the best known of the communitarian societies in North America, with a constantly growing literature. The first community was Mount Lebanon (also called New Lebanon), established in 1787 in upstate New York. A few Shakers still follow the community's principles today. An early monograph on the Shakers was Edward D. Andrews, *A People Called Shakers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953); a recent overview is Stephen J. Stein, *the Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). For a brief introduction, consult Priscilla J. Brewer, "The Shakers of Mother Ann Lee," in *America's Communal Utopias* (1997), 37-56.

²⁵ This was the Community of True Inspiration, a Radical Pietist society originating in the Germanies in 1727. The Inspired migrated to the USA in 1843-1844, establishing several colonies called Ebenezer near Buffalo, New York. They are better known as the Amana Colonies in Iowa, where they settled after 1855. The best study of their European origins is Ulf-Michael Schneider, *Propheten der Goethezeit: Sprache, Literatur und Wirkung der Inspirierten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); for the American development see Diane L. Barthel, *Amana: From Pietist Sect to American Community* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). See also Jonathan G. Andelson, "The Community of True Inspiration from Germany to the Amana Colonies," in *America's Communal Utopias* (1997), 181-203.

²⁶ The reference is to the extended court case derived from a suit against the Harmony Society filed in 1849 by a former member, Joshua Nachtrieb. It was finally decided in the Society's favor by a decision by the US Supreme Court in late 1856. See Arndt, *Successors and Material Heirs* (1971), 48-60, and Aaron Williams, *The Harmony Society of Economy, Penn'a., Founded by George Rapp, A. D. 1805* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: author, 1866), 85-88.

²⁷ The age of 82 years seems to be a mistake; the gravestone has it as 81 years, as do lists of Snow Hill members -- Treher, *Snow Hill Cloister* (1968), 104; "Snow Hill Cemetery Records," *Brethren Roots and Branches* (1977): 11.

²⁸ Snow Hill plays a role in a picaresque novel of Civil War times written by a

noted war correspondent, George A. Townsend, *Katy of Catoctin or The Chain-Breakers* (New York: Doubleday, 1886), 198ff., 241-243, reprinted (Cambridge, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1959). The author, widely known as "Gath" from his initials, evidently had visited Snow Hill, to judge from the accuracy of his penned descriptions; see Ankrum, *Sidelights* (1962), 39, 48-49.

²⁹ See notes 18 and 27.

³⁰ An author of a late 19th-century survey of American communitarian societies, who visited them in 1876, had this report of the Harmonist contribution, quoting an earlier source: "It is remembered to the credit of the Harmonists that during the war of the rebellion, they contributed liberally "for the equipment of volunteers, for special bounties, for the support of the families of absent soldiers, and for the Christian, Sanitary and Subsistence Commissions, for the fortification of Pittsburgh, for the relief of freedmen, for the support of soldiers' widows, and the education of their orphan children." See William Alfred Hinds, *American Communities: Brief Sketches of Economy, Zoar, Bethel, Aurora, Amana, Icaria, the Shakers, Oneida, Wallingford, and the Brotherhood of the New Life* (Oneida, NY: Office of the American Socialist, 1878), 21, reprinted (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1971). This is quoted in Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 824.

³¹ The address contains several other penned markings of "Mr," perhaps by a later hand.

³² For information on these persons, consult Treher, *Snow Hill Cloister* (1968), passim, and Alderfer, *The Ephrata Commune* (1985). Christian King was the ancestor of the King family still active in the Seventh Day German Baptist Church -- "Ephrata Press Open on 4th," *Morrisons Cove Herald* (June 24, 1976).

³³ The Separatist Society of Zoar, Tuscarawas County, Ohio, was formed by Radical Pietists from Württemberg, Germany, in 1817. Very similar to the dissenters who founded the Harmony Society, they flourished as a communitarian community until their peaceful dissolution in 1898. Two basic monographs are: George B. Landis, "Separatists of Zoar," *American Historical Association, Annual Report, 1898-1899* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), 163-220, and E. O. Randall, *History of the Zoar Society From Its Commencement to Its Conclusion: A Sociological Study of Communism*, 3rd ed. (Columbus: F. J. Heer, 1904).

