September 2009 Newsletter

Religion, Social Networks, and Temperance in New Philadelphia, Illinois

By Annelise Morris*

Abstract

This study provides a comparative analysis of social networks, religious denominations, and temperance movements in the nineteenth-century towns of New Philadelphia and Brooklyn, Illinois. The interdependence of social networks and religious life in New Philadelphia significantly contributed to social integration of African-American and European-American residents of the community. Similar networks of churches and families in Brooklyn served to unite African-American residents in resistance against instances of socio-economic oppression.

* Annelise Morris is a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley. This study was completed as a senior honors thesis at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, with a thesis committee of Profs. Abdul Alkalimat, Vernon Burton, and Christopher Fennell. This article presents and edited version of that earlier study.

Table of Contents Page

Introduction 2
I. Historical Overview of New Philadelphia, Illinois 5
II. An Urban Counterpoint in Brooklyn, Illinois 8
III. The Religious Community of New Philadelphia 11
A. Barry Baptist Church 13
B. Methodist Episcopal Church 21
C. Christian Church 23
D. Sunday Schools 24
E. Public Lectures and Encounters with Other Denominations 26
IV. Temperance in New Philadelphia 27
V. Discussion and Conclusion 30
Bibliography 32
Appendix Link

Introduction

The town of New Philadelphia, now a National Historic Landmark, is a unique and inspiring instance in Black history. The first to be platted and planned by a free man of color (in 1836), this community developed as an integrated town, becoming a relatively thriving commercial hub in a rural, agricultural setting, and a haven for former enslaved persons and free people of color. New Philadelphia was not marked by outright racial turmoil, and has been perceived as a unique instance of integration surrounded geographically by racial violence and conflict. Nonetheless, New Philadelphia was affected by less violent but profound and systemic racism when bypassed by the railroad in 1869, which would eventually cause its economic decline.

Not far from Free Frank McWorter's agricultural town of New Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Illinois also took shape as a Black town, and a haven for former enslaved laborers and free people of color (Figure 1). A contemporary of New Philadelphia but also markedly different in its urban locale, Brooklyn was also located just across the river from St. Louis and the slave state of Missouri. As such, Brooklyn offered economic and spiritual support for former slaves on their way to freedom.

Figure 1. Map of locations of New Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Barry, Illinois, and surrounding region (image by C. Fennell).

These two communities experienced similar beginnings. They both began with people of color seeking a haven from the institution of slavery. In the rural locale of New Philadelphia, this resulted in Free Frank McWorter's prosperous farming community. In Brooklyn, this resulted in an urban residential Black community, constantly fighting for a foothold in a white economy. In both of these towns, however, I contend that concepts of family and the church congregations (as extensions of the traditional family) were the integral building blocks of those societies. Because of the relative location and population of these two communities, these core values became expressed differently. In the urban, commuter-labor based community of Brooklyn, these values were directly articulated by the founding of one of the first African Methodist Episcopal Churches in Illinois, whose strong spiritual community was integral to Brooklyn's inception. In New Philadelphia, we can see these values expressed mainly through attendance and activities in the integrated Baptist Church, other community churches, Sunday school activities, and lectures given in the community. These values were also articulated through the moral vehemence of the Temperance movement and in that rural community's reception of Carrie Nation, a noted leader and advocate of that movement.

In this paper, I examine this articulation of core values of family and of churches as extensions of that family. I contend that the church functioned as an arena for the formation of socially constructed kinship ties, which then served to strengthen the church community. In the case of the two main denominations examined in this paper, the Free Will Baptist Church and the African Methodist Episcopal church, members of a congregation referred to one another as mother, brother, and sister. These socially constructed kinship ties can be observed by noting such terms of familial relationship used by those who were not biologically related to one another. This ascribing of kinship roles to unrelated members of one's spiritual community then created a social support network.

To place this idea of socially constructed kinship ties in a theoretical framework I would point to Bourdieu's theory of *habitus*; which can be understood as "a social structure consisting of a shared system of beliefs and practices learned by each member of a social group from an early age onward" (Fennell, 37). An individual within this system enacts, performs and affirms these beliefs and practices, and by doing so constantly shapes and is shaped by those ideologies. This belief system, or habitus, then "provides motivation for and constraints on the ways in which individual members of the group think and behave at any given moment" (Fennell, 37).

Simply, one can view a habitus as a system which both constructs and is constructed by an individual's way of seeing, processing, and participating in the society around them.

I assert that AME Church of Brooklyn and the church community of New Philadelphia each serves as a habitus; each acting as a system of social values, beliefs, shared worldviews and experiences for it's members. These individual members acknowledge this shared system of beliefs by creating what I refer to as socially constructed kinship ties. Church members referred to one another by kinship markers; brother, sister, mother, marking one another as members of their family of faith. By extending one's "family" in this way, individuals created a web of relationships with other people who shared the same faith, values, and ideologies (Butler; Fennell; Yinger). Each person has then joined a relatively stable "social" network, which could then be relied upon for moral, physical, and economic support. Such a shared "commonality of experience" in turn "engenders feelings of identification" within those social networks (Bentley 1987, 32-33; 1991, 173) (Bentley 1991, Butler, Fennell, Yinger).

This same theoretical view can also be applied to understand the idea of community as I use it in this paper. In the cases of New Philadelphia and Brooklyn, I would contend these are primarily "communities of place and space" (Sider, 70-72); by virtue of their proximity to one another, residents of these communities shared living, working, educational, social and religious space. Because of this spatial relationship, the residents of these communities inevitably create a web of shared experiences; the shared experience of living in the same area, of attending the same churches and social functions, reading the same newspapers and shopping at the same stores. This combination of shared experiences and sense of common space encompasses what I consider a definition of community.

In this paper I will first provide an overview of the history of New Philadelphia in order to place the community in historical context (Part I). Then in Part II I outline a brief history of the community of Brooklyn, Illinois and its church (the AME Church), which provides a comparison to my larger-scale examination of New Philadelphia. In Part III, I present and analyze primary historical data to explore more in-depth the history, values, and practices of the churches in the New Philadelphia community. Specifically, these three churches in nearby Barry, Illinois (Figure 1) included: the Barry Baptist Church (Part III.A), the Christian Church (Part III.B), and the Methodist Episcopal Church (Part III.C). Using records from these churches, I explore how these congregations functioned as extensions of the family unit for the

residents of New Philadelphia, and the modalities in which churches helped to enforce and espouse family values and kinship ties.

I specifically highlight the Barry Baptist Church in Part III.A, as it was the church attended by Frank McWorter and likely by most other people of color in New Philadelphia, and I will discuss how attendance and participation in this church informed and enforced core family values. Finally, in Parts III.D and III.E, I call attention the popular Sunday school practices (recorded in local newspapers) and also frequent religious and spiritual lectures given for the public, which were central to the intersection and reciprocal influences of religious and social life upon one another in New Philadelphia.

In Part IV, I then analyze how these religious beliefs and practices heavily influenced social life and indeed were inseparable from an understanding of social activity and social conscience within the community. This influence can especially be seen in the Temperance movement, Carrie Nation's visit to New Philadelphia, and the community's response to that initiative. In Part V, I conclude by demonstrating that this examination of New Philadelphia's core familial moral and social values, as articulated through an understanding of church practices and activities, places New Philadelphia in a larger context of contemporary Black communities. Through this examination of core family values as asserted in church communities, we can add breadth and depth to a comprehensive understanding of the development of Black churches and Black towns.

I. Historical Overview of New Philadelphia, Illinois

New Philadelphia was located in Hadley Township in Pike County, Illinois just 24 miles East of the Mississippi River and the slave state of Missouri (Figure 1). Formally platted and legally registered in 1836, New Philadelphia was one of the earliest frontier towns in Pike County. Indeed, Free Frank McWorter was among the first pioneers to settle in Pike County. It has been noted in histories of the area that the "first white man in Hadley Township was a colored man" (Thompson, 151). Frank McWorter and his family came to Hadley Township in 1831 (Walker). Prior to moving to Illinois, Frank had spent most of his adult life working to purchase freedom from slavery for himself, his wife, and his son Frank Jr. Free Frank was born into slavery in 1777, and early in life showed his entrepreneurial skill when he convinced George McWhorter (to whom Frank was enslaved) to permit him to run his Kentucky plantation. During

the war of 1812, Free Frank began to accumulate additional wealth by mining and producing Saltpeter in addition to managing the McWhorter plantation. Besides these endeavors, Free Frank would also make his own money by taking additional wage-labor jobs.

It is through this entrepreneurial skill and industriousness Frank was finally able to begin his largest endeavor; creating a prospering town. Free Frank's intention in purchasing the land for and platting the town of New Philadelphia was in part an entrepreneurial one; by selling the lots and farming the land, he intended to purchase freedom from slavery for the rest of his children and grandchildren. He also endeavored, in founding New Philadelphia, to create a haven where people of color could live, work, and prosper (Walker).

New Philadelphia was platted on a forty-two acre tract, divided into 20 blocks and 144 town lots. Free Frank purchased the land for the town site from the federal government in 1835, for the amount of $100. Free Frank was able to purchase this land and plat this town despite Illinois's harsh Black Laws for a few reasons; namely, he had petitioned the Illinois General Assembly for the right to register a surname and further legal rights not necessarily guaranteed to free Blacks in the state of Illinois. He also obtained a certificate of good character that was filed as part of this petition, wherein friends and business associates testified to his being "an honest and industrious man" (Walker, 93-121).

New Philadelphia developed slowly at first, with a store appearing in 1839, although by 1841 there were only three houses on the mail route running through the town, and only 3 of the 144 town lots were occupied (Thompson, 151). New Philadelphia continued to grow steadily throughout the mid-1840s, and by the census in 1850 the small frontier community boasted "two shoemakers, one merchant, one cabinet-maker, one wheelwright, and one Baptist teacher" (Walker 131). At this time the census listed eleven households in New Philadelphia, a total of 58 people; twenty-two of who were people of color. There were also Black families living in the countryside surrounding New Philadelphia; adjacent to Frank McWorter's farm were two other farms owned by Black families (Walker, 131). By the early 1850s, New Philadelphia was also home to a wheelwright, blacksmith, and a stagecoach stop.

During this time, Illinois state law did not provide for the education of Black children, so Free Frank rented an existing schoolhouse and provided fees for the education of the Black children of the community. In 1848, Free Frank made plans to build a Seminary to be known as the Free Will Baptist Seminary. He donated a parcel of land for the establishment of the

Seminary. This construction was to function as both a school and church, and would serve any members of the community regardless of color. Unfortunately, Free Frank's seminary plans never came to fruition; but he continued to rent the local schoolhouse and provide for the spiritual and intellectual education of the Black children of New Philadelphia (Walker, 138-145).

New Philadelphia continued to thrive as a biracial frontier town through the 1850s and into the 1860s. Free Frank continued to prosper as a farmer, entrepreneur, and business owner, and continued to successfully purchase his freedom for family members from slavery in Kentucky. By 1850 the McWorter family collectively owned over 600 acres of land, and they were not the only prosperous Black farmers in the community. Near the McWorter farm were the prosperous farms of Thomas Thomas and Ansel Vond (both men of color) (Walker 156). Free Frank died in 1854, and in his will provided for the purchase of freedom from slavery for the remaining members of his family. Solomon, Frank's son and business partner, executed these wishes, making the sum total that Frank McWorter spent to free his family approximately $14,000 (Walker, 164-173).

During the Civil War, New Philadelphia became the social center of the rural farming township of Hadley. Blacks and whites alike continued to migrate to this rural agricultural center, reaching its peak in the mid-1860s. Within the town, the residences and business locations of Blacks and whites were spatially integrated. Due to the impact of racism in Illinois laws, however, the children were educated in segregated spaces within the town until 1874, when a new, integrated schoolhouse was constructed adjacent to the town's boundary. The two nearby cemeteries for the community also developed as largely segregated spaces.

In 1869, this thriving market center was bypassed by a new railroad constructed across the county, likely due to unspoken racist sentiments on the part of the railroad company and associates. This signaled the end of New Philadelphia's period as a thriving business center. After this development, the town lost business, ceased to grow, and by 1885 was declassified as a town. Many residents of the town dispersed, and those who remained were primarily farmers. The land on which New Philadelphia stood slowly transitioned to a more widely dispersed farming community. Notably, an integrated schoolhouse built in 1874 continued to serve the farming community until 1936, and functioned as a religious, social and educational center for the remaining residents of the area (Walker 164-173).

From its inception, New Philadelphia was a small, rural, frontier community. The community was spread out spatially, while activity was concentrated in town's space. It is important to remember that the rural farming community consisted of not only those in the town proper, but those farming and living in the surrounding countryside. Even after the community's declassification as a town in 1885, these farmsteads continued to exist as a community with the schoolhouse functioning as the social center (Walker, 169).

New Philadelphia's history is an interesting and unique chapter in the history of Black towns. Founded by a free man of color, New Philadelphia was home to both Black and white business owners, artisans, and prosperous farmers. Unlike urban settings such as Brooklyn, Illinois, the Black population of New Philadelphia was relatively small. However, one must keep in mind that the overall population of rural Pike County wasn't large to begin with. As a minority, Blacks in New Philadelphia had no exclusively Black institutions (with the exception of children's school until integration in the 1870s). Blacks and whites attended the same churches and lectures, and shared the same social space. I contend that it was this shared social space that made New Philadelphia such a unique place-a place where Blacks and whites not only lived but thrived together without racial violence or altercation.

II. An Urban Counterpoint in Brooklyn, Illinois

In 1829, "Mother" Priscilla Baltimore led eleven families across the river from St. Louis, Missouri into Illinois, seeking a haven from slavery and oppression (Figure 1). Despite Illinois's strict Black Codes (which restricted the immigration of persons of color into the state) this small band of people settled in the American Bottom and sought to make a safe home for themselves (Cha-Jua, 31-35). Instrumental in the founding and continued growth of this community was Reverend William Quinn, a missionary in the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. Aided by Pricilla Baltimore, Quinn often traveled into Missouri to preach, boldly delivering sermons of liberation and freedom. From the Illinois side of the river, Priscilla helped transport Reverend Quinn into St. Louis in order to preach the "gospel of liberation" (Cha-Jua, 39). Along with Reverend Jordan Early, Quinn's network of allies in Missouri eventually formed the St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal church. This network of spiritual and ideological allies was instrumental in transporting slaves to freedom in Illinois. Priscilla herself was also known as an inspiring spiritual orator, and with the mentorship of a Methodist missionary she preached to

local slave communities and at times led other slaves to religious services (such as camp meetings) in Illinois (Cha-Jua, 33-40).

In his work detailing the history of Brooklyn, Sundiata Cha-Jua observes, "family and religion were the pillars on which the African Americans constructed their community" (33). Indeed, as instrumental as the AME church was in orchestrating the initial founding of this freedom village, it was not surprising, that the "first social institution organized in the free Black settlement of Brooklyn was the African Methodist Episcopal Church" (Cha-Jua, 35). It is possible, (though not completely conclusive) that this was the first AME Church in Illinois. After its establishment, Brooklyn became an instrumental link in the AME Church's network to freedom; escaping enslaved persons were often housed in the AME church in Brooklyn (and also the Antioch Baptist Church) on their northward journey. It was for her efforts and leadership in the church and in the journey to freedom that Pricilla Baltimore became known as "Mother" Baltimore, or "Mother of Brooklyn" (Cha-Jua, 37-40). This honorific given her provides evidence of the inseparability of church and family, and reflects a perspective in which one's church and community were natural extensions of one's family.

Brooklyn remained a freedom village until its platting in 1837. It was during these formative years that, according to Sundiata Cha-Jua, "Afro-Brooklynites built two of their core institutions, the family and church" (18). It was through these institutions (especially the networks maintained by the AME Church) that this village continued to function as instrumental in the network to freedom for enslaved persons. Disenfranchised by Illinois's harsh Black laws, the residents of the freedom village could not legally establish their own town. In 1837, a group of white men platted and legally registered the town of Brooklyn. Not completely selflessly but in part because of the land's profitable location, Thomas Osburn and his associates hoped, in Brooklyn, to build an economically thriving town.

After 1837, the freedom village begun by Pricilla Baltimore became a biracial town. Importantly, the AME Church network continued to be instrumental in the Underground Railroad until emancipation at the end of the Civil War. Likely in part because of the church's central role in the anti-slavery movement, these social institutions established by the Black majority (namely the AME Church) continued to operate separately from the white community. This differentiated Brooklyn from New Philadelphia, where the biracial community institutions like the church were shared by whites and Blacks alike (Cha-Jua, 35-46).

After its inception as an unincorporated town in 1837, Brooklyn continued to grow industrially and became a potential participant in the larger economy of the East St. Louis area. Yet, Brooklyn was bypassed by all major industries (mining centers, railroad, factories, etc.), and instead grew to be mostly a residential town whose labor force commuted to nearby manufacturing centers. After the abolishing of the Black Codes in 1870, the growing African-American majority did not gain political control of the town until 1886 (Cha-Jua, 20-24).

During these years spent struggling for mixed schools and representation in their own community government, Black social institutions in Brooklyn continued to maintain their strength and importance in the community. At this time, approximately after 1870, that the social focus shifted from the freedom and liberation rhetoric of the AME Church to the Black Power movement of fraternal organizations. Importantly, these institutions continued to be distinct and separate from white social institutions, likely due to their nature as focal points for Black social and political change (Cha-Jua, 115-118). After the turn of the century, due in part to political and racial struggle and in part to economic turmoil, Brooklyn declined as a social center, and the became a town dependent on those surrounding white centers. Even after gaining political control, the Black majority of Brooklyn continued to struggle with this control in an urban environment which was, by this time, in an economic decline and in which violent racism was a harsh reality (Cha-Jua, 200-215).

For the purposes of this paper, the instrumental social institution of the AME Church is most salient for comparison with the social dynamics evident in New Philadelphia. Appendix Section 4 provides tables comparing the important religious and social aspects of New Philadelphia and Brooklyn. In his history of Brooklyn, Sundiata Cha-Jua notes "Blacks were the majority of the population and shared residential space but not social space with the dominant white majority" (19). The African Methodist Episcopal Church, which was so influential in Brooklyn's founding, was in itself a purposefully separate institution from the mainstream white Methodist Episcopal denomination. Only the second denomination to establish separate African congregations, the AME Church was among the first and most active African denominations in the United States. Partly because of exclusion from positions of power within the white church, and partly as a celebration of Black culture, the AME Church was founded between 1813 and 1822 and quickly became an important institution in Black communities (Gravely, 141). The social climate of early Brooklyn was mirrored throughout many other urban Black towns of the

period; often without political control, blacks would maintain their community ties not through political institutions but through the social institution of the church. The church acted as the center for not only religion, but for learning, expression of free African identity, and of course for the anti-slavery movement (Gravely, 140).

This segregation of social institutions that continued throughout Brooklyn's history highlights a notable difference between the communities of Brooklyn and New Philadelphia. From Brooklyn's beginning as a freedom village, those Black institutions established (such as the AME Church) were specifically and purposefully outside of white society. As an urban settlement (even a biracial one), Afro-Brooklynites maintained a population large enough to keep their core social institutions separate from white social space. In addition, as a center for the struggle against an oppressive white social institution it became integral and necessary that safe social and family spaces for Afro-Brooklynites were, indeed, all-Black spaces. As I will argue, this was not the case in New Philadelphia. Owing partly to its small, rural population, social space (specifically the church) was more often shared between Blacks and whites. While schools houses and cemeteries serving New Philadelphia were largely segregated, other facts of daily life in that community were not. This dynamic likely resulted in New Philadelphia's unique lack of racially motivated violence and relative peace in a time otherwise marked by social upheaval.

III. The Religious Community of New Philadelphia

The church was one of the most important social spaces for the rural community of New Philadelphia. The churches were the largest, and most active social institution in the community, serving as a center for religious gathering, social gathering, lectures, and meetings. By taking an in-depth look at the practices and activities within the church, we can see how the experience of this shared social space shaped life in New Philadelphia. In order to gain a better idea of what activities and practices were popular in mid to late 19th century Hadley Township, I examined period newspapers (particularly the *Barry Adage*) for reports of church and church-related activities. I have transcribed the pertinent aspects of my findings in the attached Appendix, which is arranged chronologically by subject. I have also examined the records for the Barry Baptist Church and the Barry Christian Church to gain a clearer understanding of church values and day-to-day practices; the former of those church records are also transcribed in the

Appendix. In examining these and other records of the church community of Hadley township, I contend that we see a community whose strong core values were those of the family and the church, and that these family values were espoused and re-enforced by those congregations.

In Chapman's *History of Pike County*, early religious practices in Pike County were described as "all of every religion and no one religion turned out to meeting in the woods or the log school-house, or at a settler's home; we had no fine churches in those days . . . . Until public buildings were erected meetings would be held in private houses, as they were offered by their owners, or in groves" (237). Chapman's history also noted early missionaries that visited the county, among them Rev. W.D. Trotter, as part of the Blue River Mission in 1832. Noted Methodist Missionary Lorenzo Dow visited Pike County in the early 1820s, giving sermons in settlers homes and baptizing children (Thompson, 52). This history was characteristic of an early frontier community; often before churches could be built, pioneers would host religious gatherings in one another's homes, and often the only preachers heard were visiting missionaries (Chapman, 238).

A brief history of Pike County recorded by the Federal Writer's Project noted that the first church in Pike County was a Congregationalist church, founded in Pittsfield. This same history records that a Baptist Minister by the name of Capt. Hale likely organized the first Baptist Church in the County (Boyd-Pleasant Hill). Thompson's history observed that the first missionary to preach in the settlements of Pike County was one Lewis Allen, who "was a minister of the Baptist church and through him the Baptists may properly lay claim to being the first to bring the Word into the Pike County wilderness" (96). This same history noted the names of the first ministers to bring other denominations to Pike County to stay; these were John Medford of the Methodist church, Captain Ozias Hale of the Baptist church and Elijah Garrison of the Christian Church (Thompson, 96).

By the time New Philadelphia became a thriving town, these three denominations had established churches in nearby Barry. Due to proximity and membership of some New Philadelphia residents, we can assume that these churches served the New Philadelphia community to at least some extent. These three churches were: the Barry Baptist Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Christian Church (also known as the Church of Christ). There were no formal churches within the town of New Philadelphia itself. Therefore, we look to nearby Barry for prominent religious institutions that may have served residents of the

surrounding area (Figure 1). I have included in the Appendix to this article examples of the church directory of Barry, which appeared in the Barry Adage and provided information on community churches and services. Also in the Appendix (p. 11) I have transcribed a table that lays out the membership in most of the main denominations in the United States from 1850 to 1870. This table is transcribed from the *Barry Adage* (10 May 1873) and was derived from the ninth U.S. census.

There were often accounts, both in the Church records and in the *Barry Adage* of joint efforts between the churches at evangelizing and having revivals and social activities (See Appendix, pp.19-20). Therefore, one should keep in mind that these three churches likely worked together with one another in many endeavors. At the same time, an individual could not typically be a member of more than once church at a time (For example, see Appendix p. 27).

This is not to say that there were not religious activities happening within New Philadelphia. In Grace Matteson's manuscript containing oral and documentary histories entitled *Free Frank McWorter and the "Ghost Town" of New Philadelphia* she observes that according to oral accounts, "Church services were held in the old Philadelphia school-house east of the square; also at Shaw's school" (Matteson, 37). She notes that George Gibbons (referenced in the 1850 census as "a Baptist teacher"), Rev. Mason (a Baptist minister) and Rev. McClain often held the services at the New Philadelphia schoolhouse (37-38). This evidence points to the prominence of the Baptist denomination among residents of New Philadelphia, and I find from the evidence that I have examined that the Baptist denomination was the most influential in Hadley Township's social sphere.

A. Barry Baptist Church

Founded in 1829, the Baptist Church in Barry was of the Free Will Baptist Denomination, a fact evident in church records and obituaries (see Appendix pp.2-3, 26-28). The Free Will branch of Baptists came into existence in New England in 1727, separating from Calvinist schools of thought (Bryant, 110; Leonard, 110).

The formative ideologies and most important aspects of the Freewill Baptist church's theology included several key facets: First and foremost, each person has the free will to accept or reject Christ's salvation and grace (Leonard, 110). With this free will comes the responsibility to live up to salvation and conversion once accepted; conversely, one can lose this salvation by bad behavior. Thus, one's entrance and conversion in to the faith is important, but so too one's

continued grace is equally as integral (Leonard, 111). Freewill Baptists held themselves to high ethical standards. When a member of the congregation fell from grace it became the congregation's responsibility to either reject that person, or bring them back into the fold again. Congregations held quarterly meetings to address and resolve conflicts within their congregation, and to report on the progress of salvation of its members. The demonstration of the act of conversion was highly important, and similarly infant Baptism was not frequent, as the belief was that one's choice to accept salvation was a choice and not an arbitrary rite. Thus, Baptism by immersion (adult Baptism, usually in some body of water) was much more prevalent (Bryant, 170-194). Indeed, we will see evidence of this theological worldview in the Barry Baptist Church's records.

In addition, the Free Will denomination of the Baptist church was one of the most outspoken against the institution of slavery, and most progressive in their inclusion of Blacks not only in their congregation, but as ministers and leaders in the church (Walker, 138). In a time when many Baptist denominations declared that slavery was a political rather than a religious issue (and therefore avoided confronting it) the Free Will denomination was openly against the institution. They organized a Free Will Baptist Anti-Slavery Society in 1843 (Leonard, 161; Walker, 138). This denomination of Baptists was also rather evangelical in nature, and emphasized the social morality and responsibility aspect of their religion. Not only was importance placed upon one's avoidance of alcohol, tobacco, dancing, and other vices, but for one to evangelize to one's fellow men and endeavor to save them from these moral ills (Leonard, 162-163). As I will point out, these ideologies are evident in the Barry Baptist Church records detailing member activities.

1. New Philadelphia's Membership and Activity in the Baptist Church

Founded in 1829 (Barry Baptist Church records, Book 1), the Barry Baptist Church records contain a wealth of information about daily activities and practices of members of the church. I find that the Baptist church was most relevant for our understanding of religious life in New Philadelphia, primarily because oral histories and church records indicate that this was the most prominent denomination among New Philadelphia residents. The Baptist church was also the only church where I have definitively found records of Black members. Thus at least at some points in time, if not throughout the duration of the New Philadelphia community's existence,

this was a biracial congregation. That is not to say that the Methodist and Christian churches did not have Black members. These congregations may have, but since the Christian Church's records are fragmentary the Methodist church's are inaccessible we cannot know for sure if these two congregations were integrated or all-white. However, we can know from the sources at hand that the Barry Baptist Church was definitely an integrated congregation.

Importantly, prominent members of the McWorter family were listed over the years as being members of the Barry Baptist Church, and as early as 1840 Frank, Lucy, Commodore McWorter are listed in the membership logs (BBC records, Book 1). Free Frank's death was one of the few member deaths to be noted in the weekly meeting notes, indicating that he was likely prominent in the church (see Appendix p. 26). For a period of years, Frank, Lucy and Commodore were the only McWorters listed as being members of the church, which was likely due to a number of reasons. Sometimes, only the heads (heads being the father and mother) of a family were listed in the membership log, so the descendants (at least of Free Frank and Solomon) may have also been unlisted members. Also, after a certain point the records stopped listing members altogether (ca. 1850), and only provided details of church happenings. Church events included the addition of new members and old members moving, dying, or falling from grace and leaving the church. Detailed quite often in church records were the members' personal activities such as owing tithes to the church, poor moral conduct, or lack of attendance. So, after 1850 if a person's membership was neither discharged for bad moral conduct nor re-instated (i.e. by letter of introduction, or for renouncing bad moral conduct), there was no record of a person's membership in the church. Children were especially not mentioned. Thus, I contend that since the McWorter heads of family were listed multiple times (1840, 1849) as members, one could reasonably surmise that other members of the McWorter family were also attending the Barry Baptist Church, did not appear in the records.

Besides the early McWorter heads of family, there were two other instances of New Philadelphia residents of color joining the Barry Baptist Church. On October 16, 1902, "Lucy McWorter was received by letter from 2nd Baptist Church of Moberly, MO" (BBC Records, Book 2; Appendix p. 28). We cannot be sure exactly to which Lucy McWorter this referred to (Free Frank had at least 5 direct descendants named Lucy), however it seems most likely (given that her last name is McWorter in 1902, thus she is unmarried) that this was Solomon's daughter (Free Frank's granddaughter) who would have been 33 at that time.

Around the same time that Lucy McWorter was noted as joining the Barry Baptist church, other New Philadelphia residents joined the church as follows: "Sept. 11, 1902 Irene and Dora Butler, and Viola Jones are accepted by baptism" (BBC records, Book 2. For transcription, Appendix p. 28). Irene and Dora Butler were listed in the 1880 Census Data as "mulatto" sisters, and were mentioned in Matteson's manuscript as residents of New Philadelphia (Matteson, 35-6). Matteson states that according to oral history Irene and Dora's father, William Butler, moved to New Philadelphia after the Civil War and married a white woman named Catherine Wright (Matteson, 35). Indeed, William Butler was listed as married in the 1880 census to a woman named "Katie", who I venture to guess is this same Catherine. "Katie" however, is listed as "mulatto" (US Census, 1880). If Catherine Butler was, in fact a white woman, this is the only such evidence of inter-racial marriage in New Philadelphia that I have come across thus far. Although blacks and whites share the social space of the church, the space of marriage and death are still racially exclusive. With the aforementioned possible exception, never do we encounter inter-racial marriage in this community, and until the early twentieth century the Hadley Township cemeteries were segregated.

Viola Jones was also included in Matteson's manuscript, listed as the daughter of Squire McWorter's second wife (Matteson, 20). The 1900 census data corroborates this, listing her as living in Squire McWorter's household as a step-daughter, and noting her as a woman of color. According to the census data, she would have been 16 at the time of her baptism within the Barry Baptist Church (US Census, 1900).

Also among the Baptist residents of New Philadelphia was the Vond family: Ansel Vond and Lucy Vond (nee McWorter), and their daughters Mary and Luebet. According to Matteson's manuscript, Ansel Vond (a man of color) was "a member of the Baptist church and was a republican" (Matteson, 30). The Vond family did not, however appear in the Barry Baptist Church records. However, given the nature of those records, this does not necessarily indicate that they did not attend.

Somewhat tangentially, in the Chapman *Portrait and Biographical Album* for Sedgwick County, Kansas there was an entry describing a Mr. Alexander Clark, a prominent person in the community and man of color. Alexander Clark was married to Hiley McWorter (Free Frank's grand-daughter). In the entry regarding Mr. Clark (who it states was a Freewill Baptist), this entry notes that Alexander's mother Kesiah Clark and his brother Thomas Clark still resided in

Pike County and attend the Freewill Baptist Church. I have confirmed that Thomas and Kesiah Clark lived in Pike County in 1880; as they were people of color it is likely that they lived in or near the New Philadelphia community. This is but another example of the prominence of Free Will Baptism among New Philadelphia residents.

2. General Practices of the Barry Baptist Church

The Records of the Barry Baptist Church from 1829 to 1880 consist of two record books, beginning with the church's founding in 1829. Kept in these records are fairly irregular logs of the members of the church, as well as weekly logs of church meetings, events, and activities. I have transcribed, a selected portion of these records, which can be examined as providing a sample of the comings and goings of the Baptist Church. These transcriptions are presented in Appendix pp. 26-28.

The Barry Baptist Church was founded in 1829, with the earliest list of membership consisting of about 29 members. Included in the membership log was a note enumerating how each person came to be a member of the congregation. There were several ways one could become a member of the church. One could become a member by a letter of introduction from another Baptist church, and this seems to have been a frequent occurrence. In keeping with the Freewill denominational beliefs, one could also become a member by being baptized into the church. Baptisms occurred not just at a person's birth, but also at any appropriate time in a person's life. At events such as revivals, these baptisms by immersion were frequent occurrences. Also indicated on the membership log was dismissal or exclusion from the church, which could happen for a variety of reasons (for examples, see Appendix pp. 26-28). This is in keeping with the Free Will ideas that not only was it important for a person to be Baptized into the faith, but keeping the grace of the faith was equally important for one's spiritual health (Leonard, 111). It is important to note that after one was dismissed from the church, that member could also be restored, and such acts of restoration were also indicated in the membership logs.

Most important church activities for the week were listed in the weekly accounts. By looking at these accounts we can gain a better view of the events from week to week within the Baptist church. Often the deaths of church members were recorded; for example, the records note the death of Frank McWorter on September 7, 1854. Free Frank and his wife were listed as

members during their lifetimes, as was their son Commodore. Other Black members of the Baptist Church (much later in time) noted were Irene and Dora Butler, and Viola Jones, (the daughter of Squire McWorter's second wife). These ladies were accepted into the church on Sept. 11, 1902 (BBC Records).

Listed in the meeting notes were church attendance numbers, which during this period range quite widely. Membership started with 29 members at the founding, and slowly grew through time. The quantities of members ranges from 30 to 45 in the 1860s and by the 1870s membership was up around 100. Attendance ranged from approximately 20-30 at its lowest, to 120-130 at its highest; but most weeks the average was in the range of 30 to 50. These attendance records reflected church activities, and during the times of the year when there were revivals and meetings the numbers of baptisms and membership increased, usually reverting back to the average a couple of weeks later (BBC Records).

A member could lose their membership or have their membership revoked for a variety of reasons. One of the most prominent was a lack of attendance. However, a member could have their membership restored at anytime by attending church, or being baptized at a camp meeting or revival-type event. A person could also be dismissed from the church for delinquent behavior. An example of a decision to dismiss a member from the church (from Book 2 of the Barry Baptist Church Records) is provided in Appendix p.28. As noted in this entry, membership can be withdrawn not only for delinquent attendance, but also for what the congregation viewed as socially and morally reprehensible behavior. In these cases of Lucy Howe and also of Eliza Moor, the ladies' lack of church attendance and frequenting of dancing parties were the reasons for the "hand of fellowship" being withdrawn (BBC Records). These two different cases had quite different results. Lucy Howe was recorded as informing the church that she intended to continue her dancing parties, and that she no longer wished to be a member. Sister Moor, however, attended the church meeting, confessed her wrongdoing, and was welcomed back into the fold (see Appendix p. 27).

This involvement of the church in the members' personal lives could be quite extensive, ranging from visiting members whose attendance had fallen behind to calling meetings about a member's behavior with the purpose of addressing and changing their conduct. For example, in December of 1860 Mr. and Mrs. Witaker were the subject of quite a lengthy entry into the weekly happenings of the church. The couple had been found guilty of being separated from one

another, and a committee had been drawn together to speak to each of the parties involved and reconcile them. In this particular entry the committee was successful, and had brought Brother and Sister Whitaker to the church meeting to confess their separation. At this time Mr. Whitaker also confessed to using profane language, and Mrs. Whitaker confessed to dancing and other unchristian conduct, "for which they are both sincerely sorry . . . they desire do bury all the differences and troubles between them and assume all the responsibilities and duties of the marriage relation, and to ask the church to forgive them for all their wanderings" (BBC records). After this meeting and confession, the couple was welcomed back into the fellowship of the church. A record of this is presented in Appendix p.26.

It seems to have been standard that if a member came to a meeting and confessed their bad behavior, they were admitted back into the membership of the church. The Baptist Church also made its way into its member's lives in other ways. For example, on February 22, 1862, it was noted in the records that the church was withholding $100 from the salary of one Brother J. D. Cole's salary, he "having conditionally pledged that amount to the church." A transcription of this can be found in Appendix p. 26.

New members were often baptized during periods of revivals or meetings. The terms revivals and meetings seem to have been used interchangeably in the records, and I will refer to these events as revivals. Once or twice a year there is a series of revival meetings lasting a week or more, at which numerous new members were baptized. For example, in January of 1875 there was recorded a week of prayer in which several new members were admitted and restored (see Appendix p. 28). Events like this occurred at each church, and were also sometimes noted in the local newspaper (see Appendix p. 19-20). These frequent revivals generally consisted of evenings of preaching (sometimes by a guest preacher), prayer, singing, and the saving of new members.

Besides the standard Sunday church services and Sunday Schools, community churches in Barry often served as venues for other social events, such as lectures. Once can find records of many lectures or demonstrations given for the benefit of the community. For example, in 1875 a short paragraph in the Barry Adage informing the community about interesting phrenology lectures that would be taking place at the Barry Baptist church, where interested parties could attend the lecture and for a nominal fee have their heads examined (see Appendix p. 1). Other topics lectured on at the Barry Baptist Church include a discussion of Chinese

cultures, and one on Charles Dickens. For a transcription of the announcements of these lectures, see Appendix pp. 1-3. Besides lectures, the *Barry Adage* often announced social events such as picnics, and meeting events. For more examples of these, see Appendix Section 1.

Baptist services were likely conducted in New Philadelphia outside of the Barry Baptist Church. In her manuscript, Grace Matteson notes an oral testimony of Mrs. Irene Brown (nee Butler) who was listed in the Barry Baptist Church records as a member, regarding the church community in the town of New Philadelphia itself. Mrs. Brown tells Matteson that: "Church services were held in the old Philadelphia school-house east of the square; also at Shaw's school. One of the early preachers was George Gibbons. There was an old Baptist minister from Barry by the name of Rev. Mason who frequently held church services at the schoolhouse" (Matteson, 38). Rev. Mason was a minister in the Barry Baptist church, as we can see noted in the church directories (Appendix p. 5). George Gibbons was a Baptist teacher, and interestingly was one of those instrumental in bringing the famed prohibition activist Carrie Nation to New Philadelphia in 1906. Gibbons's involvement with both the Baptist Church and the temperance movement was yet another example of the Baptist social and moral ideology at work not only in the church, but also in the social community as a whole.

As I have demonstrated, the Baptist Church and its activities and ideologies proved strong influences in the New Philadelphia community. I contend that these ideologies also reinforced core family values and extended these familial relationships into the church. As one can notice in the church records, all members of the church are referred to as "Brother" and "Sister." Like a responsible family, the church members looked after the well being of their brothers and sisters, and made every effort to bring them back into the fold when they had gone astray. Each brother and sister in the church was held morally responsible for his or her behavior, but like a good family the church always welcomed back penitent members.

Importantly, when members of color are mentioned in the church records their race was never noted. Free Frank was always referred to as Brother Frank McWorter, and this was the case for all Black members of the church. I argue that these relationships in the shared social space of the church reflected a socially constructed kinship between the members of the church, regardless of race. This is the case for a number of reasons, chief among them the rural nature of the community. Without a large Black population-or indeed, a large population in general-the number of social institutions was limited. In such a rural frontier atmosphere, excluding people

from one's social and religious family on the basis of race would not only seriously limits one's social interaction sphere, but also limit the number of people in your support network when you needed to endure a drought, or a tough winter, or any of the other harsh realities faced by Illinois pioneers.

I assert then, that Blacks and whites shared most social spaces in this community, not necessarily out of any altruistic need to create a utopian interracial community, but out of necessity borne from the nature of a sparsely populated frontier society. The sharing of this social space indeed served to limit, or at least decrease significantly, the amount of racial strife and violence in the community. Quite simply, racism on the part of whites against Blacks was at least decreased when the Black people were the brothers and sisters of those white community members in the socially constructed "religious family" (e.g., Bentley; Butler; Yinger).

B. Methodist Episcopal Church

Unfortunately, the records of the Methodist Episcopal church located in Barry are inaccessible. As a result, the happenings of this particular church are best gleaned by events and notices in the *Barry Adage*. For a complete transcription of these announcements, see Appendix pp.7-9. These announcements generally consisted of Sunday School picnics, concerts, events, and notices of guest preachers. Once again, these events served to remind us of the multifaceted role that the church served in the communities of Hadley Township. Religious experience was not limited to Sundays, but was asserted in some aspect of nearly every of social activity in the community-from Sunday School Picnics and concerts to lectures and meetings held in church space.

Although I do not have the records from this church, there is some evidence that this too may have been an integrated congregation. Matteson mentions that Thomas Thomas, another landowner in the New Philadelphia community and man of color was a Methodist (30). Indeed, the basic ideologies of early Methodism were heavily against slavery in any form. Early Methodist evangelists were vocal in their opposition of slavery. Later Methodist practice however shied away from such outspoken opposition of the institution, and rather sought a compromise by avoiding confrontation with the subject. In general, however the Methodist Episcopal Church (the denomination of which the Barry church was part) seems to fall on the anti-slavery side of the argument (McClain, 25-58). It seems likely that this congregation fell on

the more liberal end of beliefs, if we are to accept the possibility that there was at least one colored family among its members.

A letter of one J. B. Malony to some of his fellow Methodists provides an interesting example of what a Methodist camp meeting might have been like in Illinois at the time. This letter is written, by Malony, a Methodist church member, in 1856 and addressed other members of his church who were absent. In it, he detailed the events of a Methodist Camp meeting, similar to the sort that were occurring in Pike County and all over the United States at the time. The meeting was held in a countryside wooded area. Malony described their services, which often lasted a few hours and he referred to the services as "love feasts" (Malony, letter). According to contemporary sources, love-feasts were "usually seasons of great spiritual edification and improvement both to old and young. They initiate young converts into the deep things of God by the hearing of the relation of Christian experience of older members, while they are encouraged to speak of their own spiritual state. Bread and water are distributed as the simple, yet significant tokens of mutual love and good will, and great are the rejoicings of God's saints on these occasions" (Reddy, 185).

Malony described the congregation's reactions to their services, saying that they were "full of glory on their faces, shining with the hope of blessed immortality and eternal life." During one of the services, he described a member of the congregation, saying he "began to shake with the language of the redeemed" (Malony, letter, 1856). These meetings consisted of a series of days devoted to praise and conversion, services up to three hours in length, singing, and praying. At this particular meeting, Malony wrote that there were 30 conversions, and of this he observed there was "conversion after conversion followed in quick succession with shouting, singing, and carrying on." In addition to services, member spent time praying on their own and praying with one another out loud and in groups. This may have been similar to what revival meetings were like at the Methodist Episcopal church in Barry. Announcements of such revival meetings are recorded in Appendix pp. 19-20.

A somewhat tangential, but nonetheless interesting example relating to Methodism in the United States contemporary with the New Philadelphia community can be seen in Appendix pp. 7-8. This article is an example from the *N.Y. Sun* (as quoted by the *Barry Adage*) of a meeting held by Methodist ministers to consider how to best promote revivals. In this meeting, one of the preachers stepped up and insisted that the best method for winning converts to the Christian

cause was to put the fear of God in them by preaching fire and brimstone. This also highlights a certain evangelical style popular at the time, centered on the idea that the best way to go about winning converts was by evangelism and the zealous preaching of hell and damnation.

Practices within the Methodist Episcopal church were relevant to the New Philadelphia community not only because some residents likely attended the church, but also because in a rural community church activities were generally not mutually exclusive. As can be seen in the social activities noted in the *Barry Adage*, churches often collaborated in hosting revivals, Sunday Schools, picnics, and other activities. Although the Methodist Church likely did not include as large of a New Philadelphia contingent as did the Baptist Church, Hadley township residents likely participated in the Methodist Church social activities as well.

C. Christian Church

The records of the Barry Christian Church, Book 1, date from 1869 to 1912. Unlike the Baptist Church, these records consist almost entirely of lists of members, with data of dates, names, and remarks concerning new members, births, and deaths. In later years, the church began to be known as the First Christian Church, and sometimes was referred to in the local newspaper as just the "Christian Church." This was the only church in Barry for which I found no references any members of color. This does not necessarily reflect any sort of racial preference on the part of the Christian Church; this could just as easily reflect New Philadelphia's preference for the Baptist faith, which many people of color subscribed to before their move to Hadley.

In these records for the Christian Church, the "remarks" provides us with the most information about the members. There were often dates of death listed in this column, and also sometimes details on how a member joined the church. As with the Baptist church, a member could join by letter from another church, and could similarly be dismissed again by letter. If someone moved away or moved back and returned to the church, this was also noted in the remarks column. In addition, these records indicated that a person join the church by being Baptized at any stage of life. Also similar to the Baptist church's practices, members could re-join the church at any time. People were listed in joining in a variety of ways, such as, "By immersion [rev. name]," "refirmation," "confession and baptism" (Barry Christian Church Records). In this sense, the membership practices at the Christian Church are much like those in

the Baptist church. Unlike the Baptist Church, there seems to have been less involvement in parishioners' personal lives, such as dismissing people for dancing, etc. On the other hand, there could have been just as much involvement in the parishioners' personal lives in this congregation that was not documented in these records, which are more sparse than those of the Baptist Church.

Every few years a new list was made of Christian Church members, and in the intervening time the existing list was edited when people died, departed, or joined the church. The lists were maintained in a convoluted and incomplete manner however, in that they do not always provide dates. Notably, the membership of the Christian Church was slightly bigger than the Barry Baptist Church, growing to 200 members in 1890.

No family names of Black residents of Hadley township (taken from both the 1870 and 1880 census records and the 1964 Matteson manuscript) are found in the Christian Church records from 1869 to 1912. On a related note, Matteson does report that a former New Philadelphia resident Irene Brown (nee Butler) attended a Christian Church after she moved to Jacksonville, Illinois. She and her daughter were, at that time (1964) the only colored members of that church. This was the same Irene Butler that was mentioned as a member of the Barry Baptist church in the early 1900s. This provides is an example of how fluid changes in denomination could be, especially in a rural setting where church choices are few.

D. Sunday Schools

Sunday School events, meetings, and conventions are another important social and religious aspect of the New Philadelphia community. Sunday School social events are referenced often in the *Adage*, such as picnics and concerts (see Appendix pp. 20-22) and one aspect of life where religious life and social life are intertwined.

Sunday School was also an aspect of religious life in Hadley township where we can see different denominations working together with one another to improve religious environment of the community. Found in the Appendix, on pp. 20-21 is a transcription of events that took place at a Sunday School Convention in 1873, as reported in the *Barry Adage*. From this particular example, an article entitled "Proceedings of the Pike County Sunday School Conventions, held in Pittsfield August 5 and 6, 1873" (Barry Adage, August 16 1873 v.2 n.41), we can learn quite a bit about the purpose and function of Sunday School in the New Philadelphia community.

This piece details the yearly Pike County Sunday School convention, which took place in the Christian Church in Pittsfield. Judging by announcements of later conventions in the *Adage*, the place of the convention changed from year to year, and was hosted by churches of different denominations (see Appendix pp. 20-22). At least two of the Reverends from Barry attended the convention; Rev. Crow of the Christian Church and Rev. Honnold of the Methodist Church were both mentioned by name as participating in the various sessions. The convention consisted of a combination of business matter, such as the election of officers, singing and prayers, and discussions on various key points regarding the general conduct and goals of Sunday school. By examining the matters discussed at this convention, we can obtain additional evidence about the common goals of the churches of the New Philadelphia community, since this convention was an inter-denominational effort.

Discussions began with the fairly straightforward theme of "How shall we get the greatest amount of good out of this convention," and were followed up by the suggestion that preaching should be done in the public square. During the afternoon session, the discussion centered on themes of: "Best method of organizing and carrying forward Sunday School work in the townships;" "The possibilities of Children;" "How shall we retain the older scholar in our Sunday Schools;" and, "Should we ever employ unconverted teachers in our Sunday Schools." The next day's subjects covered similar topics, such as; "How may we secure the conversion of a larger number of our Sunday School scholars;" "Salvations by Jesus Christ;" and "How shall we develop the characters of our children so that they may retain the instructions given them (*Barry Adage*, 16 August 1873).

Generally, these subjects of discussion reflected fairly standard church concerns-gaining members, retaining members, and raising children in the faith. The question as to whether or not unconverted teachers should be employed suggests the possibility that Sunday School included more than just religious instruction. This may also indicate that one did not have to be a person of faith to be considered a religious scholar. Similarly, since the subject of converting the scholars also comes up, this would suggest that one did not necessarily have to be an active church member in order to attend Sunday School. The fact that these conventions crossed denominational lines may be due in part to this more fluid notion of religious education. Notably, each individual church did conduct Sunday School on most Sundays, as evidenced in the Church Directory presented in the Appendix (p. 5).

Like Sunday School, churches worked together in setting up revivals, as well as individually hosting their own. Generally, when revival meetings continue for a period of time this event would be noted in the *Adage* (Appendix pp. 19-20 provides examples of revivals happening in the community). Sunday Schools and revivals occupied a large percentage of the social activities taking place in Hadley township. Many of the social events involve religion in some way, whether the event was a religious one, as in the case of Sunday School, or a secular one, such as a 4th of July celebration, where religious songs were sung or prayers were said. I suggest that the prevalence of religion in community life served to further strengthen the community's socially constructed kinship ties to one another, and promoted the core family and social values espoused within the churches.

E. Public Lectures and Encounters with Other Denominations

Besides the three main churches in Hadley township (Barry's Methodist, Baptist, and Christian Churches) there were various other lectures, articles, and activities that contributed to the overall knowledge of the religious and spiritual community of New Philadelphia. These can be seen in Appendix pp. 10-19, which presents different announcements of religious activities that did not pertain to a specific denomination, poems about the Sabbath and prayers for congress (as printed in the *Adage*) as well as interesting addresses on what might be considered "alternative" religions. Also included in this Appendix are the church directories, and a table (found in the *Adage*), which traces the development in church membership form 1850 to 1870 for the most prevalent denominations in the United States at the time.

An interesting example of different religious views coming to the community can be seen in Appendix p. 18. A scholar referred to as "Wong Chin Foo" (*Adage*) was reported to present a lecture on Buddhism and Confucianism at the Barry City Hall. The event was much publicized, being noted four times in the same newspaper (this was rather uncommon; generally events were only noted once or at the most, twice). Also noted in Appendix p. 18 was a visit of some twenty-three German Franciscan Monks to the Quincy area, as quoted by the *Adage* from the *Quincy Whig*. These instances point to Barry and the New Philadelphia community as places that were, although rural communities, on not completely isolated from experiences and information from the wider world.

Similarly, there was quite a lengthy article in the *Adage* on 14 November, 1874 (Appendix pp.15-17), detailing ideas about the afterlife according to Spiritualists (who do actually appear in the table of religions in America, see Appendix pp.11-13), as conveyed by a seer named Mr. Davis. The writer, who is not credited in the newspaper, seems to be rather skeptical of the fellow's account and one gets the impression that those at the *Adage* did not give these beliefs any weight and noted them with general bemusement.

In *History of Pike County, Illinois*, the Mormon population of Pike County was briefly addressed, the authors noted the existence of a Mormon settlement called "Mormontown," founded in 1839 and numbering near 300 at its peak, but which had mostly moved to Nauvoo by 1845. Also mentioned was the Mormon's inability to perform miracles at Pittsfield, and the few Mormons remaining in Pike County were referred to as "quiet and harmless" (History of Pike County, 239).

Another interesting example of the ways in which religion dictated and influenced social norms in the New Philadelphia community can be found in Appendix p. 13. This note, found in the *Adage*, briefly detailed the story of a fellow who had recently been visiting a local Sunday School, but had since gone home to Missouri. This fellow was tried (and acquitted, ten to twelve) at a church trial for the crime of driving some ladies to a dance and then home again. Interestingly, those at the *Adage* took a rather sarcastic tone and poked a bit of fun at his acquittal, perhaps reflecting the opinions which so often showed up in the Barry Baptist Church records that dancing was to be frowned upon.

In 1 February 1873 edition of the *Adage*, there was another interesting article, printed courtesy of the *Patterson Guardian*, entitled "Is the Devil Dead?" This lengthy article noted a sermon presented in which the opinion was expressed that the Devil would soon be expelled from the world (for a transcription, see Appendix pp. 10-11). The author mused that most theology was a mere matter of opinion, and that those who depended on the Devil's existence for their livelihood perhaps should think twice about a world without anyone to preach against. This article was rather unique, in its lighthearted and tongue-in-cheek treatment of religion.

IV. Temperance in New Philadelphia

The Temperance movement within Hadley township was, I contend, an example of religious morals and evangelical ideologies at work in the larger social consciousness.

Beginning in the 1820s and lasting in some places, until after WWII (Murdock, 5-11) the temperance initiative was one of the more persistent movements predominated by women in U.S. history. In her book, *Domesticating Drink*, Catherine Murdock suggests that the temperance movement became a sort of evangelism; of this, she says, "Reformers considered drunkards victims who could be redeemed -- and converted -- once dried out. Thus, temperance activism evolved from an act of good will to an element of evangelical Christianity" (Murdock, 11).

Indeed, I believe that when temperance came to Hadley township, the initiative stemmed from the high ethical standards and morality perpetuated by the churches in the community. I agree with Murdock in saying that the temperance was also at least partly resultant from the period's evangelical mindset-a disposition that can be easily evidenced in the popularity of revivals, camp meetings, and conversions popular at the time.

In the late 19th century, temperance came to Hadley township. The 10 October 1874 edition of the *Barry Adage* noted that the women of Barry had their first meeting with the intention of organizing a Temperance League. This was the first recorded incidence of the temperance movement in Hadley township, and the first of many.

Interestingly, the ladies comment that this particular meeting was "not a women's rights meeting . . . yet" (*Adage).* For a full transcription of this announcement, see Appendix pp. 22-23. Speaking of women and women's rights, around the same time that the Ladies Temperance League was organized in Barry, Elizabeth Cady Stanton came to give a lecture in the community. A full transcription of the newspaper announcement of this event can be seen on Appendix p. 25. The announcement was short and brief, and favorably looked upon what Mrs. Stanton had to say. This event, along with the founding of the temperance league provides an indication of the social consciousness and awareness of women's rights (however slight) in this community.

In Appendix pp. 23-25, I have transcribed examples of the temperance meeting announcements. The meetings almost always took place at one of the churches in Barry. This provides further evidence of religion's influence on social practices, and churches functioning broadly as a for community gatherings. The church was on one hand responsible for the ethical worldviews that reputed drink as a devil, and at the same time they were the most available community spaces in which to hold gatherings. Thus the churches could not help but inform, and be informed by the community that used them both for secular and non-secular causes. In

keeping with the idea of temperance as a kind of evangelism, the speakers at these meetings were often ministers. The Barry Baptist Church's Rev. Green was noted as addressing the meeting on 13 October 1877, as was the Christian Church of Pittsfield's Rev. Clark on 8 September 1877 (see Appendix pp. 25).

This same section of the Appendix (pp. 22-25) regard matters of temperance as they pertain to the local law. Found on pp. 23-24 are the city of Barry's laws concerning alcohol, as adopted by the Board the 14th of November 1874 and printed in that same day's edition of the *Adage*. In it was detailed the illegality of selling intoxicating liquors without first obtaining a written license from the Mayor or Council, and the fines and punishments that go along with said law. Thus, at this time it was legal to sell alcohol but only if one has a permit; and it is noted in the *Adage* "It is a good thing there are no saloons in Barry . . . ." (*Adage*). From this we can assume that, at that point in time at least, there were no alcohol establishments in Barry, although there is a reference to one located in nearby Kinderhook, (Appendix p. 24).

In 1903, Carrie Nation visited New Philadelphia. This event points out not only how important the temperance movement was to the New Philadelphia community, but also the influence and inseparability of religion on and with the social community. Carrie Nation's visit was much advertised and lauded in the *Adage* prior to her coming (see Appendix pp. 3-5 for transcriptions of articles). Her speech took place in Gibbens' Grove, which was located not far from New Philadelphia, and importantly, was owned by George Gibbons and he was the organizer of the event. Gibbons was mentioned in Matteson's manuscript as one of the earliest preachers in New Philadelphia, and a Baptist (Matteson, 37). The fact that Gibbons was instrumental in bringing Mrs. Nation to the area not only speaks to his personal influence, but his multiple roles in society. His activities as a preacher, temperance activist, and community leader serve as an example of how all of those aspects of society were related to, and dependent upon, one another. This speaks to the temperance movement as fueled by a value system and worldview that was enforced and perpetuated by the religious community. We see evidence of this value system in both the Christian and Baptist church records and newspaper articles which condemn drinking, dancing, playing cards, separation from marriage, missing church, and bad language.

Appendix pp. 4-5 presents an article which sums up Carrie Nation's visit to the New Philadelphia community. Overall, the program was reported to be good, but Carrie Nation

herself seemed to disappoint the writer. The author of this piece, entitled "Carrie Nation Exhibits Herself" (*Adage,* 1 Oct. 1903 p.1 c.6) attributed the audience's dislike for Carrie Nation not to their lack of enthusiasm for the cause of temperance, but quite the opposite. Mrs. Nation was reported to use poor arguments, language that was not becoming a mother, and "freakish performances" (see Appendix pp. 4-5) that, in short, made the cause of temperance look bad. Interestingly, the author reputed that she was very poorly behaved for someone reputed as "the protector of pure motherhood" (*Adage,* 1 Oct. 1903 p.1 c.6), thus removing from her the honorific of "mother."

This instance of Carrie Nation's visit and the published reactions to that visit provide additional evidence of the social and religious community in New Philadelphia. This event was a social cause, but organized by and conducted within the space owned by George Gibbons, a preacher from the New Philadelphia community. The movement itself was largely organized by women. Interestingly, the audience's and *Adage* writer's dislike of Mrs. Nation stemmed from her qualities which may have been perceived at the time as un-feminine, including her bad language and violent public displays. This reinforcement of a certain amount of rigidity in women's roles in society, most likely stemmed from the rigidity of behavior found in the ideologies advocated in the local churches.

V. Discussion and Conclusion

This brief history of the religions community can reveal quite a lot about life in New Philadelphia. Generally, this history demonstrates the inseparability of social and religious spheres in this rural society -- spheres which were necessarily shared by Blacks and whites. This sharing of social and religious space differentiates New Philadelphia from urban Black towns like Brooklyn. In Brooklyn, the core values of family and church led to a strong Black community, built around religious and political resistance against an oppressive white institution. Brooklyn's AME Church was an all-Black institution, which enforced Black political and social values and separated Blacks from whites socially and religiously. These core values created a support network that the large Black community could rely upon in their struggle for rights and power.

In New Philadelphia, these same core values asserted in a shared space (such as the space of the Baptist Church) served to strengthen the residents' ties to one another, often regardless of

race. These ties were integral, I believe, to any frontier community's success and created a viable social and socially constructed kinship network that one could rely on in times of trouble in an often harsh frontier environment.

Additionally, by understanding the prevalence of Baptism in the New Philadelphia community and the ideologies and theologies involved therein, we attain a fairly comprehensive picture of the high ethical standards that at least some members of the Baptist Church held themselves to, and the effects these standards had on life in Hadley township. The temperance movement and related local legislation provides an additional indication of these standards, and of the general moral atmosphere of at least some of the residents of the community. We must also note that the Baptist Church, while important, was not the only church attended by Hadley township residents. The ideologies of the Methodist and Christian churches were also important, especially since the three churches in Hadley township often collaborated in their efforts to bring religion to their community. Often, it was these joint events, such as Sunday Schools and revivals that serve to explicate the pervasiveness of religion in the social lives of New Philadelphia residents. Indeed, religion was an influential and indelible aspect of social experience within New Philadelphia, and by understanding the prevalent religions in Hadley township we can not only gain a wider view of the regional ideologies, but of the social experiences in the community as a whole.

Of course, not everyone went to church, and not everyone necessarily subscribed to these views. In the Barry Baptist Church records there were definitely cases of people leaving the church in favor of the dancing parties and bad language so condemned by the congregation. We must also keep in mind the lightheartedness at times found in the *Barry Adage*, such as in the article "Is the Devil Dead?" (Appendix pp. 10-11) and remember that everything was not necessarily hellfire and brimstone. Also, judging by the lectures visited upon Barry by various scholars, preachers, and activists, we can credit the community with, to some extent, and awareness of the wider world beyond their own beliefs and practices.

To conclude, I find that the historical evidence presents a community heavily influenced and shaped by religious ideologies, particularly those of the Baptist Church. These ideologies led, at least in part, to the popularity of the temperance movement in Hadley township. Extensive accounts recorded in local newspapers and church records demonstrate that so often social life and religious life were one and the same. From Sunday School picnics to community

prayer meetings, these events served a large part of the social community of such a small rural area, and thus the residents could not helped but be informed by the religious ideologies therein. Even when lectures were presented on subjects not related to religion at all, they often took place in church spaces-spaces that are informed by a certain worldview, which however unmarked is reinforced by even secular occupation of religious space.

I believe that the assertion of these core values and socially constructed kinship ties gained from church membership and church values contributed heavily to the relatively racially tolerant and peaceful atmosphere of New Philadelphia. These same church and family ties which served in Brooklyn's case to unite the Black community in resistance against white oppression served in New Philadelphia to unite the white and Black residents of New Philadelphia in faith and family.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Barry Adage
Newspaper articles, community announcements and happenings. Printed Barry, IL.

Barry Baptist Church Records
Records church membership, church meetings and happenings, baptisms, conversions.

Christian Church Records
Records church membership, some church happenings, baptisms, conversions.

Letter
Letter from J.B. Malony to his fellow Methodist congregation members, 16 August 1856.

United States Census.

Secondary Sources

Ashton, John R.
2005 The Evils of Drink and the Temperance Pioneers. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health* 59(4): 302-310.

Bentley, G. Carter
1987 Ethnicity and Practice. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29(1): 24-55.

Bentley, G. Carter
1991 Response to Yelvington. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33(1): 169-175.

Boyd-Pleasant Hill
1930 *History of Pike County*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Writers Project.

Bryant, Scott E.
2007 *The Awakening of the Freewill Baptists: Benjamin Randall and the Founding of an American Religious Tradition*. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University.

Butler, Jon
1990 *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Cha-Jua, Sundiata Keita
2000 *America's First Black Town: Brooklyn, Illinois, 1830-1915*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Chapman, Charles C.
1880a *History of Pike County, Illinois*. Chicago: Chapman & Co.

Chapman, Charles C.
1880b *Portrait and Biographical Album of Sedgewick County, Kansas*. Chicago: Chapman & Co.

Federal Writers Project
1930 *Methodism in Illinois*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Writers Project.

Fennell, Christopher C.
2007 *Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diasporas and Ethnogenesis in the New World*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Gravely, Will
1997 The Rise of African Churches in America. In *African-American Religion: Interpretive Essays in History and Culture*, edited by Timothy Fulop and Albert Raboteau, pp. 134-151. New York: Routledge.

Humphreys, Fisher
2000 Baptists and their Theology. *Baptist History and Heritage* 35(1): 7-19.

Leonard, Bill
2005 *Baptists in America*. New York: Columbia University Press..

Matteson, Grace
1964 *"Free Frank" McWorter and the "Ghost Town" of New Philadelphia*. Pittsfield, Ill.: Pike County Historical Society.

McClain, William B.
1984 *Black People in the Methodist Church: Whither Thou Goest?* Cambridge, Mass.: Shenkman Publishing Co.

Murdock, Catherine G.
2002 *Domesticating Drink: Women, Men, and Alcohol in America, 1870-1940*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Reddy, William
1859 *Inside Views of Methodism*. New York: Carlton & Porter.

Thompson, Jess M.
1968 *Pike County History*. Pittsfield, Ill.: Pike County Historical Society.

Sider, Gerald M.
1986 *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History.* Paris: Cambridge University Press and la Maison des Sciences de L'Homme.

Walker, Juliet
1983 *Free Frank: A Black Pioneer on the Antebellum Frontier*. Lexington: Kentucky University Press.

Yinger, J. Milton
1994 *Ethnicity: Source of Strength? Source of Conflict?* Albany: State University of New York Press.

View Appendix:
http://www.diaspora.uiuc.edu/news0909/news0909-5b.pdf

Return to September 2009 Newsletter:
http://www.diaspora.uiuc.edu/news0909/news0909.html