

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-900

USDI/NPS NRHP Registration Form (Rev. 8-86)

OMB No. 1024-0018

NEW PHILADELPHIA TOWNSITE

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United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

00000

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: New Philadelphia Townsite

Other Name/Site Number: IAS SITE 11PK455

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: Section 27, Hadley Township, South of County Highway 2

Not for publication:

City/Town: Barry

Vicinity: X

State: Illinois

County: Pike

Code: 149

Zip Code: 62563

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: X

Public-Local: ___

Public-State: ___

Public-Federal: ___

Category of Property

Building(s): ___

District: ___

Site: X

Structure: ___

Object: ___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing

0

1

0

0

1

Noncontributing

6 buildings

0 site

1 structures

0 objects

7 Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 1

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

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4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official

Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain):

Signature of Keeper

Date of Action

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6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: VILLAGE SITE

Sub: Townsite

Current: VACANT

Sub: Not In Use

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: N/A

MATERIALS:

Foundation: N/A

Walls: N/A

Roof: N/A

Other: N/A

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SUMMARY

New Philadelphia, located near Barry, Illinois, was founded in 1836 and is the first known town platted and officially registered by an African American before the American Civil War. Frank McWorter, a freedman, subdivided 42 acres of land into lots and applied the proceeds of land sales to purchase freedom for family members remaining in slavery. Frank McWorter's gravesite located at the African-American cemetery just outside the town was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1988 (Free Frank Historic Preservation Foundation 2006). The New Philadelphia Townsite was listed in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D at the national level of significance in 2005 for its archeological potential. The New Philadelphia Townsite qualifies for National Historic Landmark status under Criterion 6 for its high potential to yield information of major scientific importance to our understandings of free, multi-racial, rural communities, and for the possibilities the townsite possesses to affect theories, concepts, methods, and ideas in historical archeology to a major degree. Archeological analysis at New Philadelphia reflects trends within the discipline that seek to understand how material culture and racial identity interact. The high archeological integrity of the entire town also presents the opportunity to address nationally significant questions about spatial relationships outside the plantation setting, and about acculturation and identity formation in ways that can make a substantial addition to the archeological literature.

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION**Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance**

The New Philadelphia Townsite is situated amid the rolling hills of rural west central Illinois between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers in Hadley Township, Pike County. More specifically, the historic townsite is located south of County Highway 2, four miles east of the town of Barry. No original buildings or structures remain above ground; only a few historic building foundations are discernible. Today the abandoned townsite is covered by crop fields, native prairie grasses, stands of trees, and a modern gravel road known as Broad Way (Pike County Deed Book 1836; Walker 1983:134) or Broad Street (Andreas, Lyter & Co. 1872:84) during New Philadelphia's existence; currently it is sometimes called the New Philadelphia Road (Shackel 2006:Chapter 1, Introduction; Huttes 2005:Section 7, 1, 4).

While only a few building foundations are visible at the site of the town, historical documents, aerial photographs, oral histories, and archeological evidence document the town's existence. Although agricultural use disturbed the upper 1 and 1 ½ feet of the townsite, the many subsurface features detected by archeological investigation maintain excellent archeological integrity. No natural disturbances are known to have taken place in the area.

A seasonal pond dug in the 1950s is located southeast of the town over what was once known as Maiden Lane and Queen Street, the south quarter of Block 11 Lot 8, and the north portion of Block 20 Lot 1 (Burdick 1992; Huttes 2005:Section 7, 4). The New Philadelphia Association, formed by a group of local residents to keep the town's memory alive, erected a metal sign at the edge of the gravel road near the Baylis black top road, formerly the intersection of Broad and North Streets to commemorate the historic town and its founder. The sign is mounted above a plaque recognizing New Philadelphia's listing in the National Register of Historic Places in 2005.

A log cabin dwelling and two wooden buildings dating to the mid- to late nineteenth century were

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moved to the site from the nearby towns in 1998 by property owners Larry and Natalie Armistead (Armistead, personal communication 2007). The buildings are non-contributing. They were brought to the site to represent rustic homes that may once have housed New Philadelphia's pioneer residents (Pike County Express 1998:1).

The New Philadelphia Townsite consists of the archeological remains of the historic town and six non-contributing buildings and structures. High concentrations of archeological remains were identified in six town lots through systematic walkover surveys conducted in 2002 and 2003; geophysical surveys conducted in 2004, 2005, and 2006; and a three year archeological study conducted in 2004, 2005, and 2006. The pedestrian walkover surveys of 2002 and 2003, conducted to assess the archeological potential of the site, located more than seven thousand artifacts on the surface of the soil. Artifacts included domestic and architectural materials (Gwaltney 2004).

A three-year archeological investigation sponsored by the National Science Foundation Research Experience for Undergraduates Program (Grant No. 0353550, hosted by the University of Maryland in collaboration with the University of Illinois and the Illinois State Museum), located many intact features, such as substantial building foundations, the remains of wells, pit cellars, and concentrations of artifacts indicative of the town's occupation. In total, the walkover surveys and archeological investigations located more than 65,000 artifacts from the proposed New Philadelphia National Historic Landmark site (Shackel, Archeology Report 2006).

The Appearance of the New Philadelphia Townsite

No photographs or drawings depicting the physical appearance of New Philadelphia during its occupation are known to exist, but oral histories collected from local residents and descendants of residents, written accounts, census, land deed, and tax records document the town's historical appearance. According to an 1872 map, Philadelphia, or New Philadelphia as it came to be known, consisted of 144 lots, each 60 feet by 120 feet, laid out in a grid pattern over 42 acres. Most blocks were divided into eight lots. North Street marked the north boundary of the town and ran parallel to King, Main, Queen, and South Streets; South Street delineated the town's southern edge. Maiden Lane defined the town's east boundary and ran parallel to Canton, Ann, Broad, and Green Streets. The area of Main and Broad Streets was the town's core (Walker 1983:132). Broad and Main Streets, the primary thoroughfares, were 80 feet wide; other streets measured 60 feet in width and alleyways were 15 feet wide (Shackel 2006:Chapter 2 Background History). Frank McWorter platted New Philadelphia along two of Pike County's primary roads (Walker 1983:149).

New Philadelphia's Commercial Center

According to oral histories and written accounts, the intersection of Main and Broad Streets (Figure 1) encompassed New Philadelphia's commercial center. Federal census records from 1850 to 1880 indicate that New Philadelphia's residents were involved in a variety of enterprises, occupied as cabinetmakers, shoemakers, a wheelwright, a carpenter, a seamstress, a physician, teachers, merchants, and blacksmiths (Walker 1983:132; King 2006). A post office operated in the town from 1849 to 1853, and New Philadelphia is said to have served as a stagecoach stop (Walker 1983:132-133, 135).

Blacksmith Shop

Several local residents recalled that a blacksmith shop operated on Block 3, on the north-facing side of North Street. Resident Grace Hughes, born in 1921, recalled that her father patronized the blacksmith shop for plowshares and other goods when she was a small child (Matteson 1964:19; Christman, Hughes

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oral history 2004). Archeological investigations were conducted to ground truth an anomaly detected by magnetic geophysical survey of Block 3 Lot 1. A variety of artifacts, predominately metal objects that may be associated with blacksmithing activities, were recovered (Maranville et al. 2006). Local resident Lorraine Burdick described the building as a 20 by 15 feet pole construction with gables on the north and south sides and a dirt floor. Burdick recalled passing the dilapidated building on his route to and from school from 1934 until 1942 (1992). Squire McWorter, grandson of the town's founder, is said to have operated the shop in the late nineteenth century (Matteson 1964:19).

Grocery

D. A. Kittle, recorded as a merchant on the 1850 census, purchased the north section of Block 4 Lot 1 (Figure 1) in 1848 and may have operated a type of grocery business at the site (Whitt 2003; King 2006). Archeological Feature 19 associated with Kittle's occupation may have been used as a temporary subsurface storage pit to hold and cool perishable goods sold in his business, a practice carried on by other merchants of the era (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3C). Irene Butler Brown, who lived in New Philadelphia from the time of her birth in 1881 until her marriage in 1906, recalled that a Mr. Kellum was the proprietor of a grocery store on Block 4 Lot 1, at the northern edge of town (Figure 1). Land deed records indicate that John Kellum purchased Lot 1 on Block 4 in 1866 (Whitt 2003).

New Philadelphia Schoolhouse

According to Juliet Walker, Frank McWorter rented use of the New Philadelphia schoolhouse for the town's African-American children, since they were not permitted to attend the state's public schools (1983:136). The one-story building also served as a church and a meeting place. An integrated school was constructed just north of New Philadelphia around 1874. Local resident Irene Butler Brown recalled that brothers Martin and George Kimbrew purchased and modified the town's old schoolhouse and made it their home. Land deed records indicate that the Kimbrew brothers purchased Lot 4 Block 9 in 1884 (Whitt 2003; Matteson 1964:19, Postscript 3).

Integrated Schoolhouse

The integrated schoolhouse, constructed about 1874, stood outside of New Philadelphia northeast of North Street. The land was part of Frank McWorter's original real estate holdings (Matteson 1964:20; Shackel 2006:Chapter 2). According to local residents, the schoolhouse was the scene of many social and cultural activities (Matteson 1984:19-21).

African-American Cemetery

The McWorter or Old Philadelphia Cemetery, also called the "colored cemetery," (Burdick 1992; Cemetery Records of Pike County 1979:146) is located on Section 26 above Kiser Creek, about three-quarters of a mile southeast of the town on land once owned by Solomon McWorter, son of the town's founder (Matteson 1964:21). The first burial occurred in 1851 with the death of Frank and Lucy McWorter's oldest son, Solomon's brother Frank (Francis) (Cemetery Records of Pike County 1979:146). Family member James Washington is said to be the last individual laid to rest in the cemetery in 1950 (Matteson 1964:31; Burdick 1992).

In 1975, local residents compiled a list of twenty-three burials based on grave stone inscriptions. The list does not include the name of James Washington, the last individual interred. Based on the report, the graves of Frank and Lucy McWorter, seven of their children, and other family members, as well as other New Philadelphia townfolk, were identified (Cemetery Records of Pike County 1979:146; Matteson 1964:34). Many of the town's European-American residents were buried in what is known as the Johnson Cemetery or New Philadelphia Cemetery (Cemetery Records of Pike County 1979:143-

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145), southeast of the town. New Philadelphia's African-American cemetery and the Johnson cemetery are located outside of the town and are not included in this NHL nomination.

A non-intrusive geophysical survey conducted in the cemetery in 2006 implied the presence of 22 graves (Hargrave 2004-2006). The cemetery's location near a body of water, in this instance Kiser Creek, and findings such as fragments of glass, porcelain, and white milk-glass containers and marine shells are hallmarks of African-American burial traditions found in other cemeteries associated with African-Americans (Creel 1988:52; Gundaker and McWillie 2005:195). Frank McWorter's gravesite was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1988 (Free Frank New Philadelphia Historic Preservation Foundation 2006).

Many of the gravestones are now broken and lie scattered on the cemetery grounds; only some inscriptions are illegible. The discrepancy between the twenty-four burials reported by local residents and the twenty-two burial sites inferred by geophysical survey may be resolved by further research.

Domestic Buildings

While no photographs or historic drawings depicting the physical appearance of New Philadelphia during its occupation are known to exist, an account written by Rebecca Burlend, who immigrated with her family to Pike County from England in 1831, provides insight into pioneer life in the same county at approximately the same time. The account suggests the type of homes New Philadelphia's townsfolk may have occupied. Burlend describes her family's domicile:

It was a fair specimen of a log-house...There were two rooms, both on the ground floor separated from each other with boards so badly joined, that crevices were in many places observable. The rooms were nearly square...beneath one of the rooms was a cellar, the floor and sides of which were mud and clay...the walls of the house consisted of layers of blocks of timber, roughly squared and notched into each other at the corners; the joints filled up with clay. The house had two doors, one of which is always closed in winter, and open in summer to cause a draught. The fire was on the floor at the end of the building, where a grotesque chimney had been constructed of stones gathered out of the land, and walled together with clay and mud instead of cement (Burlend 1936:47-48).

Chapman's (1880) book, *The History of Pike County*, includes a description of the typical frontier dwelling, the log cabin. He explains that logs were cut to equal size and joined together with notches cut into the ends of the logs. Gaps between the logs were then daubed, a process repeated every autumn to keep the dwelling as weather-fast as possible. Log cabins were typically one story and sometimes built as high as eight feet. Poles held a clapboard roof in place, and a stone or clay chimney was built outside, cut into the end of the cabin. A window approximately two feet wide was cut into one wall of the building and covered with glass or greased paper. Typically, a clapboard door was attached with hinges to an opening made into a wall of the one room dwelling that served as a "kitchen, dining-room, sitting-room, bed-room, and parlor (Chapman 1880:342)."

Elements of the New Philadelphia Townsite

The forty-two acre New Philadelphia Townsite consists of archeological resources and associated features divided into lots and blocks. Most blocks were divided into lots numbered 1 through 8; blocks 5, 6, 15, and 16 consisted of four lots numbered 1, 2, 7 and 8 (Pike County Deed Book 1836:183). The site also contains six non-contributing buildings. Elements comprising the contributing site are:

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Town blocks

1. Block 3, Lots 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and alley west of Lot 7 historic alleyways
2. Block 4, Lots 1, 2, and 4
3. Block 7, Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 and historic alleyways
4. Block 8, the entire block
5. Block 9, Lots 4, 5, 6 and an alleyway
6. Block 12, Lots 1 and 4
7. Block 13, Lots 2, 3, and 4
8. Block 19, Lots 1, 2, 4 and 5

Description of town blocks (Figure 1):

Town Block 3 is located on the north central section of the townsite; North Street marks the north boundary, King Street is on the south, the west boundary is marked by Broad Way, and Ann Street defines the eastern boundary of the block. The only remaining visible remains of the townsite are contributing Features 22, 25, 26, and 27, located on Block 3.

Town Block 4 is located on the northwest section of the townsite. North Street marks its north border, King Street is the south boundary of the block, the west boundary is Green Street, and Broad Way marks the east border of the block. Spaulding Burdick, a shoemaker, purchased the south half of Block 4 Lot 1 in 1846. The north half of Block 4 Lot 1 was purchased by merchant D. A. Kittle in 1848. Both were listed on the 1850 census as white individuals (Whitt 2003; King 2006).

Town Block 7 is located in the northwest section of the townsite, south of Block 4. King Street marks the north boundary; Main Street is the south border; the western boundary is defined by Green Street; and Broad Way is the block's eastern boundary.

Town Block 8 is situated south of Block 3 in the north central section of the townsite. King Street is the north boundary; Main Street marks the south border; Broad Way defines the western boundary; and Ann Street marks the eastern border. C. S. Luce, the town's postmaster, purchased Lots 1 and 2 from Frank McWorter in 1840. Luce was recorded as a white Baptist preacher from Maine on the 1850 census (Whitt 2003; King 2006).

Town Block 9 is located just northeast of the town center, east of Block 8. King Street marks the blocks north boundary; Main Street defines the south border; the western boundary of the block is marked by Ann Street; and Canton Street defines the east border of the block.

Town Block 12 is located directly south of block 9. Main Street marks the north boundary; Queen Street defines the south boundary; Ann Street is the western border of the block; and Canton Street defines the east boundary.

Town Block 13 is situated in the center of the townsite, south of Block 8. Main Street defines the north border of the block; Queen Street marks the south boundary; Broad Way defines the western boundary; and Ann Street marks the east.

Town Block 19 is located southeast of the town center. Queen Street is the block's north boundary; South Street defines the southern border of the block; Ann Street defines the block's western boundary; and Canton Street marks the eastern portion of the block.

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Non-contributing buildings and structures (Figure 2):

1. Cabin 1: Block 3 Lot 7: One single room log cabin transported from a site south and east of Rockport, on the original road leading from Montezuma to Atlas, Illinois, in 1998 placed in Block 3 Lot 7. The structure dates to the 1850s (Armistead, personal communication 2007; Huttes 2005:Section 7, 3).
2. Cabin 2: Block 3 between Lots 7 & 8: One single room wooden building transported from the O'Leary farm, west and south of New Philadelphia in 1998 placed in Block 3 between Lots 7 and 8. The building is located southeast of the log cabin (Armistead personal communication 2007; Huttes 2005:Section 7, 3).
3. Cabin 3: Block 3 Lot 8: One single room wooden building transported from the Campbell farm east of New Philadelphia in 1998 placed in Block 3 Lot 8. This building is located northeast of the first two cabins (Huttes 2005:Section 7, 3).
4. Unoccupied dwelling Block 19 Lots 3 & 4: An unoccupied dwelling constructed around 1941 and renovated in 2005 located Block 19, Lots 3 and 4 (Burdick 1992a; Huttes 2005:Section 7:3). Land deed records indicate the property was purchased by Virgil Burdick in 1921 (Whitt 2003) and remained in the Burdick family until 2005 when it was purchased by the New Philadelphia Association. Virgil Burdick is a descendant of Spalding Burdick who appears as "Spalder" Burdick on the 1850 federal census as the town's shoemaker (King 2006).
5. Outbuilding Block 19 Lot 6: A wooden barn constructed about 1921 is located south of the dwelling on Block 19, Lot 6 (Huttes 2005:Section 7, 4; McCartney personal communication 2007; New Philadelphia Association Newsletter 2007).
6. Second smaller outbuilding Block 19 Lot 3: A chicken coop constructed about 1921 is situated south of the dwelling on Block 19, Lot 3 (Bradshaw personal communication 2007; Armistead personal communication 2007).

Environmental Setting

The New Philadelphia Townsite is in a rural setting approximately twenty-five miles east of the Mississippi River. The site is surrounded by farmland planted primarily with corn, soybeans, and stands of trees. A few widely separated houses and farms are located in the vicinity. Interstate Highway 72 follows a route south of the site, approximately one half mile away.

The gently rolling terrain on which New Philadelphia is located consists of fertile prairie and woodland. Oak was the most common type of tree found in the area during New Philadelphia's occupation; hickory, hazelnut, and black walnut trees were also abundant (Fennell 2007; Smith 2006:Chapter 3H, 2). Common fruits of the region during the era of the town were "apple, peach, plum, cherry, strawberry" and "wild black cherry" (Chapman 1880:293). Marsh marigold, wild larkspur, May apples, violets, and hollyhock were typical flowering plants of the region (Chapman 1880:289-291).

Low quality coal deposits varying from more than one foot to six feet in depth, occurred in Hadley Township in the vicinity of New Philadelphia. Although the deposits were deemed insufficient for

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mining, there was an adequate supply for surface collection. The region is rich with limestone for construction purposes (Chapman 1880:276-278, 281).

A variety of native animals were prevalent in the area during New Philadelphia's existence, including deer, rabbit, squirrel, muskrat, quail, prairie-chicken, and wild turkeys, but settlers also raised swine and poultry. Buffalo fish, a member of the sucker family, could be found in all county waters (Chapman 1880:287, 345). State census records of 1855 and 1865 indicate that many of New Philadelphia's townfolk raised unidentified types of livestock. The 1865 state census reveals that seven households kept sheep and produced 354 pounds of wool (King 2006).

Archeological Investigations of the New Philadelphia Townsite

The town founded as Philadelphia appears on several maps included in *The Atlas Map of Pike County, Illinois*, published in 1872. The Sectional Map of Pike County, Illinois, indicates New Philadelphia in relationship to other country towns (Andreas, Lyter, & Co. 1872). A plat drawing of New Philadelphia also appears on the Map of Hadley Township. It notes the town's founder as "a colored man by the name of Frank McWorter from Kentucky, that settled and made considerable improvements in this township in 1829, on Sec. 22 (Andreas, Lyter & Co. 1872)." The date, however, is incorrect; the McWorter family arrived in Hadley Township in 1831 (Walker 1983:71).

The Atlas Map of Pike County, Illinois describes Hadley Township as "principally prairie, with skirts of good timber. The soil is very rich and fertile, with plenty of good living springs, making it well adapted for both farming and stock raising, it also raises plenty of fruit (Andreas, Lyter, & Co. 1872)." A detailed plat map of the town, including named street boundaries, appears on a map of Flint Township (Andreas, Lyter, & Co. 1872). The names of Frank and Lucy McWorters' children Sarah and Solomon McWorter residing on Section 22, the site of the original homestead, are included in a list of subscribers to *The Atlas Map of Pike County, Illinois* (Andreas, Lyter, & Co. 1872:23, 54). Solomon McWorter's biography reveals that he was granted a patent for the invention of a syrup production device in 1867 (United States Patent Office 1867).

In 1964, area resident Grace Matteson documented the story of New Philadelphia from oral accounts of former residents and descendants of residents, mortuary records, newspapers, and legal documents to commemorate the historic town and its founder. Former New Philadelphia resident Lorraine Burdick recorded recollections of his hometown in the account "New Philadelphia, Where I Lived" in 1992. Their accounts helped reconstruct the appearance of New Philadelphia in the early twentieth century. Helen McWorter Simpson, great-granddaughter of Frank McWorter, chronicled the story of her family in *The Makers of History*, published in 1981. Frank McWorter's great-great-granddaughter, Juliet E. K. Walker, wrote *Free Frank: A Black Pioneer on the Antebellum Frontier* in 1983.

1976 Investigation

The first archeological survey of New Philadelphia occurred in 1976. At the time of the investigation, a dilapidated shed stood in place of Squire McWorter's blacksmith shop at the northeast section of the town. No artifacts were collected during the investigation. Following the submission of reports to the Illinois Archeological Survey by professional archeologists who conducted the survey, New Philadelphia was designated archeological site number 11PK455 (Huttes 2005:Section 7, 7).

2000 Investigation

Another archeological investigation was conducted in 2000. The archeological and pedestrian surveys

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conducted at the townsite were prompted by a proposed waterline project at the north edge of the townsite that is aligned with County Highway 2. No artifacts were collected (Huttes 2005:Section 7, 8).

2002 Investigation

Formed in 1996, the New Philadelphia Association (NPA) is dedicated to preserving the historic townsite and honoring the memory of Frank McWorter and the townspeople who settled in the town he founded. Census data, land deed information, and tax records, along with other documentary resources, were compiled by the University of Maryland. Historic and topographical maps, along with aerial photographs were used to locate the abandoned townsite (Shackel 2006:Chapter 1, Introduction).

Likes Land Surveyors, a local surveying firm, and members of the New Philadelphia Association produced a map by overlaying an original plat of the town onto a contemporary topographical map of the current site to delineate blocks, lots, and boundaries (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A).

2002-2003 Pedestrian Survey

The University of Maryland, the University of Illinois, and the Illinois State Museum, along with volunteers, conducted a systematic pedestrian walkover survey over several weekends in 2002 and 2003 guided by the map created by Likes Land Surveyors to assess the site's archeological research potential and to record the location of concentrations of artifacts. The New Philadelphia Association arranged to plow 26 ½ acres of the 42 acre townsite to improve visibility. Agricultural fields were plowed to an average depth of 0.25 feet to 0.5 feet. Fields of prairie grass, private property, historic roads, stands of trees, areas not previously plowed, and a pond area were not surveyed (Gwaltney 2004).

Large concentrations of artifacts were recovered from Block 3; Lots 1, 2, and 8 on Block 4; Lot 1 Block 7; Lots 1 through 8 on Block 8; Lot 5 on Block 9, and Lots 3 and 4 on Block 13. Artifacts with the earliest mean ceramic dates were: Block 4 (1856); Block 8 (1844); Block 7 (1854); and Block 9 (1858) (Gwaltney 2004).

More than seven thousand artifacts including domestic materials such as ceramics and glassware, and construction materials such as bricks, nails, and window glass, and more than one thousand prehistoric artifacts, were recovered during the survey. Few tools or work-related artifacts were located. The highest proportion of artifacts consisted of kitchen wares, denoting the presence of domestic buildings on the lots, and promoting the likelihood of archeological remains of those buildings particularly in the area of Broad Way and Main Street (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A, 2, Chapter 1, Introduction; Gwaltney 2004).

2004-2006 National Science Foundation Research Experience for Undergraduates Program (NSF-REU)

Hosted by the University of Maryland (UM) in coordination with the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), the Illinois State Museum (ISM), and the New Philadelphia Association (NPA), a three-year National Science Foundation Research Experience for Undergraduates (NSF-REU, Grant No. 0353550) program conducted archeological investigation of the New Philadelphia site. UIUC also conducted a summer field school at the townsite in 2005. For each of the three years between 2004 and 2006, the NSF-REU program included undergraduate students from across the nation in a ten-week project. For each year of the three-year project, archeological excavations were conducted at the townsite for the first five weeks; the final five weeks were spent at the ISM laboratory analyzing artifacts (Shackel 2006:Chapter 1 Introduction, 3). The artifacts are curated at the Illinois State Museum

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Research and Collections Center in Springfield, Illinois, under the supervision of Dr. Terrance Martin.

Geophysical surveys of the townsite were conducted by Michael Hargrave (U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center, Construction Engineering Research Laboratory [CERL]) and NSF-REU students in 2004, 2005, and 2006 before archeological excavations. A magnetometer and electrical resistivity survey, along with archeological survey information, and historical documents were used to identify potential archeological features such as building foundations and concentrations of artifacts in the development of excavation plans (Shackel 2006:Chapter 1, Introduction). The excellent archeological integrity of the site was confirmed by the presence of intact features such as post molds, substantial building foundations, wells, and pit cellars, in addition to concentrations of artifacts dating to the town's occupation that were excavated during three years of archeological investigation.

Numerous anomalies most likely associated with deposits of cultural material, including architectural remains, were detected through geophysical surveys of the townsite. Only the most obvious anomalies were noted on geophysical maps, but further investigation of subtle anomalies may reveal additional cultural features. Excavation units placed over Anomaly A3 covered by Excavation Units 1-3 on Block 8 Lot 4 exposed Feature 4, a well associated with a mid-nineteenth century dwelling. Rock, mortar, and brick were present throughout the bisected feature, but the small amount of domestic debris indicates that townspeople quickly filled the well after it was no longer used. Artifacts found on top of and within Feature 4, date to the 1850s and may be associated with the town's early development (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3E; Eppler and Helton 2006). The findings recovered through the investigation of Anomaly A3 are an indication of the high promise of data yet to be recovered from the many anomalies identified through geophysical surveys of New Philadelphia that await further exploration.

Site Analysis (NSF-REU Archeology Overview)

Seventeen significant archeological features were identified through archeological investigation of the New Philadelphia Townsite, and archeologists recovered more than 65,000 artifacts during the excavations. A brief description and an explanation of the types and functions of major features are summarized below.

Description of Archeological Features

Intact features discovered through archeological excavation of the New Philadelphia Townsite provide information about the town's genesis in the 1830s and its survival into the 1930s (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A, 1). Archeological features were bisected for investigation while at the same time the archeological integrity of the townsite was kept intact for future investigation. Excavations were conducted according to stratigraphy. Soil samples were collected systematically from the features and processed through a flotation device to retrieve archeobiological material. Faunal remains found in the features were analyzed for natural and cultural modifications, such as butchering methods and burning (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A).

Types and Functions of Major Archeological Features

Subfloor Pit Cellars - Features 1, 7, and 14

A subfloor cellar pit, Feature 1, identified by archeologists at Block 9 Lot 5 measured about 5.0 x 5.0 feet and reached about one foot below the plow zone. The feature contained artifacts dating to the 1850s or 1860s when the property was owned by Kasiah Clark. According to tax records, a building standing on Block 9 Lot was demolished or destroyed by 1870. Tax records also indicate that a new building constructed around 1871 stood on Block 9 Lot 5 until the 1940s (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A).

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Another subfloor cellar pit, Feature 7, was unearthed on Block 4 Lot 1. The cellar pit measures about 3.5 x 10 feet and reaches 1.5 feet below the plow zone. Artifacts recovered from the feature indicate that deposition occurred in the 1840s or early 1850s and represents the earliest materials recovered to date (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A).

A third subfloor cellar pit, Feature 14, was found on Block 8 Lot 2. Fill content excavated from the lower levels of the 18.6 x 16.0 foot cellar that extends 2.7 feet below the plow zone date to the 1860s. Materials excavated from the upper level of the feature dated to the early 1870s. Lathing impressions in plaster indicate the feature is associated with a wood frame dwelling. An anthropomorphic tobacco pipe called a "Turk's head" pipe was recovered from the feature (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A, 3E).

Subsurface Storage/Privy – Feature 19

Feature 19, a subsurface storage feature or privy, measures 7 feet in diameter on the surface and was scattered with stones. Corners below the plow zone are squared with rather straight walls. The feature has five courses of stone extending to about 3.0 feet below the plow zone. Archeobotanical analysis of soil samples collected from the feature revealed a deposit of raspberry and chokecherry seeds. The property may be associated with the D. A. Kittle household. Kittle, who purchased the property from Frank McWorter in 1848, (Whitt 2003) was recorded on the 1850 census as a merchant from Ohio (King 2006) and he may have used the feature as a cold storage facility for perishable goods. After the feature was no longer used, it may have become a deposit for trash and chamber pot refuse (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A).

Wells – Features 4 and 13

Archeologists halted excavation of features tentatively identified as wells on both Block 8 Lot 4 and Block 4 Lot 1 at 4 feet below the plow zone for safety concerns. Feature 4, discovered on Block 8 Lot 4, measured 12.5 x 12.0 feet at the surface and extend 2.5 feet below the plow zone (4.0 feet below the surface) and contained fill materials dated to the 1850s. Feature 13 identified as a well at Block 4 Lot 1 is round-shaped and measures about 8.0 x 9.0 feet at the surface. Artifacts recovered from the well including construction materials, such as large pieces of mortar used to fill gaps between the wooden logs, indicate that the feature is associated with an 1840s cabin dwelling that stood nearby. Materials recovered from the well were dated to the late 1840s to early 1850s (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A).

Lime Slaking Pit – Feature 2

Archeologists excavated four units on Block 3 Lot 4 to reveal Feature 2, identified as a lime slaking pit. The dimensions of the feature are 2.8 x 4.4 feet. The edges of the feature are about 0.4 feet above the bottom of the basin. The lime slaking pit was used to mix water and quicklime to create calcium hydroxide, a material used to produce mortar, plaster, or whitewash for covering interior walls. The presence of the pit suggests that a building with plastered walls stood nearby at one time. Further archeological investigations may locate the associated building and, perhaps, artifacts in a sealed context. The results of future excavations may yield more information about the use of the lot and provide further insight into the lifeways of those who made their home on the property (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3H, 11).

Foundations – Features 3, 11, 12, 16, 17, 21, 22, 25, 26, and 27

A fieldstone foundation designated Feature 3 was located on Block 7 Lot 1. Archeologists dated artifacts recovered from an undisturbed layer of soil adjacent to Feature 3 to the late nineteenth century. New Philadelphia resident Lorraine Burdick reported that a mid-nineteenth-century dwelling known as the Betsey House was located at the site. The foundation found by archeologists may be associated with

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a late nineteenth-century addition to the earlier dwelling. A local resident recalled helping to dismantle a derelict dwelling and removing some fieldstone foundation stones in the late 1930s or early 1940s. The depth of the foundation suggests that the supported dwelling was more substantial than a log cabin (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3D).

Archeologists discovered a fieldstone foundation, Feature 11, at the base of the plow zone on Block 13 Lot 4. The foundation follows an east-west orientation in the northern areas of three excavation units. Gaps in the foundation wall and the movement of some field stones to adjacent areas were attributed to the effects of plowing the soil for agricultural purposes (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3G).

Feature 12 located on Block 13 Lot 4 is located 4 feet below the earth's surface. Archeologists defined the feature as a foundation wall for a cellar wall, oriented in an east-west direction in the northern most area of the excavation unit (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3G).

A fieldstone foundation, Features 16, 17, and 21, measuring 15 feet in an east to west direction and at least 20 feet north to south, was unearthed by archeologists at Block 3 Lot 7. The foundation measures 1.5 feet wide. The northeast corner is about 2 feet high; the wall measures 0.4 feet in height along the western portion. Based on a lack of evidence of subsequent building episodes, archeologists determined that the deeper portion of the foundation may have been used as a storage cellar for the building. Mortar and brick fragments were found in core samples taken from the features. A portion of the north-south wall was uncovered but time constraints prevented further investigation to locate the southwest corner of the foundation (Fennell 2006:Chapter 3B).

Plaster was found along with destruction debris in the excavated layers leading archeologists to conclude that the substantial foundation provided footing for a building. A local resident reported that a house stood in the site area as late as the 1930s (Fennell 2006:Chapter 3B).

A fieldstone foundation and partially filled cellar, Feature 22, are located in the north central area of the townsite and covered by non-contributing Cabin 1 on Block 3 Lot 7. Feature 22 likely dates to the earliest era of the town.

A concrete aggregate foundation, Feature 25, is covered by non-contributing Cabin 2 in the north central area of the townsite on Block 3, Lots 7 and 8.

Feature 26 is a concrete aggregate foundation covered by non-contributing Cabin 3 on Block 3 Lot 8.

A concrete foundation overgrown with grasses and trees, Feature 27, is located east of non-contributing Cabin 3 on Ann Street, south of King Street, near Lot 8.

Current Condition of New Philadelphia Townsite

Only a few building foundations are now discernible at the site, but archeological investigations provide abundant evidence that historic New Philadelphia existed within the boundaries of the 1836 town plat (Pike County Deed Book 1836:183). The location of the site has been confirmed through professional land surveys, a pedestrian walkover survey, geophysical survey, and archeological investigation.

The current appearance of the landscape is similar to its appearance during New Philadelphia's existence. The area around the historic townsite is agricultural and rural with rolling hills covered by

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agricultural crop fields, prairie grasses, and stands of trees. The feeling of the site is still rural and agricultural. Widely spaced farms in the area contribute to a sense of remoteness at the New Philadelphia Townsite (Huttes 2005).

The excellent and high archeological integrity of the site's undisturbed features, stratigraphy, and artifact deposits, holds the potential to yield scientific information of major national significance. Archeological evidence already unearthed includes concentrations of artifacts dating to the town's mid-nineteenth-century to early twentieth-century period of occupation, substantial foundations, wells, subsurface storage pits, and a lime slaking pit.

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State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.**SUMMARY**

When Frank McWorter, a freedman, platted and registered Philadelphia or New Philadelphia as it came to be called, in 1836, he became the first known African American to officially found a town before the Civil War and emancipation. The town consisted of 42 acres of land divided into twenty blocks and parceled into 144 lots. McWorter sold town lots to black, white, and mulatto settlers and used the proceeds to purchase freedom for family members remaining in slavery. All totaled, McWorter freed himself and fifteen family members from bondage at a cost of approximately \$14,000 (Matteson 1964:10-11; Walker 1983:162).

No original buildings are visible above ground at the historic townsite. However, New Philadelphia qualifies for National Historic Landmark designation under Criterion 6. The excellent archeological integrity of the New Philadelphia Townsite may provide nationally significant data about economic and social relationships and day-to-day life in a racially integrated, free rural community that began as a pioneer village of three dwellings in the 1840s. By 1865, New Philadelphia was a frontier town with 160 residents, 48 of whom were African American. During the town's occupation, individuals described on census records as "white" listed such occupations as shoemaker, merchant and wheelwright. "Mulatto" individuals worked as blacksmiths and a carpenter (King 2006).

Geophysical surveys and archeological investigations located many intact features, such as building foundations, wells, and cellar pits as well as an artifact assemblage that spans the town's occupation from the 1830s into the early twentieth century. The town is exceptional not only for its founder, but as an integrated community that existed during the racially tense ante- and post-bellum times and into the Jim Crow era. Archeological investigation of the site has already provided clues to the novel ways in which material culture was used to reflect social ambitions and to create multiple identities in the context of changing race relations for almost a century. The site and its many features can yield more information that can address nationally significant questions in three areas within historical archeology:

- Archeological analysis at New Philadelphia reflects new trends within historical archeology that seeks to understand how material culture and racial identity interact. This analytic approach has the potential to significantly contribute to new ideas and theories about how to study race through the archeological record to a major degree.
- The high archeological integrity of the entire townsite presents the opportunity to address nationally significant research questions about power relationships as seen through the landscape, a major avenue of research within historical archeology. Because of the large scale of the site, archeologists may move beyond household analysis and explore spatial relationships outside of the plantation setting to address issues of space, race, and power on the frontier in new and exciting ways.
- New Philadelphia provides material evidence to understand life in multi-racial communities of the era. At New Philadelphia, researchers have an opportunity to investigate both the relationships of formerly enslaved individuals, free born African Americans, and people of European descent who lived together in a small rural community and the effects of interaction between the groups. This avenue of research can provide nationally significant information

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about race and ethnicity, acculturation and identity formation in ways that can make a substantial addition to the archeological literature.

HISTORIC CONTEXT**Frank McWorter**

Frank McWorter was born enslaved near the Pacolet River in South Carolina in 1777. Around 1795, he was relocated to Pulaski County on Kentucky's frontier by his owner, George McWhorter, and left to manage the farm while McWhorter expanded his real estate holdings in Kentucky and Tennessee. McWhorter also hired out Frank's time to other settlers and allowed him to keep a portion of his earnings (Walker 1983:28). In 1799, Frank married Lucy, a woman enslaved on a nearby Pulaski County farm. While enslaved they became parents to four children (Walker 1983:7, 19, 20, 23, 32).

Frank earned additional funds by mining Kentucky caves for crude niter and processing the material into saltpeter, a component used to manufacture gunpowder. Gunpowder was crucial for frontier life and for the War of 1812 (Walker 1983:34-37).

With the money he earned, Frank purchased Lucy's freedom for \$800 in 1817, and in 1819, he purchased his own freedom for the same amount (Matteson 1964:2; Walker 1983:41, 46). On the 1820 federal census, he is recorded as "Free Frank" (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1820). Lucy gave birth to three free born children (Matteson 1964:1; Walker 1983:41, 71).

Frank expanded his saltpeter operation to Danville in the 1820s (Walker 1983:28, 60), but he traded the operation in 1829 to secure freedom for his son Frank who had escaped to Canada as a fugitive slave in 1826 (Walker 1983:26, 61). In 1830, Frank, Lucy, and their freed children moved to the non-slavery state of Illinois to settle on Military Tract land he purchased from a Dr. Elliot who was aware of Frank's desire to move elsewhere. Three children born in bondage, their spouses and their children were left behind in bondage (Walker 1983:65-66). Frank and his family became the first settlers in Illinois' Hadley Township (Chapman 1880:739).

By 1835, Frank had accumulated enough money to buy freedom for his son, Solomon, who had been left behind in Kentucky. He also used his earnings to purchase an additional tract of Military Land from the government. Frank laid out the town of New Philadelphia on 42 acres of that land in 1836 (Walker 1983:93). New Philadelphia is the first known town founded and legally registered by a free African American before the Civil War (Walker 1983:3). The town was platted with 144 lots; each lot measured 60 x 120 feet. Most of the 20 blocks consisted of 8 lots. The town's main streets, Broad Way and Main Street, were 80 feet wide, other streets measured 60 feet in width, and alleys were platted 15 feet wide (Walker 1983:105).

In 1837, Frank filed a petition with the Illinois General Assembly to take the legal last name of McWorter, slightly changing the spelling from McWhorter. The legislation would protect his real estate holdings and entitle him to other legal privileges. Citizens from Kentucky and Illinois attested to Frank's good character and noted that he intended to use the proceeds of real estate sales in New Philadelphia to purchase freedom for family members remaining in slavery (Walker 1983:106,121).

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By the time of his death in 1854, Frank McWorter had purchased his own freedom and that of his wife, four children, and three grandchildren. He left directions in his will to secure the freedom of grandchildren who remained in slavery (Matteson 1964:10, Walker 1983:160). McWorter's son Solomon fulfilled the provisions (Walker 1983:160).

New Philadelphia continued to attract settlers after Frank McWorter's death. The town grew from a small community of three dwellings in the 1840s to a village of 58 individuals living in 11 households in 1850. Thirty-eight percent, or 22 people, were of African descent according to the 1850 census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850). The town's population peaked by the time of the Illinois state census in 1865 with 160 people living in 29 households; 30 percent, or 48 townspeople, were recorded as African Americans (Walker 1983; King 2006; Illinois State Census 1865). According to federal and state census records, the representation of African Americans in New Philadelphia fluctuated from a peak of 38 percent in 1850 to a low of 17 percent in 1880 (King 2006); however, New Philadelphia was considered by many area residents to be a "black" town.

An analysis of federal census records from 1850 through 1880 indicates that New Philadelphia residents originated from 19 different states. The majority of townspeople were natives of the Great Lakes region, which included the states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The state of Illinois consistently represented the majority of New Philadelphia's residents, ranging from 22 percent in 1850; 44 percent in 1860; 56 percent in 1870; and 62 percent in 1880. Natives of Canada, England, and Ireland also called New Philadelphia home (US Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880).

PEOPLING PLACES

Westward Expansion and the Movement of People to the New Lands

The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 doubled the size of the nascent United States of America, and after the war with Mexico in 1848, the country's east to west borders spanned the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, south to the Rio Grande River, and north to the 49th parallel (Murrin et al. 1999:297). The United States Government provided incentives to encourage settlement of the vast country by offering land on the frontier at affordable prices or by fulfillment of a requirement to put the land to productive use (Hawes 2007:xi-xii).

The motivation for westward expansion of the United States frontier in the early nineteenth century was prompted by several factors, including population pressure caused by increased immigration and the push to populate the vast western lands. Economic downturns in 1818 and again in 1837 encouraged others to seek new opportunities and affordable land on the frontier (Merk 1978:230, 238). Land ownership represented wealth, independence, self-determination, and, often, political influence. Settlement in the West flourished following the removal of threats from Native Americans after the Black Hawk Wars of 1832. Improved transportation by steamships and the promise of links to eastern markets by way of the Erie Canal and the proposed Illinois-Michigan Canal promised Illinois farmers a connection to the markets of Albany and New York and further encouraged settlement (Davis 1998:155; Walters 1985:8:1, 6). The United States Government set aside lands in what are now Arkansas, Michigan, and Illinois, to compensate volunteer soldiers for service to their country during the War of 1812 and to promote settlement on the western frontier. The parcels were later open to civilians for purchase. Military Tract Land in Illinois was located between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, in the western portion of the state (Chenoweth and Semonis 1992; Davis 1998:207).

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Along with settlers, westward expansion brought the expansion of slavery to new territories. Illinois entered the United States in 1818 as a free state prohibiting slavery while neighboring Kentucky and Missouri joined as slave states. However, an exception to the slavery ban was made for laborers needed to extract salt from saltwater springs in the American Bottoms region of southern Illinois and for French citizens who owned enslaved individuals before statehood (Bridges 1996:3(2):2-4).

Initially, residents of southern states, particularly Kentucky, migrated to Illinois. By the 1820s when the Erie Canal provided access to eastern markets, settlers from northeastern states along with British and German immigrants came to the area (Davis 1998:12-123, 190). Transportation networks expanded as Great Lakes steamers connected New York and Chicago in 1832 and a stagecoach line extended from Detroit, Michigan. A state route linked Chicago with Galena, Illinois, in 1834, and the National Road reached Illinois from West Virginia. In 1836, construction began on the Illinois-Michigan Canal, creating a southern link from Chicago to the Illinois River upon its completion in 1848. Settlement of western lands was further stimulated in the 1840s as steamboat service transported cargo and passengers along inland waterways. In addition, a reduction of shipping costs along the 363-mile long Erie Canal connected eastern markets to Chicago and attracted more settlers to western lands (Davis 1998:155, 220-224).

The western frontier created competition for economic opportunities and resources. Fearing the influx of freed African Americans fleeing from oppressive southern states, Illinois and other states enacted stringent Black Codes limiting immigration. Black Codes, enacted in 1819, 1823, and 1853, limited more than immigration to the state. The laws also controlled and restricted virtually every aspect of African American life (Harper 2003:454-457).

Settlers were attracted by the economic opportunities of the western frontier, and the years 1835 to 1837 saw avid town founding activity in Illinois but only a few of the plats became actual towns. Even fewer survived (Walters 1983-1984:9(4):332-333). By 1837, the cost of transportation improvements led to a nationwide economic downturn that stunted town planning (Davis 1998:232). By 1840, about half of the towns founded around 1836 still survived. New Philadelphia was only one of 126 towns laid out in 1836 (Walters 1983-1984:9(4):333, 340) and one of the few to survive the economic crisis.

The greatest predictor of a town's survival was proximity to its nearest competitor. Towns five to seven miles from its nearest competitor had a fifty-seven percent chance of success, while towns one or two miles from a competing town had only a twenty-two percent success rate; New Philadelphia, at about four miles away from Barry, its nearest competing town, was in the second lowest predicted survival rate of twenty-nine percent (Walters 1983-1984:9(4):341). New Philadelphia's survival defied statistical prediction.

Freedman Frank McWorter took part in the town building activity, founding Philadelphia, or New Philadelphia, as it came to be known, in 1836. The town seemed primed for success. It was located on fertile prairie land suitable for agriculture. Land surrounding the town straddled both timberland and prairie, crucial elements for town locations (Walters 1983-1984:9(4):337). Accessible timberland provided material needed to construct dwellings, fences, wagons, implements of many types, and to provide fuel. The nascent town was near major county crossroads. Proximity to the Mississippi River provided access to the cargo capacity and efficient speed of steamboats that navigated inland waters (Mak and Walton 1972:619-620). The town's location between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers promised access to the proposed Illinois and Michigan Canal and a link to distant eastern markets (Davis 1998:229; Sadowski 2006-2007). *The History of Pike County* reported New Philadelphia as a place "which once had great promise of making a good town (Chapman 1880:217)."

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Some towns that survived the economic downturn that began in 1837 succumbed when the railroad passed them by later in the nineteenth century (Walters 1983-1984:9(4):340). Historian James Davis explains, "railroads crippled towns they bypassed (1998:377)." New Philadelphia was one of those towns. As Chapman wrote of New Philadelphia in 1880, "At one time it had great promise, but the railroad passing it a mile distant, and other towns springing up, has killed it (1880:740-741)." Many townspeople had moved away by the turn of the century but a few families continued to make their home in New Philadelphia into the 1930s (Burdick 1992). Records indicate that property on Block 4, Lot 5 was sold by Gerald Arnett to Roy Arnett in 1934. Frederick and Nancy Venicombe sold property on Blocks 2 and 3 to W. H. Struheker in 1938. W. H. Struheker also purchased property on Lot 12 in 1938. Virgil Burdick purchased property on Block 6, 13, 16, 18 in 1930 and Block 14, 15, 17, and 18 in 1935, and John Siegle purchased property on Block 7 in 1934-1935 (Whitt 2003).

Oral histories, land transfer documentation, and archeological findings indicate that the town existed into the twentieth century. Archeological evidence which includes a large quantity of wire nails, first manufactured in the 1890s, indicates building construction continued at New Philadelphia around the turn of the century. An ironstone dinner plate traced by its maker's mark to the Peoria Pottery Company, was manufactured between the 1880s and 1890s; it is also indicative of continued domestic activity at the site. Further evidence of habitation at New Philadelphia in the twentieth century includes the finding of a bone or ivory elephant novelty charm which was sold through novelty catalogs during the 1920s through the 1940s. A portion of a metal toy train locomotive and doll parts were also found to date to the same time (Shackel 2006:Chapter 3A, 3B).

New Philadelphia's Townspeople

Among the first real estate purchases in New Philadelphia were those made by James Ray who purchased Lots 6 and 8 on Block 4 in 1837, and Henry Brown who bought Lot 4 on Block 3 and Lots 4, 5, 7 on Block 4 in 1838 (Whitt 2003). According to LaGrande Wilson who stopped at New Philadelphia on his mail route from Griggsville to Kinderhook, three dwellings comprised the town in 1841 (Matteson 1964:18; Walker 1983:123). In 1850, 58 townsfolk lived in 11 households, "but it was the township's only town (Davis 1998:293-294)." The majority of New Philadelphia's townspeople, which constituted 62% of the entire population, was white. The town's 38% black and mulatto residents were far above their representation in the state of Illinois, which reported only 0.6% black residents (King 2006). New Philadelphia attracted African Americans from nearby communities, becoming "a nodal point for regional black activities" which may explain the perception among regional residents that New Philadelphia was a "black" town (Davis 1998:293).

Land deed records indicate that all the town's lots were sold. Many lots changed hands more than a dozen times; some properties, such as Lots 1, 2, and 4 on Block 4 incurred more than 24 transactions (Whitt 2003). Gaps for some property transfers apparent on the land deed records indicate that sale was not the only method of exchange, lot transfer transactions may have occurred through trade or other methods (Walker 1983:125; Whitt 2003). Census records and land deed records also indicate that many property owners did not live in New Philadelphia, and, conversely, that many residents did not own the property on which they lived (King 2006; Whitt 2003).

According to the 1850 federal census, in addition to several farmers and a Baptist preacher, a cabinet maker, a merchant, a wheel-wright, and two shoemakers lived in New Philadelphia (King 2006). The town's business operations attracted patrons from neighboring rural communities. Juliet Walker writes

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that “New Philadelphia was also a stagecoach stop” (Walker 1983:133) and that a post office existed in the community from 1849 until 1853. Town resident and Baptist preacher Christopher Luce served as postmaster (Walker 1983:132, 135; King 2006).

New Philadelphia’s population peaked in 1865 with 160 individuals living in 29 households. White residents, 112 individuals, or 70%, represented the majority of town residents; 30% of town residents were recorded by census enumerators as black individuals; black and mulatto residents were categorized together as “black” (King 2006). The number of black and mulatto individuals had more than doubled from 21 to 48 individuals in just five years. The large increase may be attributed to the migration of formerly enslaved persons moving away from the South (King 2006).

New Philadelphia and Race

Historical reports of the region surrounding New Philadelphia reflect the racial attitudes and racial identities attached to individuals. For example, an early account of Pike County history reports that the intentions of “Bob,” an African-American man, to marry Miss Guernsey, a white woman, aroused the ire of local residents and forced Bob out of town (Chapman 1880:217). The *Atlas Map of Pike County, Illinois* states that, “There was a colored man named Frank McWorter, from Kentucky, that settled and made considerable improvement in the Township (Andreas, Lyter & Co. 1872:100).” An article in the Pike County Republican newspaper reported that, “the first white man in Hadley township was a colored man (Thomas quoted in Shackel 2007; Ancestry.com 2007).” The article refers to Frank McWorter’s settlement in Pike County, Hadley Township, shortly after the last American Indians were removed to reservations in the west. These conflicts and contrasts highlight the complexity of race and race relations on the frontier.

Frank McWorter sold lots to black and white settlers. According to local resident Grace Matteson’s (1964:21) history of the place, many of the settlers were of “mixed race; some of them were part French, some part Indian, some Irish, and many of them part Caucasian (1964:21).” Matteson reported that, “There was no racial discrimination; the white and colored families lived side by side...and were accepted for what they were and not on the basis of their racial ancestry and color of complexion (1964:21).” However, Frank McWorter, many family members, and some African-American New Philadelphia townspeople are interred in a cemetery just outside the town (Cemetery Records of Pike County 1979:146; Matteson 1964:31-34).

Although the highest representation of African Americans in New Philadelphia occurred in 1850 when 38 percent of the population was classified as black or mulatto on the federal census (King 2006), New Philadelphia was considered by many residents of the area to be a “black” town. Historian James Davis noted that the town became a “nodal point for regional black activities (1998:293).” Descriptions and memories of the town’s racial makeup raises issues of what such a label implies about the town, contemporary observers, and more recent histories. The classification of New Philadelphia as a “black” town carries implications of “otherness” by the dominant group (Shackel 2003:4; Epperson 1990:29, 35).

Social scientists vary on their interpretation of an all-black town. Archeologist Charles Orser points out that classification of race can include “cultural practices, religious beliefs, traditions, and several combinations of physical and cultural attributes in their classificatory schemes (2007:9).” Author and historian Norman Crockett suggests that an all-black town is a community comprised of at least ninety percent African Americans (1979:103). According to Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua, an all-black town is a

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“municipality whose origins involved a distinct ‘racial’ or proportionalist purpose in which nearly 90 percent of the population is Black and the reins of government are controlled by Blacks (2002:221).” Census records from 1850 to 1880 indicate that African Americans were a minority of New Philadelphia’s population.

In 1860, New Philadelphia’s 21 black and mulatto residents accounted for 18 percent of the town’s population of 114 people. At the same time, free blacks numbered 27,249, or 1.6 percent of the state’s population. In 1870, the state’s population increased 48 percent to 2,539,891 from 1,711,951, yet the percentage of “colored” persons fell to just over 1.1 percent, or 28,762 individuals. While New Philadelphia’s population fell to 123 residents in 1870, 31 individuals were black or mulatto, representing 25% of the entire population. The town’s black and mulatto residents accounted for over 29% of the entire county’s free black residents (King 2006; University of Virginia Fisher Library 2007). New Philadelphia’s multi-racial population peaked in 1865, but when the Hannibal-Naples Railroad bypassed the town in 1869, the population fell into steady decline (Walker 1983:165, 166-167).

New Philadelphia’s Ties to the Underground Railroad

Historian and McWorter descendant Juliet E. K. Walker relates that Frank McWorter’s son, also named Frank, escaped slavery in 1826 and found refuge in Canada. The elder McWorter exchanged his lucrative saltpeter production process for his son’s freedom in 1829 (Walker 1983:53, 61). The younger Frank is recorded as “Francis” on the 1850 federal census within the household headed by his father. The census enumerator mistakenly spelled the family surname “McWorten” (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850).

According to Walker’s (1983:168) account *Free Frank: A Black Pioneer on the Antebellum Frontier*, the younger Frank (Francis) married Mary Ann with whom he had two daughters. Mary A. is recorded on the 1850 census records as a twenty-two year old white female from England. Listed with her are Mary, a 3 year-old mulatto female born in Canada, and Lucy, a 5 month-old mulatto female born in Illinois. All three are included in the household of Squire and Louisa Clark McWorter, the younger Frank’s brother and sister-in-law (King 2006). Considering the volatile racial atmosphere of the time, and a report in Chapman’s early history of the county recalling that a romance between an African-American man and Caucasian woman resulted in the man’s expulsion from town (1880:217), Frank and Mary Ann’s relationship was undoubtedly controversial. After the younger Frank McWorter’s death in 1851, Solomon McWorter, his brother, was appointed guardian of his children Mary and Lucy (Pike County 1856).

Walker reports that, when he accumulated enough funds, Frank McWorter risked capture by slave catchers to return to Kentucky to purchase family members he had left behind in bondage. Squire McWorter met his future wife, Louisa Clark, on a return trip to Kentucky. Louisa assisted by Squire McWorter, escaped slavery by fleeing to Canada. According to Juliet Walker, Frank McWorter purchased Louisa’s freedom sometime before 1850 (1983:162). She appears on the 1850 census in Squire McWorter’s household as a twenty-six year old mulatto female born in Kentucky with three children aged one to five years. All three children were born in Illinois (Walker 1983:157; King 2006). Walker also reports that Squire and some of his brothers made trips to Canada to help escaped enslaved individuals (1983:149).

Squire McWorter died in 1854 (Walker 1983:168). His family is not included in the 1860 federal census for Hadley Township, however, his wife Louisa was found listed as Louisa “McQuartar” on the

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1860 census for the city of Quincy, Illinois (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860). Louisa McWorter is included in a household headed by her mother, Keziah Clark, which included Louisa's sons Squire and George (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860). Quincy was known to be a stop on the Underground Railroad on a route with other Underground Railroad stations, such as Alton, Jacksonville, and Pittsfield (Davis 1998:289).

Louisa's brother, Simeon Clark, and his family appear on the same census page suggesting that they lived near each other in Quincy (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860). A short biography of Simeon Clark, who later moved to Kansas, appeared in a local publication reporting that "Mr. Clark was a member of the Masonic Fraternity and in antebellum [sic] times was identified with the 'underground railroad'" (Garden of the Plain 1984). Alexander Clark, brother of Louisa and Simeon, lived at New Philadelphia with his wife and children at the time of the 1860 federal census (King 2006).

Walker (1983:149) reports that Solomon McWorter's son, John, recalled his father's involvement in assisting runaway slaves to find freedom. He observed that in some instances, the McWorter sons accompanied fugitive slaves en route to Canada. Walker also reports that family descendant Ellen McWorter Yates related that the original McWorter dwelling included a room in the cellar that concealed fugitive slaves (1983:149). Pike County, the location of New Philadelphia, was known to be part of the Underground Railroad network that helped fugitive slaves to freedom in northern states and Canada. According to one report, "Pike County had a few stations on what was known as the Underground Railroad in slavery times. Many honored old citizens were often severely censured because they sheltered and fed runaway negroes (Massie 1906:132)."

Area resident Ruby Duke recalled that her grandmother, a midwife for New Philadelphia residents, had said that a wagon used to carry produce to the railroad depot for transport to markets was customized to help escaping slaves. "They had a box built under the bottom of the wagon and if a slave come in on the train, then they would hide them in it and take them back to the farm (Christman 2004-2005, Duke, oral history 2004)." Mrs. Duke remembered that fugitive slaves sometimes worked in her grandmother's garden and that the family dog barked:

at those posses coming up this little dirt lane...they would take off and run to the creek. Down by the creek there was a big cave. Others would get into a box that was under the nest where the chickens laid their eggs. Then, my grandparents would let a chicken out and that dog would kill the chicken. So, when the bounty hunters got there, that's what they thought was all the commotion...My great-grandpa never did lose one of the blacks then, even though they had a lot of people looking for them (Christman 2004-2005, Duke, oral history 2004).

Local resident Elmo Waters recalled that a rock cellar underneath a building across from the town was reputedly associated with the Underground Railroad (Christman 2004-2005, Waters oral history 2004).

CRITERION 6 – ARCHEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW PHILADELPHIA TOWNSITE

- *Archeological analysis at New Philadelphia reflects new trends within historical archeology that seeks to understand how material culture and racial identity interact. This analytic approach has the potential to significantly contribute to new ideas and theories about how to study race through the archeological record to a major degree.*

Race, Material Culture, and Identity

Recently, archeologists have shifted their research within historical archeology from identifying artifacts that can be specifically associated with a particular race to a more sophisticated approach that analyzes the shifting nuances of race as it is expressed within society. Racialization is the term used to identify this dynamic view of race and racial identity.

Earlier in the development of historical archeology, archeologists determined cultural patterns by analyzing and comparing artifacts from sites as “material expressions” of race or culture used to identify African-American sites, particularly when historical documentation was scant (Price 1985:40; Samford 1996:97; Galke 2000:254-255). However, material patterns of culture or ethnicity may not be obvious or even visible in the archeological record. If those patterns are visible, they may have been influenced by historical, environmental, and social factors (Baumann 2001:159). Patterns and material culture are fluid, meanings change over time, and pattern analysis does not consider the effects of cultural exchange or creativity (Vlach 1998:213; see also Babson 1990:20; DeCorse 1999:132). Similar fluidity can apply to the concept and expression of race and racial identity.

As part of this shift, archeologists have placed the idea of racialization at the center of archeological analysis. In doing so, they have understood racialization as both passive or ideological, as well as active, that is, racialization creates action and encourages reification within a constructed system of power relations. Because, in this view, social relationships are invented, racism becomes a mechanism to maintain a hierarchy in which some groups are judged to be superior to others. This construct of social hierarchy has material outcomes that are particularly well suited to archeological analysis. In fact, some archeologists have argued that, “some of the most discrete evidence of the racialization process may be retrievable only through archaeological methods (Orser 2007:13).”

For instance, research has shown that hierarchical societies are sites of constant struggle for material goods. In other words, those at the top of the hierarchy who provide, enforce, and maintain racial labels have greater life chances and thus greater access to goods, creating social distance between the levels of the hierarchy, effectively creating “structures of consumption (Bourdieu 1984:183-184).” Therefore, the connection between race and material culture rests upon consumer behavior or consumption.

“At the root of consumption theory is the idea that people consume what is meaningful to them within the universe of what they can afford (Orser 2007:13).” Thus, one of the most central issues for archeologists who study consumer behavior through the archeological record is how to interpret what often appear to be mundane artifacts such as glass and ceramics, in ways that provide insight into, “quite significant social issues, including racial ideology, nationalism, and affluence (Mullins 2001:159).”

For instance, Bastian’s archeological investigation of a logging site in northern Michigan defied cultural pattern theory analysis. In the 1920s, the site was inhabited by African-Americans lured by the potential to acquire their own property, but archeological investigation produced no recognizable pattern identification; only the lid of a hair care product commonly associated with African Americans was evidence of the group’s occupation (Bastian 1999). Interestingly, while documentary sources assert that African Americans at the site left the area because they could not adapt to the extreme cold and their existence in the area was a great trial to them, the archeological evidence indicates neither that the families had a spartan lifestyle, nor that they made a poor adaptation to the area. Artifacts recovered contained material goods that were, “far from being strictly utilitarian, multipurpose, and limited in variety (Bastian 1999:291).” Bastian found that the consumer culture of the families was richly diverse,

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ornamental, sometimes frivolous in nature, and evidencing activities beyond subsistence. She notes that the families' consumer behavior, "possibly even exceeded in their technological development the possession of the Elmwood whites (Bastian 1999:292)." While Bastian does not go further in her analysis to examine this discrepancy, this was an early study that recognized the limitations of culture pattern analysis on African American sites and focused attention on the contradictions of consumer patterns at such sites which begged for a different approach.

In a more recent example, archeological studies conducted by Paul Mullins in Annapolis, Maryland, examines how African-American consumers negotiated post-Civil War racism through a complex range of everyday consumption tactics that simultaneously evaded anti-Black racism and secured African Americans the modest yet very meaningful privileges of American consumer citizenship. In one example from the study, African-American consumers chose to purchase higher priced brand-name packaged products to avoid the risk of local shopkeepers substituting inferior or under-weighted goods. Mullins' findings not only confounded pattern identification methods, but show the value of placing racialization at the center of an analysis (Mullins 1999:173).

While artifacts found at the African-American sites in Mullins' and Bastian's studies may have been the same as or similar to artifacts found at European American sites, when interpreted in a way that focuses on the relationship between racialization and material culture, interpretations become more meaningful.

The findings to date at New Philadelphia also reflect this shift in new and exciting ways by moving away from the search for cultural markers, objects identified with certain ethnic groups or cultures, and patterns for evidence of African traditions and customs toward understanding how material culture has various meanings that can reinforce power structures, defy them, or create new ones. New Philadelphia provides an exceptional opportunity to study how both African Americans and European Americans imagined new social possibilities, as can be seen through their material culture, because of their unique position within a frontier setting, across an entire townsite, and through time.

The linkage between race and class throughout recent archeological analysis, and in the United States generally, is obvious, though, historically, often contested (see for instance, Wilson 1980; Shanklin 1998; Webster 1992), and clearly nuanced and mutable (Bonilla-Silva 2003). Numerous critics and social scientists have illustrated this relationship, but two comments succinctly summarize the issue: "To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardship (Du Bois 1903:14);" and "The Negro is poor because he is black; that is obvious enough. But, perhaps more importantly, the Negro is black because he is poor (Harrington 1963:73)."

The usefulness of studying unequal material distribution through consumer behavior and the archeological record thus becomes clear, yet it can be oversimplified. The real question for archeologists that can be explored at New Philadelphia is to consider how race and class, "determine, structure, and impact the distribution of material objects," they recover (Orser 2007:46).

Following this, nationally significant questions that New Philadelphia can address through the focus on racialization include questions of consumer behavior and class: access, use, and meaning of goods and services recovered at individual households and compared across space and time. What was the quality of life of African-American and European-American households? How did the lifeways of the European American merchant vary from that of the African-American blacksmith? What about families of mixed racial descent? How did the frontier setting affect access to goods? How did Emancipation affect the consumer behavior of families in the town? Was there variability (or not) in diet, possessions,

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dwelling? If not, what does this say about the aspirations of the town's African-American and European-American residents? How is the American dream defined and/or reimagined by the residents of the town through time, and is this reflected in their material culture? How can issues of both race and class be studied through the resident's consumer patterns? Can archeologists study the idea of "racial uplift" in New Philadelphia in the pre-Civil War and post Civil-War eras? Can we study class consciousness in the archeological record of the town's residents? If home and land ownership was a powerful indicator of class, did it empower the town's African-American residents? Was the railroad bypass of the town (ensuring its ultimate demise) a conscious decision by those who would deny access to goods to "the black town?" If so, what does this say about the power of material culture to reinforce both social and racial relationships and the length to which white society goes to maintain them?

- ***The high archeological integrity of the entire townsite presents the opportunity to address nationally significant research questions about power relationships as seen through the landscape, a major avenue of research within historical archeology. Because of the large scale of the site, archeologists may move beyond household analysis and explore spatial relationships outside of the plantation setting to address issues of space, race, and power on the frontier in new and exciting ways.***

Landscapes of Race/Power

One of the things that makes New Philadelphia such an important case study with the ability to address nationally significant issues with regard to how social scientists and archeologists study race has to do with issues of scale and context. Much archeology done in the United States today is performed at the household level. That is, archeologists often examine things one site at a time, due to the very nature of archeological investigation, as it is driven by cultural resource management. However, at New Philadelphia we have the opportunity to examine issues along a much larger scale, at the townsite level. This is important because the material culture of race can extend beyond the realm of portable material objects.

Archeologists have long understood the importance of studying spatial segregation (see Babson 1987), but the topic continues to have great archeological significance because of the important practical and symbolic functions of space. Historical archeologists have accepted that space plays a major role in the socialization process and since identification of race is an enactment of power relations, this can be studied through an examination of landscape. Not surprisingly, plantation archeology, particularly in the Southern United States has been an incredibly fruitful area in which to examine spatial separations based on racial identification (see Epperson 2001, for example).

Historically, much of the focus within historical archeology and the archeological study of race and ethnicity has been on plantation archeology (Singleton and Bograd 1995:1, 14; Orser 1998:65; Cha-Jua 2002:7; Mullins 1999:9; Leone et al. 2005:576-577). Scant attention has been paid to sites relating to free African Americans. Margaret Wood observes that little is known about "aspirations, fears and everyday lives" of African Americans and that archeology "holds great promise in revealing some of these important details (Wood 2007b)." Archeologist Charles Orser notes that "the archaeology of the African Diaspora began and largely remains to this day an archeology of New World Slavery (Orser 1998:5, 65)."

Archeological studies at New Philadelphia have something new to offer. The site has the potential to illustrate another lifeway of the African diaspora – not plantation life or even life in other small towns that were founded for African Americans by white philanthropists, like Edwardsville, Illinois, or

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freedom settlements like Brooklyn, Illinois – but a town founded through African American entrepreneurial skills and desires (Cha-Jua 2002; Huttes 2005). New Philadelphia was a town open to anyone who could purchase a lot, regardless of race, and as Mullins notes, real estate was “the most empowering of all African American commodities (Mullins 1999:2).”

Another outcome of the focus on plantation life in historical archeology is that African Americans of the past “are presented as always enslaved, always engaged in agricultural pursuits, always living under the shadow of the planter’s residence, and most importantly, always separate (Wilkie 2004:111).” New Philadelphia offers an opportunity to study just the opposite. New Philadelphia followed many state and nationwide trends, such as the foundation of towns on the frontier, the significance of the development of the railroad to rural areas, and the enigma of race relations in the nineteenth century. New Philadelphia also symbolizes many neglected areas in our nation’s history – the story of successful free African Americans in rural areas, rural farming villages, and the average person in rural America during the nineteenth century. The study of New Philadelphia and sites like it will add to the stories of these previously overlooked groups to our nation’s history and advance the study of spatial relationships and race within historical archeology (Huttes 2005).

Nationally significant research questions that deal with landscapes of power, race and ethnicity at New Philadelphia include questions about basic site structure (identifying various components of each household and on a larger scale, the town). For example, where did the town’s African-American and European-American residents live? Where did the families of mixed racial descent live? What was their proximity to each other and to the town’s goods and services? Was the town segregated? If so, how was it segregated? Why were there two separate cemeteries and where are they located? Why were there two separate schools and where were they located? Anyone could buy a lot here, as noted above, but did it matter *where* the lot was? Did this change after Emancipation? Who owned the businesses in town? Where were they located? What is the town’s layout? Is there a pattern in the site structure of individual households? Is there evidence of occupations other than those listed in census records? Census records are often incomplete or illegible. For example, while the women in New Philadelphia typically have no occupation listed, or are described as a “housewife,” they likely added to their family’s success through their own endeavors. Is there a connection between race, gender, class and occupation? Are power relationships recreated in the spatial layout of the town? If so how? If not, why not? How were space and race connected here? Did class factor into spatial relationships here? How do these issues compare to towns where there were a higher percentage of African-Americans (like Nicodemus, Kansas, for instance)? How do they compare to all white towns? How do they compare to other frontier or pioneer villages?

- ***New Philadelphia provides material evidence to understand life in multi-racial communities of the era. At New Philadelphia, researchers have an opportunity to investigate the relationships of formerly enslaved individuals, free born African Americans, and people of European descent who lived together in a small rural community and the effects of interaction between the groups. This avenue of research can provide nationally significant information about race and ethnicity, acculturation and identity formation in ways that can make a substantial addition to the archeological literature.***

Race and Ethnicity, Acculturation/Creolization and Identity Formation

As noted above, the study of the construction of race is often entangled with issues of class. Likewise, the idea of race is frequently conflated with ethnicity. This has been a significant obstacle for archeologists who frequently cannot distinguish between ethnic commonality and racial designation. However, it has become clear, in recent years, that archeologists must be able to provide attention to the differences between ethnicity and race to outline a perspective for understanding racialization that has

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archeological relevance. Recently, archeologists have attempted to do this by reexamining and redefining issues that have long been areas of research within history and anthropology including the study of racializing the “other,” creolization, acculturation, and identity formation.

Since the shift to studying racialization, this concept has been used to understand how many immigrant groups were racialized as nonwhite and relegated to the lowest and poorest classes. Some examples of such studies are presented in Orser’s 2007 work, *The Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America*. In one study, Orser considers the archeological sites of the Irish in New York City during the late nineteenth century. Although today the Irish are considered white, he examines how and why they were not considered so when they arrived and looks at the basis for the racism the Irish encountered which was rooted in the fear of Irish religion and culture. The Irish were often caricatured as brutish in their physical appearance. He notes that only by, “depicting Irish immigrants as ape-like could nativists rationalize racializing as inferior an immigrant group with light skin (71).” By racializing ethnic groups such as the Irish, Orser points out that racialization was built deep into the structure of national discourse. It was not confined to one group, nor was it defined solely by phenotype. Further, because the archeological collections from such studies often date to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it forces recognition that racialization is not something that existed only in colonial or antebellum America. It continued on, and through archeology we can confront racialization through the twentieth century and into our own time. This idea, of using archeology to confront, critique, and dismantle current racial hierarchies is widespread throughout the discipline (see also, Epperson 2004; Mack and Blakey 2004; Franklin and McKee 2004; Leone et al. 2005; Orser 2007; Mullins 2008).

Archeologists have also been giving much attention to rethinking older notions of acculturation and creolization and their role in identity formation and how archeologists’ unique data can help better describe and understand these ideas and their influence on the development of modern complex societies (Singleton 1999:1). Much of this work has focused on using archeology to examine the localized cultural products of power relationships through human interaction and the construction of group and political identities. Recent archeological studies have used one of two models or paradigms. The first is a modification of a commonly known linguistic definition of acculturation (see Deetz 1977; Ferguson 1992). In this model archeologists argue that the anthropological concept of acculturation has been misused and that a less ethnocentric model founded on the linguistic paradigm of creolization is more meaningful (Wilkie 2000; Burley 2000). More commonly, however, archeologists are moving beyond this simplistic model. They now focus less on the linguistic analysis (though still acknowledging its value, see Gundaker 2000) and more on the interaction, construction of identity, and particularly conflict, in their examination of cultural exchange. These models often reject approaches that neglect local cultural organization as well as those that reduce such exchange to a universal encounter between different groups (Mullins and Paynter 2000; see also Gundaker 2000; Hauser and DeCorse 2003).

This latter model often promotes the assumption that specific African cultural forms and systems survived through time intact. It also focuses more attention on trying to understand the process of creolization (see Sweet 2003), within a framework grounded in an understanding of the inequality of social groups (Mullins 2008). Because of the mixed racial makeup of the town, findings at New Philadelphia have profound implications for understanding creolization and cultural exchange as understood through these new approaches and for disentangling issues of race and ethnicity.

The cultural remains found at town lots inhabited by African Americans and European Americans at the New Philadelphia Townsite have the potential to provide deeper insight into the significance of cultural exchange between families. They may be an indication that cultural elements were not only recombined

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in a process of creolization (Dawdy 2000:1), but they also may provide rich data with which to understand the process of creolization through the construct of power relations. For example, gaming pieces that may be associated with the game of mancala were found throughout the townsite. The enslaved carried the mancala tradition from Africa to the United States and the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Evidence of the game has often been found on plantations and in association with living facilities of enslaved African Americans (Samford 1996:104; Galke 2000:261, 264, 265; Shackel 2007). Mancala originated in the Middle East about 4,000 years ago and is popular in Africa. Play involves the distribution of pebbles, shells, or seeds into holes or cups, but there are many variations in the rules of play, number of players, gaming pieces, and types of game boards. In some games, the player with the largest number of gaming pieces is the winner; while in other games, the player with no pieces is declared the winner. Pebbles or cowrie shells were often used as gaming pieces by Africans who sometimes made a series of impressions in the soil in place of using boards (Townshend 1979:794-796).

Finding artifacts traditionally associated with African Americans on properties inhabited by European Americans is compelling in that it suggests that creolization occurred as a result of cultural exchange among New Philadelphia's black, white, and mulatto residents. Perhaps more interesting, would be to explore how and why these artifacts were understood and used by these different groups within the context of a multiracial, free town on the frontier during the nineteenth century. For instance, what families were playing the game? Where did they live? Do the archeological contexts suggest they were playing together? Are such artifacts found at other frontier sites? Are they found at statistically all black towns? What other artifacts were found with the mancala pieces and what might this mean? What types of materials were used to make mancala pieces (ceramics, glass, stone)? What does this suggest about the reinterpretation and recontextualization of material culture of the time period? Can this approach dismantle and complicate material culture that is used to identify African identity and yet, began its consumer life as an object with a different meaning? Can this approach broaden Africanized symbolism as it can be invested in the breadth of the material world? What does the recovery of mancala gaming pieces on European-American sites say about how these families created and maintained their "white" or "non-white" identities? What might it say about how they were perceived outside their community? What other identities do the European American families associate with (Regional? Eastern? Midwestern?) and can this be understood through the archeological record?

Additional questions about identity formation include those related to what material culture can tell us about the perception of race relations. Oral tradition and local histories (Matteson 1964) present the town as racially peaceful – a utopian society. Does archeological evidence challenge this notion or reinforce it? Were "white" and mulatto families in New Philadelphia racialized for living in "the black town?" Why was New Philadelphia perceived as "an all black town" when statistics clearly show it was not? How was race defined on the frontier? Was it different than other areas of the country? Different than plantations? How did gender roles differ between the African American and European-American residents? Was there a sense of community here and how did African Americans and European Americans negotiate their identities within it? Were cultural identities passed between groups? How can we study cultural exchange and creativity here in the creation of identities? What identities were created and maintained? Black? Mulatto? Freeman and Freewomen? Frontiersman? Entrepreneurs? Americans? How can we study the complexity of these identities and cultural exchange through time?

NATIONAL COMPARATIVE CONTEXT

The New Philadelphia Townsite is significant in the historical and archeological context of the period of

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westward expansion and settlement of the United States of America and the role of African Americans in westward expansion. The most important comparative context is provided by the archeological findings of other frontier settlements involving African Americans.

In order to gain a better understanding and awareness of the national significance of the New Philadelphia Historic Townsite, this section compares the site with Arrow Rock, Missouri, and Nicodemus, Kansas, comparable National Historic Landmark properties, and with Quindaro, Kansas, listed on the National Register of Historic Places. While the properties share common themes of westward expansion and settlement of the frontier, and an association with African American groups, no other town representing this broad pattern of American history shares New Philadelphia's unique characteristics as an integrated town founded by a freedman during the racially oppressive ante-bellum years and continuing through the post-bellum and Jim Crow eras. The findings of New Philadelphia have already yielded nationally significant information about rural agricultural communities on the western frontier. The site possesses excellent archeological integrity and holds the potential to provide additional information about the lifeways and interactions of multi-racial and multi-cultural groups and how they helped shape American history. Once completed, the analysis of archeological investigations conducted at Arrow Rock, Nicodemus, and Quindaro may provide more information to compare with the findings at New Philadelphia.

Arrow Rock National Historic Site located in Missouri is nationally significant for its association with the opening of the west during the nation's period of westward expansion and the start and growth of the trade routes, especially the Santa Fe trade (Lissandrello 1976:7:3). Many of Arrow Rock's settlers moved from Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia bringing enslaved laborers with them to settle the area. In 1860, nearly half of Arrow Rock's population consisted of enslaved individuals who cultivated and harvested crops and constructed town buildings and structures (Lissandrello 1976:8:4; Baumann 2001:5).

Arrow Rock's early history illustrates the experience of frontier life. The town was laid out in a grid pattern, like New Philadelphia, Illinois, and, again like New Philadelphia, settlers were attracted by the site's proximity to transportation routes. As steamboats became the favored method of transportation in the 1820s, Arrow Rock grew from a produce collection point, in around 1820, to a port town on the Missouri River (Lissandrello 1976[8]:2). The town's population grew in the 1830s and numbered about one thousand in 1860, but fell victim to the economic downturn caused by diversion of financial resources during the Civil War; its population dwindled to 600 individuals in the 1870s. The destruction of a portion of the commercial sector of the town by fire in 1901 further weakened its appeal to railroad planners as railroads gained popularity over river traffic for the transportation of goods (Lissandrello 1976:8:4-5). The final blow to the town was dealt when the Army Corps of Engineers diverted the route of the river about a half mile east of its original setting. The town was unable to sustain itself as a river port; only 80 people inhabited Arrow Rock by 1970 (Forry and Harper 1979:Section 8, 6). Ten years later, 70 people remained; only a few were African American (Baumann 2001:79).

Archeological investigations were carried out at domestic sites of the enslaved on the nearby Oak Grove and Prairie Park plantations (Baumann 2008). Archeological research of Arrow Rock's African-American community revealed several features associated with the town's Brown Lodge, a Masonic hall and center of African-American activities and the Caldwell Pottery site (Baumann 1998:73, 76; 2005:30, 35, 76). Several of the recovered artifacts may be indications of African-American identity, including "beads, crystals, a gizzard sherd, a galena nugget, a high frequency of buttons and hair care products, a fossilized horn coral, and a worked stoneware sherd (Baumann 2001:314, 316)." The

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gizzard sherd may have been used as a mancala gaming piece, like those found on both African- and European-American occupied properties in New Philadelphia.

Arrow Rock's national significance in the opening of America's western lands in the nineteenth century was acknowledged by its designation as a National Historic Landmark in 1964 (Missouri State Parks and Historic Sites 2006). New Philadelphia shares Arrow Rock's association with settling the western frontier, for its representation of life in the mid- to late nineteenth century, and for the exclusion of contributions made by both towns' African-American population from America's history. However, Arrow Rock's African-American population consisted of enslaved individuals moved to the town as forced laborers, enslaved individuals fleeing from bondage at the beginning of the Civil War, and a large number of freed African Americans who settled a segregated community on the north side of town after emancipation. Although a few individuals earned a living as a barber, teacher, restaurateur, or janitor, many worked as day laborers, farm laborers, laundresses, and servants living in European-American households (Baumann 1997; 2001:61-62). New Philadelphia's African-American population participated in the town's economy as tradesmen and farmers; many owned their own property. Throughout its history New Philadelphia existed as an integrated community.

Arrow Rock illustrates the experience of frontier life for the style and construction of its historic buildings and the town's role in opening the west. However, little is known about the enslaved African Americans who lived in the town. Land deed records in conjunction with census records show that black, white, and mulatto townfolk lived as neighbors at New Philadelphia. Archeological findings at New Philadelphia indicate the homogeneity of material goods possessed by the households where, it seems, land holdings and individual character were valued more than the accumulation and exhibition of material possessions. Findings at New Philadelphia, such as gaming pieces from the African game of mancala in African- and European-American households, also reveal the cultural interaction between townfolk.

Nicodemus Historic District in Kansas was founded in 1877 as part of the Black Exodus or "Exoduster" movement initiated by leaders such as freedman Benjamin "Pap" Singleton (Greenlee 1974:8:1). Singleton encouraged African Americans to move to Kansas where land was affordable, and where African Americans could pursue economic and social autonomy away from racially oppressive southern states and laws that limited civil rights and encouraged social injustice (Wood 2007a; Greenlee 1974:81). Lack of timber and financial funds caused the town's early settlers to build "dug out" dwellings into hillsides and stream banks until more substantial buildings could be erected. Modified dugouts were constructed at the townsite where land was level (Wood 2007c:25).

Nicodemus' population and economic prosperity increased consistently during its first decade. The population grew from 350 in 1877 to 700 by 1885 (Wood 2007c:24-28). However, when the railroad bypassed the town and droughts limited crop production, Nicodemus fell into decline as farmers moved elsewhere (Wood 2007a). New Philadelphia suffered a similar fate when a proposed line of the Hannibal to Naples railroad bypassed the town in 1869, prompting settlers to move elsewhere (Walker 1983:166-167). Nicodemus is the only remaining example of the eleven Exoduster towns established between 1873 and 1880 (Greenlee 2007). The town achieved NHL status in 1976 (Greenlee 2007) in recognition of its national significance as part of westward expansion, the settling of the Great Plains, and the quest for freedom and self-determination.

Archeological investigation of Nicodemus focused on locating sites associated with Nicodemus' settlement, history of occupation, composition of households, daily lifeways of town residents, rationale

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for choices of construction sites, and the rationale for eventual abandonment. Excavations of selected farm, domestic sites, and behind a schoolhouse dating to the late nineteenth century to search for suspected dugout ruins, were carried out in 2007 (Wood 2007c:18-20, 129; Wood 2007b, personal communication). Nicodemus was designated a National Historic Site in 1996.

While comparable to Nicodemus as a town founded to provide economic opportunities and self-determination for its settlers, New Philadelphia maintains a unique status. Frank McWorter founded New Philadelphia to finance freedom for family members bound by slavery. The town provided economic opportunities not only for black and mulatto settlers, white individuals were also drawn to settle in the town. Like Nicodemus, New Philadelphia illustrates the contributions of African Americans to the settlement of the western frontier, a chapter underrepresented in the National Park system and American history (Bates 1992:40).

Quindaro, Kansas, was founded in 1857 through an alliance between the Wyandot American Indian group and citizens of Lawrence, Kansas. Its founding provided a river port of entry and center for anti-slavery settlers and activity in the contentious Kansas territory. Other ports were dominated by pro-slavery supporters. Commercial structures, including a hotel, a company office, a grocery, and a newspaper were soon in operation. A boarding house, domestic buildings, churches, retail stores, commercial businesses, and separate schools for African- and European-American settlers were soon added (Collins 1999).

As the only free port of entry into the territory, Quindaro was soon reported as being associated with the Kansas territory Underground Railroad network. Reports claimed that fugitive slaves were ferried across the river from Missouri, hidden outside the town until dark, and then led north to freedom under cover of night (Collins 1999).

Rugged natural terrain limited the town's development and an extended drought strained economic resources and led to a population decline. The town's population dwindled from a reported high of 1200 residents as late as 1859 to 689 townspeople in 1860. Kansas' entry into the Union as a free state in 1861 neutralized the purpose of Quindaro's founding. Most of the town was abandoned by 1862. Only a few original settlers remained, but fugitive slaves and freedmen, many from Missouri, took up residence in the nearly deserted town. Quindaro shifted from a white town on the Midwestern frontier to a settlement for African-Americans. The Exoduster movement of 1879 spurred a large migration of African Americans to the county (Collins 1999).

Quindaro was largely forgotten as most of the town fell into ruin and disappeared under underbrush and a stretch of Interstate 635. A special use permit required for a proposed land-fill project at the site triggered implementation of an archeological survey in 1983. The survey revealed ruins of Quindaro, including portions of the town's center of commerce and thousands of artifacts associated with the town. Quindaro was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2002 (Collins 1999; Greenlee 2007).

Like Quindaro, New Philadelphia is linked to the Underground Railroad movement. Juliet Walker reported that town founder Frank McWorter traded his lucrative Kentucky saltpeter operation to secure freedom for his oldest son Frank, who had fled to Canada to escape slavery. Walker also reported that young Frank's brother, Squire, helped his future wife Louisa Clark and other fugitive slaves flee to Canada. Family descendants recalled accounts of the McWorters sheltering runaway slaves in a cellar room. Descendants of town residents also related accounts that New Philadelphia townspeople secreted fugitives in specially constructed wagon compartments (Walker 1983:43, 61, 149, 162; Christman 2004-

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2005, Duke oral history 2004). Several places in Pike Country were known to be stops on the Underground Railroad (Massie 1906:132).

CONCLUSION

New Philadelphia represents more than the story of Frank McWorter and his family's Herculean effort to pursue freedom from slavery and to provide opportunities of self-determination and economic opportunity for the town's settlers. Long after its townspeople moved away, the story of New Philadelphia, its founder, its townspeople, and the qualities they represent, continued to resonate among family members and the surrounding community who were inspired to keep the town's memory alive.

Archeologists are just beginning to explore race and racialization and to turn their attention to research questions with both historical and contemporary implications. The excellent archeological integrity of the New Philadelphia Townsite presents an exceptional opportunity to reexamine assumptions of race and social identity. Findings at the site hold the potential to reconsider history as it is currently written and revolutionize research methods and approaches in order to provide a more complete understanding of the factors that shaped American history. The archeological findings of the New Philadelphia Townsite hold the potential to prompt a re-thinking of the definition of African-American material culture and suggest that researchers move beyond the search for African cultural characteristics and the perception that African-American material culture differs from that of European-Americans. New Philadelphia provides an exceptional opportunity to develop new methods and frameworks that can contribute to a more complete and accurate account of the people, events, and interactions that shaped our country's history.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- Previously Listed in the National Register. NR #05000869
- Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
- Designated a National Historic Landmark.
- Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
- Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local Government
- University
- Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 42 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	15	674613	4396244
B		675055	4396259
C		675045	4395868
D		674639	4395868

Verbal Boundary Description:

The townsite of New Philadelphia is located at the northwest corner of the northeast quarter of Section 27, Township four south of the base line of Range Five west of the fourth principal meridian ("N.W. Cor. of N.E. ¼ Sec. 27 T. 4 S.R. 5 W. of 4th P.M." (Andreas, Lyter:1872; Hawes 2007:25-27).

Boundary Justification:

The National Historic Landmark boundary drawn for New Philadelphia corresponds to the limits of the original town plat. The boundary thus encompasses all of the known archeological resources associated with New Philadelphia within the town limits.

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DESIGNATED A NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK
January 16, 2009