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**From a puritan city to a cosmopolitan city: Cleveland
Protestants in the changing social order, 1898–1940**

Lee, Darry Kyong Ho, Ph.D.

Case Western Reserve University, 1994

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FROM A PURITAN CITY
TO
A COSMOPOLITAN
CITY:
CLEVELAND PROTESTANTS
IN THE
CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER
1898-1940.

by
Darry Kyong Ho Lee

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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May, 1994

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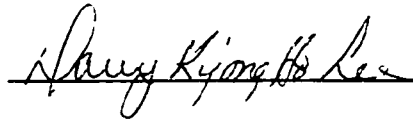
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From A Puritan City to A Cosmopolitan City:
Cleveland Protestants in the Changing Social Order 1898-
1940.

ABSTRACT

by

DARRY KYONG HO LEE

This study examines Cleveland Protestants and the changing social order from 1898 to 1940. It argues the establishment of the Federated Churches of Cleveland was one of several Protestants' responses to the expanding pluralistic societal order. Its establishment was not the institutionalization of the Social Gospel movement. It was a part of the general reorganization of social, benevolent, economic, religious, and political institutions into efficient and orderly units.

This study examines the Protestants' response to the expanding pluralism by examining organizations. It argues its organizations reflected Protestants' concerns and interests. Urbanization, industrialization and immigration challenged Protestants. They responded by using three types of organizations, denominational, voluntary society, church federations.

Revivals and the Chamber of Commerce were studied for their contributions to the establishment of the Federated

Churches. Revivals created the sense of urgency. The Chamber of Commerce provided the organizational model.

This study has an introduction and five chapters.

Chapter One describes Cleveland Nineteenth Century religious and benevolent orders.

Chapter Two describes Cleveland Protestants' moral reforms efforts. The failure in moral reform efforts was one reason for the creation of the Federated Churches of Cleveland.

Chapter Three describes Cleveland Protestants' work with the Eastern and Southern European immigrants. Their work included helping to establish social settlement houses, establishing institutional churches, and making the extension society into a coordinating agency.

Chapter Four describes the founding of the Federated Churches of Cleveland. This chapter describes four local conditions that help to establish this organization. They were, parallel federation efforts, revivals, search for better methods, and need for coordination in church extension.

Chapter Five describes the Federated Churches of Cleveland's activities from 1911 to 1940. It describes the reorganization of 1930s. It also describes women and African-Americans' participation in the Federated Churches of Cleveland.

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INTRODUCTION

It is a few minutes after the mass has ended and in a few more minutes I will be facing Sunday's greatest challenge. The sermon was not the challenge because I have had a whole week to prepare for it. The 'coffee hour' just about to start (other churches may call this time 'Fellowship Hour'). "Coffee hour" is my greatest challenge (and possibly for other clergy) for one never knows what type of question will arise. A succinct answer is better than a long one. Coffee hour talk is another subject not taught in a seminary but learned only by experience.

I have extensive experience in urban pastoral ministry and community social work. Thus, people often asked me the question of what is the church doing in the inner city? My answer is to detail some programs that the Episcopal Church is cooperating with or sponsoring in the inner city. The next question is usually Why isn't the church doing more in the inner city? My answer is to point out all churches are experiencing the same difficulties in ministering to the inner city. I also follow with some examples of the difficulties (e.g., the church has no money or the population is not stable or there is a different value system present). These questions are difficult and deserve better answers but there are others waiting to speak to me.

Around 1990, I was in Dr. David Hammack's office

searching for a suitable dissertation topic. Dr. David Hammack suggested the Federated Churches of Cleveland as potential research topic. This topic would take advantage of my social work and pastoral experience. I had hoped by researching the Federated Churches of Cleveland I would also be able to investigate early Protestants' urban mission strategies.

After some investigation, the question of what the church had done in the urban area became less significant. The more important questions were: What is the role of religion in a pluralistic society? How does an organization maintain its authoritative role in the face of a changing and expanding pluralistic society? This study argues Protestants answered these questions by insisting that religion have a prominent role in society. Protestants, also, argued they were the authoritative voice of religion and morals within the growing pluralistic society. This study argues that the establishment of the Federated Churches of Cleveland was one of several Protestant responses to the expanding pluralistic societal order. Furthermore, the establishment of the Federated Churches was not merely the institutionalization of the Social Gospel movement (as previous works had argued). The federation of Protestant churches was a part of the general Progressive Era reorganization of social, benevolent,

economic, religious, and political institutions into efficient and orderly units.

American religious life has from the beginning been pluralistic. In the colonial era, there were number of churches. The Puritans were dominant in Massachusetts while Baptists controlled Rhode Island. In the Middle Colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware Dutch Reform Church and Quakers were powerful. In the Southern Colonies, Anglicans were the dominant church. Also, there were Presbyterians, Methodists and others Protestant churches along with Roman Catholics and Jews scattered throughout the colonies. These were churches and not denominations, i.e., generally independent of each other.

In post-Revolutionary War America there were no state churches (those churches supported by the government) established. The idea of religious freedom precluded such development. The origins of religious freedom came from the various political debates that occurred between 1783 and 1790. This meant there would not be a single church to which all must belong to and support. The various Protestant churches would now have to compete among themselves for members. To compete in this new environment, churches joined with other like-minded churches to form "denominations" to replace state churches. Denominations

then replaced the state church as the defining element within American religious life.

This study takes the position the growth of denominations reflected the expanding pluralism within American religious order. In the years before 1880, the religious pluralism had more similarities than dissimilarities. The churches that became Protestant denominations had their roots in Northern and Central European countries or England. Although different in polity, theological traditions and membership, Protestant denominations could speak with one unified voice and throughout the Nineteenth Century this voice was evangelical in its message.

However, the Southern and Eastern European immigrants (1880-1920) came from countries with little or no Protestant traditions. Most of these immigrants were Roman Catholics or Orthodox or Jewish. Their arrival spurred the growth of the Roman Catholic Church, and helped to establish the Orthodox Church in America, and expanded the American Jewish community. With the growth of the Roman Catholic Church and Judaism, American religious pluralism not only expanded but also changed. Protestants struggled to maintain their position as the dominant voice within the American religious order.

These immigrants came to America, like previous

immigrants, because of economic and social opportunities. Industrialization also helped to urbanize American society that also led to the rise of cities. Industrialization and urbanization proved to be a blessing and curse for Protestants. Because of industrialization and urbanization, Protestant church members prospered and this was reflected in the number of large and elaborate churches that were built in the cities as opposed to the small and simple churches of preurban America. Denominational missionary activities also benefited because the members contributed generously to missions in Africa, Asia and even in America.

However, industrialization and urbanization also created challenges. Social problems related to industrialization and urbanization demanded Protestants' responses but no response was forthcoming for much of the period between 1880-1900. Protestants, with one unified voice, believed that the prosperity that they enjoyed came because of their good moral stance.

Individuals, loosely gathered around the idea of 'Social Christianity' or 'Practical Christianity' urged Protestants to become more involved with the social issues of the day. Social Gospel advocates urged church members to put Christianity to practical use daily. Indirectly, the Social Gospel Movement helped to create new organizations such as institutional churches, settlement

houses and church federations. The Social Gospel helped to create the theological (or philosophical) justification needed to establish these organizations. However, local conditions decided in what form and what particular work these organizations would undertake.

In the Nineteenth Century, the churches and benevolent works were virtually the same. In the early to mid-Nineteenth Century, an ad hoc arrangement consisting of family, friends, neighbors and churches provided assistance in times of need or emergencies. Government (city, state or Federal) offered little if any assistance. In the late Nineteenth Century, urbanization, industrialization and immigration produced new social conditions and more complex social problems. These social conditions and problems overwhelmed the abilities of family, friends, neighbors and churches. Concerned individuals and groups established private benevolent societies (e.g., immigrant mutual aid societies) to meet the needs of a new urban society. A piecemeal system of private and public benevolent societies developed to replace the ad hoc system of family and neighbors. Within this piecemeal system, coordination of service delivery and funding raising did not exist. Churches still had a dominant role within benevolent work but their direct participation in this type of work diminished in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century.

This study outlines the Nineteenth Century relationship between the benevolent order and Protestants. This study argues that the increasing pluralism, secularism and complexities of American society combined to divide the benevolent and religious orders into two distinct parts.

This study examines the Protestants' response to the expanding pluralism by examining organizations and not individuals. This study argues that organizations reflected Protestants' concerns and interests in certain issues. Organizations also showed the difficulties that Protestants had in addressing the issues caused by urbanization, industrialization and immigration. In Nineteenth Century America, an important Protestant's organization was the "voluntary society" (or association). When a particular social issue or cause generated concern, a group of like-minded individuals created and supported a voluntary society to address and solve the issue. Examples of voluntary societies include abolitionist societies, temperance societies, missionary societies and various reform societies. For Protestants, the voluntary society allowed them to be involved in a cause they felt some passion about while still maintaining their denominational affiliation. Thus an Episcopalian could participate in the antislavery movement by joining an abolitionist society although the Episcopal Church did not take any formal stand

on slavery.

This study argues that the Nineteenth Century was the 'era of the voluntary society', i.e., its greatest influence and use were to be found in this century. However, the expanding Twentieth Century pluralistic American society proved to be too complex for the voluntary society. Voluntary societies normally organized themselves around one issue. However, in the Twentieth Century, the expanding pluralistic society presented multifaceted problems and situations that required coordination of services and agencies. The voluntary society was narrowly focused on a particular issue. Voluntary societies' staff were small. The growing pluralistic social order simply overwhelmed the ability of any one given voluntary society to address the ever increasing complexities of social problems and issues. By mid-Twentieth Century, voluntary societies were no longer a force within American Protestantism.

The church federation represented another Protestant response to the expanding pluralistic American society. Church federations differed from other Protestant organizations by: One, the federation took no formal theological position. Two, the federation had an interdenominational nature. Three, the federation organized itself around 'unity of efforts' instead of

organic unity. Four, the federation recommended courses of action but did not demand denominational action. Cleveland Protestants participated in the church federation movement by establishing the Federated Churches of Cleveland. This organization was supposedly Cleveland Protestants' answer to the expanding Cleveland pluralistic society but not all of Cleveland Protestants agreed with this answer. Also, organizationally, the Federated Churches did not acknowledge the Cleveland expanding societal pluralistic nature until the 1930s.

Church federation movement was not a uniform national movement but had regional variations. Certain regions (like Cleveland) had strong federations while other regions had either weak or no federations. Thus, this study argues that local conditions can explain more adequately the establishment of a church federation than the idea that the church federation was the 'Social Gospel institutionalized'. In Cleveland, these local conditions include the following: One, Protestants' failure in moral reforms led organizers to demand a better organizational method. Two, Protestants, as a group, failed to adequately meet the needs and concerns of the Eastern and Southern European immigrants. This led certain Protestants to demand a better organizational method to insure these immigrants become good Protestants. Three, benevolent and social

organizations also began to federate which influenced Protestants to do the same. Four, the Cleveland religious order expanded through the growth of the Roman Catholic Church, Orthodox Churches and Jewish communities. This expansion diminished the Protestants' influence in the religious and social order. Protestants attempted to regain their influence by organizing the Federated Churches of Cleveland. Five, the expanding pluralism of Cleveland society caused changes in social values. Protestants attempted to maintain their social position by creating the Federated Churches of Cleveland.

This study also focuses on revivals and the Chamber of Commerce. Historians have not noted the connection between revivals and church federations. However, the establishment of the Federated Churches of Cleveland came at the end of a six-year long period (1908-13) of revivals. This study argues revivals did help to establish the Federated Churches of Cleveland by creating an atmosphere of urgency. Also, revival organizers were also active in the organization of the Federated Churches of Cleveland. This study will show how the revivals helped to create this organization.

Some Protestants praised the Chamber of Commerce for creating the atmosphere of change that allowed for the creation of the Federated Churches of Cleveland. However,

the Chamber of Commerce did more than create the atmosphere of change but it also provided the organizational model for the Federated Churches of Cleveland. Throughout its early years, the Federated Churches of Cleveland attempted to be the 'Protestant Chamber of Commerce'. This study will show how the Chamber of Commerce helped to create the Federated Churches.

The denominational histories relate the founding of a denomination, the early struggles in getting itself organized, and hardships of the early organizers. For example, in 1875, the Reverend Amos Hayden described the early Disciples struggles against the 'infidels' (i.e., non-Disciples churches in particular Mormons and Baptists).¹ In the introduction, Hayden made an urgent appeal to his Disciples Church members. This appeal called for Disciples Church members to emulate the founders' faith and courage. The appeal further urged members to take up arms against the new 'infidels' of the 1870s that included immigrants, urbanization, industrialization and immoral behavior. One could dismiss Hayden's book as just another denominational publicity piece. However Hayden, like other Protestant denominational history writers of the 1870s and

¹ Early History of The Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio, Cincinnati: Chase & Hall, Publishers, 1875. Reprinted by Arno Press Inc., 1972.

1880s, wrote in an era where American society transformed into an urban culture.

One interpretation of Hayden's book is his message and appeal was one small indication that Protestants were beginning to experience difficulties in this transitional period. Throughout his book, one gets the feeling that Hayden was not describing the early 1800s but 1870. In the 1830s, Alexander Campbell (founder of the Disciples) came to do battle the "infidels" living in Cleveland. However, Hayden's description of Campbell's struggles was more applicable to 1870s Cleveland. Thus, denominational histories used for this study accomplished two important functions: 1-provided a source for a history of a particular denomination; 2-Depending on when it was written, also gave possible clues to issues that the denomination was concerned about.

Sydney Ahlstrom's A Religious History of the American People, is still the standard survey work of American religious history.² Throughout his book, Ahlstrom attempted to give to the reader the sense of what is American about religion. He details several factors that include the frontier, denominationalism, absence of a state church, the political ideological struggles that affected

² New Haven Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1972.

the churches and immigrants.

Ahlstrom by necessity could not describe another element that made American religion uniquely American, i.e., the regional variation. (to do so would require volumes) The denomination that I am most familiar with is the Episcopal Church. Although bound together by tradition, polity and the Book of Common Prayer, the local churches are different in the manner in which services are conducted, theological interpretations, and adherence to tradition. The differences between dioceses can be striking. To gain insight into the Protestant experiences in urban American also requires understanding that regional conditions can alter national movements. For example, Ahlstrom discussed the Social Gospel movement in terms of its national impact. This study acknowledges this movement. However, this study argues that on comparative scale the conditions within Cleveland can better explain the formation of the Federated Churches than simply crediting the Social Gospel movement. This study also argues that an understanding of local conditions makes for a fuller American religious history.

The development of churches into denominations is an important element of this study. Sidney Mead's article and book on the development of denominations to replace state churches and how denominations are the defining element

within American Protestantism still remains the standard work on denominationalism.³ In Chapter Seven of his book and in his article, Mead argued denominationalism was the shape that American Protestantism expresses itself and goes forth to do its work. However, Mead does not discuss how denominationalism, per se, can be a limiting factor. This study points out, in the creation of church federations, denominational leaders attempted to maintain denominational control and denominational integrity at the expense of a more coordinated effort. Thus denominationalism, in the early Nineteenth Century, allowed Protestant churches to organize and become effective agents in American society. But in the late Nineteenth Century, denominationalism hindered Protestants' efforts to address the challenges posed by industrialization, urbanization and immigration. Denominationalism, its negative and positive aspects, is what defined American Protestantism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century.

Martin Marty, in his Righteous Empire, The Protestant Experiences in America, argued that over time the Protestants became divided into two parties--the public party that featured social action and the private party

³ The Lively Experiment, The Shaping of Christianity in America. Harper and Row Publishers: New York, 1963. "Denominationalism, The Shape of Protestantism in America" Church History. Vol. XXIII No. 1 March 1945, pp 291-310.

that featured traditional evangelism.⁴ This dualism can be misleading. Marty argued both parties agreed on the Protestants' tradition position of 'saving souls' was the most important church work but the disagreement rested on how does one accomplish this task? For the public party, reforming the individual began with societal reform. For the private party reforming society began with individual conversion. However, in Cleveland, there was not a 'neat' division between the two parties. During the Progressive Era, it was very difficult to distinguish between the public party and private party. Importantly, many Cleveland Protestants considered social services and evangelism to have equal weight and without a balance a church could not be successful.⁵ The important element that is missing from Marty's work is the compromises and accommodations between the two parties to address various social problems. One compromise was the organization of the church federation in which both parties would have equal voice. The Federated Churches of Cleveland, made attempts to achieve a compromise position and attempted to make suitable structural accommodations but eventually

⁴ New York: Dial, 1970.

⁵ See the clergy's reaction to the Reverend Charles Stelzle who urged Cleveland pastors to offer more social services. Leader, January 7, 1912, Part I, pp 2.

failed in its efforts. The Federated Churches of Cleveland failed because partly its organizers failed to recognize the changes within Protestantism. One specific change was the lack of a common Protestant voice. Instead, there were many voices claiming to be the Protestant voice.

This study focuses on Cleveland Protestants between 1890 and 1940. Protestants' difficulties throughout this period resulted from the growing social and religious pluralism. The intent of this study is to place the Federated Church of Cleveland into its proper historical context. The Progressive Era featured various groups attempting to recast American society into efficient and orderly units. As in the past, Protestants had a vision of a moral and temperate society. However, this vision clashed with the growing secular vision that favored a well-ordered society where religion fulfilled a more limited role. Thus, the Protestants' vision became the argument that an efficient and orderly society cannot exist without being also a moral and temperate society. The Federated Churches of Cleveland became the Protestants' organization to make this vision a reality.

This study begins in the early 1800s with the Protestants struggling to establish itself in the Western Reserve. Simultaneously, American churches began the process of forming denominations. The study ends with the

account of the Federated Churches of Cleveland struggling to answer societal pluralism by reorganizing itself. These struggles, however, are not time-bound to a particular era but have continued to this day.

This study focuses on period in which Protestants argued among themselves over their proper role within a pluralistic society. Protestants debated among themselves how could they effectively influence the religious and social orders? Some Cleveland Protestants of the early 1900s answered these questions by creating the Federated Churches of Cleveland. Other Protestants rejected the Federated Churches in favor of the more traditional solution of individual conversions. The Federated Churches survives today under a new name (InterChurch Council) but the programs and activities, worthwhile and needed, are not what the organizers envisioned. Supporters over the years have found reasons to continue the Federated Churches. As good as those reasons were, we must return to the vision that led the Federated Churches original organizers. By understanding this vision we may also find the answer to the question of what is the role of Protestants in today's pluralistic society?

In writing this dissertation, there were many persons who helped me. No matter how much I thank them, it will never be sufficient to repay their kindness. The first is

Dr. David Hammack who suggested the topic and then guided me to its conclusion by some very cogent suggestions and editing. To the members of my committee, Dr. Carl Ubbeloth, Dr. David Van Tassel and Dr. Pranab Chatterjee who offered not only good suggestions but also kindly criticize certain aspects of this dissertation.

Grateful thanks also go to Ann Sidelar, Librarian at Western Reserve Historical Society, and her staff who guided me through the maze of manuscripts. Also, thanks to the Reading Room staff of the Cleveland Public Library, Main Branch who assisted me in finding the newspapers I needed. Also, the staff at Case Western Reserve University Freiburger Library provide outstanding support. The Cuyahoga Public Library also provided the necessary books.

Thanks also to the Diocese of Ohio for allowing me to use the Archives. The Presbytery of the Western Reserve, United Church of Christ, Epworth-Euclid Methodist Church, First Methodist Church and Trinity Cathedral were gracious in allowing me to use their records.

Final thanks go to my mother, Ok Cha Lee Mason, my wife Soo Keun, my children, Ann and Paul who provided the necessary support and love that allowed me to finish this dissertation.

Finally, any mistakes in the following is, of course, my responsibility.

CHAPTER ONE: The Religious and Benevolent Order--A
Nineteenth Century Overview.

Part I Rise of Denominations

July 4, 1827 was a significant day in the life of the village called Cleveland. Exactly 31 years before, on July 4, 1896, Moses Cleaveland and his survey party arrived on the Western Reserve. Eighteen days later, on July 22, 1896, Cleaveland landed at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River to survey and plan the 'capital' city of the Western Reserve. Cleaveland selected the site of the city that would bear his name based on its location. However, until July 4, 1827, the future of Cleveland seemed insecure. Before this date Cleveland was a transshipment center where traders, settlers and farmers got their supplies. However, on this day in 1827, three barges, carrying dignitaries, officials and guests, arrived from Akron. The arrival signaled that the Cleveland-Akron leg of the Ohio and Erie Canal was now open. Further construction on the Ohio Canal continued southward until 1832 when it reached

Cleveland's economic situation prior to the opening of the Ohio Canal was a best precarious. Hard currency was not readily available. The leading industry in Cleveland and the Western Reserve was distilleries so that farmers could economically ship their grain to eastern markets. See Christopher Gore Cray's article in Lupod, Harry F. and Gladys Haddad, eds. Ohio's Western Reserve, A Regional Reader. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1988, pp. 71-75. (hereafter cited Reader plus the article, author etc).

the Ohio River at Portsmouth. Completion of the Ohio Canal had not only economical significance but also cultural, political and religious consequences for the village of Cleveland.

The Western Reserve, so named because it was that portion of western land reserved for citizens of Connecticut, had attracted New Englanders as its initial settlers. In 1825, these New Englanders provided the initial labor source for the Ohio Canal but demand for the canal construction workers soon overwhelmed local resources. Thus, German and Irish workers, who had just finished the Erie Canal, migrated into the Western Reserve to work on the Ohio Canal.² These German and Irish workers were the first of many immigrants who would find their way to Cleveland. These immigrants had an immediate impact upon the religious and benevolent orders of Cleveland (see below) by immediately expanding the existing religious and cultural pluralism.

Pluralism is not a social condition that arose in the Twentieth Century. Pluralism developed at different times and with different speed within the American economic, social, cultural, political and religious orders. However,

²For the story of how Irish workers came to work on the Ohio Canal see Nelson J. Callahan and William F. Hickey, Irish-Americans and their Communities of Cleveland, Cleveland: Cleveland State University, 1978.

American religious life has, from the beginning, been pluralistic. No one church dominated American colonial religious life. Each region featured a particular church. In New England, Puritans dominated in the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Colonies while Baptists were the main church in Rhode Island and Connecticut. Dutch Reformed Church was strong in Middle Colonies of New York and New Jersey while Quakers were influential in Pennsylvania. The Anglicans, generally, dominated the Southern Colonies. In addition, there were Roman Catholics, Jews, Presbyterians, other Reformed churches, Methodists and other churches--but not denominations.

Growth of denominationalism as the American dominant religious institution is an important part of American religious history. The number of denominations suggests not only the diverse nature of American religious life but also represents the formalization of pluralism in American social life. Sydney Mead, who wrote the standard study on denominations and American religious life, offered this definition: "a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God--voluntary because no man is by

nature bound to any church." ³

"Voluntary" is the critical word in the above definition. It seems that Americans have always organized voluntary associations. Alexis deTouqueville, during his famous visit to America, noted: "Americans of all ages, all conditions and all dispositions constantly form associations As soon as several of the inhabitants have taken up an opinion . . . they form association."⁴ A denomination was another form of a voluntary society. Benevolent and charitable societies organized and developed along similar paths undertaken by churches. Often a church would also organize a benevolent organization. During the Nineteenth Century, individuals established voluntary societies to meet a myriad of social issues, causes and concerns. The Nineteenth Century was the apex of the voluntary society's influence and power. Protestants organized many voluntary societies to extend their influence and power into a wide area of social issues and causes.

³Sidney Mead, The Lively Experiment, The Shaping of Christianity in America. Harper and Row Publishers: New York, 1963, pp 57. For the strongest advocate of voluntaryism as molder of American religion see Winthrop S. Hudson. The Great Tradition of the American Churches. (New York, 1953).

⁴ Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, translated by Henry Reeve, London: Oxford University Press, 1946, pp 376 and 380.

The organization of like-minded churches into a particular denomination was not done out of mutual Christian charity and brotherly love. Changes in the political and social thinking of post-Revolutionary War America forced churches to organize themselves into denominations.⁵ Unlike colonial America, post-Revolutionary War Americans would not endorse a state church (a church supported by the government). (E.g., Church of England, Lutheran Church in Germany)

The idea of religious freedom developed and gradually became a part of American religious life. Thus, American religious life became an individual matter. The passage of the First Amendment to the Constitution guaranteed there would be no state church. More applicable to Ohio was the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, Article One. This Article guaranteed freedom of religion for any state organized under its provisions.⁶ Thus, no denomination would have a legal advantage in Ohio. In the words of one historian Ohio would be ". . . a battleground for preachers, as they engaged in the struggle of the 'isms' for the saving of

⁵Mead, The Lively Experiment, Chapter IV.

⁶ From Reader pp 5 and this article reads in part: "No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory." Reader notes this freedom but does not go forward and discuss the possible implications of this freedom.

souls in frontier hamlets, camp meetings and revivals."⁷ Preachers--from all parts of Protestantism--were the 'soldiers' that waged the battle. Preachers fought hard but it was the denominations that won "war" and the right to lead the battle for saving individuals.

During the period between 1800 and 1860, political and social changes forced the churches to compete among themselves for members. The churches had to develop methods to attract and retain membership. During these 60 years like-minded churches organized themselves into a denomination. Each denomination organized their particular internal and external components. (Examples of internal components are: type of administration, training of leaders. Examples of external components are: the nature and composition of its public image and position on social issues, and defining its role within American religious life and Protestantism).

The absence of a strong denominational presence meant individuals controlled the Western Reserve religious life. For the occasional visitor to the Western Reserve this individual control of religion gave the appearance of an 'uncivilized' region. In 1820, Dr. Zerah Hawley, a physician from the East, wrote transplanted New Englanders

⁷ Carl F. Wittke, quoted in Reader pp 64.

populated the Western Reserve who were ". . . without the Word of God, and are groping in almost heathenish darkness."⁸

However, some settlers would have disputed Hawley's description. In 1803, Quintus F. Akins wrote in his journal that the Sabbath was being kept and religious life within his area was fine.⁹ Thus in the seventeen years that separated Akins from Hawley, the Western Reserve religious life suffered a noticeable setback or is there another explanation? The better explanation was that Hawley may have been upset over the absence of church buildings and formal denominational activities (e.g., regular public worship). Only a strong denominational presence could maintain buildings and activities. For Hawley and other Easterners the lack of denominations meant the absence of organized religion and a mark of an uncivilized area. In 1820, ". . . small settlements might be found sprinkled few and far between in the South and the

⁸See Reader pp 64 and 93.

⁹Journal, Quintus F. Akins (1782-1859), MSS 2018. Akins lived in the same area that Hawley had toured. Akins moved into the Western Reserve with his uncle in 1802 and worked as a hired farm hand on his uncle's farm in Austinburg, Ashtabula County. Later in life, Akins would achieve some success in building roads and as a postmaster. Akins also helped the Rev. Joseph Badger, the first missionary on the Western Reserve, in his Sandusky mission. He was also a member of Badger's Austinburg church.

Northern part of the Reserve."¹⁰ Thus organized religious activities (like Sunday School) and regular Sunday services were the exception and not the rule for many Western Reserve settlers. At the times when a circuit rider arrived in a settlement, he conducted the church activities in private homes or outdoors.

The transformation of the Western Reserve settler's individualistic religious life into an organized and communal one began in 1801. On August 6, 1801, at the Cane Ridge Revival, Bourbon County, Kentucky, thousands gathered for a revival. This revival marked the arrival of the Second Great Awakening on the American western frontiers.¹¹ The First Great Awakening (1734-40) brought into American religious life personal evangelism and began the influence of evangelicalism upon American religion.¹² From the Second Great Awakening Protestants received their main Nineteenth Century missionary tool. The revival (defined here to mean a highly structured religious meeting) was the 'signature' event of the Second Great Awakening. After the Second Great Awakening had passed from American life,

¹⁰Edward Paine, "Settlement of Western Reserve", nd, Western Reserve MSS 1, Container 8, Folder 5.

¹¹Sydney Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1972, pp 433.

¹²Ahlstrom, pp 294.

Protestants continued to use revivals as their main tool in church extension work.¹³

From the Second Great Awakening new denominations emerged (e.g., Disciples and Cumberland Presbyterians) but the more immediate and lasting influence was the strengthening of existing Protestant denominations. For example, the Methodists and Baptists used the revival as their main church extension tool. Their growth in numbers and influence in the American frontier is directly attributable to use of the revival.¹⁴ Baptists and Methodists established circuits throughout the West and generally followed settlers in their westward migration.

During the First Great Awakening, Presbyterians divided into "New" and "Old" Schools. (The New School favored personal evangelism.) The Second Great Awakening caused further division among Presbyterians over issue of doctrine and education. Cumberland Presbyterians broke away from the main Presbyterians over the issue of clergy education and doctrine. They argued for ordination of any person called by the Holy Spirit.¹⁵

The Congregationalist did not develop a denominational

¹³Ahlstrom, pp 435.

¹⁴Ahlstrom pp 433-435.

¹⁵See Ahlstrom, pp 444-445.

consciousness until after 1830.¹⁶ Episcopalians because of organizational problems, lack of clergy and generally weaken internal conditions lagged far behind in sending missionaries into the West.¹⁷

The Second Great Awakening also influenced Easterners' image of the West. Many Easterners enjoyed the 'quiet and sedate' form of church going. The campfire revivals were anything but quiet and sedate. Participants moved, jerked their bodies, laughed, barked, sang and for some to speak in 'strange tongues'; these movements bespoken of an undignified religion or as one critic charged "more souls were begot than saved."¹⁸ For Easterners the West was an untamed and uncivilized region that required the taming influence of organized religion. Denominations quickly organized missionary societies to advance the cause of organized religion. Missionary societies urged their members to shine the Light of the Gospel throughout the West by giving generously of their money and talents. However, these fund raising efforts were not totally successful. Denominational-sponsored preachers on the

¹⁶See J. William T. Youngs The Congregationalists, Westport Connecticut, 1990, Chapter 7 esp 122 ff.

¹⁷See Manross, William Wilson. A History of the American Episcopal Church. 2d ed. rev. and enl. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1950.

¹⁸Ahlstrom, pp 433-34.

Western Reserve had difficulties in receiving their stipend and allowances.¹⁹

From 1801 to 1804, many settlers living in Kentucky, Tennessee and southern Ohio attended these revivals. In southern Ohio, Methodists and Baptists predominated the religious life thus revivals swept through this area like a "veritable contagion."²⁰ Revivals offered not only religious benefits but also had social and community benefits. During the three-year life of the Second Awakening, revivals provided the "intellectual" and "social" food for the participants of the camp meeting revivals.²¹

Large cities or settlements were far and few between. Settlers, generally, lived at considerable distances from their neighbors. Thus, opportunities for community building and building friendships were infrequent. In a

¹⁹See for example the Reverend Joseph Badger's comments, *en passim*, in his book A Memoir of Reverend Joseph Badger, Hudson, Ohio, 1851. Or John M. Versteeg ed., Methodism Ohio Area, 1812-1962. Ohio Sequicentennial Committee, 1962, pp 85. Versteeg stated that Methodist preachers rarely received their entire annual stipend of \$80.

²⁰See J.P. Mac Lean "The Kentucky Revival and its influence in the Miami Valley". (Ohio Archeological and Historical Publication. Vol 12, 1903) pp 242. In his book The Frontier Republic, Ideology and Politics in the Ohio County, 1780-1825. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1986, Andrew Cayton notes that the Methodists were particular strong in the Scioto Valley (see Cayton pp 58-59).

²¹A point made by Mac Lean (pp 242) and Ahlstrom (pp 433).

typical camp meeting, neighbors could gather and exchange information; renew friendships or make new friendships; and also be 'saved'. Within these camp meetings individuals became members of a group. These meetings created and taught communal values. Future western communities built upon these values. Also, from these meetings a social order emerged along with the core group of church members.²²

Sydney Mead--in the spirit of Frederick Turner--argued that the frontier transformed the various European religions (Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalist, Methodists, Presbyterians etc.) into American denominations.²³ Cushing Strout argued: "The frontier was

²²A point made by Ahlstrom see pp 433 and footnote 4 at the bottom of the page. Also see William Gannon Rose, Cleveland--The Making of a City. Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1950, pp 67. See also Sidney Mead, The Lively Experiment, The Shaping of Christianity in America. New York, 1963, Chapter I. For the strongest advocate of frontier shaping the religious life see Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840, Chapter 5, pp 129-160. And for revivalism as form of social reform see Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War, New York, 1957. For interpretation of religion as a 'moral policeman' see Paul H. Bouse, "Moral Policemen on the Ohio Frontier", The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol 68 No 1, January, 1959, pp 45-57. Bouse argued that it was a combination of fear of divine punishment and a desire for community approval that made a person willing to submit to the church's moral authority (pp 45)

²³From Mead, Lively Experiment, Chapter I. Mead argued that time and space so important in Europe was no longer the case in America. In Europe, space (or land) was a valued and limited commodity while time was the unlimited commodity. In America, there was always land 'out west' (a safety value) during the 19th

not the legendary school of individualism but the actual setting for a mass religious experience and community morality"²⁴

The Ohio River and other rivers allowed for easy access into Southern Ohio. Settlers took advantage of this easy access and settled Southern Ohio before the Western Reserve. Organizers held camp fire revival meeting in areas easily reached by participants using these rivers.²⁵ However, in the Western Reserve, the lack of adequate roads and connecting waterways hindered the use of camp meetings.²⁶ Thus, the Second Great Awakening did not influence individuals directly as much as those living in Southern Ohio. However, the Disciples, Baptists and Methodists did carry the message of the Second Great Awakening into the Western Reserve.²⁷ These denominations used the lessons learned in the Second Great Awakening to

Century so that diverse religious groups grew to tolerate each other because a disfavored group could always move west thus for Mead it is the freedom of 'unlimited' land that allowed Americans to develop the concept of religious freedom.

²⁴A New Heavens and New Earth, Political Religion in America. New York, 1974 pp 107.

²⁵J.P. Maclean, "The Kentucky Revival and its influence in the Miami Valley". Ohio Archeological and Historical Publication. Vol 12, 1903 pp 242.

²⁶ Rose, Cleveland--The Making of a City, pp. 88.

²⁷Harold E. Davis "Religion in the Western Reserve 1800-1825", Ohio Historical Quarterly Vol 38, No 3. July 1929, pp 475.

extend their influence throughout the Western Reserve.

The Western Reserve did not have as many camp meetings of the Ohio River Valley but there were some. In his journeys of 1802, the Reverend Joseph Badger, the Connecticut Missionary Society missionary, wrote in his journal that he had met many Methodists during his travels. He also wrote that after hearing some singing he entered a grove to investigate and found himself in the middle of a revival meeting. He estimated that 3,000 people were there along with several preachers. The people trembled, fainted and sung for several hours.²⁸ Robert Hanna noted in his diary that he felt remorse at not attending a camp meeting in 1809. Hanna later attended a camp meeting that eventually led to his conversion experience.²⁹ The Herald carried an advertisement that urged all to attend a camp meeting on August 12, 1825.³⁰

After the 1830s, denominations became responsible for the community religious life. Journals recorded in the 1820s and 1830s reflected this transition from individual

²⁸ A Memoir of Reverend Joseph Badger. Hudson, Ohio, 1851, pp 50 and 60.

²⁹ Entry for March 5, 1816. Robert Hanna (1789-1854) Folder 2. MSS 3838, WRHS.

³⁰ July 1, 1825, Herald (found in Annals of Cleveland Vol. 8, WPA Project, 14066, Cleveland, Ohio, 1937, pp 177, hereafter cited as Annals of Cleveland)

to denominational control. For example, in the 1820s, Quintus F. Akins (noted above) wrote every Sabbath had a religious service with or without the Reverend Joseph Badger.³¹ Samuel Jennings' "Reminiscences of Cleveland," (1823) noted some elites conducted union prayer meetings.³²

In 1830, Benjamin Rouse, American Sunday School Union agent, wrote that he noticed the scattered presence of different religious groups within the Western Reserve. He also recorded requests made by various individuals for a preacher to start a church in their particular community.³³

The different religious groups, noted by Rouse, quietly and steadily grew into a strong denominational presence within the Western Reserve. Before 1830, there were only three churches in Cleveland. In 1816, Episcopalians established Trinity Episcopal Church (now Trinity Cathedral) at Phineas Shepherd's home.³⁴ Presbyterians, in 1820, organized First Presbyterian Church

³¹Quintus F. Akins (1782-1859) MSS 2018, WRHS.

³²Samuel Jenning, Western Reserve, Container 15 Folder 2, WRHS.

³³Adella Prentiss Hughes Papers, MSS 2980, Container 9. Rouse's journals covered the period from 1830-1860.

³⁴The history of Trinity Church/Cathedral can be found in the ECH, pp 981-982, Roderic Hall Pierce. Trinity Cathedral Parish, The First 150 Years, Cleveland: The Vestry of Trinity Cathedral, 1967 and in George Franklin Smythe, A History of the Diocese of Ohio. Cleveland: Diocese of Ohio, 1931.

(also known as "Old Stone").³⁵ Methodists extended their circuit into Cleveland and organized First Methodist Church, in 1827.³⁶ However, in direct contrast to churches organized in the 1870s, these churches struggled well into the 1840s. Each church struggled to build buildings because local funds were not available. Membership was small and financially unable to adequately support the church. Also, each church's denomination had organizational problems, for example lack of strong leadership and shortage of clergy.

Beginning in the 1830s, Cleveland experienced a growth in organized religion. Each of the above churches finished their building in the 1830s. Additionally, other denominations arrived in Cleveland and began to build their churches. (For example, the Baptists built First Baptist Church in 1832.) The period between 1830 and 1860, Protestants and Catholics established churches at a rate faster than the years between 1796 and 1830. In 1796 there were only three churches. By 1860 there were thirty or

³⁵ For the history of First Presbyterian Church (or Old Stone) see ECH, pp 403-404; The Rev. and Mrs. Arthur Ludlow, History of Cleveland Presbyterianism, Cleveland, 1896; Arthur Ludlow, Old Stone Church, The Story of a Hundred Years, 1820-1920, Cleveland: The First Presbyterian Society in Cleveland, 1920.

³⁶ John M. Versteeg Ed. Methodism Ohio Area, 1812-1962 and Mrs. W. A. Ingham's report in Edward Roberts ed, Official Report...Centennial Celebration...Cleveland. pp 207-08.

more churches in Cleveland. The number of denominations increased from three to twelve denominations or more.³⁷

Presbyterians and Congregationalist illustrated the power of cooperative denominational efforts when in 1801 they agreed to the 'Plan of Union'.³⁸ The Plan was born out of necessity and practicality for neither group had the necessary personnel and financial means to adequately evangelize the frontier by themselves. The name is a bit

³⁷The figure of 30 churches and 12 plus denominations was calculated from several sources. The first source was the various denominational histories used for this study. (using the dates of when a particular church was established). The second source was Encyclopedia of Cleveland History's articles on churches; and other books on early Cleveland history e.g. Elbert Jay Benton, Cultural Story of An American City, Cleveland: Part II, During the Canal Days, 1825-1850, Cleveland: Calvert-Hatch Company, 1944; and Cultural Story of An American City Cleveland, Part III: Under The Shadow of a Civil War and Reconstruction, 1850-1877, Cleveland: The Calvert-Hatch Company, 1946. The figures for churches and denominations are approximate because a number of smaller churches or denominations were not recorded for various reasons. (e.g. records were lost etc) See also Johnson Crisfield, History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Cleveland: 1879. Reproduced by Unigraphic, Inc, Evansville, Indiana, 1974, Chapters 49-53. This book list churches by their date of founding.

³⁸See Ahlstrom pp 423, 456-458 for a general look at this plan. For a more specific look see the denominational history books for Presbyterians and Congregationalists listed in the Bibliography. One can also look at the articles in ECH on Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The Plan of Union allowed for clergy of either denomination to pastor to a church of either denomination if the congregation so desired it. Arrangements for settling disputes and affiliation with a presbytery or association were also covered. The Plan of Union existed until 1837-8 when internal problems within the Presbyterian Church caused this Plan to cease. But one must also noted that problems with this union existed through its history. Any of the denominational history books comments on its effects.

misleading for this plan did not require either party to agree to an organic union. This was a plan to share the scarce resources of clergy, buildings and funds for the mutual benefit of both sides. Thus, in a newly organized church, the members could decide to follow Presbyterian polity and call a Congregational minister to be their pastor.

The Plan proved to be successful. In 1800, circuit riders served the religious needs of the Western Reserve and held worship services in the few dedicated church buildings or private homes. In 1835, 160 resident ministers served the 159 Presbyterian and Congregational churches.³⁹

This Plan was successful because both denominations shared similar theological understanding. Also, the clergy shared a common cultural background between themselves and with their congregations.⁴⁰ The commonality of culture was described as ". . . from the beginning, New Englandized and then recruited from New York rather than from

³⁹Figure cited in Harold E. Davis "Religion in the Western Reserve, 1800-1825" Ohio Historical Quarterly Vol 38 No. 3 July 1929, pp 475-85.

⁴⁰Davis, pp 476. Of the 160 ministers in 1835, 48 were born in Connecticut and 41 in Massachusetts. As noted above, the Western Reserve had many transplanted New Englanders living within its boundaries.

Pennsylvania."⁴¹ This meant Cleveland Presbyterians were until " . . . 1837 with all those that from that year till 1870 were honorably distinguished as New School Presbyterians. So much of one mind were they . . . attempt to establish an old school church here found . . . meager support . . . "⁴²

Ideally, this Plan did not favor the Presbyterians or the Congregationalist. However, most of the churches organized under this plan chose to affiliate with the Presbyterians. The Reverend William S. Kennedy, a Congregationalist minister, commented: "The milk from Congregational cows is being churned into Presbyterian butter." Another Congregationalist wrote: "When the lion and the lamb lie down together the lion has little to

⁴¹From Hiram C. Haydn "The History of Presbyterianism in Cleveland" in Annals of the First Presbyterian Church of Cleveland, 1820-1895 Cleveland, 1895, pp 242 (hereafter noted as Annals) The significance of New York was to be found in the 'Old School' vs 'New School' controversy that led to a schism within Presbyterianism in the early 1800s. According to Ahlstrom, New York presbyteries dominated by New School were created in 1836. (see Ahlstrom pp 467) Thus the resident Presbyterian pastors and to some extent, Congregational pastors were of 'like' mind.

⁴²Haydn, Annals, pp 243. New School under "the influence of Congregationalism" created within Presbyterianism the 'New School' which favored revivals, interdenominational missionary societies and favored improvements in the doctrinal system in the direction of simplicity. (Ahlstrom pp 466) For a more 'detail' look at the 'Old School' and 'New School' in Ohio see Chapter 8 "The Old School Synod of Ohio, Presbyterian, U.S.A., 1814-1870" pp 107-122 and Chapter 9 "The New School Synods of Ohio and Cincinnati 1838-1870". E. B.(urgett) Welsh ed. Buckeye Presbyterian. 1968.

fear."⁴³ A Presbyterian minister explained the willingness of Congregationalist to become Presbyterians: "It was easy for Connecticut Congregationalist to acquiesce in the principle of accommodation, for they con-sociated, and con-sociation was Presbytery writ small."⁴⁴

The Plan of Union failed partly due to Presbyterians' internal conflicts and partly because the Congregationalist had developed a strong denominational identity. As an evidence of this growing denominational identity one needs only to look to 1835 when the Congregationalist clergy established the Independent Congregational Association of the Western Reserve. The establishment of this association showed a felt need by Congregationalist for fellowship apart from their Presbyterian brethren.

During the period between 1800-1850, Cleveland

⁴³See Welch Buckeye Presbyterianism pp 99. The quotations seem to have casted the Congregationalists as 'sore' losers in the denominational struggles. However, the original form of the first quotation may have been: "They did not stop and inquire whither the milk from their Congregational cows might not be churned into Presbyterian butter". This quote ennobled the Congregationalist ministers for as the writer put it: "...love to Christ, rising above all local and sectarian prejudices...." From W.E. Barton, "Early Ecclesiastical History of the Western Reserve", Papers of the Ohio Church History Society, Vol. 1, 1890, pp 14-42. Barton and the Ohio Church History Society were Congregationalists.

⁴⁴Haydn, Annals, pp 214. Further amplification of this point can be found in Richard Bushman From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967, Chapter 13 "The Church and Experimental Religion" pp 196-220".

religious order grew in number of denominations and began to divide along class lines. By 1850, Cleveland's Protestant denominations had a noticeable class division. Presbyterians and Episcopalians had many--if not the majority--of Cleveland's social elites.⁴⁵ The Methodists and Baptists were generally from the lower class. A reason for this was these denominations' strengths were in southern Ohio and they had not yet established themselves in Cleveland.⁴⁶

The Roman Catholic Church struggled to establish itself in Cleveland. Cleveland Roman Catholic Church began with the arrival of the German and Irish immigrants. As noted above, the entry of these groups into the Western Reserve was due to the construction of the Ohio-Erie Canal. Their immediate impact upon the Cleveland social order was to 'break' the New England-ness of the region. Germans and Irish represented the first large non-New England groups to migrate into the Western Reserve and Cleveland. The Ohio Canal also attracted other immigrant groups to work on its

⁴⁵Evidence for this can be found in membership of both denominations with the Presbyterians having the slight edge because of Old Stone Church who under the Reverend Samuel Clark Aikens (2 Sept. 1791-1 Jan. 1879--pastor from 1835-61) dominate Cleveland political, social and religious scene.

⁴⁶Davis, pp 475-501.

construction.⁴⁷

The Roman Catholics were stronger in Southern Ohio with Cincinnati as its see city and staging area for its Western missionary efforts. As a natural extension of their work, the Roman Catholic Church established a Western Reserve circuit based in Canton.⁴⁸ As more German and Irish workers arrived to work on the Ohio Canal, the Catholics decided that Cleveland needed a resident pastor. They sent the Reverend John Dillion, in 1835, to begin a Cleveland mission. Roman Catholics' first Cleveland church was St. Mary's in the Flat consecrated on June 7, 1840 whose focus was on the German and Irish immigrant canal workers.⁴⁹

The Roman Catholics, beginning with the German and Irish workers, began to build churches dedicated to a particular ethnic group. German and Irish immigrants were the first of many ethnic groups that had churches built for them. By 1860, the Roman Catholics had six churches of which two churches and part of another did German mission

⁴⁷Examples of other groups included Dutch, Manxmen, Jewish, and African-Americans. See the Encyclopedia of Cleveland History's articles on these groups.

⁴⁸Michael J. Hynes. History of the Diocese of Cleveland, Origin and Growth (1847-1952). Cleveland, 1953. pp 41.

⁴⁹Michael J. Hynes. History of the Diocese of Cleveland, Origin and Growth (1847-1952). Cleveland, 1953. pps 41-45.

work while the remaining churches did Irish mission work.⁵⁰

Cleveland neighborhoods developed around the immigrants with the neighborhoods changing with the arrival of each new immigrant group. The old immigrant group moved to a newer area to form a new neighborhood while the new immigrant group moved into the vacated neighborhood. Whether in the old or the new neighborhood, the one consistent factor in the immigrant life was the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church identified with the immigrants. Generally, a Roman Catholic church did not move from its original neighborhood. Instead, the church in the old neighborhood changed its mission focus to include the new arrived immigrant while in the new neighborhood the old immigrant group built new churches.

Protestants favored a denominational approach to the immigrants. Later German immigrants were Protestants and German Protestant denominations--some originating in Pennsylvania while others were from Germany--followed them. Thus, the Evangelical and United Brethren Churches

⁵⁰Hynes, History of the Diocese of Cleveland, Chapter 12 pps 70-77. Germans had St. Joseph and St. Mary in the Flats exclusively and were also using St. John's Cathedral. The Irish had St. Patrick. The other churches were St. Peter and St. Bridget's.

dispatched missionaries beginning in 1841.⁵¹ German Lutherans formed their first church in 1843.⁵² The Methodist Church divided into German-speaking and English-speaking churches.⁵³ The denominational separate approach to immigrant mission work proved successful because this group of immigrants was from Protestant European countries. However, in the 1880s, the denominational approach began to fail because these immigrants were from non-Protestant Eastern and Southern European countries. Each Protestant denomination had to develop new methods to attract these immigrants into their churches.

While Protestant churches were organizing themselves into denominations, a parallel movement was also developing namely the development of voluntary agencies to address the various social issues. As with denominations, the

⁵¹Roy B. Leedy The Evangelical Church in Ohio, 1816-1951. Ohio Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren Church. Cleveland, 1959. Leedy states the first Evangelical Church pastor came into Cleveland in 1841. Cleveland was a part of the Lake Circuit (pp 87).

⁵²See ECH, 645 and B.F. Prince "Beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio" (Ohio Archeological and Historical Publication, Vol 23, 1914, pp 268-283). As immigrants came from other Lutheran countries, new ethnic churches and denominations would be established to serve the needs of this diverse group. Thus, the Lutherans were the most ethnically diverse Protestant denomination in Cleveland.

⁵³John M. Versteeg, ed, Methodism, Ohio Area, 1812-1962, Ohio Sesquicentennial Committee, 1962 esp Chapter 10 for German Methodists. The Methodists also had a Swedish Methodist denomination.

important element of these agencies was their voluntary nature. A voluntary agency began its existence when an issue or problem would draw like-minded individuals together for addressing a particular issue or problem. These individuals would also organize and support the agency either by contributions of money, other gifts (e.g., real estate) or by volunteering their time. A voluntary agency's had a singular purpose, i.e., there was only one expressed purpose or cause that the organization undertook. The agency may or may not use religious methods during their work. Any connection to a denomination would be through the individuals and not a formal organizational connection. A voluntary agency may attend various denominational functions and may receive some denominational support but the agency was still outside formal denominational control.

The voluntary agency, throughout the Nineteenth Century, was the normative Protestant means of participating in social causes, addressing social needs, and expressing Protestant concerns on particular issues. The voluntary agency allowed for full individual participation in social issues and causes. Protestant denominations also participated in social issues and causes through the voluntary agency.

Americans did not invent the Protestant voluntary

agency. The 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts' (SPG) was an example of a voluntary agency operating during colonial times in support of various Anglican missions.⁵⁴ However, arguably, American Protestants had more numbers of, more diversity and more influential voluntary agencies than any other country. Voluntary agencies increased in number throughout the Nineteenth Century. This increase reflected the increasing number of social issues, problems and concerns that demanded a response from the religious order.

The Connecticut Missionary Society (cited above) was one example of a voluntary agency that had an impact upon the Western Reserve. Other examples of Protestants voluntary agencies that operated in Cleveland include antislavery or abolitionists' societies, church extension societies (which focused either on foreign or domestic missions), temperance societies and moral reform societies.

American Protestants were concerned with good moral character development and sponsored programs to encourage individuals to develop a good moral character. In the Western Reserve, the various Protestant denominations addressed development of good moral character using three

⁵⁴Thomas Bray organized this society in 1701 at London England. See "S.P.G." in F.L. Cross, ed., The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd ed., London: Oxford University Press, 1974, pp 1299.

particular methods. The first was through the 'standard' method of preaching and taking a public position against amoral behavior.

The second was to establish denominational colleges.⁵⁵ Presbyterians and Congregationalist established Western Reserve College in Hudson (1826). The Congregationalist established Oberlin College (1835) because some disagreed with Lane Seminary, Cincinnati's stand on slavery (They considered its position too "weak".) while others expressed disapproval of Western Reserve College. The Episcopalians established Kenyon College at Gambier (1826). Later, the Disciples would establish Hiram College (1850). The Methodists through a gift from John Baldwin established Baldwin College (1846) and established Mount Union and Scioto Colleges (now Mount Union College). The German Methodists established Wallace College (1863).⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Lockard, E. Kidd. "The Influence of New England in Denominational Colleges in the Northwest, 1830-1860", Ohio State Archaeological and History Quarterly, Vol. 53, No. 1, January 1944, pp 1-13.

⁵⁶ A brief history of each of the above named colleges except for Oberlin and Kenyon can be found by referring to the ECH. Oberlin can be found by consulting Rose and Kenyon can be found by referring to Symthe, History of the Diocese of Ohio. Also see Johnson Crisfield, History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Cleveland: D.W. Ensign and Co., 1879, reproduced by Unigraphic, Inc., Evansville, Indiana, 1974, Chapter 33. Roman Catholics established Ursuline College (1871), and John Carroll University (1886) (See the articles in the ECH, pp 1006 and 576 respectively). For Jewish's efforts in education see Lloyd Gartner, History of the Jews of Cleveland, 2nd ed., Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical

The third method was through Sunday Schools. The Sunday School Movement began in 1780 in Gloucester, England to instruct poor children in basic religious matters.⁵⁷

The Second Great Awakening created a more intense desire for personal evangelism. When the Sunday School Movement arrived in America, it found its strongest support in areas deeply touched by the Second Great Awakening. Thus, this movement established itself strongly in Philadelphia and in New England. The Sunday School Movement was one more way that a person could express his or her personal faith through.⁵⁸ In 1791, northward and westward from Marietta, the Sunday School Movement spread throughout Ohio. By 1829 there were 276 Sunday Schools in Ohio.⁵⁹ In the mid-1820, a group of unknown individuals organized the Cuyahoga County Sunday School Association (CCSSA) to further promote the Sunday School Movement.⁶⁰

Society, 1987 especially the section on the Council for Educational Alliance, pp 222 and ff.

⁵⁷"Sunday Schools", The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd Ed, London: Oxford University Press, 1974, pp 1323.

⁵⁸ Ahstrom, A Religious History of the American People, pp 425.

⁵⁹Chauncey N. Pond, "Ohio Sunday School History" Ohio Church History Society, Vol. III, 1891, pp 1-54.

⁶⁰The early Sunday School History is to be found in Chuncey N. Pond, "Ohio Sunday School History", Papers of the Ohio Church History Society, Vol. III, 1891, pp 3-55. The CCSSA over the years trained Sunday School teachers for the Protestant churches, gave

In 1824, supporters organized the American Sunday School Union to promote the Sunday School movement and to provide Sunday School materials.⁶¹ Although Congregationalist and Baptists were most of the Board of Directors, the Union was an interdenominational agency and had no formal connection with any Protestant denomination. A paid staff in Philadelphia and field agents or colporteurs carried out the Union's objectives.

The American Sunday School Union, in 1830, decided that there was a need for a warehouse in Ohio. This warehouse would make it easier for Sunday School materials to be distribute throughout the Western Reserve. On October 17, 1830 Benjamin Rouse and his wife Rebecca arrived in Cleveland to take up the task of promoting the Sunday School Movement. Benjamin and Rebecca Rouse helped to organize the First Baptist Church. Rebecca also was the

inservice training sessions and provided materials. CCSSA raised funding through membership dues (individuals and churches) and from the sale of Sunday School materials. In April 1924, CCSSA merged with the Federated Churches of Cleveland to form the Council of Religious Committee. In 1929, the Federated Churches of Cleveland disbanded this committee and religious education ceased to be an interdenominational concern. (see the Education Committee's Minutes for 1923-1930, Cleveland Area Church Federated, MSS 3406, Container 8, Folder 2. Western Reserve Historical Society. The reason given for the disbanding of this committee was lack of interest on the part of denominations.)

⁶¹ Ahstrom, A Religious History of the American People, pp 425.

prime organizer of Cleveland early charitable efforts.⁶²

On October 24, 1830, Benjamin Rouse inspected Cleveland only Sunday School and declared it "did not deserve the name."⁶³ Benjamin was also not pleased with the individual quality of Cleveland religious life for he stated: "When will the time come when this wilderness will be converted into fruitful soil?"⁶⁴ To the end of their lives, Benjamin and Rebecca worked diligently to cultivate this wilderness into good Baptists' soil.⁶⁵

Between 1825 and 1850 Protestants established the permissible boundaries of the religious order. Religious organizations operating within these boundaries did not draw censure from other Protestants or from the social order. During these twenty-five years, seven events helped to define these boundaries. The events were anti-Masonry, Disciples, Mormons, Millerities, Spiritism,

⁶² Journal entitled "Of Miscellaneous Matters..." 1801-1837, Adella Prentis Hughes, MSS 2980, Container 9 and Container 1, Folder 4. Hereafter this collection will be cited as Hughes. This Container contains three journals of Benjamin Rouse plus other valuable journals and information.

⁶³From his "Diary, Little Book" entry for Oct. 24, 1930. Hughes, Container 9.

⁶⁴From his "Diary, Little Book" entry for Oct. 24, 1930. Hughes, Container 9.

⁶⁵See for example Rouse's journal entry (Diary--Little Book) for November 15, 1830 or June 30, 1832.

"Comeouterism", and slavery.⁶⁶

As an issue, anti-Masonry did stir some to action. For example the Reverend Joseph Badger to Elisha Whittlesey, in February 1830, wrote anti-Masonry caused some action in certain areas in the Western Reserve. Also, anti-Masonry had some influence on others but had not yet reached Trumbull County.⁶⁷ A month later, Badger noted that in Trumbull County "Anti-Masonry struggling to get up a bluster . . . but not yet succeed."⁶⁸

As for the Millerities (founder was William Miller who predicted the coming of Jesus in 1843) and Comeouterism (refers to a person having bodily manifestations during prayer) they did cause some stir within Protestant ranks. However, neither group caused much concern. Although some considered these groups to be odd, there were no widespread campaigns directed against them by other

⁶⁶These events were taken from Mrs. L. Bosworth's paper, "A Stormy Epoch", Papers of the Ohio Church Society, Vol VI, 1895, pp 1-55. Mrs. Bosworth argued that Free Masonry caused a stir but from her paper it was clear she meant Masonry i.e. a secret society. The Free and Ancient Masons established a Cleveland Lodge in 1841 with no apparent opposition. (see Johnson Crisfield, History of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Cleveland: D.W. Ensign and Company, 1879, reproduced by Unigraphic, Inc., Evansville, Indiana, 1974, Chapter 58, pp 285)

⁶⁷February 20th, 1830. Elijah Whittlesey Papers, MSS 1529 Container 4, Folder 1.

⁶⁸March 31, 1830, Elijah Whittlesey Papers, MSS 1529 Container 4, Folder 1.

Protestants or by any social groups. Over time, Millerities and Comeouterism have found homes within certain Protestant denominations and therefore have become a part of American religious pluralism. (Millerities evolved into those Protestants who believe that Jesus would come before the millennium while comeouterism is a notable feature in the Pentecostal churches)

Spiritism meant the consultation of a seer or medium. If the newspapers' ads of the 1890s to the 1920s were any indication, then spiritism grew and gained a following during the Nineteenth Century. The religious order's rejection of Spiritism suggests the limits of acceptability. Also, its acceptance in the cultural order showed different limits of acceptability existed between the two orders. Thus, spiritism was among the first issues to reflect the difference in acceptability between the cultural and religious orders.

Slavery was clearly a social issue that Clevelanders had strong feelings about. Cleveland and most of the Western Reserve, unlike Southern Ohio, supported the abolitionist's position.⁶³ The only question for many Protestant churches was how fervent one should hold this position. The lack of adequate intensity caused some

⁶³ See "Abolitionism" in the ECH, pp 4-5.

members to leave their old church to establish a new church with the proper level of intensity.⁷⁰ Thus, it was church members (and at times churches) that participated in antislavery activities but not denominations. (Denominations, except Quakers, had mixed views on slavery. Thus, Cleveland churches would ignore any denominational action in support of slavery.)

The Disciples had, for much of the period between 1825-1850, been a 'gadfly' within Cleveland Protestant circles. The Disciples' self-perceived image was they were an ecumenical movement and their mission was to unite Protestantism.⁷¹ However, by 1850, the Disciples was no longer the gadfly but found acceptance as a member of the established Protestant order. The reason for the Disciples' acceptance was their messages of reform was not outside Protestant tradition (or Christian tradition). From almost its beginnings, Protestants have attempted to reform church and society. The content of the Disciples' message also followed acceptable Protestant practice (i.e.,

⁷⁰For example, in 1837 the more radical members of Old Stone Presbyterian Church decided their pastor, the Reverend Samuel Aken, was not dedicated enough to this cause. They broke away from Old Stone and established Second Presbyterian Church. ("Abolitionism" in the ECH, pp 4-5.)

⁷¹See Nathan O Hatch "The Christian Movement and the Demand for a Theology of the People". Journal of American History, Vol 67 No 3 pp 545-567.

it was based on the Bible).

Rejected groups show to us the limits of acceptability. In the Western Reserve and Cleveland, the Mormons were the first group driven out by hostile Protestants and the public. Kirkland, Ohio--just east of Cleveland--was the Mormons' first home after Joseph Smith left New York. In Kirkland, the Mormons built their first temple and experienced the first of many social ostracism and mass persecution. Even after they had left Ohio, Mormons continued to be pariahs in the Western Reserve religious order. In the persecution of the Mormons, the consequences of a rejected group were evident.

Joseph Smith brought Mormonism into the Western Reserve when he arrived in Kirtland on February 1, 1831.¹² After months of relative calm, the religious persecution began, in 1832, with threats that escalated into personal attacks on Joseph Smith and his followers.¹³ In 1838, the combination of the Panic of 1837 that destroyed their financial holdings and the ever escalating persecution

¹²Karl Ricks Anderson, Joseph Smith's Kirtland Eyewitness Accounts, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1989) pp 8.

¹³Anderson, Joseph Smith's Kirtland, pp 23. One incident among several incidents that occurred in 1832 was the tar and feathering of Joseph Smith and Sydney Rigdon while they were making calls on various Mormon families.

forced the Mormons to leave.⁷⁴ However, not all Mormons left with Joseph Smith. Some did remain in the Western Reserve although 'underground'. The Mormons did not return to the Western Reserve until the Twentieth Century. Many Protestants viewed the Mormons' stay at Kirtland as a stain on their moral character. "Western New York . . . so absurd and monstrous as Mormonism . . . to the Western Reserve belongs the doubtful honor of nourishing the same through all the period of its infancy."⁷⁵

The Mormons' experiences in the Western Reserve reflected the limits of toleration in the pluralistic religious order. Mormons' difficulties arose out of their message and not in their desire to remain apart from other groups. Other religious groups had also decided to remain apart from the general populace, e.g., the Shakers when they arrived in the Western Reserve in 1811.⁷⁶ The Disciples separated themselves from others by their attitudes. For example, Alexander Campbell, founder of the Disciples, called his opponents the "infidel junta".⁷⁷

⁷⁴Anderson, Joseph Smith's Kirtland, pp 209.

⁷⁵D.L. Leonard, "Mormon Sojourn in Ohio", Ohio Church History Society, Vol. 1, 1889, pp 43-60.

⁷⁶See ECH, pp 724-25.

⁷⁷Amos S. Hayden, Early History of The Disciples in the Western Reserve, Ohio, Cincinnati: Chase & Hall, Publishers, 1875. Reprinted by Arno Press Inc., 1972, pp 417-419. Campbell probably

Mormons' message appeared to other Protestants to be beyond the pale of acceptable American Protestant evangelism. The Protestants rejected the Mormons' claim of Joseph Smith as a true prophet of God because for many individuals the age of prophets was a part of ancient history. The communal aspect of Mormonism ran counter to Protestants' insistence upon salvation depended upon individual choice and action.⁷⁸

The persecution and forceful expulsion of the Mormons showed by 1840 permissible religious beliefs' boundaries were fixed. Thus, future trespassers of these boundaries risk censure not only by religious forces but also by cultural forces.

However, before 1840, the permissible boundaries had already excluded two particular groups. The first group was based on religion. Anti-Catholicism was not a Nineteenth Century American occurrence. The roots of

was making reference to two particular groups with his remark: 1- the religious establishment since the Disciples considered themselves as a reform movement within Protestantism; 2-lapsed Christians or anyone who opposed their efforts.

⁷⁸An historical overview of American theological thoughts can be found in Sydney Ahlstrom's introduction to his edited book, Theology in America. The Major Protestant Voices from Puritanism to Neo-Orthodoxy, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967, pp 23-93 and in particular pp 23-58.

Protestant involvement in Anti-Catholicism began in Europe.⁷⁹ Protestants immigrating from Northern Europe and England brought their anti-Catholicism with them. The Reverend Joseph Badger wrote in 1834: "At the rate that romanism is now prevailing it will take but a few years before the Pope will be able to kindle the fires of the inquisition in every state in the Union."⁸⁰ According to one source, Protestants threw stones at Catholics while they marched to lay St. John Cathedral's cornerstone in 1852.⁸¹ In 1854, Methodists "decried Romanism" which was "invading real estate, assailing institutions and burned our Bible."⁸² In the 1880s, Edwin Cowles, editor of the *Cleveland Leader*, led the anti-Catholic forces with his vitriolic editorials on Catholics.⁸³

Anti-Semitism was also a long standing prejudice. Anti-Semitism grew in direct proportion to the arrival of

⁷⁹See Ray A. Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860, New York: The Macmillian Company, 1938, reissued by Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1964, Chapter 1, pp 1-31.

⁸⁰Letter to Elisha Whittlesey, December 23, 1834, Elisha Whittlesey Papers, MSS 1529, WRHS, Container 4.

⁸¹Cleveland News, December 23, 1908.

⁸²Minutes of North Ohio Conference (Methodists), 1854, Report 21, pp 36-37.

⁸³Michael J. McTighe, "Babel and Babylon on the Cuyahoga". Thomas Campbell, and Edward M. Miggins eds. The Birth of Modern Cleveland, 1865-1930. (Cleveland: Associated University Presses, 1988, pp 231-269) pp 248-249.

Jewish immigrants.⁸⁴ Oscar Handlin noted that until the 1930s ". . . there was no anti-Semitic movement in the United States that was not also anti-Catholic."⁸⁵

The second group was based on immigrants. Before 1835, American nativism was generally directed at Catholicism but after 1835 immigrants also became a target of American nativism.⁸⁶ This meant that ethnic groups who had many immigrants became targets of American nativism. In Cleveland, Irish immigrants were among the first immigrants to suffer this anti-immigrant basis.⁸⁷

Protestants participated in anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism and in anti-immigrant activities. However, their participation came back to plague them in the early part of the Twentieth Century. The arrivals of Eastern and Southern immigrants help to increase the Roman Catholic Church and Jewish community membership. This growth forced Protestants from their prominent position in the religious

⁸⁴See Lloyd P. Gartner, History of the Jews of Cleveland, 2nd ed., Cleveland: Western Reserve Historical Society, 1987, pp 23-25, 83-96 and 173.

⁸⁵Quoted in Alhstrom, A Religious History of the American People, pp 854.

⁸⁶Ray A. Billington, The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860, Chapter 5, pp 118-141. See also Alhstrom, A Religious History of the American People, Chapter 34, pp 555-568.

⁸⁷Callahan and Hickey, Irish-Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland, pp 143-151.

and social orders. Their inability to meet the needs of immigrants was one factor that led to the creation of the Federated Churches of Cleveland.

Part II Rise of the Benevolent Order

The study of Cleveland benevolent order's growth and development does not normally include religion contribution or sometimes gives too much credit to religious forces. The benevolent and religious orders were throughout all of the Nineteenth Century intimately related and connected through events and actors. In many ways, the growth of the Cleveland benevolent order was similar to the growth of denominations. As in the religious order, the benevolent order was at first an individual responsibility. There was no organized charitable society to offer any poor relief or assistance in times of crisis. As the social order grew and became more complex, the responsibility for providing poor relief or assistance outgrew individual capacity to provide. An ad hoc arrangement of family, neighbors and religious organizations developed to replace the individual. Between 1865 and 1900, industrialization, immigration and urbanization changed the complexities of the social order. These complexities overwhelmed the ad hoc arrangement and challenged the religious order to develop a new system. However, the religious order did not

adequately respond to this new challenge. Instead, benevolent works separated from the religious order and formed its own order. Then the benevolent order responded by creating various charitable and philanthropic agencies.

Michael J. McTighe's study of Cleveland's antebellum benevolence concluded with these observations: ". . . Protestant churches blazing the trail, local public officials and religiously based private voluntary societies became allies in creating benevolent projects designed to assure that neither the poor. . . nor the . . . boys . . . would hinder the city from becoming a "mart of commerce" . . .³⁸

McTighe has clearly pointed out the linkage between the churches and commerce, i.e., the churches were the most effective social organization to lead the benevolent efforts while the business sector provided the financial support. In the early Twentieth Century this connection changed where private benevolence agencies replaced churches and the churches became less directly involved in benevolence.

McTighe, however, has generalized too much when he called the Protestant churches "trail blazers". A more accurate statement is that individual church members were

³⁸"Leading Men, True Women, Protestant Churches, and the Shape of Antebellum Benevolence", David Van Tassel, and John J. Grabowski eds, Cleveland: A Tradition of Reform, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1986, pp 13-28) pp 28.

the "trail blazers". Churches were involved with various benevolent projects but it was through individual efforts that churches participated and gave their blessings. In the various benevolent projects McTighe studied, the absence of formal denominational action (for or against) was most noticeable. Churches acted on their own accord without formal denominational blessings. This action was (and still is) permissible if the action taken does not compromise the denominational identity, integrity or independence. Therefore, just because a single Presbyterian church cooperates and participates in some given benevolent project does not mean that all Presbyterians favored the project.

Examination of a particular antebellum benevolent agency illustrates this nominal and individual Protestant's participation. Cleveland, due to the opening of the Ohio Canal, became a major port on the Great Lakes. Port of Cleveland's busiest period was when the upper Great Lakes (Superior and Huron) were ice-free. Crews working on the Great Lakes ships, like other sailors, faced several personal problems that they could not solve on their own. (E.g., pay problems, lack of funds, lack of entertainment while in port, family problems, loneliness.) In the early 1800s, Protestants created missions to seamen and stationed them in the various Great Lakes ports.

Protestants established the American Seamen's Friend Society in New York City. This society's purpose was to offer aid and comfort to oceangoing sailors. In 1830, this society decided the Great Lakes sailors also needed their assistance.⁸⁹ This Society dispatched an agent to explore the possibilities of establishing a sister agency in the Great Lakes' ports. On October 3, 1830, delegates from Cleveland's evangelical churches met and organized the Western Seamen's Friend Society.⁹⁰ In 1830, only the Presbyterians, Episcopal and Methodists had churches and examination of their records show no formal endorsement of this project. Thus one must conclude that individual church members from these churches established this Society. Benjamin Rouse, in his battle to conquer 'the wilderness', wrote that he had met with Mr. Winslow, the agent for the American Seamen's Friend Society. Benjamin Rouse acted on Winslow's request because he believe that benevolent societies " . . . would by the helping God create a religious entreat which this town never

⁸⁹Florence T. Waite, A Warm Friend for The Spirit, Cleveland: Family Service Association, 1960, pp 1.

⁹⁰Florence T. Waite, A Warm Friend for The Spirit, Cleveland: Family Service Association, 1960, pp 1.

professed."¹¹ Rouse, a Baptist, acted on his own volition and independent from any formal Baptists' support or endorsement.

The Western Seamen's Friend Society was another example of a Protestant voluntary agency organized for a specific purpose. Denominational connections were through the various church members serving on its board. Funding for this society depended upon the various board members and individual contributions. Churches, acting on their own, sometimes supported this Society's work. Denominations did not support fiscally this work.

In 1849, the Ohio Legislature authorized the City of Cleveland to establish a poorhouse and hospital for the poor but the churches' role in poor relief continued.¹² Protestants viewed poverty as a personal character defect. The only way a person could overcome this defect was through an individual conversion. The church helped the poor by providing good moral training. In furtherance of providing good moral training and reaching those that needed it, First Baptist Church, in 1835, divided Cleveland

¹¹November 10, 1830, Diary--Little Book, Hughes, Container 9. Waite does not give the source of her information and I could not find collaboration for Rouse. In addition Waite and Rouse gave different dates.

¹²Cleveland Centennial Commission, History of the Charities of Cleveland: 1796-1896 (Cleveland: Cleveland Centennial Commission, 1896) pp 9.

into districts.³³

Part III Women in the Religious and Benevolent Orders

The main church relief workers were women. McTighe made several references to women's benevolent activities but did not give the vast range and depth of women's benevolent activities. Women were responsible for all aspects of a church benevolent activities that meant they raised the money. They were the direct care givers and friendly visitors. Women gathered in sewing circles to make clothes and collected necessary household items for distribution to the poor. Also, they, along with the clergy, worked as intake workers and crisis workers.³⁴ Each church had women group--organized or not--that the pastor depended upon for poor relief workers. Besides poor relief, women were also involved in denominational work. They responded to overseas mission concerns by raising money and collecting goods. They participated in domestic mission efforts. Part of the untold historical story is the growth of complexities of women's benevolent activities during the Nineteenth Century.

³³January 3 and 28 1835 Records of the 1st Baptist Church.

³⁴Examples of direct service include the giving out of food baskets or sewing clothes for the poor (the purpose of the sewing club see as an example: Records of Cleveland Female Baptist Sewing Society, Hughes, Container 9.

A part of this untold historical story is the women's benevolent effort during the Civil War. Working at the various churches' benevolent projects gave women the necessary experiences that they used in Cleveland's largest war support effort. In April 1861, concerned individuals helped to organize the U.S. Sanitary Commission (USSC). The USSC's mission was to render assistance to the soldier on and off the battlefield. Rebecca Rouse and other women organized the Cleveland Branch on April 20, 1861. The women provided a range of services from helping wounded soldiers, writing letters, packing food and medical supplies and helped soldiers or their families in their applications for pensions.³⁵ The Cleveland Branch was women-operated and staffed with men serving only as honorary members.³⁶ Churches supported the women's efforts by taking up a special collection.³⁷ However, the main source of funding was the women organized and staffed 'Sanitary Fair' held on February 22, 1864 that raised over

³⁵Cleveland USSC's history is to be found in two sources. The first is the book by Mary Clark Brayton and Ellen F. Terry, Our Acre and Its Harvest (Cleveland: Fairbank Benedict and Company, 1869). Both women were active members of Cleveland USSC: and Brayton was the treasurer. The second is the USSC's papers which are at the WRHS, MSS 1012.

³⁶Brayton and Terry, Appendix D, pp 448-449.

³⁷Brayton and Terry, pp 89 (as an example).

\$100,000.⁹⁸

The Cleveland USSC's work was the only organized effort supported by Cleveland churches. On May 15, 1864, Stillman Witt and others organized the Cleveland branch of the United States Christian Commission. This Commission's purpose was to tend to the religious life of soldiers. Stillman Witt was its President.⁹⁹ All other efforts to support the war was done on an individual basis, e.g., individual pastors volunteering to be military chaplains.

After the end of the Civil War and the disbanding of the Sanitary Commission, women returned to their antebellum religious and benevolent works. As it was in the antebellum period so too in the post-Civil War era, women were the main charitable workers. In the 1870s as a response to urbanization, the Methodist Church established a "Ladies and Pastors' Union."¹⁰⁰ This union was a more formal approach to the ad hoc and situational pastoral work that preceded the formation of this union. During his daily duties, the pastor would become aware of a problem in the parish or in a family or individual. The pastor and the

⁹⁸Brayton and Terry, pp 206. Women continued their work until 1866 when the USSC was disbanded.

⁹⁹Lemuel Moss, Annals of the United States Christian Commission (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co, 1868) 351-52.

¹⁰⁰Minutes of the East Ohio Conference, December 18, 1877, pp 36.

women of the church, would help in solving the problem. The women were a combination of a friendly visitor and social worker. This Union was, in practical terms, an adaptation of the normal pastoral work style. This style of ministry was effective in a small community. However, the growth of the city and the increasing population (either by immigration or migration) overwhelmed the average city church. The very complexities of these problems would tax a 'trained' person. The solutions to these problems required coordinated efforts by several groups.

In 1889, Cornelius Prosser read about the Deaconess Movement that originated in Germany. Prosser decided that Cleveland needed a Deaconess program. A benefactor donated a house on Cleveland West Side whose purpose was for training and housing of the first Cleveland Deaconesses.¹⁰¹ On April 22, 1890 the Deaconess House was dedicated and Charlotte Beech became the first Deaconess.¹⁰² The Deaconesses' works included parish work particularly among the poor, working class and immigrants and the establishment of Deaconess Hospital.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹"Epworth Outlook", May 13, 1910.

¹⁰²Plain Dealer, April 22, 1890.

¹⁰³For examples of parish activities see the "Epworth Outlook" November 13, 1908 and November 20, 1908 as examples. Epworth Outlook became the major publicity tool for the Deaconess since they did not have the funds nor the time to publish a newsletter.

The Deaconesses usually worked within a local Methodist Church (e.g., Epworth Memorial Church) under the general supervision of a male pastor. A Deaconess was not a member of the clergy but a lay person with a "special call" for service. However, there were women clergy most notably in the Unitarian Church. From 1893-1899, Unity Unitarian Church had the Reverends Florence Buck and Marion Murdock as its co-pastors.¹⁰⁴ The Reverend Florence Buck later became the editor of the "Beacon" which was a Unitarian Sunday School publication. The information on these women clergy were sketchy but their pastorates reflected the expansion of women's church roles in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century.

PART IV Protestants and the post-Civil War Era

After the Civil War, Cleveland the city began its development into a major American industrial city. Churches began to focus on religious matters while new benevolent agencies gradually took over the churches' benevolent projects. This division between the churches

Frequently, news about the Deaconess would be published in the Outlook. For the establishment of Deaconess Hospital see the article in the ECH, pp 335-336.

¹⁰⁴A Century of Unitarianism in Cleveland, n.d. and no author and Mary H. Gale, Unity Church, A brief History Sketch, April 1. 1895.

and benevolent projects was due in part to the growing complexities of urban life. However, the increasing wealth of church members caused by the industrialization also was a factor.

The post-Civil War years were a "boom" for church building. Old Stone Presbyterian and Trinity Church had experienced difficulties in raising building funds during the period between 1820 and 1840. In years after 1870, Protestants and Catholics built churches without much financial difficulties. Church members who had profited from the industrial growth contributed freely to the building funds.

Industrialization, urbanization and immigration created new challenges that demanded Protestants' response. Protestants failed to response denominationally. Instead, individuals called for Protestants' action on the social issues of the day. The Reverend C. Randall, pastor Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, decried the lack of a unified interdenominational approach against societal problems. His criticism of surplus churches in certain neighborhoods foreshadowed similar criticism in the 1910s. His comments further suggest that the Protestants' tendency to move churches rather than staying in a neighborhood was well

underway.¹⁰⁵ The new Bishop of Ohio (Episcopal), the Right Reverend William A. Leonard's decision to live in Cleveland meant problems of urbanization would not go unnoticed by Episcopalians.¹⁰⁶

The East Ohio Conference of the Methodist Church in 1892 organized a "Committee on City Evangelization". The Methodists established this committee as their response to immigration and migration of rural Americans coming to find work in Cleveland.¹⁰⁷ However, the Methodist Church did not enact any programs to meet the challenge of the city or immigrants until after 1907.

However, the Salvation Army was the main Protestant urban mission denomination. In 1865 General William Booth established the Salvation Army to work in the English slums. Officially, Philadelphia was the site of the first American corps in 1883. However, from 1872 to 1876, the

¹⁰⁵Plain Dealer, April 28, 1890 pp 4.

¹⁰⁶Leader, March 2, 1890. Bishop Leonard could have chosen, like his predecessors to live in rural town of Gambier (the attraction of this town was that it was also the home of Kenyon College which was established by Bishop Chase) and ride a circuit in which Cleveland would be one stop among many. Bishop Leonard did not forsake Gambier completely for he made it his summer home.

¹⁰⁷The Minutes of the 12th Annual Meeting of the East Ohio Conference pp 39.

Salvation Army had a small Cleveland mission.¹⁰³ By the end of the 1890s, the Salvation Army had the strongest Protestants' urban mission. Salvation Army had a day-care center, single woman's dormitory, and mission work to the factory workers. Unlike most Protestants, the Salvation Army did not ignore the immigrants. The Salvation Army established German, Italian and Swedish corps.

As in the past, Protestant denominations failed to address the challenges posed by immigrants. The German and Irish immigration of the 1820s did not tax the Protestants. Protestants generally ignored the Irish and Germans. Later arriving German immigrants were Protestants. Protestant German denominations followed these immigrants into Cleveland and took care of their needs.

The Protestants, initially, ignored the Eastern and Southern European immigrants because their membership was growing. Protestant denominations had no plans to evangelize these immigrants. For many Protestants, time and the Holy Spirit would convert the immigrants into good Protestants. The major problem for Protestants was how to keep up with the membership. As newer neighborhoods and suburbs open, Protestants moved into them along with their

¹⁰³ See the ECH's article pp 866 and for period between 1872-76 see Herbert Wisbey Jr, "A Salvation Army Prelude: The Christian Mission in Cleveland, Ohio", The Ohio Historical Quarterly, Vol 64, No. 1, January, 1955, pp 77-81.

church.

The consequence of these movements would not be fully felt until after 1908. Protestants did not seem to notice that the older Cleveland neighborhoods had no Protestant presences or very weakened church. The most notable exception to this pattern of abandoning the old neighborhood was Pilgrim Church. Pilgrim Church members decided to stay in the Tremont District and minister to new immigrants.¹⁰⁹ Protestants also did not recognize that by the late 1880s the Roman Catholic Church was probably Cleveland largest Christian denomination.¹¹⁰

Protestants also seem to tolerate certain societal changes. For example, Protestants criticized theaters roundly in the years before 1890. After 1890, Protestants' opposition seemly disappeared.¹¹¹ In contrast to earlier

¹⁰⁹Cleveland Centennial Commission. History of the Charities of Cleveland: 1796-1896, pp 63-64.

¹¹⁰From the listing in City Directory 1890 to 1910, the following figures were obtained: In 1890, the Roman Catholics had 25 churches; 1900 38 churches; and 1910, 63 churches. The Congregational Church had one of the highest Protestant denominational growth and its figures were: 1890 14 churches; 1900 24 churches; 1910 28 churches.

¹¹¹Plain Dealer. January 1, 1890, pp 8. The Methodist Church's Report of the Committee on the State of Church, 1877, had condemned amusements because they diverted a person away from religion. Amusements included dancing and theater going. (Minutes of East Ohio Conference, December 18, 1877) pp 33. Dancing and theater going would not be last amusements that Protestants were forced to accept. In the Twentieth Century, Protestants had to accept the presence of motion pictures, Sunday professional baseball and

opposition to spiritism, Protestants did not raise loud objects to new thinking. The Plain Dealer praised Robert G. Ingersoll, an agnostic, (a term that in the early 1800s did not exist) for pointing out problems in putting "God" into the Constitution.¹² There was little denominational opposition to the Plain Dealer's praise.

Part V Conclusions

The Nineteenth Century saw the rise of denominations to replace state churches. Protestant denominations were at the height of their social, political and religious influence. The denomination was another form of the voluntary society. In the Nineteenth Century, the voluntary society was very powerful in American Protestantism. Through the voluntary society, Protestants addressed social issues and causes.

The voluntary society's membership was individually based. The voluntary society allowed individuals to participate in causes that they had some deep feelings about. At the dawn of the Twentieth Century, the Protestants had no doubt that the voluntary society structure was sufficient to address any new problems or

municipal dance halls.

¹²Plain Dealer, January 6, 1890.

situations.

However, signs of changes were there. Through the rapid growth of benevolent societies, the Protestants could have seen their benevolent work diminish and a division between themselves and the benevolent work existed. A good example was the settlement house. Hiram House, in 1896, started the settlement house era in Cleveland. Within Protestantism, individuals were proclaiming a new idea called "Social Christianity" which urged Protestants to put Christianity to practical use within their daily lives. Toward the end of the 1890s, the Social Gospel helped to create new institutions namely the settlement houses and one institutional church. The Protestants could also notice the growth of the Roman Catholic Church.

However, the Protestants did not notice these changes. They entered the Twentieth Century fully confident that past methods of the voluntary society and individual conversion still would be effective to solve any problem or crisis. However, the growth in complexities of an urban American overwhelmed the capacity of the voluntary society. Individual conversion proved to be ineffective in the face of the growing secularity.

The realization that the old methods would not work came through failures in moral reforms and immigrant work. In hindsight, one can see that Protestants failed to

develop new methods. Instead, Protestants adapted the voluntary society for use in the Twentieth Century. The adaption also proved to be inadequate to meet the challenges of an urban society.

This chapter has shown in the broadest terms the rise of the denominations to power within the religious and social orders. The Protestants dominated the Nineteenth Century. This domination was slowly ending. In the Twentieth Century, Protestants became just one voice within the expanding social order. However, the unified Protestant's voice did not make the transition into the Twentieth Century. Like the religious order, Protestants too had several voices speaking for it.

The goal of Chapters Two and Three is to show how Protestants failed in moral reform and immigrant work because they attempted to use the voluntary society's organizational model. Chapter Four will show how the Protestants attempted to create the "new" voluntary society. Chapter Five will show the limitation of this "new" voluntary society.