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Agriculture and Regionalism at New Philadelphia

ABSTRACT

A study of agricultural practices around New Philadelphia, Illinois, and a comparison of these practices with those in the regions from whence the New Philadelphia residents came, tests the definitions of Upland South, Midland, and Northern (or Yankee) subsistence traditions. Using data from the U.S. census reports and agriculture schedules from 1840 and 1850, the choices of crops and livestock made by farmers in New York, Ohio, and Kentucky are compared to those made in the New Philadelphia community. Regional differences are found to have existed which influenced the farmers who lived in the area of that town in western Illinois. This study provides a firmer understanding of the subsistence and economic practices of the community.

Introduction

When "Free" Frank McWorter arrived in Illinois in 1830, his immediate purpose was to establish a farm. As his farming and other enterprises began to prosper, his most important goal became possible: to buy the freedom of his children and grandchildren who remained enslaved in Kentucky. After six years in Illinois, McWorter platted a town site on his property, and began to sell lots. The sale of these lots aided in achieving the freedom of his family (Walker 1983). McWorter called his town Philadelphia, or New Philadelphia. He lived on his farm across the road from New Philadelphia, and he sold town lots to African Americans and European Americans from Kentucky, a Yankee shoemaker from Rhode Island, a merchant from Ohio, and a physician from New York, among others.

While analyzing and interpreting the faunal remains from three years of excavations at New Philadelphia, the regional origins of the 19th-century town residents proved somewhat confusing. Could people from New York be fairly lumped in with New Englanders when regional dietary preferences were predicted? It is known that some of the Ohioans had lived in New York, some in Pennsylvania, and some had crossed the river from Kentucky, so should New Philadelphians born in Ohio be expected to make choices similar to Yankees or Upland Southerners? Archaeologists have not yet found evidence that frontier families in Illinois were influenced by ethnic or regional origin in their choices of material culture, but they have found that when it came to choosing what food to eat, what crops to grow, and what kinds of livestock to keep, early Illinoisans leaned toward the preferences of their forefathers (Mansberger 1987:271; Mazrim 2002:268).

Over the last 20 years, archaeologists working on 19th-century sites in Illinois have often made the distinction between occupations of these sites based on peoples' Upland South or Yankee origins. These distinctions have been particularly useful in the interpretation of the faunal and botanical remains from farmsteads, taverns, and even urban homes. When writing about Upland South cultural traits, archaeologists have relied indirectly upon the work of geographers who based much of their description of the Upland South on travelers' accounts and material culture, such as log cabin architecture (Newton 1974; Jordan and Kaups 1989). The Northern, or Yankee tradition is less well defined in Illinois archaeology, and the more elusive Midland tradition is largely unrecognized. This article attempts to define and document more precisely three cultural traditions that predominated in subsistence practices in 19th-century Hadley Township, Pike County, Illinois, with a particular view toward substantiating and refining zooarchaeological analysis of rural sites.

Zooarchaeology and Regional Diversity in Illinois Archaeology

At least 13 faunal assemblages from historic American sites in Illinois have provided zooarchaeologists with evidence of Upland South and Northern, or Yankee, subsistence practices (Zehr 2006). Generally, Upland South occupations yield more bones of swine than of cattle, as well as more bones from wild species. Yankee

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occupations result in more bones of cattle, less of wild game, and generally a lesser diversity of species. The characteristics of the Upland South are more fully documented with regard to architecture, material culture, and refuse disposal, as well as subsistence (McCorvie 1987; McCorvie et al. 1989; Wagner and McCorvie 1992). While the assemblages interpreted as evidence of a Yankee tradition are usually quite distinct from the Upland South assemblages, archaeologists have less literature at their disposal to help define the whole of this tradition. Nevertheless, several strong examples of Yankee occupations are found among sites reported upon in Illinois (Mansberger 1988; Phillippe 1990), and sites at New Salem and the Lincoln Home neighborhood provide opportunities to compare contemporaneous Upland South and Yankee occupations (Mansberger 1987; Mazrim 1996). There is also evidence of other traditions. McCorvie (1987) compares two Upland South sites to one inhabited by a German immigrant, and Madrigal (1991) compares the faunal remains from a farmstead occupied by Irish Americans to remains from a farmstead that had belonged to a family of Welsh ancestry that had immigrated by way of New Jersey and Ohio. Zehr's (2006) analysis of the faunal remains from the Stafford site demonstrates the difficulty in interpreting ethnic or regional diversity in subsistence practices. Finding that the Stafford family of Vermont preferred pork over beef (as might be expected of an Upland South family), Zehr at first concluded that the Staffords had been influenced by their Upland South neighbors in Sangamon County. On closer scrutiny, however, Zehr (2006:164) determined that the paucity of wild game, especially deer, and the presence of imported fish, was consistent with Yankee foodways.

In the course of the analysis of the faunal remains from New Philadelphia in Pike County (T. Martin and C. Martin, this volume), the variable character of regional ethnicity in Illinois became increasingly apparent, especially as related to dietary and agricultural preferences. This study begins to address that range of variation by providing a brief historical sketch of three regional traditions, and by then comparing agricultural census data from the three regions to the practices of farmers in the New Philadelphia community.

Regions of Origin

Hadley Township, which included New Philadelphia and the surrounding rural community, was inhabited in the middle of the 19th century by people from three major regions of the United States. For the purposes of this study, they will be referred to as the Northern, Midland, and Upland South regions. The study in no way suggests that these traditions were static over either time or space. On the contrary, it is assumed that all cultures are in a constant state of adaptation, change, and fluidity. In looking for evidence of regional traditions at New Philadelphia, evidence of cultural practices transplanted wholesale from Europe to America, and ultimately to Illinois, are not expected. What is expected is evidence of influences and preferences that have been retained, adapted, or discarded through several generations and migrations.

Northern Tradition

The Northern region encompasses New England and the state of New York. The customs of the Northern (or Yankee) settlers originated with Calvinist Puritans who migrated to New England in the second quarter of the 17th century. Most of the Puritans hailed from East Anglia, and when they came to America they adhered to their traditional subsistence and dietary patterns as conservatively as possible (Fischer 1989:31,135–139, 1991:264–274). Ignoring the banquet of wild game, birds, and seafood around them, they subsisted on pease porridge, wheat bread, and boiled meat. As much as possible, they chose to eat dunghill fowl, salt pork, and salt beef. Only occasionally did they choose fresh, wild game as an alternative to their preserved domestic meats (Coe and Coe 1984:42; Derven 1984:56; McMahon 1985:34; Fischer 1989:135–139). According to McMahon (1985:35), in the middle of the 17th century less than half of all small farms kept swine, with only a few more owning a milk cow. Medium-sized farms averaged "two or three swine and cattle." Another study suggests that in the 18th century pork was slightly preferred over beef (Derven 1984:56). The early New Englanders kept sheep for wool, only occasionally using those stock for mutton (Coe and Coe 1984:42; Derven 1984:56; McMahon 1985:34).

Because they could not produce enough wheat, 17th-century New Englanders made bread of a mixture of wheat and maize flours. When their wheat crops failed in the 1660s, they shifted to a blend of rye and maize (Derven 1984:52; McMahon 1985:31–32). They used familiar European vegetables such as cabbage, turnips, beets, carrots, and parsnips as a flavoring, or "sauce" for their meat (McMahon 1985:39).

Although mid-19th-century Northern farmers would be expected to raise some swine, sheep, and corn, they would prefer cattle and wheat. They would also be expected to keep more milk cows and produce more dairy products, especially cheese, and to prefer oxen over horses and mules as draft animals (Kulikoff 2000:235–236; Anderson 2004:145). They also might grow other grains, including rye, barley, and buckwheat more frequently than farmers in the Midland or Upland South. In Northern-tradition archaeological deposits, more cattle bones than swine, and virtually no wild species would be predicted.

Midland Tradition

The Midland region states include New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. This definition of a "Midland" region should not be confused with the Midland backwoods frontier culture defined by Jordan and Kaups (1989:8–9), which sprawls from Ontario to Florida, and from the Delaware Valley to the Pacific. Wedged between the Northern and Upland South folkways, the Midland tradition as defined here was strongly influenced by its original Quaker settlers. Most of the early Quakers came from the North Midlands of England, although they were joined by Welsh, Dutch, and German Quakers, as well as non-Quakers from western Germany, Switzerland, and Alsace (Fischer 1989:429–431). Like the austere Puritans, Quakers encouraged simplicity and moderation in their diets. They frequently ate boiled dumplings, puddings, and bread boiled in milk. Whereas Puritans preserved their meats by salting and flavored them with easily stored root vegetables, Quakers dried their beef, and dehydrated milk, fruits, and vegetables by boiling (Fischer 1989:538–544). Quakers were quickly outnumbered by other immigrant groups, and their foodways were influenced by the newcomers, especially the Germans. In his study of southeastern Pennsylvania, Lemon (1972:150–151,179) describes a system of "generalized mixed farming," and an "extensive rather than intensive agricultural system" that favored diverse crops and livestock. Pennsylvania farmers raised cattle, swine, and some sheep. Although "more families owned cattle than owned other animals," Lemon (1972:160,165) calculates that they consumed twice as much pork as beef. In an earlier and smaller-scale study, Lemon (1967) judged that pork was more popular than beef, though not so much as in the South. The Pennsylvanians did not eat mutton, and the degree to which they used wild game is unknown (Lemon 1967:61–63). Wheat was their most important crop, but they also grew corn, rye, oats, barley, and buckwheat (Lemon 1972:150–157). By the mid-18th century, Pennsylvania farmers began to feed corn to hogs, and only poorer residents continued to focus on growing it for human consumption (Lemon 1972:157).

The mid-19th-century descendants of these Midland farmers might be expected to prefer wheat for human consumption and corn for feed, with less likelihood of preferring one over the other, compared to farmers from the other two regions. They would be predicted to produce more dairy products, sheep, and grains other than wheat and corn than their Upland South counterparts, and less than their Northern neighbors.

The Midland tradition is the most difficult to identify and define. As people from the Delaware Valley spread southward, they helped develop the Upland South tradition. As they moved westward into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, they joined with people from New York, New England, the Upland South region, and new European immigrants. Thus, it is important that archaeologists begin to take the Midland migration into account for two reasons: because the tradition originated with, and developed from different influences than the Northern and Upland South traditions, and because the western Midland states hosted a mingling of Northern, Midland, Upland South, and European cultures.

Upland South Tradition

The Upland South region and culture overlaps the Midland in several ways. It developed in

the middle of the 18th century in the backcountry of the Carolinas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. It spread westward through Missouri, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas, Oklahoma, and the southern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The original Upland South people were immigrants from the English-Scottish borderlands, and Scots- and Anglo-Irish from Ulster (Fischer 1989:608–610). Blending border traditions with material culture influences from Scandinavians in the Delaware Valley, the Upland South culture developed into a system that geographers have argued was "pre-adapted" to the American frontier (Newton 1974; Jordan and Kaups 1989). Upland South traits include a dispersed kin-based settlement pattern, the predominance of county government, an open class system, evangelical Protestantism, anti-federalism, and a generalized stockman-farmer-hunter economy. Corn, hogs, and cotton (where it could be grown) were the core of Upland South agriculture, but Upland South farmers were also extremely adaptable and willing to grow a diversity of cash crops (Newton 1974:152).

Missionary Charles Woodmason observed that the early Upland Southerners subsisted on "clabber, butter, fat mushy bacon [and] cornbread" (Fischer 1989:727). They replaced their oat mush with corn mush, and accepted other native American crops, including squash, pumpkins, and beans (Fischer 1989:729). They also relied on wild game far more heavily than did other groups.

As the American frontier advanced through the Midland and Upland South areas, a backwoods culture thrived in the earliest waves of settlement (Jordan and Kaups 1989). Because of this shared frontier culture, the differences between the Midland and Upland South traditions can be indistinct. Simply put, both are the offspring of the backwoods frontier.

Upland South farmers are predicted to raise significantly more swine and corn than farmers from the Midland and North. Cattle and wheat production should be far below that of swine and corn. They are expected to show little interest in growing rye, barley, or buckwheat. Although Upland South farmers would own some milk cows, it is predicted that they would produce less butter than their neighbors to the north, and little or no cheese. Archaeologically, an abundance of bones from swine and wild game are expected.

Regional Traditions in Pike County

In his study of Illinois based on the 1850 U.S. census, Douglas K. Meyer (2000:165, 192,223) traced regional settlement patterns by counties. Defining the degree of settlement by people from various states and regions, Meyer classified each Illinois county as within one of four levels of concentration of pioneers from each state and region. The four levels, in descending order of degree of concentration, are the core, domain, sphere, and avoidance. He placed Pike County (the location of New Philadelphia) within the domain of both the Upland South and Midland-Midwest (Midland) culture, and within the sphere of the New England (Northern) culture. He found that none of the three regional cultures dominated Pike County to the extent of its falling under the classification of core. When examining the population by state of origin, however, he found that Pike County was in the core of Kentucky, Massachusetts, Maine, Ohio, New Jersey, and Missouri settlement (Meyer 2000:143, 181, 188, 205, 217, 221).

Analysis of the Agricultural Census

In the middle of the 19th century, New Philadelphia was a small, rural town, and it was the only town in Hadley Township, Pike County, Illinois. A tiny island in a sea of farmsteads, it boasted only three houses in the early 1840s (Walker 1983:123). The community of New Philadelphia included far more than the few families who lived in the town; it included families on dozens of surrounding farms. Even the town's founders, Frank and Lucy McWorter, lived on their farm across the road.

To determine the degree to which Hadley Township farmers were influenced by traditional Upland South, Midland, or Northern agricultural practices, the U.S. census lists for 1840 and 1850 were examined. These sources take two forms: the manuscript enumeration schedules upon which the census takers recorded the details of each household, and the aggregate census reports published by the federal government based on the information collected by the

census takers. For 1850, two sets of enumeration schedules are available, those recording population, and those recording agricultural data.

Data from 1840, the earliest census pertinent to New Philadelphia and Hadley Township, are more vague than the data collected in 1850. Agricultural statistics are limited to data from the whole of Pike County. Because of the way the census was taken in 1840, it would be difficult to look specifically at the New Philadelphia or Hadley Township community. Using statistics from the 1840 aggregate census report, agricultural production in Pike County was compared to that of the whole of Illinois, and to the states of Kentucky, Ohio, and New York. These states represent the birthplaces of many of the Hadley Township farmers. They also represent the three cultural regions that fed Hadley Township settlement: Upland South (Kentucky), Midland (Ohio) and North (New York). Focusing on crop and livestock preferences thought to have predominated in each of the three regions, the average number of bushels of grain, head of livestock, and value of dairy products per farmer produced in 1840 in New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, and Pike County were compared. Then the ratios of swine to cattle, swine to sheep, and corn to wheat were compared (United States Bureau of the Census 1840, 1850b, 1853; United States Department of State 1841).

With the 1850 census, the amount of information increases in two important ways. First, the 1850 census schedules list each person by name (as opposed to only the head of household) and record personal information such as age, sex, race, occupation, and place of birth. Second, the manuscript schedules enumerating each farmer's production are also available. By comparing the entries for the same farmers on the population and agriculture schedules, one can look for agricultural patterns among Pike County farmers born in different regions of the country.

Using the 1850 aggregate census report, the same data was compiled from New York, Ohio, Kentucky, and Illinois as was done for 1840. Data were expanded and refined specific to Hadley Township by incorporating information from the manuscript enumeration schedules from 1850.

Using the agriculture and population schedules for Hadley Township, all the farmers in the township who reported information on their operations to the census taker were identified. After removing 40 farmers who actually lived in New Salem Township, and another 17 from Derry Township, 107 Hadley Township farmers were left. These do not include a number of people listed as farmers, farm laborers, or laborers on the population schedule. Generally, the farmers listed on the agriculture schedules were farm owners. Therefore, the present calculations are biased toward those farmers with enough wealth to own their farms.

Of the 107 farmers, the overwhelming majority were native-born, "white" males. Four were women. No occupations were entered for the women on the population schedule. If they had teenaged or adult sons, then the sons were designated as farmers. All but two farmers were white. The two "mulatto" farmers were Free Frank McWorter and his son Solomon. This is somewhat misleading. Free Frank's other sons, Francis, Commodore, and Squire were not listed on the agriculture schedule. On the population schedule, Frank was recorded as a farmer owning $2,500 worth of real estate. Solomon was unmarried, living in his parents' home, with no occupation or real estate indicated, but he nevertheless appeared on the agriculture schedule. Commodore, also unmarried and living in his parents' home, was listed as a farmer with $2,160 in real estate, but he was not listed on the agriculture schedule. Francis was included in his parents' household, with no occupation or real estate (his wife and children were in Squire's household; Francis may have been ill, as he died shortly thereafter). Squire was married, probably living in the town of New Philadelphia, and was recorded as owning $1,000 worth of real estate (far more than a few lots in New Philadelphia were worth), although he also did not appear on the agriculture schedule. The agriculture schedule indicated that Solomon owned no livestock, not even draft animals, and produced no crops beyond some corn, oats, and hay. This suggests that the agricultural activities of some extended families may be best understood when considered as one operation, a consideration beyond the scope of this study.

Three men on the agriculture schedule were not named as farmers on the population schedule. One was a carpenter and two were shoemakers. They serve as a reminder that many people made their livings by a combination

of activities such as farming, carpentry, smithing, shoemaking, teaching, weaving, tailoring, and general labor. Women's occupations are especially underrepresented. In 1850, only one woman in Hadley Township, a school teacher, was listed as having an occupation. In addition to women who may have been deeply involved in the family farm, probate records show that there were several weavers in the community in the 1840s. There were almost surely seamstresses, dairy and poultry producers, midwives, and nurses whose occupations were not counted by the census.

The 107 farmers were divided into four groups, based on their regions of birth. For the purpose of this study, the nuances of families in which the husband and wife were born in different parts of the country, or who may have lived in and been influenced by other regions before coming to Illinois, were not considered. The four regional groups are (1) foreign, (2) North, (3) Midland, and (4) Upland South.

There were only four foreign-born farmers in Hadley Township in 1850. Two were born in Ireland, one in Scotland, and one in Canada. Twenty-seven farmers (25%) were born in the Northern states of New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. New Yorkers were the overwhelming majority in this group, numbering 16 of the 27.

Forty-five farmers (42%) were born in the Midland states of Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. Most were from Ohio (19) and Pennsylvania (18). Only one was born in Illinois, illustrating the relative newness of settlement, and how recently Hadley Township had been a frontier. Another farmer, whose birthplace was unknown, was counted among the Midland farmers, as his wife and children were born in Ohio. The Midland-born farmers were the largest group represented in the 1850 census, totaling 45 individuals.

Thirty-one farmers (29%) were born in the Upland South, representing Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, and South Carolina. The lone South Carolinian was Free Frank McWorter himself. Although at first glance his origins in slavery may suggest the Lowland South, McWorter was born in the upcountry to a small-scale slaveholder, and spent most of his adult life in Kentucky (United States Bureau of the Census 1790; Walker 1983:7–8,18–19).

The percentages of farmers of each region of origin who chose to raise specific crops and livestock were compared. Then average production (bushels of grain or head of livestock) was compared based on the farmers' origins. Finally, the ratios of swine to cattle, swine to sheep, and corn to wheat, were calculated, and these ratios were compared by regional origin.

This study focused on choices the farmers made in draft animals, meat-producing animals, dairy production, and major grain crops. Several lesser categories, such as orchard produce, also have potential for illustrating differences among farming in different regions.

1840 Census Information

Draft Animals

Based on literature concerning the Upland South, one might predict that Upland South farmers would prefer mules to horses or oxen as draft animals. The 1840 census report combined horses and mules in one category, however, and did not mention oxen, which were tallied with milk and beef cattle under the heading of "neat cattle" (United States Department of State 1841). The average New York farmer owned one horse or mule, and the average for Ohio farmers was 1.6. In Kentucky the average was 2.0; in Illinois it was 1.9. The Pike County average was slightly more than one horse or mule per farmer (Table 1).

Dairy

Farmers from the North are generally assumed to have produced more dairy products, and this is borne out by the 1840 census data. The average New York farmer produced $23.00 worth of dairy products, as opposed to $6.78 in Ohio, $4.71 in Kentucky, and $4.07 in Illinois. In Pike County, the average value of dairy products per farmer was 30¢.

Meat

While swine, cattle, and sheep were raised throughout the country, a major characteristic of the Upland South culture is its preference for hogs. Farmers in the Upland South state of Kentucky raised nearly three times as many

TABLE 1
REGIONAL AGRICULTURAL PREFERENCES IN 1840: AVERAGE PRODUCTION PER FARMER

	Pike County	Illinois	Kentucky	Ohio	New York
Persons employed in agriculture (total)	3,454	105,337	197,738	272,579	455,954
Horses and mules	1.01	1.89	2.00	1.58	1.04
Neat cattle	3.65	5.95	3.98	4.47	4.19
Swine	6.49	14.20	11.69	7.70	4.17
Sheep	2.02	3.76	5.10	7.44	11.23
Indian corn (bu.)	104.21	214.87	201.52	123.52	24.06
Wheat (bu.)	23.71	31.66	9.12	60.80	26.95
Barley (bu.)	0.09	0.78	0.08	0.78	5.53
Rye (bu.)	0.35	0.84	6.68	2.99	6.53
Buckwheat (bu.)	0.50	0.55	0.04	2.32	5.02
Oats (bu.)	8.94	47.35	36.19	52.80	45.346
Potatoes (bu.)	9.15	19.23	5.34	21.30	66.07
Hay (tn.)	0.16	1.57	0.45	3.75	6.86
Dairy ($)	0.30	4.07	4.71	6.78	23.02
Swine:cattle	1.8:1	2.4:1	2.9:1	1.7:1	1:1
Swine:sheep	3.2:1	3.8:1	2.3:1	1.0:1	0.4:1
Corn:wheat	4.4:1	6.8:1	22.1:1	2.03:1	0.9:1

Source: United States Department of State 1841.

swine as cattle, and more than twice as many swine as sheep. The ratio of swine to cattle in Kentucky in 1840 was 2.9:1. In Ohio the ratio was 1.7:1, and in New York it was nearly even. The ratios of swine to sheep were 2.3:1 in Kentucky, slightly over 1:1 in Ohio, and 0.3:1 in New York. These findings are precisely what was predicted for farmers from Kentucky, Ohio, and New York, as representatives of the Upland South, Midland, and North, respectively.

Illinois farmers preferred swine to cattle at a ratio of 2.4:1, and the ratio of swine to sheep was 3.8:1. Pike County was still in its settlement period, and many of its early settlers were from the Upland South, especially Kentucky (Chapman 1880:740), but while they did prefer swine to cattle and sheep, the ratio of swine to cattle was 1.8:1. This is less striking than the ratio in Kentucky, and less than might be predicted in a region that was still not completely settled. The ratio of swine to sheep in Pike County was 3.2:1. Pike County farmers' preference for swine over cattle was closest to that of the Ohio farmers, while their preference for swine over sheep was greater than that of Ohio or New York.

Grain

In the Upland South, as well as on a frontier, it is expected that more "Indian corn" than wheat would be grown. In 1839–1840, Kentucky farmers grew an extraordinary 22 times as many bushels of corn as wheat. Farmers in Ohio produced twice as much corn as wheat, whereas New York farmers produced slightly less than one bushel of corn for every bushel of wheat. In Illinois and in Pike County, the preference for corn over wheat was high, although, as with swine production, not so great as in Kentucky.

Other Products

For lesser crops, regional differences are also apparent. New York farmers grew considerably more buckwheat and barley than did farmers from the other states studied. The average production of oats was 45 bushels (bu.) per farmer in New York, 53 in Ohio, 36 in Kentucky, 47 in Illinois, and only 9 in Pike County. Rye production was about even in New York and Kentucky, though the New Yorkers may have grown it for bread and the Kentuckians for whiskey. There

was little interest in the crop in Ohio and Illinois, and almost none in Pike County. Fischer (1989:728) mentions potatoes as a staple of the backcountry ancestors of the Upland South, but of the sample states, New York farmers produced by far the most potatoes.

In 1840, farm production from the sample states of New York, Ohio, and Kentucky conforms to the concept of preferences in the three regions that contributed to the New Philadelphia community. While Pike County agriculture might be described as "more Upland South" than anything else, it is clearly not "as Upland South" as the state of Kentucky. This is somewhat surprising, as Pike County was newly settled, and many of its settlers were from the Upland South (Chapman 1880:341).

1850 Census Information

By 1850, the New Philadelphia community had developed considerably, and so had the nearby town of Barry. Barry had opened a woolen mill and pork-packing plant in the mid-1840s (Chapman 1880:799, 817, 833), providing an easily accessible market for farmers around New Philadelphia. With the 1850 census, there is more information available, and this allows a specific look at farm production in Hadley, the township in which New Philadelphia is located (United States Bureau of the Census 1850a, 1850b, 1853).

Draft Animals

Most Hadley Township farmers owned at least two or three horses in 1850. The lowest percentage of farmers owning horses were those from the Upland South, with 90% owning horses, averaging 2.6 horses per farmer. The highest percentage, except for the foreign farmers, were the Midland farmers, 96% owning an average of 2.9. The 93% of Northern farmers who owned horses averaged 4.5 per farmer, however. Hadley Township farmers of all regional categories owned more horses than the averages in their home regions (Tables 2 and 3).

TABLE 2
REGIONAL AGRICULTURAL PREFERENCES IN 1850: AVERAGE PRODUCTION PER FARMER

	Hadley Township	Illinois	Kentucky	Ohio	New York
Persons employed in agriculture	107	140,894	114,715	269,690	311,591
Horses	3.02	1.90	2.75	1.50	1.44
Mules	0.17	0.08	0.57	0.13	<0.01
Oxen	0.65	0.54	0.55	0.24	0.57
Milk cattle	3.56	2.09	2.16	2.02	2.99
Other cattle	6.16	3.84	3.86	2.78	2.46
Swine	29.41	13.60	25.20	7.29	3.27
Sheep	12.37	6.35	9.61	14.62	11.08
Indian corn (bu.)	1015.89	409.15	511.46	219.06	57.31
Wheat (bu.)	96.25	66.82	18.68	53.72	42.11
Barley (bu.)	0	0.79	0.83	1.31	11.51
Rye (bu.)	0.09	0.59	3.62	1.58	13.31
Buckwheat (bu.)	10.14	1.31	0.14	2.37	10.22
Oats (bu.)	101.65	71.60	71.49	49.96	85.22
Irish potatoes (bu.)	19.67	17.85	13.01	18.75	49.42
Hay (tn.)	2.68	4.27	0.99	5.35	11.97
Butter (lbs.)	83.6	88.9	86.7	127.7	256.0
Cheese (lbs.)	21.3	9.1	1.9	77.2	159.6
Swine:cattle	4.8:1	3.5:1	6.5:1	2.6:1	1.3:1
Swine:sheep	2.4:1	2.1:1	2.6:1	0.5:1	0.3:1
Corn (bu.):Wheat (bu.)	10.6:1	6.1:1	27.4:1	4.1:1	1.4:1

Source: United States Bureau of the Census 1853.

TABLE 3
AVERAGE PRODUCTION PER FARMER IN HADLEY TOWNSHIP, PIKE COUNTY, ILLINOIS IN 1850

	Foreign	Upland South	Midland	North
Farmers	4	31	45	27
Total acres	65	150.5	131.6	190.3
Improved acres	33.75	47.10	63.51	65.78
Unimproved acres	31.25	103.35	75.93	111.30
Farm value ($)	335	622	704	1,105
Farm machinery value ($)	40.00	40.32	44.89	79.37

	Average	%	Average	%	Average	%	Average	%
Horses	2.75	100%	2.64	90%	2.91	96%	4.52	93%
Mules	0	0%	1.0	6.5%	1.5	4.4%	2.17	2.2%
Oxen	0	0%	2.8	32%	4.14	16%	2.4	19%
Milk cattle	3.33	75%	2.97	93.5%	3.4	95.5%	5.35	96.2%
Other cattle	2.67	75%	5.04	90%	7.25	89%	8.80	93%
Swine	17.25	100%	23.3	96.7%	32.47	95.6%	36.41	88.9%
Sheep	18.0	25%	11.88	80.7%	16.3	64.4%	29.78	66.7%
Wool (lbs.)	42	25%	33.77	71%	37.59	60%	71.83	66.7%
Corn (bu.)	837.5	100%	713.87	100%	982.0	100%	1,561.2	92.6%
Wheat (bu.)	123	50%	109.38	68%	125.97	73%	179.95	74%
Barley (bu.)	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Rye (bu.)	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	10	3.7%
Buckwheat (bu.)	40.0	25%	14.6	16.1%	31.63	35.6%	51.78	33.3%
Oats (bu.)	63.33	75%	113.95	61.3%	125.21	84.4%	150.56	92.6%
Irish potatoes (bu.)	41.67	75%	11.8	65%	32.55	64%	47.06	63%
Butter (lbs.)	50	25%	112.5	64.5%	137.31	57.8%	205.0	55.6%
Cheese (lbs.)	0	0%	0	0%	30	2.2%	562	14.8%
Swine:cattle		8.6:1		5.0:1		4.8:1		4.5:1
Swine:sheep		3.8:1		2.4:1		3.0:1		1.8:1
Corn (bu.):wheat (bu.)		13.6:1		9.6:1		10.6:1		10.8:1

Source: United States Bureau of the Census 1850b.

Only a few of the listed farmers used mules or oxen, and this did not precisely follow the predicted pattern based on their regional origins. Farmers of Upland South backgrounds were more likely to own mules (6.5%), and Northern farmers least likely (2.2%), but when the average number of mules owned is considered, the figures reverse. The mule-owning Upland South farmers averaged one animal apiece, whereas those Northern farmers with mules averaged 2.2. As only 10 farmers in Hadley Township kept a total of 18 mules, the significance of these comparisons is doubtful.

It was predicted that the Northern farmers would prefer oxen, and the Upland South farmers would be least likely to use them, but in Hadley Township, the reverse was true. Nineteen percent of Northern farmers owned oxen, averaging 2.4 head each. Upland South farmers were most likely to own oxen (32%), averaging 2.8 each. Midland farmers were least likely to own oxen (16%), but those who did kept the most animals on average, with 4.14.

Mules and oxen were uncommon in all of the states of origin surveyed. There were fewer than 1,000 mules or asses in the entire state of New York in 1850. Of the three states studied, Kentucky farmers owned the largest number of horses and mules, averaging 2.8 and 0.6 per farmer, respectively.

Dairy

Most farmers in Hadley Township kept milk cows in 1850: 94% of Upland South and 96%

of Northern and Midland farmers had cows. The farmers born in Northern states averaged 5.4 cows, compared with averages of 3.0 and 3.4 owned by Upland South and Midland farmers, respectively.

Butter and cheese production was quite different among the three groups. Upland South farmers were most likely to produce butter (65%), but produced the least, averaging 113 lbs. Fifty-eight percent of Midland farmers produced butter, averaging 137 lbs. per farm. Less than 56% of Northern farmers produced butter, but those who did averaged 205 lbs.

No Upland South farmers made cheese, and only one Midland farmer did so (producing 30 lbs). Four Northern farmers produced an average of 562 lbs. The Upland South disinterest in cheese is exactly what was predicted, although greater production from the Midland and Northern farmers might have been anticipated.

Turning to the sample states of origin, New York farmers averaged 256 lbs. of butter and 160 lbs of cheese, Ohio farmers produced an average of 128 lbs. of butter and 77 lbs. of cheese, whereas Kentucky farmers averaged 87 lbs. of butter and less than 2 lbs. of cheese.

Meat

Most Hadley Township farmers also kept "other cattle." Presumably, this category (cattle other than milk cows and oxen) included calves and breeding bulls, but it is the closest figure available to suggest the relative numbers of beef cattle. Again, the average number of beef, or "other" cattle was greatest among Northern-born farmers. Ninety percent of Upland South farmers raised cattle, averaging five head per farm. About the same percentage (89%) of Midland farmers averaged 7.3 head. The Northern farmers (96%) averaged 8.8 cattle.

Swine were also raised by most Hadley Township farmers. Northern farmers were least likely to have swine (89%), but averaged the most swine per farmer, with 36.4. All but one Upland South farmer kept swine, but Upland South farmers had the fewest, averaging 23.3 swine per farmer. Midland farmers (96%) averaged 32.5 swine.

Between the times of the 1840 and 1850 censuses, Hadley Township farmers gained a local market for wool when a mill was opened in nearby Barry. This event might be expected to diminish any regional differences. Indeed, regional preferences appear to have reversed since 1840, when percentages of farmers raising sheep are considered. Among Upland South farmers, 81% raised sheep, compared with 64% of Midland, and 67% of Northern farmers. Northern farmers averaged the highest number of sheep (29.8), however, and produced by far the highest average amount of wool (71.8 lbs.). In spite of being most likely to raise sheep, Upland South farmers produced the lowest average amount of wool (33.8 lbs.). Midland farmers averaged 37.6 lbs. It is doubtful that many of these sheep were raised for meat, as eating mutton was one of the first English traditions curtailed by Americans (Lemon 1967:61; Coe and Coe 1984:42).

Hadley Township farmers from all regions owned more "other cattle" than farmers in their home regions. New York farmers averaged fewer than 2.4, Ohio farmers about 2.8, and Kentucky farmers averaged 3.9 cattle. The average for all Hadley farmers was 6.2.

The differences in numbers of swine are even clearer. The average New York and Ohio farmers owned 3.3 and 7.3 swine, respectively. Kentucky farmers, however, true to their Upland South tradition, averaged 25.2 swine. Northern and Midland farmers in Hadley exceeded the production in their home regions (more than tenfold in the case of the Northern farmers), while Upland South farmers fell a little short of the average Kentucky farmer.

The average New York farmer in 1850 raised only a few more swine than cattle (a ratio of 1.3:1), and raised three times as many sheep as swine. While Ohio farmers favored swine over cattle 2.6:1, they also raised considerably more sheep than swine. Again, the Kentucky farmers epitomize the Upland South, preferring swine to cattle at a rate of 6.5:1, and swine over sheep 2.6:1. In Hadley Township, farmers from all backgrounds preferred swine to cattle or sheep, although less so than did the Kentuckians. In spite of the ready market for wool, all Hadley Township farmers preferred swine to sheep to a significant degree. More Upland South farmers (71%) reported that they sheared sheep, but Northern farmers averaged twice as many pounds of wool.

Grain

Since the first English colonists settled in what would become the United States, "Indian Corn," or maize, has been ubiquitous in all regions. The preference for corn over other crops was strongest among Upland South and backcountry farmers, however. It was far more productive than wheat in newly broken land, and the border and Scots-Irish colonists quickly replaced their oatmeal with corn mush (Lemon 1972:157,169; Fischer 1989:610,729). In 1850, all of the foreign, Upland South, and Midland farmers reported that they grew corn. Only a few Northern farmers did not. The 93% of Northern farmers who did grow corn, produced the highest yields, averaging 1,561 bu. per farmer. The ratio of bushels of corn produced to bushels of wheat was 10.6:1 in Hadley Township. The ratio for Upland South farmers (9.6:1), however, was lower than that of the Midland (10.6:1) and Northern farmers (10.8:1). In the sample states of New York, Ohio, and Kentucky, the ratio of corn to wheat was a little more than 1:1, 4:1, and 27:1, respectively.

Other Crops

One Hadley farmer, a 58-year-old New Yorker, raised rye in the year preceding the 1850 census, and he grew a mere 10 bu. Similarly, the only peas reportedly produced by a Hadley farmer were three bushels grown by a 44-year-old New Yorker. A third of the Northern farmers grew some buckwheat, with slightly more Midland farmers choosing to grow it. Only five Upland South farmers grew buckwheat. The Northern farmers were far more productive, averaging 51.8 bu., with the Midland and Upland South farmers averaging 31.6 and 14.6 bu., respectively.

Northern farmers were more likely to raise oats (93%), compared to 84% of Midland farmers and 61% of Upland South farmers. Yet again, Northern farmers' production was highest, with a 150.6 bu. average, as opposed to 125.2 for Midland farmers, and 114 for Upland South farmers.

Farmers born in the three regions under study were about equally likely (63%–65%) to grow potatoes. Northern-born farmers who grew potatoes raised an average of 47 bu., compared with 33 bu. grown by the average potato-producing Midland farmer, and a 12 bu. average for Upland South potato growers.

Overall, the choices made by farmers in the sample states of Kentucky, Ohio, and New York reflect the preferences predicted for the Upland South, Midland, and Northern regions. In Hadley Township, the results are not always as clear. While farmers of Upland South origins were more likely to raise the livestock and crops of their home regions, they did not do so at as high a rate as the farmers "back home." Frequently, Upland South farmers chose an Upland South crop at a higher rate than other groups, but did not produce as much of it as did the Northern farmers.

Farm Value

If the regional distinctions among Hadley Township farmers were not as clear as predicted in terms of livestock or crop choices, in another respect the three groups were very different. This difference also explains why Northern-born farmers tended to produce more livestock and crops than other farmers: they were richer. Farmers born in Northern states consistently owned larger farms, had more improved than unimproved acres, and invested more money in farm machinery. Whether this means that Northern farmers arrived in Pike County with more capital to invest in their farms, used more productive horticultural and animal husbandry techniques, or aspired to different standards of success, neither archaeological nor census data can reveal.

Conclusions

This study of the 1840 and 1850 agriculture census confirms and strengthens the definitions of the Upland South, Midland, and Northern foodways. It demonstrates that these regional differences did exist, and that they influenced the farmers who lived near the rural town of New Philadelphia. As future investigations at New Philadelphia proceed, they will do so with a firmer understanding of the subsistence and economic practices of the community.

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