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Courtly, Careful, Thrifty: Subsistence and Regional Origin at New Philadelphia

ABSTRACT

Three years of research at the New Philadelphia site in western Illinois have provided the opportunity to integrate archaeological and documentary information to improve the understanding of family organization, economic patterns, and subsistence activities in this small, racially integrated, agrarian community. Analysis of the faunal remains recovered, and the study of available historical records, permit one to compare and contrast households within the town site, and to explore how the different regional backgrounds of the town's residents affected their livelihoods. Patterns of migration, regional origin, social organization, and intricate familial relationships are continuing to emerge even as new data are being collected. Because of its small size and its discrete and relatively recent existence, New Philadelphia presents a unique opportunity to study the entire history of a community in minute detail.

Introduction

The courtly Southerner, the careful Easterner and the thrifty New Yorker are met here, and it is therefore natural that a social system should be established which is culled from the high standard of the sections named (Chapman 1880:799).

Since excavations began at New Philadelphia in 2004, three house lots have been examined which have produced faunal assemblages sufficient to address the question of whether there existed regional differences in subsistence patterns. Animal remains from five features in the three house lots varied in the representations of certain domesticated and wild species. As investigations proceeded, one of the questions explored was whether families coming to New Philadelphia from different places continued to maintain the familiar dietary patterns of their places of origin. In order to address this question, the historical documentation was examined for information about the people who inhabited the subject lots during the time periods contemporaneous with the archaeological deposits. Success varied in terms

of identifying the people associated with the features, determining their regional backgrounds, and interpreting their subsistence patterns.

Environmental Setting of New Philadelphia

New Philadelphia lies in the southernmost part of the Galesburg section of the Western Forest-Prairie division of Illinois, characterized by a strongly dissected till plain with ravines in the uplands (Schwegman 1973:19). At New Philadelphia, the prairie was bordered by timber (United States General Land Office 1804–1891), and Kiser Creek ran in a shallow ravine adjacent to the town site. According to historian Juliet Walker, New Philadelphia was also near “the intersection of several important cross-county roads that offered access to markets” and the town “developed into an important agricultural service center” (Walker 1983:108–109, 1985:56). Throughout its history, New Philadelphia offered, at one time or another, the services of a blacksmith, wheelwright, wagon maker, and carpenter to serve the surrounding agricultural community. It did not, however, have a saw- or gristmill. For these services, farmers went to the town of Barry, a few miles west of New Philadelphia.

An 1880 Pike County history (Chapman 1880:282–287,345) provides impressions of the wildlife “Free” Frank McWorter and the early residents of New Philadelphia found when they arrived in the 1830s. Gray fox, cougar, black bear, and white-tailed deer became rare soon after the area was settled, whereas opossum, raccoon, muskrat, eastern cottontail, and tree squirrels remained common. Wolves threatened livestock, resulting in bounties and organized wolf hunts. Birds of special note were wild turkey, prairie chicken, ruffed grouse, bobwhite, Carolina parakeet, passenger pigeon, and many species of ducks and geese. The Mississippi and Illinois rivers were “quite prolific” with fish, and species of economic importance included suckers, such as buffalo and redbone, channel catfish and bullheads, and paddlefish. Despite the abundance of wild game, the dietary staple in Pike County soon became “pork and poultry” (Chapman 1880:345).

Regional Origins of the 19th-Century Inhabitants

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. Each of these regions developed its own traditions of subsistence practices and commercial agriculture. A fuller description of these regional traditions is provided in the preceding article in this volume (C. Martin and T. Martin).

Briefly, the Northern region was represented in New Philadelphia and Hadley township by people from the New England states and New York, where farmers preferred to raise wheat and cattle (for beef and dairy), and relied on wild game only as an occasional supplement to their diet. In contrast, the Upland South tradition is typified by a preference for corn, hogs, and a heavy reliance on wild game. New Philadelphians of Upland South origin came from the backcountry of Kentucky, Tennessee, Maryland, Missouri, and the Carolinas. The Midland tradition is the least clearly defined, and often overlaps the other two. Midland foodways and agricultural preferences are less pronounced; with more wheat, sheep, beef, and dairy than the Upland South, but less than the Northern region. The Midland region, for the purposes of this study, includes New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Archaeological Animal Remains and Historical Townspeople

This study focuses on faunal assemblages from five features located within three lots at New Philadelphia. These vary in sample sizes, average specimen size, and taphonomic histories. For example, the collection from Feature 1 is highly fragmented (possibly due to trampling), in contrast to the sample from Feature 19, which exhibits the greatest proportion of burned animal remains. Feature 7 was most heavily affected by scavenging rodents. Despite these differences, the assemblages have been analyzed to see whether their species compositions reflect broader patterns, such as regional backgrounds of New Philadelphia families.

For this comparison, it has been decided to focus on biomass as the quantitative measure. This avoids some of the methodological problems with using numbers of identified specimens (NISPs) and/or minimum numbers of individuals (MNI) as importance values. Biomass estimation uses the weight of the animal remains to predict the amount of meat (Reitz and Scarry 1985:18).

When the features are compared, it is evident that all of the collections are dominated by mammals. Feature 1 is the most diverse, with more birds, fish, white-tailed deer, and small mammals. It is the only collection from which sheep and goat are absent, however. Swine are prevalent in Feature 1, whereas cattle dominate Feature 19. Hog-butcher activities are reflected in the distribution of skeletal portions (Price 1985). Foot bones are most numerous in three features, while there are more skull fragments and teeth in Feature 19. Domestic chicken is present in all five features, and it dominates three of the features. Turkey and waterfowl are represented in three features. Feature 1 is unique, once again, for its greater species diversity—in this case, with the addition of bobwhite and passenger pigeon. Greater prairie chicken was recovered from Feature 7.

Eight individual fish from four taxa came from Feature 1. Buffalo is the only genus that is ubiquitous, occurring in all features that had identified fish. Buffalo, channel catfish, and freshwater drum suggest trips to the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. In the summer of 1906, the *Barry Record* mentioned residents from the New Philadelphia community fishing in the Illinois River: “Mr. and Mrs. McWorter returned from the Illinois river Sunday, where they went Saturday to fish. ... Quite a crowd is expected at the fish fry at Philadelphia Thursday, as there will be ice cream, candies, etc.” (*Barry Record* 1906:8).

What do these patterns say about the people who resided on the house lots where these faunal collections were encountered? Associated artifacts help with the general temporal settings for each feature, and historical documents provide the information from which to decipher individual or family names, places of origin, ethnicity, occupations, and other social contexts. Data for this study were compiled from the U.S. census lists, including both population and

agriculture enumeration schedules from 1840 to 1880, along with the Illinois state census of 1855 and 1865; Pike County land deeds, probate records, and tax collectors' records for 1855; Hadley Township tax assessment records; and genealogical research by family descendants. It should be noted here that none of the census records, federal or state, specify which families lived in the town of New Philadelphia. This can only be inferred by comparing land and tax records (inside and outside of the town) to the order in which neighbors appear relative to each other on the census enumeration schedules.

Feature 1

Feature 1 is located on Block 9, Lot 5. It appears to be a cellar with artifacts dating to the 1850s and 1860s. Kezia Clark bought this lot from Frank and Lucy McWorter for \$5 in the fall of 1854 (Pike County Deed Book [PCDB] 1820–1880:48.530). The deed was a quitclaim, which suggests that someone else had owned the lot previously. Clark later owned other lots in the town, as did her son Alexander Clark, one of the community's blacksmiths.

Kezia Clark was born in approximately 1806 in Kentucky. She was consistently categorized by the U.S. census enumerators as "mulatto," meaning she was of mixed African and European ancestry. Much of her history before she came to New Philadelphia is unclear. Clark family genealogists believe her maiden name may have been Beasley or Bixley. Her husband, John Clark, was said to have been a millwright in Kentucky and Indiana. In his 1888 biographical sketch, Kezia's son Alexander reports that his mother was "Kesiah (Clark) Clark" (Chapman Brothers 1888:1,076). A 20th-century biography of another of Kezia's sons, Simeon Clark (Garden Plain Centennial Committee [GPCC] 1984:6), states that his father died when he was less than three years old, long before the births of several of Kezia's other children. These two sources suggest that Kezia may have been married to two different men named Clark.

It is not known whether Kezia or John Clark were ever enslaved. Walker (1983:157,162) lists Kezia Clark's daughter Louisa as one of the individuals emancipated by Frank McWorter, and states that Squire McWorter helped her escape to Canada. Census and Clark family sources

indicate, however, that the Clarks were from a different part of Kentucky than the McWorters, and that the Clarks had left Kentucky altogether by 1829, when Louisa was a small child (United States Bureau of the Census [USBC] 1850a; Chapman Brothers 1888:1,076; GPCC 1984:6).

Kezia was the mother of seven children, born in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri between about 1824 and 1839. They were Louisa, born in 1822 in Kentucky; Simeon, born in 1826 in Kentucky; Alexander, born in 1829 in Indiana; James Monroe, born about 1831 in Illinois; Mary Jane, born about 1834 in Illinois, and died in the 1850s; Thomas, born in 1839 in Missouri; and Harvey, who died in early childhood (USBC 1850a; Chapman Brothers 1888:1,076; GPCC 1984:6).

Kezia Clark was a middle-aged woman when she came to Hadley Township in the early or mid-1840s. She was either a widow, or soon to become one. Kezia's eldest daughter Louisa married Squire McWorter, a son of Frank and Lucy, in 1843. Two years later, Kezia purchased an 80-acre farm a mile and a half east of New Philadelphia. In 1850, her household included her five as-yet unmarried children, as well as a 78-year-old woman named Alcy Clark, and an 80-year-old man named John, whose surname is illegible on the census schedule.

According to the earliest extant county tax records, Block 9, Lot 5 was worth \$100 in 1855 (Pike County Collectors Book [PCCB] 1855). In comparison, vacant lots in the town were assessed at \$3 to \$5 dollars. Squire and Louisa Clark McWorter's house in Block 13, likely the most substantial structure in town, was assessed at \$300. Seven lots, including Kezia Clark's, were assessed at \$75 to \$220. These land purchases and assessments, along with the position of her name relative to other residents of New Philadelphia on the 1850 U.S. and 1855 Illinois censuses, suggest that Kezia did not live on her farm. She and her unmarried children are consistently found next to, or in the same household as her daughter Louisa Clark McWorter.

The 1850s were a time of constant upheaval for the Clark family. The elderly Alcy Clark and husband John died, as did teenaged Mary Jane, the youngest daughter. Kezia's sons Simeon, Alexander, and James Monroe all married in the mid-1850s, and then Simeon and Alexander

were both widowed and both remarried. Alexander purchased several lots in Block 3 where he set up housekeeping and a smithy. In 1855, Squire McWorter, the husband of Kezia's daughter Louisa, died. Within the next five years, half the family moved to Quincy, Illinois, a town on the Mississippi River with a strong anti-slavery community (PCDB 1820–1880:53.638,55.129; USBC 1850a, 1860a; Illinois State Census 1855; Illinois State Archives and Illinois State Genealogical Society [ISAISGS] 1990).

At the time of the 1860 census, Alexander Clark and his family still lived in New Philadelphia, where he was a blacksmith. Thomas, Kezia's youngest son, lived in the household of Thomas Thomas, who was a formerly enslaved laborer with a farm one and a half miles southwest of New Philadelphia. Kezia lived in Quincy with the now-widowed Louisa and her young sons. Very close by were Kezia's sons Simeon and James Monroe, with their families (USBC 1860a).

In 1870, three of the Clark brothers began to transfer their holdings and their families to Kansas. Alexander opened a blacksmith shop in Wichita in 1870, but within four years, Alexander, Simeon, and James Monroe had established farms in Sedgewick County, Kansas (USBC 1870a; Chapman Brothers 1888:1,076; GPCC 1984:6).

Kezia, Louisa, and Thomas were back in New Philadelphia by 1870. Kezia continued to be listed in the household of her daughter Louisa until they both died in the 1880s. Since Kezia's house on Block 9 was only a block from Louisa's, it is possible that Kezia lived in her own house much of the time between 1854 and her death in the 1880s. Alternatively, she might have lived there only a short time between 1854 and 1860; she was listed as head of her own household in the Illinois State Census in 1855, a year after purchasing her lot.

Kezia Clark was born in Kentucky and spent her adulthood in Kentucky, Indiana, and Missouri before coming to Pike County. Her preferences would be predicted to reflect Upland South traditions. The faunal refuse found in the confines of Kezia Clark's cellar (Feature 1) meets these predictions (Table 1). Based on more than 200 identified specimens, swine contributed 56.2% of the biomass, and domestic chicken an additional 12.1%. Only 14% came from beef. The remaining 17.7%

consists of supplemental meats from wild mammals (opossums, cottontails, tree squirrels, and white-tailed deer), wild birds (ducks, geese, wild turkeys, bobwhites, and passenger pigeons), and fish (buffalo fish, bullhead, and sunfish).

An additional 153 identified animal remains were recovered outside of Feature 1, but in close proximity to the cellar. The likelihood that most of these specimens are part of the same occupation debris is suggested by the nearly identical species composition (Table 2). The two Block 9, Lot 5 subassemblages share 14 of 18 animal taxa, including 6 mammal taxa (opossum, cottontail, and squirrels), 6 avian taxa (including geese, ducks, bobwhite, and passenger pigeons), buffalo fish, and freshwater mussels. Unique to Feature 1 are deer, bullhead, and sunfish. Present only among remains outside of Feature 1 are sheep/goat (two specimens), freshwater drum (one bone), and three shells from the category of marine bivalves. The subassemblage external to Feature 1 is even more heavily biased to swine, in that pork constitutes just under 70% of the biomass from identified animal remains. Local production, processing, and consumption of pork is suggested by the finding that more than 70% of pig remains from both subassemblages consist of feet, cranial fragments, and isolated teeth (Table 3; Price 1985:46,50). In addition to a three ridge shell, a freshwater mussel common to many rivers throughout Illinois and the Midwest (Cummings and Mayer 1992:40), most interesting is the discovery of three small marine bivalves just outside of the cellar. Both the Chemnitz ark and Florida prickly cockle are found in shallow water along the Atlantic coast south of North Carolina, where they were probably collected as souvenirs, or for their use in personal crafts (Abbott and Morris 1995:10,56). At other sites, marine shells have been interpreted as having personal or spiritual symbolism (Thomas and Thomas 2004:111).

The faunal refuse found in the confines of Kezia Clark's cellar meets the predictions in that it consists mostly of swine and domestic chickens, supplemented by local wild game and fish, and it exhibits a greater diversity of species than any other deposit. Although it is clear that Kezia Clark owned Block 9, Lot 5 at the time the remains were deposited in Feature 1, the historical data are unclear about how much

TABLE 1
SPECIES COMPOSITION OF ANIMAL REMAINS: FEATURE 1, BLOCK 9, LOT 5

	NISP ¹	MNI ²	NISP Wt. (g)	Biomass (kg)
CLASS: MAMMALS	202	14	319.6	5.248
Opossum, <i>Didelphis virginiana</i>	2	1	1.3	.033
Eastern cottontail, <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	12	3	10.6	.220
Tree squirrel sp., <i>Sciurus</i> sp.	15	2	6.8	.148
Norway rat, <i>Rattus norvegicus</i>	26	4	10.2	—
Unidentified small rodent	4	—	.1	—
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	59	2	194.8	3.028
White-tailed deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	1	1	3.1	.073
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	3	1	41.6	.754
Unidentified very large mammal	2	—	10.6	.220
Unidentified large mammal	61	—	36.8	.675
Unidentified medium/large mammal	4	—	.7	.019
Unidentified medium mammal	2	—	1.4	.036
Unidentified small/medium mammal	8	—	1.3	.033
Unidentified small mammal	3	—	.3	.009
CLASS: BIRDS	412	14	70.7	.992
Canada goose, <i>Branta canadensis</i>	1	1	.2	.005
Green-winged/blue-winged teal, <i>Anas crecca/discors</i>	1	1	.5	.011
Duck sp., subfamily Anatinae	1	1	2.2	.042
Domestic chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	44	8	44.9	.651
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	3	1	10.9	.179
Northern bobwhite, <i>Colinus virginianus</i>	3	1	.7	.015
Passenger pigeon, <i>Ectopistes migratorius</i>	3	1	.7	.015
Unidentified large bird	1	—	3.4	.005
Unidentified medium bird	22	—	3.8	.069
Eggshell pieces	333	—	3.4	—
CLASS: AMPHIBIANS	1	1	.1	—
Toad sp., <i>Bufo</i> sp.	1	1	.1	—
CLASS: FISH	40	8	14.2	.287
Buffalo sp., <i>Ictiobus</i> sp.	21	6	10.5	.194
Yellow bullhead, <i>Ameiurus natalis</i>	2	1	.3	.006
Crappie sp., <i>Pomoxis</i> sp.	1	1	.4	.013
Sunfish sp., Centrarchidae	1	—	.1	.004
Unidentified fish	15	—	2.9	.070
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATA	1	—	.5	—
CLASS: BIVALVES	1	1	2.2	—
Unidentified freshwater mussel	1	1	2.2	—
Grand totals	657	38	404.1	6.527
Totals, identified below class	204	37	340.0	5.391
Percentage identified below class	31.1		84.1	82.6

¹Number of identified specimens.²Minimum number of individuals.

TABLE 2
SPECIES COMPOSITION OF ANIMAL REMAINS: BLOCK 9, LOT 5, OUTSIDE FEATURE 1

	NISP ¹	MNI ²	NISP Wt. (g)	Biomass (kg)
CLASS: MAMMALS	245	13	420.2	6.850
Opossum, <i>Didelphis virginiana</i>	2	1	1.2	.031
Eastern cottontail, <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	6	1	5.0	.112
Fox squirrel, <i>Sciurus niger</i>	2	1	1.6	.040
Tree squirrel sp., <i>Sciurus</i> sp.	7	2	3.5	.081
Old World rat, <i>Rattus</i> sp.	11	4	3.3	–
Unidentified medium rodent	1	–	.1	–
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	71	2	223.2	3.418
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	4	1	31.0	.578
Sheep/goat, <i>Ovis/Capra</i>	2	1	5.2	.116
Unidentified very large mammal	4	–	17.2	.340
Unidentified large mammal	112	–	123.6	2.008
Unidentified medium/large mammal	15	–	3.3	.077
Unidentified small/medium mammal	8	–	2.0	.049
CLASS: BIRDS	55	13	31.3	.524
Canada goose, <i>Branta canadensis</i>	2	1	8.5	.143
Goose sp., Tribe Anserini	1	1	.4	.009
Duck sp., subfamily Anatinae	1	1	.4	.009
Domestic chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	25	6	16.3	.259
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	2	1	1.3	.026
Northern bobwhite, <i>Colinus virginianus</i>	7	2	1.3	.026
Passenger pigeon, <i>Ectopistes migratorius</i>	1	1	.3	.007
Unidentified medium bird	10	–	2.4	.045
Eggshell pieces	6	–	.4	–
CLASS: FISH	16	4	5.0	.128
Buffalo sp., <i>Ictiobus</i> sp.	3	3	.5	.017
Freshwater drum, <i>Aplodinotus grunniens</i>	1	1	.5	.023
Unidentified fish	12	–	4.0	.091
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATA	11	–	2.2	–
CLASS: BIVALVES	39	3	50.4	–
Chemnitz ark, <i>Anadara chemnitzii</i>	1	1	1.2	–
Florida prickly cockle, <i>Trachycardium egmontianum</i>	1	1	3.2	–
Cockle sp., family Cardiidae	1	–	.2	–
Three ridge, <i>Amblyma plicata</i>	1	1	3.5	–
Unidentified freshwater mussel	35	–	42.3	–
Grand totals	366	33	509.1	7.502
Totals, identified below class	153	33	311.7	4.895
Percentage identified below class	41.8		61.2	65.2

¹Number of identified specimens.

²Minimum number of individuals.

of this period she actually lived there. The distinctly Upland South character of the faunal remains supports the likelihood that Kezia Clark, her family, or at the very least, someone with a similar regional background, lived on Lot 5 in the middle of the 19th century.

Feature 14

Feature 14 is a large cellar in Block 8, Lot 2 with artifacts dating to the 1860s. Frank McWorter sold both Lots 1 and 2 of Block 8 to Christopher S. Luce in 1840 (PCDB 1820–1880:31.275). These two lots were always bought and sold together. Luce was a Baptist preacher and shoemaker, born in Maine. He contracted with Frank McWorter to establish a church and seminary at New Philadelphia in 1840 (Walker 1983:136–143). By 1850 these had failed to materialize, and McWorter sued. It is unclear exactly what happened to the property following Luce's legal problems, but in 1855 Calvin Arnold was taxed by the county for Lots 1 and 2 (PCCB 1855). Calvin's daughter-in-law Clarissa sold the lots to John and Agnes Kellum in 1857 (PCDB 1820–1880:52.214).

The following year the Kellums sold a 30 × 21 ft. tract in the southwest corner of Lot 1 to the school district (PCDB 1820–1880:55.49). Future transactions involving Lots 1 and 2 usually excepted this tract. In 1859, the Kellums sold the lots to John's mother, Elizabeth Kellum, who in turn sold them to Sarah McWorter in 1860. Sarah McWorter immediately sold the lots to A. B. Cobb in October of 1860 (PCDB 1820–1880:57.363,59.237). There is no evidence to suggest that John and Agnes Kellum lived on the lots; Elizabeth Kellum almost certainly did not, as she owned a substantial farm a mile southwest of New Philadelphia (USBC 1860a). Nor is it likely that Sarah McWorter lived on the property. In 1860 and 1870 she was living on the McWorter farm with her aged mother, "Free Lucy" McWorter (USBC 1860a, 1870a).

Sarah McWorter sold Lots 1 and 2 to A. B. Cobb, who sold them to Alexander Baird in 1870, who in turn sold them to Cordelia Racy in 1874. Racy owned the lots until her death in 1881. These last several transactions occurred over 14 years (1860–1874), but were not legally recorded until a flurry of deed filing at the end of October 1874, when Racy acquired the

property (PCDB 1820–1880.87:130,89.223–224). Thus, in 1867, on the earliest township tax assessment (Hadley Township 1867), Sarah McWorter was listed as the owner, and A. B. Cobb as the subsequent owner, reflecting the as-yet unfiled deeds. Because the owners of Lots 1 and 2 were lackadaisical about filing their deeds throughout the 1860s, it is particularly difficult to determine who, if anyone, lived on the lots. For most of the 1860s, it appears that A. B. Cobb owned and resided on Block 8, Lots 1 and 2.

Arden B. Cobb was born in 1830 in Steuben County, New York. His father was also a native New Yorker and his mother was from Massachusetts. The Cobb family emigrated to Perry Township, Pike County, Illinois around 1843, and the young Arden began learning the harness and saddle-making trade. He practiced his first trade for about six years in Perry township, until shortly after his marriage to Emily J. Shields in 1852 (USBC 1850a; Chapman 1880:631; ISAISGS 1990).

Cobb began to study medicine with a local physician in the early 1850s. In 1856 and 1857 he attended a medical college in Missouri. He returned to Pike County, purchased the lots in New Philadelphia, and began practicing medicine. Arden and Emily Cobb and their five children lived in New Philadelphia until Emily's death in 1868. Cobb served as postmaster for four years, as school director, and as justice of the peace (Hadley Township 1855–1882:24,27; Chapman 1880:631). Two years after his wife's death, Cobb remarried, sold his lots in New Philadelphia, and moved to New Salem Township.

The position of the Cobb family on the 1860 and 1870 census schedules suggests that they lived in the town of New Philadelphia. Cobb was assessed for township taxes on Lots 1 and 2 from 1867 (the earliest township tax record located and analyzed thus far) through 1870 (Hadley Township 1867, 1870). He was not assessed for any property outside the town, nor did he appear on the U.S. census agriculture schedules, further suggesting that the Cobb family was living on its town lots from about 1860 to 1870 (PCCB 1855; USBC 1860a, 1860b, 1870a, 1870b).

Feature 14 is associated with residents of Northern backgrounds, and it is predicted that the nearly 500 animal remains associated with

this feature should reflect Northern regional foodways. The identified animal remains reveal that swine contribute 50.1% of the total biomass from identified taxa, cattle provide 36.3%, chickens add nearly 6%, and sheep/goat constitute only 2.7% (Table 4). Wild animals consist of white-tailed deer, cottontail, fox squirrel, duck, wild turkey, buffalo fish, and channel catfish. Although many of the wild taxa are the same as in Feature 1, the species diversity is not as great, and the total biomass from all wild taxa is only 4.1%. While the skeletal portions from the large domesticated mammals suggest that swine were locally raised and consumed, this is not necessarily the case with cattle, since cranial fragments, isolated teeth, and bones from the feet are underrepresented (Table 3). Non-food vertebrates include cat, dog or coyote, Old World rat, and toad. Two shells were also found, an unidentified species of freshwater mussel, and more surprising, a small marine ark shell. Although the faunal assemblage from Feature 14 is not a strong example of a Northern-tradition pattern, the presence of beef is substantial, and the biomass from wild animals suggests a minor supplement.

Features 7 and 13

Features 7 and 13 are located in the south half of Block 4, Lot 1. Feature 7 is a pit cellar, and Feature 13 is a circular cistern or well. Artifacts from both date to the 1830s and 1840s, with some possible cross-mending of fragments. The early use of the south half Block 4, Lot 1 is a mystery. The artifacts recovered indicate occupation from the late 1830s to the late 1840s. Frank and Lucy McWorter did not sell the south half of Block 4, Lot 1 until 1846, however. Since Features 7 and 13 date to the first decade of settlement at New Philadelphia, it is possible that Free Frank either leased the property, or lent the use of it to new settlers. Also, some of the lot sales at New Philadelphia suggest that property was sometimes transferred long before the deed was legally filed at the county courthouse, as seen with Block 8, Lots 1 and 2.

The McWorters sold the half lot to Spaulding Burdick for \$35 on 16 May, 1846 (PCDB 1820–1880:27.419). Burdick was a native of Rhode Island, and his wife was from Massachusetts. Burdick lived in Allegheny and Onondaga coun-

ties, New York, before coming to Pike County sometime between 1840 and 1846 (USBC 1840). Four years after he purchased the south half of Lot 1, Burdick was listed in the 1850 U.S. Census as a 63-year-old shoemaker with \$150 worth of real estate. Burdick was also listed on the agriculture schedule in 1850. He farmed 40 ac. and held an additional unimproved 270 ac. He owned 2 horses, 4 milk cows, 1 other head of cattle, and 16 swine. His farm produced 300 bushels (bu.) of corn and 48 lbs. of cheese in 1849. This was a modest farm for Hadley Township in 1850, when 71% of the farmers there grew at least some wheat, 78% grew oats, and 64% produced wool. The Burdick farm was one of only four that produced cheese, and of these, the Burdicks produced the second lowest number of pounds. It is not known where this farm was located, whether Burdick owned it, or whether he or his sons farmed it (USBC 1850b).

The earliest extant Pike County tax collector's book dates to 1855. At that time Burdick still owned the south half of Lot 1 in Block 4, as well as eight other lots in New Philadelphia. Burdick's other lots were valued at from \$5 to \$75, but the half lot in Block 4 was valued at \$125, suggesting that this property held the most substantial structure or structures. Neither Spaulding Burdick nor any of his sons were taxed that year for farmland outside New Philadelphia (PCCB 1855).

The 1860 census taker found Spaulding and Ann Burdick still living in Hadley Township. At the age of 73, Spaulding continued to list his occupation as shoemaker. His son Lorenzo farmed in Hadley Township. By the time of the 1870 Census, Spaulding and Ann Burdick were gone, and Lorenzo had moved to Barry (USBC 1860a, 1870a). In 1864 the south half of Lot 1 was sold by Charles Spicer to his brother William by quitclaim (PCDB 1820–1880:64.72).

In the course of Burdick's adult life, the trade of the New England and Middle Atlantic region shoemaker changed radically. When Burdick was born in Rhode Island about 1780, most shoemakers were also farmers. Shoemaking was a convenient by-industry that could be practiced in the slack season. By the 19th century, small shops flourished in larger cities like Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and Lynn, Massachusetts. Still, a master shoemaker's operation included not only his journeymen and apprentices, but

TABLE 4
SPECIES COMPOSITION OF ANIMAL REMAINS: FEATURE 14, BLOCK 8, LOT 2

	NISP ¹	MNI ²	NISP Wt. (g)	Biomass (kg)
CLASS: MAMMALS	332	20	1,311.0	18.899
Eastern cottontail, <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	3	2	1.0	.026
Fox squirrel, <i>Sciurus niger</i>	8	2	4.6	.104
Squirrel sp., <i>Sciurus</i> sp.	6	1	1.4	.036
Old World rat, <i>Rattus</i> sp.	29	7	8.8	—
Dog/coyote, <i>Canis</i> sp.	1	1	1.9	—
Domestic cat, <i>Felis catus</i>	1	1	.5	—
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	97	3	650.5	8.952
White-tailed deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	1	1	12.4	.254
Domestic cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	14	1	454.3	6.480
Sheep/goat, <i>Ovis/Capra</i>	6	1	25.1	.478
Unidentified large mammal	94	—	110.0	1.808
Unidentified medium/large mammal	59	—	36.9	.677
Unidentified medium mammal	5	—	2.2	.053
Unidentified small mammal	8	—	1.2	.031
CLASS: BIRDS	123	13	93.5	1.358
Duck spp., subfamily Anatinae	2	2	4.0	.072
Domestic chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	87	10	76.2	1.053
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	4	1	5.8	.101
Unidentified large bird	1	—	.6	.013
Unidentified medium/large bird	1	—	.2	.005
Unidentified medium bird	27	—	6.6	.114
Eggshell fragments	1	—	.1	—
CLASS: AMPHIBIANS	1	1	.1	—
Toad sp., <i>Bufo</i> sp.	1	1	.1	—
CLASS: FISH	20	2	7.3	.157
Buffalo sp., <i>Ictiobus</i> sp.	1	1	.6	.020
Channel catfish, <i>Ictalurus punctatus</i>	10	1	5.1	.094
Unidentified fish	9	—	1.6	.043
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATA	4	—	.4	—
CLASS: BIVALVES	2	2	20.8	—
Ark sp., <i>Anadara</i> sp.	1	1	2.2	—
Unidentified freshwater mussel	1	1	18.6	—
Grand Totals	482	38	1,433.1	20.414
Totals, identified below class	272	37	1,254.7	17.670
Percentage identified below class	56.4		87.6	86.6

¹Number of identified specimens.

²Minimum number of individuals.

also his wife and children. In the 1830s and 1840s, hundreds of “ten-footer” shops produced shoes in Lynn. The New England textile and shoe industries continued to grow quickly through the 1840s and into the 1850s. With

the advent of the sewing machine, the work of household artisans shifted to factories. By the end of the Civil War, the master craftspeople had been replaced by rows of bored laborers (Dawley 1976:18,42,46,76–77,130–131).

Already an old man when he migrated from New York, Spaulding Burdick's shoemaking hardened back to the original yeoman-farmer artisan. On the Illinois frontier he grew corn, kept pigs, milked a few cows, made a modest amount of cheese, and kept his neighbors shod. Based on surviving shoemakers' bills from the community, he was probably more cobbler than cordwainer, mending far more shoes than he made (Pike County Courthouse 1845; Walker 1983:140). In 1850, there were at least four shoemakers in the New Philadelphia neighborhood (USBC 1850a; Walker 1983:140). By 1860 only Burdick still called himself shoemaker. The others had returned to farming and preaching.

Spaulding Burdick and his wife Ann Hadsell were New Englanders who came to Illinois by way of New York. Their lifeways are predicted to be representative of the North. Only 149 identified faunal specimens came from Features 7 and 13, but their respective species compositions are similar. Although swine has the greatest visibility of all taxa in terms of number of identified specimens, the two features have moderate proportions of biomass from cattle: 38.2% for Feature 7 and 43.6% for Feature 13 (Tables 5 and 6). Biomass from swine is just over 40% in both features, and both sheep and domestic chickens are represented in each. Wild animal taxa present in one feature or the other include white-tailed deer, fox squirrel, woodchuck, cottontail, Canada goose, wild turkey, greater prairie chicken, unidentified small songbird, and buffalo fish, but altogether these constitute only 2.6% of the biomass from identified specimens in Feature 7, and 7.7% in Feature 13. Unidentified freshwater mussel shell fragments were also found in both features. Skeletal portions of swine in both features consist primarily of foot bones, in contrast to cranial fragments and isolated teeth, which are poorly represented (Table 3). Between the two deposits, feet and innominate bones are the only cattle skeletal portions not represented.

Even when combined, the faunal assemblages from Features 7 and 13 are modest in size, but the documentary evidence associating the features with a family of Northern origin is strong. The faunal assemblages, albeit small, are compatible with predictions for the Northern tradition, in that beef is more important than pork. Although several wild taxa are present,

their dietary contributions are insignificant. In Block 4, Lot 1 the archaeological evidence serves to reinforce the ample historical evidence of regional origin.

Feature 19

Feature 19 is a privy or storage pit in the north half of Block 4, Lot 1, with artifacts dating from the late 1840s to the 1860s. Frank and Lucy McWorter sold the north half of Lot 1 in 1848 to David and Sophia Kittle, who owned the property until 1854 (PCDB 1820–1880:43.159,492). It is not certain that they lived on this lot, because they owned other lots in the town, and they departed before the date of the earliest extant tax records. Their relative position on the census schedule, however, suggests that they did live on this lot (USBC 1850a).

Kittle was listed as a merchant in the 1850 federal census. He was one of only three or four merchants thought to have operated in New Philadelphia. Chester Churchill received a permit to sell goods in New Philadelphia in 1839, but it is unclear whether he established a store there. Churchill was engaged in several ventures in Pike County at this time, and did not live in New Philadelphia (Chapman 1880:854; Walker 1983:110,130,133–135). The extent of his enterprise at New Philadelphia is unknown. The 1860 and 1880 censuses each list one merchant in the township (John Sweet and William Kellum, respectively), but their relative positions on the census schedules leave some doubt as to whether they were living or trading in the town of New Philadelphia. There was no merchant in the township in 1870 (USBC 1850a, 1860a, 1870a, 1880). At this time, David Kittle is the only merchant known to have lived in and conducted business at New Philadelphia.

The north end of Lot 1 is a good location for a store, essentially at the front door of New Philadelphia. Unfortunately, there is no information about what sort of goods Kittle sold. Two credit lists from the estate of John Kirtright, who died two miles east of New Philadelphia in 1845, give some clues as to the kinds of goods that people in the community needed from a merchant. The debts were to Pittsfield and Griggsville merchants, incurred a year before Kittle arrived in New Philadelphia. The items purchased include sugar, molasses, coffee,

TABLE 5
SPECIES COMPOSITION OF ANIMAL REMAINS: FEATURE 13, BLOCK 4, LOT 1

	NISP ¹	MNI ²	NISP Wt. (g)	Biomass (kg)
CLASS: MAMMALS	94	10	739.3	11.437
Woodchuck, <i>Marmota monax</i>	1	1	1.4	.036
Fox squirrel, <i>Sciurus niger</i>	1	1	.3	.009
Old World rat, <i>Rattus</i> sp.	8	2	2.1	—
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	24	3	301.7	4.484
White-tailed deer, <i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	2	1	30.0	.562
Domestic cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	8	1	323.7	4.777
Sheep, <i>Ovis aeries</i>	1	1	26.8	.507
Sheep/goat, <i>Ovis/Capra</i>	4	—	14.3	.288
Unidentified very large mammal	3	—	16.3	.324
Unidentified large mammal	36	—	21.4	.414
Unidentified medium mammal	2	—	.6	.017
Unidentified small mammal	4	—	.7	.019
CLASS: BIRDS	17	7	17.6	.300
Canada goose, <i>Branta canadensis</i>	1	1	2.8	.052
Domestic chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	5	3	2.9	.054
Turkey, <i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	4	2	11.0	.181
Songbird, order Passeriformes	3	1	.3	—
Unidentified medium bird	4	—	.6	.013
CLASS: FISH	5	1	2.2	.056
Unidentified fish	5	1	2.2	.056
CLASS: BIVALVES	5	2	.9	—
Unidentified freshwater mussel	5	2	.9	—
Grand Totals	121	20	760.0	11.793
Totals, identified below class	62	17	717.3	10.950
Percentage identified below class	51.2	85.0	87.6	92.9

¹Number of identified specimens.

²Minimum number of individuals.

a whetstone, a snath (scythe handle), cotton yarn and thread, muslin, cambric, bobbinet, shoes, boots, white cotton hose, sealette caps, and a palm-leaf hat (Pike County Courthouse 1845).

The Kittles left the community when they sold their lots in 1854 (PCDB 1820–1880: 43.492). By 1860 David Kittle, like Arden Cobb, had become a physician, and settled his family in Iowa. Very little is known about their origins. David and Sophia Kittle were married in Ohio, and both gave their birthplaces as Ohio in 1850, 1860, and 1870 (USBC 1850a, 1860a, 1870a). Later David would report his birthplace as Virginia (USBC 1880, 1900, 1910). Their tradition could have been either Upland South or Midland.

James and Elizabeth Taylor owned the property from 1854 to 1858. Benjamin E. Taylor was taxed as the owner in 1855. James and Benjamin appear to have been brothers. Both were born in Delaware. James's wife Elizabeth was also from Delaware; Benjamin's wife was born in Indiana. In 1860, both Taylor brothers were farmers. What they did at New Philadelphia is not known.

John and Augusta Sidner owned the north half of Lot 1 from 1858 to 1869. Sidner was born in Kentucky, and his wife in Ohio. They reached Pike County by 1850, at which time Sidner was a laborer. Ten years later he was farming 23 ac., focusing on swine, corn, and

TABLE 6
SPECIES COMPOSITION OF ANIMAL REMAINS: FEATURE 7, BLOCK 4, LOT 1

	NISP ¹	MNI ²	NISP Wt. (g)	Biomass (kg)
CLASS: MAMMALS	131	9	294.2	4.964
Eastern cottontail, <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	1	1	1.2	.031
Tree squirrel sp., <i>Sciurus</i> sp.	4	2	1.7	.042
Old World rat, <i>Rattus</i> sp.	24	2	6.1	—
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	31	2	108.5	1.786
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	5	1	102.4	1.695
Sheep, <i>Ovis aeries</i>	1	1	31.0	.578
Unidentified large mammal	34	—	36.3	.667
Unidentified medium/large mammal	21	—	4.1	.094
Unidentified medium mammal	7	—	2.6	.062
Unidentified small mammal	3	—	.3	.009
CLASS: BIRDS	40	5	19.9	.324
Domestic chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	16	4	16.7	.265
Greater prairie chicken, <i>Tympanuchus cupido</i>	1	1	.5	.011
Domestic/prairie chicken, family Phasianidae	1	—	.1	.003
Unidentified medium bird	17	—	2.4	.045
Eggshell fragments	5	—	.2	—
CLASS: FISH	9	1	1.9	.058
Buffalo sp., <i>Ictiobus</i> sp.	3	1	.9	.028
Unidentified fish	6	—	1.0	.030
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATA	6	—	.4	—
CLASS: BIVALVES	2	1	11.5	—
Unidentified freshwater mussel	2	1	11.5	—
Grand Totals	188	16	327.9	5.346
Totals, identified below class	87	15	269.1	4.439
Percentage identified below class	46.3		82.1	83.0

¹Number of identified specimens.

²Minimum number of individuals.

dairy. There is, as yet, little evidence that he owned farmland outside the town, except for a small parcel adjacent to the town. When John Sidner died in 1863, he left to his wife “the homestead on which we now reside,” consisting of the north half of Lot 1 and several other lots in New Philadelphia (Pike County Courthouse 1863). Augusta Sidner retained ownership of the property until about the time she remarried.

Augustus B. Johnson owned the north half of Lot 1 from 1869 to 1879. Johnson married Isabella Paullin in Pike County in 1845 (ISAISGS 1990). They flitted from Derry to Hadley to Pleasant Vale Township. Johnson

was always listed as a farmer, although he did not appear on the agriculture schedule when he lived at New Philadelphia. The Johnsons were the parents of at least 13 children, of whom 8 to 10 lived at home when they were in Hadley Township. Although Augustus and Isabella were both born in Ohio, he was the son of Virginia and Ohio natives, and she was the daughter of New Jersey natives. Their tenure, however, was at the end of, or after the period in which remains were deposited in Feature 1.

Just over 100 animal remains were identified from Feature 19, but the deposit is unique in having the greatest representation of cattle

of any feature encountered to date at New Philadelphia (contributing 80% of the biomass from identified specimens), coupled with the lowest species diversity (Table 7). Swine and sheep are present, but pork accounts for only 14.7% of the total biomass. Also unusual is the underrepresentation of swine foot bones, and the highest proportion of cranial fragments and teeth (Table 3). All skeletal portions of cattle are present except for cranial fragments and teeth, but vertebrae and ribs are most numerous.

Other mammals represented are opossum, cottontail (and possibly domestic rabbit), fox squirrel, and Old World rat. Non-mammals are limited to domestic chicken, buffalo fish, toad, and a lone, very small unidentified freshwater mussel shell fragment. The total biomass from all identified wild taxa is only 2.2%, and nearly half of this is from buffalo fish. Although the dominance of beef is what would be predicted for a Northern-tradition household, the inclusion of small wild mammals and fish is what might

TABLE 7
SPECIES COMPOSITION OF ANIMAL REMAINS: FEATURE 19, BLOCK 4, LOT 1

	NISP ¹	MNI ²	NISP Wt. (g)	Biomass (kg)
CLASS: MAMMALS	221	10	1,631.5	22.516
Opossum, <i>Didelphis virginiana</i>	1	1	1.0	.026
Eastern cottontail, <i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	1	1	.2	.006
Cottontail/domestic rabbit, family Leporidae	3	–	4.2	.096
Fox squirrel, <i>Sciurus niger</i>	4	2	3.8	.087
Squirrel sp., <i>Sciurus</i> sp.	3	–	.3	.009
Old World rat, <i>Rattus</i> sp.	2	1	.3	–
Swine, <i>Sus scrofa</i>	32	3	191.1	2.973
Cattle, <i>Bos taurus</i>	25	1	1,251.6	16.133
Sheep, <i>Ovis aries</i>	2	1	14.0	.283
Sheep/goat, <i>Ovis/Capra</i>	3	–	13.0	.265
Unidentified very large mammal	2	–	57.4	1.007
Unidentified large mammal	119	–	88.2	1.482
Unidentified medium/large mammal	20	–	5.4	.120
Unidentified medium mammal	1	–	.4	.012
Unidentified small mammal	3	–	.6	.017
CLASS: BIRDS	30	6	8.5	.100
Domestic chicken, <i>Gallus gallus</i>	24	5	4.8	.085
Unidentified medium bird	6	–	.7	.015
CLASS: AMPHIBIANS	1	1	.1	–
Toad sp., <i>Bufo</i> sp.	1	1	.1	–
CLASS: FISH	7	1	12.5	.232
Buffalo sp., <i>Ictiobus</i> sp.	4	1	12.0	.215
Unidentified fish	3	–	.5	.017
CLASS: BIVALVES	1	1	.1	–
Unidentified freshwater mussel	1	1	.1	–
Grand Totals	260	19	1,649.7	22.848
Totals, Identified below class	105	19	1,496.2	20.178
Percentage identified below class	40.4		90.7	88.3

¹Number of identified specimens.

²Minimum number of individuals.

be found at a Midland household, but not in so great diversity as, or in the quantities of an Upland South household. The documentary information is also murky in that several families inhabited the lot during the time period represented by the archaeological deposits, and the information on those families' backgrounds is less certain.

Summary

Analysis of the faunal remains from these five features, and of the origins of the people who lived on the lots where the features were uncovered, provide some significant patterns (Figure 1). In some cases the connections between the remains and the regional backgrounds of the inhabitants are not clear, however. The faunal remains from Feature 1, which are attributed to Kezia Clark of Kentucky, represent a firm example of the Upland South pattern. Feature 14, attributed to A. B. Cobb of New York, is suggestive of the Northern tradition, but is not

a strong example. The New England Burdick family is associated with Features 7 and 13, and although the sample size is small, the animal remains represent the Northern tradition. Feature 19 is more difficult to understand. The dates of the artifacts found cover the time period in which the lot was inhabited by the Kittle, Taylor, and Sidner families. The Kittle family origins are confusing, as David Kittle reported two different birthplaces to the census, and the Taylor family's use of the lot is unknown. In addition, the faunal assemblage from Feature 19 is small. While the occupants were apparently from the Upland South or Midland, the faunal remains strongly reflect the Northern tradition. As adequate faunal samples become available and historical information is analyzed, investigations of the adaptability of foodways of families moving to these new rural settings will continue.

What has been discussed here represents a small portion of the faunal and historical data available from New Philadelphia and Hadley

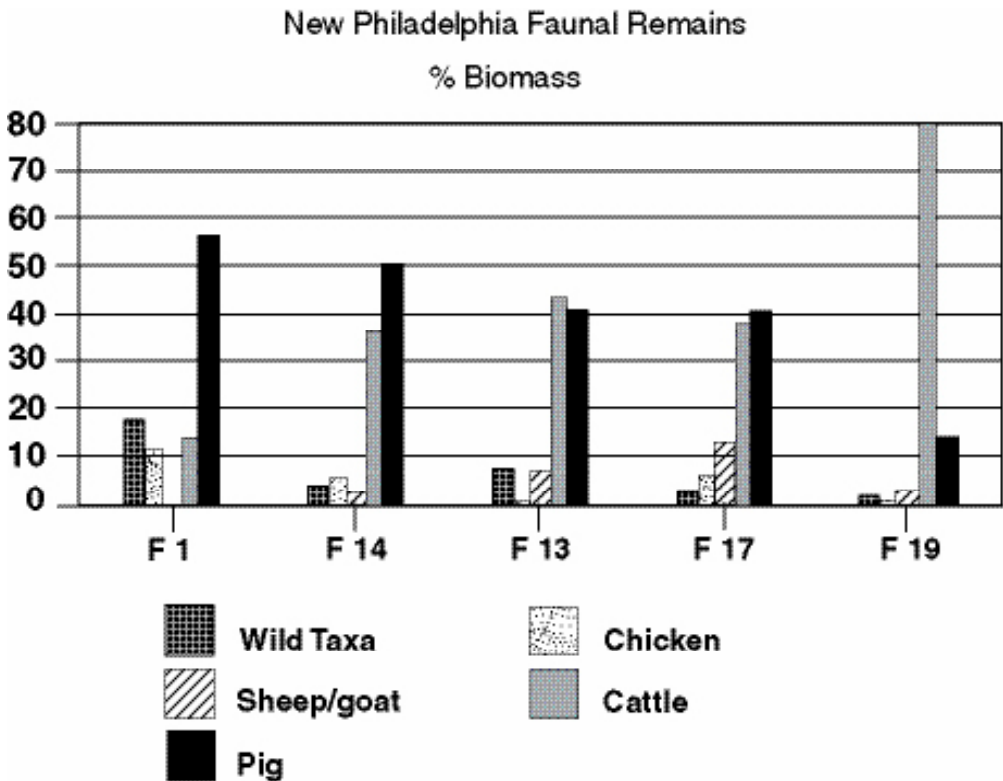


FIGURE 1. DIETARY CONTRIBUTIONS OF MAJOR ANIMAL TAXA FROM FIVE NEW PHILADELPHIA FEATURES. (GRAPH BY THE AUTHORS, 2008.)

Township, and there is much more information to be gathered. Files on nearly 200 families associated with the New Philadelphia community are being developed and maintained, as are 30 databases of historic sources. Patterns of migration, regional origin, social organization, and intricate familial relationships are continuing to emerge even as data are still being collected. Because of its small size and its discrete and relatively recent existence, New Philadelphia presents a unique opportunity to study the entire history of a community in minute detail. By extracting the full meaning of every bone fragment, census schedule, tax assessment, and tintype, a richer and deeper understanding of the remarkable community of Free Frank McWorter is being built.

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