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Editor's Preface

Place is one of the cornerstones of historical archaeology. Our discipline developed through the excavation and analysis of landmark locations in North American history, and gradually expanded away from landmarks to the study of less-renowned settlements and sites. The historical archaeology of place examined the ways in which cultures and their architecture adapted to new settings, the ways in which cultural landscapes expressed traditions and transformations, and the ways in which place shaped cultures and vice versa.

In considering the archaeology of place, it is easy to neglect the fact that places were not associated with peoples in an equitable fashion. In particular, as we study the archaeology of the American past, we recognize that African American places are less common, less obvious, less understood, and much less recognized. We realize that African Americans valued the spaces available for their use and shaped them through their cultural practices, yet had much less control over such space. As places like the African Burial Ground in New York City remind us, the historic African American physical world lies largely forgotten, paved beneath the architecture and economies of those who owned and controlled that world in denial of other cultural associations and meanings.

New Philadelphia, Illinois, is by its mere existence a highly significant point on the map of African America; a midwestern town established in the 1830s by a free African American, Frank McWorter. Were New Philadelphia nothing more than that, it would be important as one of the limited locations that we can point to as African American. Yet New Philadelphia is far more than that. Created by McWorter as a multiracial town, it tells us of racial and cultural interactions as well as archaeology's ability to read race from material remains. Its historic development thwarted by racially motivated shifts in the historic landscape, New Philadelphia tells of us racism in the Midwest and of the ways economic power was used to undermine African American accomplishments. With its history carried into the present by its descendent community, New Philadelphia reminds us of the community's role in maintaining the past and of archaeology's challenge to link the objects of the past with the ideals of descendents' memories.

Chris Fennell, Terrance Martin, Paul Shackel, and their colleagues present us with an engaging set of papers in their thematic study of New Philadelphia. Their use of the ethnohistoric approach allows us to appreciate and assess the information provided by applying a variety of disciplines, including oral history, history, and archaeology, to the understanding of a single place. Ethnohistory carries over to their study of a variety of spaces within New Philadelphia, including cemeteries and schools as well as domestic households, providing us with looks at New Philadelphia from a number of views. Their approach considers New Philadelphia within a larger, regional landscape, and presents archaeological methods for studying large, complex, community sites. Finally, this study addresses the ways in which archaeologists and communities interact. This volume is an important contribution to the archaeology of place and to the archaeology of African America, while the collaborative ethnohistoric approach it presents offers a model for other community studies. New Philadelphia is both a place and a project that historical archaeology needs to know, a place worth remembering and encountering. Welcome to New Philadelphia.

J. W. Joseph
Editor, *Historical Archaeology*

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Anna S. Agbe-Davies

An Engaged Archaeology for Our Mutual Benefit: The Case of New Philadelphia

Of all of the factors to shape archaeological practice—curiosity about the peoples and events of the past, a desire for a more scientific approach, or the willingness to embrace ambiguity, just to name a few—it may be that the most revolutionary of all will be the discipline's halting realization that archaeologists do not practice in a vacuum. In reviewing the research output for the first three seasons of historical research, excavation, and analysis of the site at New Philadelphia, one is struck by how profoundly this project has been shaped in a positive manner by the principals' attention to the contexts within which they work, and the way in which their work reverberates in the world. Archaeologists have become accustomed to asserting that their work improves the world: ancient wisdom is revived to solve modern problems; lost or neglected stories are brought to light by the "democratic" discipline; and the roots of current social conditions are revealed, the better to transform the present. These beliefs sustain many archaeologists in their work, and examples of such benefits can be found within this volume. But here is also an extended case study, with detailed examples, that demonstrates not only how archaeology can save the world, but how engagement with the world can save archaeology. The authors contributing to this volume provide a multifaceted description of one particular research project, and in doing so demonstrate how community engagement shapes and benefits archaeological practice.

The ways in which this phenomenon is manifested can be grouped, for the purposes of this essay, under several mutually inclusive headings. One might consider how community engagement touches upon themes at the forefront of current archaeological research, or how that engagement intersects with enduring themes that have

shaped the field for many years. One could examine the juxtaposition of various stakeholder perceptions of, and uses for the past and its residues. Finally, one can contemplate how this transformed archaeology fits with the categories customarily used to partition archaeological work—period, region, cultural group, and social institution. These various stances are used to frame the remarks which follow.

At whatever scale it is considered—archaeology, historical archaeology, African diaspora archaeology—the New Philadelphia project reflects the themes and concerns that shape contemporary archaeological practice. This aspect is of particular interest to me, as I joined this long-term project as a co-director starting in 2008. Researchers are animated by a variety of questions. How can technology be harnessed to wrest interpretations from the landscape? What new ways of thinking about material culture will allow greater insight into the lives of those who made, used, and discarded those things? How to best communicate project findings? Researchers also reconsider the topics and institutions investigated and the research questions that drive the work, in part because of increased attention to, and appreciation for the complexity of relationships with stakeholders.

The traditional means of publication and dissemination of archaeological knowledge through monographs, conference presentations, and journal articles has been joined by a number of other forums and venues that extend the reach of scholarship, and bring it to the attention of broader and more diverse audiences. The New Philadelphia team maintains two websites, available at <http://www.heritage.umd.edu> and <http://www.anthro.uiuc.edu/faculty/cfennell/NP/>. Both sites present material for a lay readership, as well as the standard technical reports, and in doing so join a number of other recent projects notable for the accessibility of raw data and incremental developments, as well as working interpretations (McDavid 2004; African Burial Ground 2007; Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery 2007). The New Philadelphia project made these electronic resources broadly accessible long

before the publication of the present volume. This is not an accident, as observed by Paul Shackel in his introduction to this volume. An engaged archaeology is an accountable archaeology. Ready access to data and transparent interpretive procedures build trust and credibility among stakeholders, no less than they do within the profession. Likewise, in responding to the challenges of non-archaeologists, researchers are compelled to consider their own ideologies and the partial perspectives that are part of archaeology's culture.

The fact that archaeology is being undertaken at sites like New Philadelphia, where one learns about emancipation and interracial relations, as opposed to slavery and its attendant social distinctions, is itself a response to the interests of the public, particularly a black public, which is sometimes, but not always as fascinated by "the peculiar institution" as are social scientists (Derry 1997; Watters 2001; Leone et al. 2005). Indeed, other institutions are coming to the fore in African diaspora archaeology, including schools (Sprinkle 1994; Agbe-Davies 2002; Helton, this volume). In the process of developing a research program on the archaeology of the African diaspora in Chicago, I have been struck by the number of requests by community members to investigate sites other than residences. This runs counter to long-term trends in African diaspora archaeology, in which homes and graves have been the predominant focus—the latter being a mixed bag as far as many stakeholders are concerned. Rather, people seek an archaeological perspective on important community institutions: clubs, businesses, theaters, churches, or "institutional" residences. An example of the last is the Phyllis Wheatley Home for Girls, where for the last two years archaeologists and students from DePaul University have had the privilege of working with community educators and preservation activists to remind the city of the struggles and triumphs of the women who founded, and those who resided in the Home (Bobbie Johnson 2006, pers. comm., 2007, pers. comm.; Joann Tate 2006, pers. comm., 2007, pers. comm.; Agbe-Davies [2008]). Think of the expanded picture of American lives that is obtained when not just houses, but the array of spaces in which people spent their days is considered!

With this infusion of new subjects and increased openness to research questions that inspire a general audience, comes a more complex relationship among the various stakeholders in an archaeological project or site. An interesting discussion of the very term "stakeholder" occurred at the annual conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 2007, which included an open-forum discussion of research designs and methods in African diaspora archaeology (Fennell 2007). As I recall, the conversation began with an assertion from the floor that to use the term "stakeholder" was to engage in gratuitous and politically correct wordsmithing, and that the customary term "audience" was perfectly adequate. I do not remember how the question was resolved, but it did get me thinking. What role do archaeologists envision for those who witness their efforts? What makes the New Philadelphia project—and any number of its contemporaries––notable is the fact that the term "stakeholder" is no mere lip service or jargon, but reflects an actual appreciation for the stake—the risk, the investment, the claim—that such individuals and groups do indeed hold in the research and its outcomes. Audiences look and listen. Stakeholders engage and often challenge, a dynamic that may encourage archaeologists to see themselves as stakeholders as well (LaRoche and Blakey 1997; Epperson 2004). Throughout the contributions to this volume one observes the traces of the ways in which various stakeholders—including descendants of New Philadelphia residents, McWorter family members, current inhabitants of the region, scholars in other fields, and collectors and providers of oral history testimony—have done more than just absorb the information that emanates from the archaeological team working at New Philadelphia. Instead, they have asked difficult questions and pushed for clarity in analysis and interpretation, doubtless to the benefit of the final result.

As archaeologists become more explicit about the impact they hope their scholarship will have on "the real world" (see, for example, the contributions to "community archaeology" in *World Archaeology*, vol. 34, no. 2), they have also sought mechanisms to inculcate these values in the next generation of researchers. As Michael Nassaney (2004:89) notes, archaeologists were advocates for experiential learning long before it became a pedagogical buzzword, and

their work is often conceived as serving some larger purpose. Projects like New Philadelphia bring the processes of service learning explicitly into archaeological instruction (such as the contributions to Nassaney and Levine 2007). The students who participate in the Research Experience for Undergraduates program at New Philadelphia certainly learn state-of-the-art archaeological methods, but true to the model of service learning, their education comes through the process of serving a function useful to some constituency, namely those who wish to perpetuate and enlarge upon the legacy of Frank McWorter and his neighboring townsfolk (Martin et al. 2004; Christopher Fennell, Terrance Martin, and Paul Shackel 2005, pers. comm., 2007, pers. comm.).

Despite the many ways in which the endeavors described in this volume point towards the future of archaeological practice, one can also see traces of themes that have endured for years and continue to shape the field. For example, there is a continued pursuit of ways in which material culture might be used to distinguish among the former occupants of the town site, whether along racial/ethnic lines, or in terms of regional origin, occupation, or gender. Also apparent is the tension that often exists between various local and traditional understandings of a site and its contents, and the archaeologists' interpretations of that evidence, not to mention conflicting descendant perceptions of the site and its meanings.

As Shackel (this volume) notes in his contribution on ceramics, African diaspora archaeology has often been preoccupied with the persistence of traditions. Yet the artifacts of New Philadelphia, like so many other sites, frustrate attempts to find clear differences between, for example, assemblages associated with African American and European American occupants. Although the problems associated with a focus on patterns, or Africanisms, or markers is acknowledged (Howson 1990; Edwards 1994; Singleton 2006), in analyses archaeologists often revert to familiar tropes that arguably have shaped anthropology and archaeology since their inception—that by their works you shall know them (Morgan 1877). To use the examples at hand, this volume includes not only the comparison of ceramic assemblages from white and black households, but also a discussion of distinctive features of black cemeteries (King), and distinctive faunal assemblages that may signal the racial/ethnic, or perhaps regional roots of the features' creators (T. Martin and C. Martin).

The questions may be traditional, but I see interesting ways forward, in this volume and elsewhere, that avoid an essentialist "pots = people" equation. These ways are grounded in concepts of ethnicity reaching back to Barth (1969), and even Weber (1978). This concept of ethnicity can be expanded for analytical purposes to encompass categories of "race," with a resulting focus on "racial/ethnic" contours (Agbe-Davies 1999). Following such frameworks, archaeologists can begin to consider the work that ethnic categories do, and how material culture might be implicated in that work. Such a perspective requires, first, a new flexibility about the variables relied on to construct analyses of difference versus sameness among material items (Brown and Cooper 1990; Barile 2004). Second, archaeologists must stop trying to use material culture to do what texts can do better (Schuyler 1988). For example, a census can label the members of a household "white," "black," or "mulatto." Archaeologists should use *their* toolkit to consider how material culture might have been deployed to maintain these stated boundaries, or in competition among people so labeled, or as traces of the prizes won or lost (Mullins 1999). As Theresa Singleton (2006:265) observes, essentialist interpretations do speak to the questions and interests of some stakeholders. Nevertheless, it is the responsibility of archaeologists to ensure that their analyses and interpretations acknowledge the simultaneous mutability and rigidity of social categories (Armstrong 2008; Mullins 2008).

Another enduring theme, one that appears with an updated twist in these collected contributions, is the tension between local/popular/traditional/community narratives of New Philadelphia's past, and those that emerge from research by historical archaeologists. The contributors discuss how they have negotiated the terrain between memories of racial harmony and recollections of structural racism, bigotry, and indeed, race-based terrorism. These efforts go a long way toward "complicating our national narrative" (Paul Shackel 2007, pers. comm.). As a result of the New Philadelphia project, a great deal has been learned about slavery and race-based servitude

in a "free" state. To be sure, all of these complications are entering the public sphere through a concerted program of undergraduate instruction, but perhaps more significantly, also through the engagement of local community members and descendants with the research process, rather than their receipt of the research team's interpretations as faits accomplis.

In fact, the involvement of "local community members" and "descendants" also brings to the fore interesting and productive tensions. Against claims of integration and amity can be set descriptions of segregation (in the cemetery and in the school, King, Christman, and Helton in this volume). Should the reader be surprised by the diversity of recollections? Ask any ten people if affirmative action is still necessary, or what constitutes a "hate crime," and one will see the possibilities for wildly ranging interpretations of *current* social conditions, let alone those translated through generations and through memory. The analyses described here take that tension and use it to forge stronger, more nuanced, and perhaps ultimately truer interpretations of the oral, written, and material records.

Discussion of the disjuncture between local residents, New Philadelphia descendants, and McWorter descendants does beg the questions: Who are the African American residents of this region today? Do they have any links with New Philadelphia? Whether they do or do not, what do they think of the project, and what does it mean to them? Also worthy of notice is the enthusiasm of most oral-history interviewees and non-archaeologist stakeholders for the excavation and associated research (Christman, this volume). Perhaps it is only to be expected, given that the project's impetus lay in the recruitment of academic specialists by the local community (Shackel's Introduction, this volume), but it speaks to the diligence and goodwill of all parties that the relationship continues to be fruitful.

I wish to conclude with a brief discussion of how the contributions to this volume, and the ongoing project that they represent, fit with and advance several genres of archaeological investigation. A number of keywords might be used to categorize the articles assembled here: "19th century," "African diaspora," "frontier," "interracial," "Midwest," and "townsite" come to mind. It is my hope that the assembled data and resulting interpretations from New Philadelphia will push the boundaries of archaeological thinking of all of these fields.

The apparent lack of segregated districts within the town could help advance the appreciation of how boundaries were maintained, transgressed, and challenged in the United States from the antebellum through Jim Crow eras. Studies of the New Philadelphia site provide a wonderful contrast with studies of residential and social segregation available from other communities of the same period. Furthermore, the emerging story of the town is a useful comparison to other "all black" towns and communities of the rural Midwest (McCorvie 2005; Demel and Kusimba 2007; Wood 2007).

I would also like to see New Philadelphia as a model for deconstructing notions of homogeneity and defeatist attitudes about the possibility of using mass-produced material culture to say anything useful about culturally patterned behavior. Such notions seem to pervade archaeological studies of the 19th and 20th centuries, and of the Midwest in particular (Wilson 1990; Barile 2004). Of course, such lofty goals cannot be accomplished using the same variables, criteria, and analytical strategies that have led to the conclusion that somehow *mass production + marketing + consumerism = homogeneity*. This is where the hard work of devising novel analytical techniques comes in. Evidence of this creativity is present throughout the assembled articles. Let the readers judge the contributors' efforts and how they might transform the readers' own practices.

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Remembering New Philadelphia

ABSTRACT

New Philadelphia was located in western Illinois about 25 miles east of the Mississippi River, and developed as a small multiracial and rural community from 1836 onward. It is the earliest known town in the United States to have been planned and legally founded by a free African American. Remnants of this town, which was founded by Frank McWorter, survived into the 20th century. From 2004 to 2006, a collaborative research project and summer field schools in archaeology, supported by the National Science Foundation's Research Experiences for Undergraduates program, helped to explore several lots throughout the town site that once belonged to residents of both European American and African American descent. Analysis of landscapes, archaeology, and the documentary record has helped to develop a more comprehensive picture of life in a rural frontier community and past dynamics of class, gender, ethnicity, and racism.

Introduction

New Philadelphia is a unique place with a remarkable story about race, freedom, and everyday life on the Illinois frontier. It is the earliest town known that was founded, platted, and registered in a county courthouse by a freed African American. Throughout the course of the town's history, from the middle of the 19th century until its final demise in the early 20th century, the town existed as a multiracial community. Archaeologists, historians, descendants, and local community members are presently engaged in discussing life in New Philadelphia, as well as debating the role that race played in the town's history. The research program has helped to coalesce a unique partnership of a variety of interest groups, including descendant family members, the local community, and scholars from various disciplines. At the same time, other stakeholders are challenging the value of the research program and its intellectual contributions to understanding 19th-century life on the western frontier.

The archaeology project developed in 2002 as a partnership between the University of Maryland, the University of Illinois, the Illinois State Museum, and the New Philadelphia Association, with the goal of implementing an historical archaeology program that would help make the New Philadelphia story part of the national public memory. The local community, which includes descendants and non-descendants, invited the development of a research program, and the University of Illinois at Springfield provided initial seed money under the guidance of Vibert White (now at the University of Central Florida) to begin a preliminary archaeological survey. Later, with the aid of a National Science Foundation grant (No. 0353550), Paul Shackel, Terrance Martin, and Christopher Fennell began to explore additional histories of the entire community, from its founding in 1836 through its eventual demise in the Jim Crow era. Using historical information, oral histories, and archaeological data, archaeologists are investigating the physical and social development of the town and exploring social relations there.

Project leaders recruited a diverse body of undergraduate students, and created a unique learning experience for both the students and the local community. Students learned scientific methods in excavating an historic site, while also discussing historical and contemporary issues of race and racism on the local and national levels. The goal was to make the archaeology project socially relevant by critically analyzing and exposing racism in the past and the present. It is important that a color-conscious past is created, rather than a color-blind past. Recognizing cultural and ethnic differences is important in order to provide a richer perspective of the past and the present. Exploring the multicultural past of New Philadelphia also allows an opportunity to examine and promote a diverse present in the local community. Student and community interaction were encouraged, while making both groups more aware of the historical issues related to race and racism in a region that is known to have been hostile toward African Americans (Loewen 2005).

Many of the results of this research in, and the explorations addressing issues of social justice are presented in this volume. Anna Agbe-Davies

explains the significance of civic engagement in such historical and archaeological research projects. Later in the volume, Abdul Alkalimat (Gerald McWorter) concludes with a commentary in which he discusses the heritage of Frank McWorter and the town, and the challenges of such research endeavors from the perspectives of a descendant and a scholar of black studies.

Race, Freedom, and Speculation in Early Illinois

Illinois became a state in 1818 with about 40,000 residents, over one-third of them living in the greater American Bottom, a flood plain on the east bank of the Mississippi River in southwestern Illinois. In 1818, many of the enslaved north of the Ohio River resided in Illinois, in the American Bottom, as well as another area in southeastern Illinois known as the "salines," where saltwater springs allowed for the production of salt for harvest and export. State law required that these enterprises cease operations by 1825 (Simeone 2000:25; Klickna 2003:15–18).

Illinois was a northern state with a majority of its citizens from the Upland South, which included Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas as the principal sources of immigrants. By the early 1820s, however, northerners began their steady influx into the new state. On 2 August 1824, the citizens of Illinois defeated a referendum to legalize slavery. Black Codes passed in 1819, 1829, and 1853 restricted the rights of African Americans and discouraged their settlement in the state, however (Simeone 2000:157).

With the ending of the Black Hawk Wars in 1832, American Indians were permanently pushed west of the Mississippi River. European American settlement increased significantly, and the first part of the 1830s was characterized by wild land speculation and capitalist ventures. Many towns were platted in Illinois, and some of these incorporated, with the peak occurring from 1835 to 1837. The Panic of 1837 brought a halt to many of those speculative dreams across the United States, however (Davis 1998:236; Biles 2005). While New Philadelphia developed as a small rural town and survived into the 20th century, many other communities vanished from the landscape within a few years or a few decades of their initial founding. Others existed

on paper only, and never developed into tangible settlements. Several archaeology projects have been successful in identifying and recovering information about early town development and abandonment on the Illinois frontier (Mansberger and Stratton 1997; Mansberger 1998; Mazrim 2007). The New Philadelphia project fits within this genre of studies of the histories of early Illinois towns that no longer exist on the landscape.

The Development of New Philadelphia

New Philadelphia is situated about 25 miles east of the Mississippi River, with the closest major port towns being Hannibal, Missouri and Quincy, Illinois. Unlike many of the other platted towns that developed in the 1830s, New Philadelphia was legally founded by a free African American, Frank McWorter (Walker 1983). Born near the Pacolet River in South Carolina in 1777, his owner and father, George McWhorter, relocated him to the Kentucky frontier in Pulaski County when he was about 18 years old. George McWhorter later purchased additional properties in Kentucky and Tennessee, and left Frank behind to manage the farm. Historian Juliet Walker's (1983) biography of Frank McWorter reports that he established a saltpeter mining operation in Kentucky while he was still enslaved.

In 1799 Frank married Lucy, who was also enslaved in Pulaski County. They had four children while enslaved: Judy, Sallie, Frank, and Solomon. In 1815 George McWhorter died without making any provisions for Frank's manumission. By 1817 Frank had saved enough money from his mining operation to purchase his wife's freedom for $800. Since Lucy was pregnant at the time, this action ensured that their son Squire would be born free. Two years later Frank purchased his freedom from George McWhorter's heirs for the same sum (Matteson 1964:2). The 1820 Federal Census listed him as "Free Frank." He continued to live in Pulaski County while expanding his saltpeter operations. After he and his wife were free, they had three additional children: Squire, Commodore, and Lucy Ann (Matteson 1964:1; Walker 1983:28–48).

In 1829 Frank traded his saltpeter enterprise for the freedom of his son, Frank, Jr. In 1830

Free Frank decided to leave Kentucky, and he acquired a quarter section (160 ac.) of land in Pike County, Illinois from Dr. Eliot, sight unseen. Free Frank, Lucy, and their freed children arrived in Hadley Township in the spring of 1831, after spending the preceding winter in Greene County, Illinois. The McWorters were the first settlers in that township, and other settlers began to join them two years later (Chapman 1880:216–217). An early history of Pike County explained that "the first white man in Hadley Township was a colored man" (Thompson 1967:151). When he moved to Illinois, Frank was forced to leave three children behind, along with their spouses and children (Walker 1983).

By 1835 Free Frank purchased his son Solomon's freedom for $550 (Walker 1983:89). Several citizens from Kentucky and Illinois vouched for Free Frank's character in order to pass a legislative act changing his name to Frank McWorter, taking the surname of his father and former owner, while changing the spelling of that name by dropping the *h*. The act also gave him the right to "sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, purchase and convey both real and personal property in said last mentioned name" (*Laws of the State of Illinois* 1837:175).

The Illinois legislative act made note that in 1836 Frank had laid out the town "which he calls Philadelphia, and understanding and believing that the said Frank has laid out the town intending to apply the proceeds of the sales for the purchase of his children yet remaining slaves, two young women about twenty years of age—The said town is in handsome country, undoubtedly healthy" (General Assembly Records 1837) (Figure 1).

New Philadelphia, which was at times referred to as Philadelphia, comprised 20 blocks, with most containing 8 lots that measured 60 × 120 ft. each. In total the town had 144 lots, along with streets and alleys. The community's two main thoroughfares, Broad and Main streets, were platted as 80 ft. wide, secondary streets were 60 ft. wide, and alleys measured 15 ft. wide (Figure 2).

From the beginning of the town, both whites and blacks purchased town lots, although the Panic of 1837 brought an end to broader scales of land speculation in Illinois, and supplies of materials and labor also decreased significantly
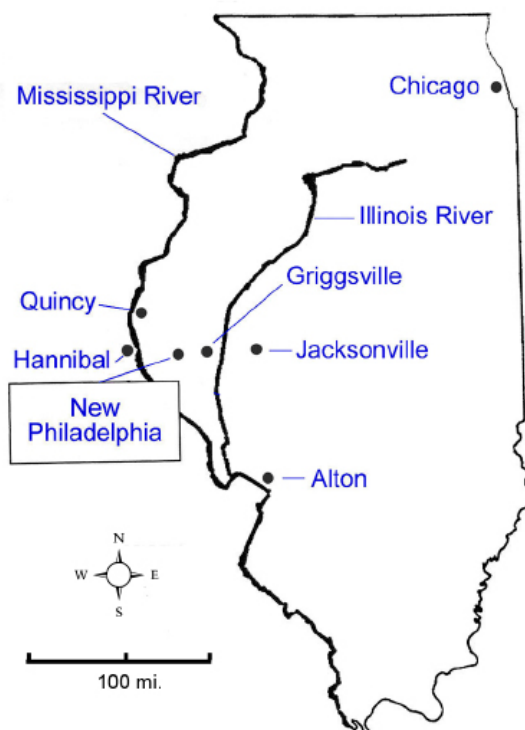

FIGURE 1. MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF NEW PHILADELPHIA. (IMAGE BY C. FENNELL, 2008.)

FIGURE 2. MAP SHOWING BLOCKS AND LOTS IN NEW PHILADELPHIA (ENSIGN 1872: 84).

(Davis 1998:272–273). The panic was followed by five years of economic depression, and McWorter only sold a few lots during this era.

Many towns established during the 1830s disappeared or never developed. New Philadelphia survived, however, and by the late 1840s the town lots began to sell (Walker 1983:122–127). By the 1850s rumors spread about the possibility of a railroad crossing Pike County. The place began to bustle, and the town attracted craftspeople, merchants, and laborers.

Frank McWorter died in 1854 at 77 years of age. While he saw his land speculation begin to pay off, the height of the town's development was over a decade away. Before he died, however, he purchased freedom for himself, his wife, his four children, and two of his grandchildren through his entrepreneurial activities. His will also provided for the purchase of six of his grandchildren who were then enslaved. His sons Solomon and Commodore carried out the provisions of his will (Matteson 1964:10; Walker 1983:163).

The 1855 Illinois state census lists New Philadelphia as a small rural town with 58 people living in 11 households. The community included a Baptist preacher, a cabinetmaker, a laborer, two merchants, two shoemakers, a wheelwright, and four farmers (Walker 1983:131). About one-quarter of the town's residents had been born in Illinois. The town's population grew steadily and peaked in 1865 at about 160 residents (King 2007).

Four years later the railroad bypassed the town by about a mile, and people began to leave for cities like Chicago and St. Louis, as well as migrate west of the Mississippi. The reason for the railroad bypassing the town remains an object of some speculation at this point. In this volume, however, Christopher Fennell shows that the railroad company expended considerable resources to route the line north of the town. They built on an upward slope, and the railroad needed a booster engine to push the cars through the area. The railroad also placed a depot in a rural area without any surrounding community to provide amenities for such a facility. Fennell's research also shows that residents used the town of Barry to ship cattle, even though a depot called Hadley Station was closer to New Philadelphia. In the 20th century the railroad realigned the rail line about one-half mile south where cars and engines could traverse a more even grade in the topography. While there are no explicit indications of racism found in the railroad records and newspaper accounts, there is strong likelihood that structural racism and greed played a role in the original alignment of the railroad.

By 1880, the number of residents in New Philadelphia had fallen to about 84 individuals (and 17 households), almost half its size when compared to the 1865 state census. In 1880, Chapman (1880:740–41) wrote in his history of Pike County that "[a]t one time it had great promise, but the railroad passing it a mile distant, and other towns springing up, has killed it. At present there is not even a postoffice at the place." The depopulation of New Philadelphia follows the trend for the rest of Pike County. While the county experienced rapid growth before the Civil War, expansion slowed in the 1870s, and by the end of the century urban areas and western lands drew people away from the county (Smith and Bonath 1982:74–76). In 1885 the size and layout of New Philadelphia changed dramatically. Blocks 1, 10, 11, and 20, as well as the eastern halves of Blocks 2, 9, 12, and 19, were declared vacant and no longer part of the town. The property was returned to agriculture (Walker 1983).

About eight households and a blacksmith shop remained in 1900, and by the 1930s the town was virtually abandoned. Throughout most of the town's history the African American population fluctuated between 25 and 35%, significantly higher than that of the township, county, and state (King 2007). One of the original families that settled in the town, the Burdicks, still owned several acres of land, and rebuilt their house in the late 1930s. That house was occupied until the 1990s. Although the town is completely abandoned today, the land serves as a reminder of what was once there—a biracial community that flourished before the Civil War and slowly withered during the Jim Crow era.

Remembering New Philadelphia

New Philadelphia is now an archaeological site covered by agricultural and fallow fields, as well as prairie grass. The Burdick house, built in the 1930s, survives and is surrounded by a stand of trees. A few exposed foundations are still visible at the surface. Currently, the former town site is divided among several landowners, and they are all sympathetic to

the archaeology project. One landowner moved several cabins and sheds to the site from other locations in Pike County in 1998, and placed them on exposed foundations. One of these structures, a log cabin, dates to the mid-19th century, and the other cabin and sheds date to about the beginning of the 20th century. The buildings do not fit exactly over the foundations, although from a distance their presence creates an imagined built landscape. We do not know if log, or frame and clapboard structures sat on the visible foundations, nor is the exact height of each original building known. The imported structures have been there for about a decade, and their presence, now unquestioned, has come to be considered historically authentic (Figure 3). While community members have a sense of the reconstructed character of the landscape, many of those from outside the community see it as accurate and part of the historic landscape. The associated meanings of that landscape, however, make an African American history anchored in a place (Pike County) and in time (from the mid-19th through the early 20th centuries).

The history of the entire town and awareness of the McWorter family have never completely vanished from the memory of the local community. While New Philadelphia transformed from a bustling, small, rural town to a less-urban and sparsely inhabited community by the turn of the 20th century, it still maintained its identity,

FIGURE 3. THE IMAGINED LANDSCAPE WITH CABINS AND SHED PLACED ON EXISTING FOUNDATIONS IN NEW PHILADELPHIA. (PHOTOGRAPH BY P. SHACKEL, 2005.)

and a New Philadelphia schoolhouse became the focus of all of the community's activities. Built across the road from the town proper, that integrated schoolhouse operated from about 1874 until the 1940s, with both white and black students. It served as the community's second schoolhouse, the first being located in the town proper. In this volume, Emily Helton describes the role the 19th-century school played within the town. Oral histories related to the schoolhouse in the town proper often refer to the other school building as the "Negro Schoolhouse." The archaeology team thought it would be important to locate the remains of the structure in order to communicate an important story about the town's commitment to education, even though it was clearly a segregated education. The second schoolhouse served as a social center where community members gathered for festivals, funerals, and meetings. Helton discusses the archaeology involved in finding the schoolhouse within the town, and explains the importance of the role of education in the New Philadelphia community.

After the integrated New Philadelphia schoolhouse fell into disrepair in the 1960s, and area residents continued to leave for larger communities and cities, local historian Grace Matteson began gathering stories of the multiracial town. She also used personal records loaned by Mrs. Thelma Kirkpatrick of Chicago—great granddaughter of Free Frank. Matteson (1964:18–19) also recorded several oral histories from former residents of the community. Less than two decades later, Helen McWorter Simpson (1981), great-granddaughter of Frank McWorter, wrote about her family members, and described life in New Philadelphia and her experiences of returning to the family farm. Soon after, Juliet Walker (1983) published a biography of Frank McWorter which covers the period of his early days of enslavement in the Carolinas and in Kentucky to his founding of the town of New Philadelphia. In 1988, Walker successfully placed Frank McWorter's gravesite on the National Register of Historic Places. It is one of only three gravesites in Illinois placed on the National Register. The other two gravesites belong to Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas.

Several historical archaeology projects have been carried out in and around Pike County (Smith and Bonath 1982; Esarey et al. 1985;

Phillippe 1985) in the past several decades, some even noting the importance of New Philadelphia. When the archaeology team arrived at the site in 2002, local land surveyors Marvin and Tom Likes donated their time, located the original town plat, and imposed the town plan over the existing topography, marking the boundaries of the town, including its streets and lots. This work guided the initial archaeological survey in the fall of 2002 and the spring of 2003—directed by Joy Beasley and Tom Gwaltney (Gwaltney 2004). Their survey and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) work are described in depth in this volume. Beasley and Gwaltney helped to conduct a systematic walk-over survey and the piece plotting of over 7,000 artifacts, which allowed them to identify a large concentration of artifacts found within the lots bordering the town's two main streets—Broad and Main (Figure 4). These artifacts are mostly

FIGURE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF HISTORIC ARTIFACTS LOCATED DURING THE 2002 AND 2003 WALK-OVER SURVEYS OF THE NEW PHILADELPHIA TOWN SITE. (IMAGE BY T. GWALTNEY AND J. BEASLEY, 2009.)

nails, ceramics, and bottle glass, indicating that most of the town lots served domestic purposes rather than being craft or industrial sites. Some of the town's businesses, like blacksmithing, were conducted on the town's northeastern edge (Gwaltney 2004). Davis (1998) notes that it is common in Illinois to find industries in the eastern portions of towns, as the business owners took into account the prevailing winds. The survey work by Beasley and Gwaltney gave a good baseline from which to begin thinking about how to develop this project's methods and research design.

In 2004 the team began work on a three-year National Science Foundation grant for training undergraduate students in archaeological techniques. Each field season was started with a three-day geophysical survey directed by Michael Hargrave (U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center, Construction Engineering Research Laboratory). Hargrave surveyed the areas that had the highest densities of artifacts found in the systematic walkover survey, which consisted of the areas around Broad and Main streets. The archaeological evidence indicated that this area had been inhabited, and the geophysical work narrowed down the potential areas for excavation. Hargrave used two geophysical techniques—magnetic field gradiometry and electrical resistance. He created a geophysical map with cultural features (as well as other discrete disturbances) that appeared as anomalies. These anomalies are spatially discrete areas characterized by geophysical values that differ from those of the surrounding area. In this volume, Hargrave explains how the technique proved useful, allowing the archaeology team to make the best use of its time by selecting for excavation areas where he identified anomalies. The results of the geophysical survey helped to focus the team's field methodology by enabling it to concentrate on a few discrete areas for excavations.

Freedom, Struggle, and Community

Peripheralized groups are not usually part of consensus histories, although archaeology is one way to highlight the achievements of these groups and incorporate them into the national public memory (Little 1994; LaRoche and Blakey 1997; Leone et al. 2005). Since the development of historical archaeology as a discipline, the archaeology of African American life has focused primarily on plantation life and bondage. These studies continue to be prevalent today. Recently, there has been a new emphasis that focuses on social uplift and achievement. These stories include the archaeology of the Underground Railroad (Levine et al. 2005), as well as survival and prosperity in a racialized and segregated society (Mullins 2004). These types of stories appear to have considerable public support from the descendant communities (McDavid 2002; Leone et al. 2005).

The collaborative research concerning New Philadelphia addresses such subjects of success and freedom. When dealing with many different stakeholders, however, it is sometimes difficult to establish a coherent message for the place. Trying to change the way people view the history of any place does not come quickly, nor does it come easily. For instance, New Philadelphia has always been referred to as a "black town" or an "all-black town." Scholars have debated the definition of "black town." These discussions include the color of the founder, as well as the percentage of African Americans needed for a place to be an all-black town (Walker 1983:164–165). Cha-Jua (2000:5–10) points out that histories have traditionally seen black towns as oddities in the national story, and that there are many scenarios associated with the founding of black towns.

Typically, black towns are often African American settlements that developed after emancipation, most of them west of the Mississippi. They tended to be racially segregated towns. Nicodemus, Kansas is probably the best-known example. Many people have used this model and assumed that New Philadelphia was a black, segregated town throughout its history, without critically evaluating the census records beyond 1855. People believed that since an African American founded the town, and many family members of the original founder lived in the surrounding community, by extension, New Philadelphia must have been a black town.

Charlotte King (2003) performed detailed census-data research prior to the team's fieldwork, and discovered that African Americans constituted about one-third of the town's population from the 1850s into the 20th century. Robin Whitt's (2003) initial research into the town's

deeds also found that both African Americans and those of European decent were purchasing property in New Philadelphia during the same time period. Initially the findings were a bit surprising, since they countered local public memory. The team gradually discussed these results with community members and descendants. Some stakeholders were surprised, and some were very doubtful of these findings because it challenged their traditional memory and understanding of the place. At that point the team got the sense that some people thought outsiders had no right to challenge and change their local history, even though the researchers had been invited by the local community to research the place.

Local communities have increasingly resisted becoming laboratories for anthropologists and historians, and, as a result, scholars have developed various strategies to develop more amenable relationships (Robinson 1996:125–138). It has become necessary to reach out to all interested communities and democratize research to make sure that it is accessible to the local, descendant, and scholarly communities. Ian Hodder developed a similar strategy with his excavations at Çatalhöyük (Çatalhöyük Project 2007). Placing the archaeology on the web where it can be accessible to all stakeholders and scholars allows for a kind of transparency that permits others to see how questions and conclusions are developed. Scholars from other disciplines also claim that the democratization of data is helpful in bridging the gap between scholars and community (Sawicki and Craig 1996:512–523), and some caution about the dangers of the data being used to construct alternative views (Elwood and Leitner 2003:139–158). From the beginning of the project, all of the major researchers involved in the archaeology project agreed that all data should be accessible to the researchers as well as to the public. It was believed that all could benefit from this joint collaborative project, and the transparency and sharing of data could help promote the work at New Philadelphia. The more the historical and archaeological data are used, the better the case to make the place a part of the national public memory. All agreed to this vision early in the project.

All work is now posted on the Internet, including the archaeology, geophysics, newspaper archives, oral histories, and deed, census, and tax records (<http://www.heritage.umd.edu> follow the links to New Philadelphia, and <http://www.anthro.uiuc.edu/faculty/cfennell/NP/>). This type of transparency has created a new understanding with the various stakeholders, of what researchers do and how they do it. The team shares its research questions and findings as soon as they develop. Research papers are posted after peer review, and field reports are posted within two months after the end of the field season. This democratization of data helps facilitate the dialogue, and increases trust with many of the interested parties.

Despite the team's best efforts to be transparent, differences still remain between the academic research and the memories of some of the stakeholders who support the project. For instance, the New Philadelphia Association web page states that the town was a place "where black and white Americans lived together peacefully on the antebellum Illinois frontier" (New Philadelphia Association 2007). It is difficult to support their interpretation of frontier Illinois history. The Association claims that there is no evidence to prove that violence and/or racism existed in New Philadelphia; therefore it must have been a place where people of different color and backgrounds coexisted in a serene environment. The team would argue that the place is unique because of the integrated nature of the community; negative evidence does not necessarily prove that racism did not exist, however. Racism can occur in overt ways, but also in many subtle ways.

Understanding the larger context of the town on the Illinois frontier provides some clues about race relations in frontier Illinois. For instance, when Illinois became a state in 1818, its constitution stated that enslaved persons owned by French citizens could be retained in bondage. The state constitution allowed indentured servitude, whereby African Americans were contracted to work for decades. The offspring of indentured servants had to serve until they were 21 years old (males), and 18 years old (females). Enslaved people could also be brought into the salines region in southern Illinois to work in the production of salt until 1825 (Davis 1998:165).

Black Codes passed in 1819 and 1829 restricted the rights of African Americans and

discouraged their settlement in the state (Simeone 2000:157). African Americans were denied suffrage and could not immigrate into the area without a certificate of freedom. They could not assemble in groups of three or more without the risk of being jailed and flogged. They could not testify in court, and slaveholders could not bring enslaved people into the state to free them. An 1845 Illinois Supreme Court decision terminated the institution of slavery in Illinois for all time. State delegates voted to deny suffrage to blacks, however. Additional Black Codes passed in 1853 prohibited the settlement of African Americans in the state. While Illinois opposed slavery, it refused equality to African Americans (Davis 1998:413). So while neighbors may have worked together in order to survive on the frontier, racism still affected those African Americans that settled in Illinois, including New Philadelphia.

There also seems to be a type of amnesia regarding some of the more recent violent acts against African Americans in the region surrounding New Philadelphia. For instance, newspaper and several oral accounts of Ku Klux Klan disturbances in the post-World War I era are well known. Cross burnings threatening African American road workers, and mysterious disappearances of people after Klan night rides are chilling stories. These oral histories compiled by Carrie Christman and discussed later in this volume, reveal the violence and prejudice African Americans faced in 20th-century Pike County. An African American descendant and member of the New Philadelphia Association is also quite clear about the racism his family endured while living in the town. There are also oral traditions that surrounding communities became sundown towns—meaning African Americans were not allowed in the community after the sun set. The creation of these sundown communities in the region is well documented by James Loewen (2005), and only discussed by the area's most elderly residents. Christman provides an overview of her oral history work, and describes the town's social relations and issues related to race and racism in the community.

The legacy of racism on the landscape is obvious. Many African Americans left the county in the 1920s and 1930s. When Pike County residents were asked how many African Americans now live in the county, most counted the number on one hand. The 1990 U.S. Federal Census indicates that 6 African Americans claimed Pike County as their home, out of about 17,000 total residents. Because of the local addition of a new correctional facility, more recent census data is somewhat unreliable. By 2000 there was an increase in the number of African Americans in the county, although all but one was over 18 years of age. There is not strong evidence of many African American families residing in the county. Still, members of the local white community still prefer to tell only the story of peaceful coexistence.

Traditions and Archaeology

Less than one percent of New Philadelphia has been excavated, but over 65,000 artifacts have been recovered and are now curated in the Illinois State Museum. Plans are moving ahead with the New Philadelphia Association to preserve and commemorate New Philadelphia. In 2005 the New Philadelphia town site was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. The State Historic Preservation Officer of Illinois and the National Park Service agree that the town is nationally significant, and the archaeology has the potential to tell the story of western migration, and settlement, consumerism, and diet on the western frontier. The site is now nominated to be designated as a National Historic Landmark, and the Archaeology Conservancy may help purchase a portion of the site in order to save it from future development.

Archaeologists have uncovered a wide range of material culture and archaeological features that date from the 1840s and 1850s, such as cellar pits, cisterns, wells, and storage features. The stone foundation of a house constructed at the turn of the 20th century is also a significant find. Local legend indicates that while the town thrived until the 1860s, the routing of the train line to bypass the settlement led to the rapid decline of New Philadelphia. While the eastern portion of the town lands were returned to agriculture, the 1880 federal population census indicates that about 84 people still lived in the town. The construction of a house dating to about 1900 indicates that while the town's population declined, at least one family continued to invest in the community by building a new dwelling (Burdick 1972).

When comparing the archaeological remains from early 19th-century sites in Illinois, it appears that many forms of material culture become homogenized among sites, and earlier material cultural differences become indistinguishable (Mazrim 2002:268; 2007). The same scenario appears to be true at New Philadelphia. A review of the material goods shows that all residents have the same types of material culture, and could access local merchants for consumer goods such as refined earthenwares. Archaeological studies from the region show that most people from the Upland South (including states like Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas) had diets with a high proportion of swine and chicken, along with wild game like white-tailed deer, rabbit, squirrel, and fish. Cattle, sheep, and chickens are important, but they are less significant when compared to hogs (McCorvie 1987:67). Cornbread and salted and smoked pork became staples (McCorvie 1987:257). The production of small cash crops allowed farmers to buy necessary staples such as sugar, salt, coffee, and manufactured goods. When these people migrated west and north they brought these traditions with them.

Using population and agricultural schedules from the U.S. federal census, Claire Fuller Martin and Terrance Martin examine how farmers around New Philadelphia adhered to traditional Upland South, Midland, and Northern agricultural practices. They show the place of origin of the farmers and compare this variable with the types of crops and livestock those residents raised. They find that regional differences in farming practices did exist. In a second article, Terrance Martin and Claire Fuller Martin also explain that there is not always a strong correlation between dietary patterns and a household's place of origin. For instance, one household with residents who had immigrated from the Northeast had an equally high proportion of beef and pork in the residents' diet. Another household, whose residents came from the Northeast and the South had a larger cattle biomass, however, which is expected from northerners. Another resident from the South did follow the expected Upland South pattern. While New Philadelphia residents brought with them traditions that were most commonly found in their former home regions, it becomes difficult at times to use pattern recognition to predict the

place of origin of any particular household in mid-19th-century western Illinois.

The local community and descendants are active in promoting the archaeology and preservation of the site. In 2005 the New Philadelphia Association worked with the archaeology team to help support the McWorter family reunion at the archaeology site. Over 50 McWorter family members attended the site event, first taking a tour of the family cemetery, and next viewing the archaeological excavations in progress. They saw features being excavated, and the students shared with the family members and visitors the importance of the entire site, and its place in the national public memory. Many McWorter descendants have taken ownership of the project and are now taking charge of the cleaning and restoration of the town's African American cemetery. In this volume, Charlotte King discusses her observations on recording grave markers and material culture remains in the cemetery. Based on her research on this African American cemetery, she draws connections between several items found in the cemetery and the continuing development of particular African cultural traditions. To the casual observer, broken bottles and animal bones distributed on grave sites, and trees growing in and around the cemetery in a random fashion may make the place look unkempt, when in fact their placement was intentional and they have spiritual and symbolic meaning.

Democracy and Archaeology

The democratization of knowledge in research, practice, and teaching are an important part of this project. The work at New Philadelphia has challenged some of the long-held memories of the place. For instance, while New Philadelphia was thought to be an all-black town, historical research shows its biracial composition with at least 200 different family names associated with the place. Also, many believed the town had all but disappeared by the 1880s, but the archaeology and oral histories illustrate that New Philadelphia continued to exist as a small community into the 20th century. The team believes that these findings—the varied and extensive family lineages, and the longer-than-perceived time depth of the town—help to expand the history and ownership of the place. Including all of the descendants and extending the era of significance

of the town into the 20th century help create a more inclusive past, and lay the foundation for an all-encompassing present. Expanding the ownership of the public memory of the town assists in developing broader community support for preservation and commemoration of this nationally significant site.

Some descendants have not greeted project findings warmly, however, since the findings challenge their traditional perception of the place, and possibly what they perceive as their exclusive ownership of its history. For instance, throughout the project there have been claims from one descendant about the team's attempts to steal family history and inability to accurately portray past racial tensions. This family member does not feel that the team is correctly repre-senting what she feels is the most important story of the place, that of the founder of the town. Meanwhile, other family members see the archaeology project as a way to promote and preserve the story of their family and the town. They see expanding the base of support as essential because they feel that the legacy of freedom, a powerful story rooted in the history of Frank and Lucy McWorter, is a profound message, and an important concept to promote. One such family member, Abdul Alkalimat, provides a commentary in this volume that addresses these issues from the perspective of a scholar in black studies.

The project has moved ahead with its efforts, working with the local and descendant commu-nities to present a past that highlights the daily life of people who settled in this biracial town. While not pretending to be the last word on the history of New Philadelphia, project efforts, with input from the larger descendant and local com-munities, will build a better understanding of this town. It is hoped that the stories connected with this place become part of the national public memory. The desires of the local and descendant communities for preserving the site are truly varied. But there is a common ground to start from—all believe that it is important to save and remember the place, and all will work toward building consensus.

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New Philadelphia Pedestrian Survey: Phase I Investigations at an Historic Town Site

ABSTRACT

The authors directed an initial archaeological survey of the New Philadelphia town site in 2002 to 2003. This pedestrian survey and related database work using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) computer software yielded detailed distribution maps of over 7,000 artifacts, and identified a large concentration of artifacts within the north-central part of the town site. These artifacts consisted mostly of nails, ceramics, and bottle glass, indicating that many of the town lots served primarily domestic and residential purposes, rather than craft or industrial functions. Material remains of some of the town's businesses, such as a blacksmith operation, were also present. The methods used in this Phase I project, which combined basic pedestrian surveying techniques with sophisticated database and mapping programs, provided a highly valuable baseline for designing and undertaking later geophysical surveys and full excavations of residential and business locations within the town site.

Introduction

The historic town of New Philadelphia, located in Pike County, Illinois, was founded in 1836 by "Free Frank" McWorter, and is the first known town planned and legally registered by an African American. The town was platted with 144 lots, each measuring 60 × 120 ft., and was situated in a prime agricultural area that attracted both African American and European American settlers. New Philadelphia prospered during the mid-19th century; a grocery was established in 1839, and by 1850 the town boasted a post office, stage coach stand, blacksmith shop, and wheelwright, along with two shoemakers and two cabinet makers. New Philadelphia experienced its greatest growth in the 1860s, but began to decline after 1869, when bypassed by the railroad. Merchants relocated to areas served by the railroads, and the decline of New Philadelphia as a market center hastened population decrease. The community's

legal status as a town was vacated in 1885 (Walker 1983:164–169).

Today, most of the land that originally comprised the town has returned to agricultural use, with only a few foundations, a gravel road, and an historic marker to indicate its location (Figure 1). In 1996, community leaders in Pike County formed the New Philadelphia Association to preserve and commemorate the site of Free Frank's enterprise, as well as the social history of the many families who lived in this integrated town. Without evidence of extant resources at the site, however, it was difficult to raise awareness and bring the necessary resources to bear in order to put New Philadelphia back on the map. To this end, the Association, working with the University of Illinois at Springfield, the University of Maryland, and the Illinois State Museum, organized a pedestrian survey of the town to examine more fully the development of this integrated community on the western
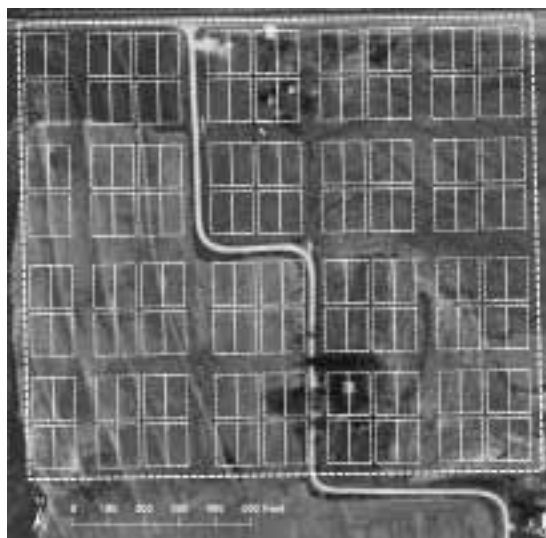
FIGURE 1. The 1836 town plat for New Philadelphia is shown overlain on a 1998 U.S. Geological Survey aerial photograph of the present-day landscape. Structures remaining within the town site include a few remnant foundations (*top center*) and a house with outbuildings (*bottom center*). (Historic town plat courtesy of Likes Land Surveyors, Barry, IL, 2002; Image by authors, 2009.)

frontier. Archaeologists and volunteers from local colleges and universities and the surrounding community conducted a pedestrian survey and controlled surface collection of the 42 ac. site in the late fall of 2002 and early spring of 2003.

The Pedestrian Survey of New Philadelphia

Pedestrian surveys are designed to delineate archaeological properties, identify cultural affiliations, and determine a site's research potential, and are particularly useful for assessing large land tracts where widespread subsurface testing is not practical. At the 42 ac. New Philadelphia site, this survey method was selected so that artifacts could be located within a predetermined timeframe: three long weekends during the fall of 2002 and spring of 2003. The project provided a baseline determination of the presence of archaeological resources at the site and identified areas of high potential for subsequent investigations.

Before starting the survey, the project area was plowed and disked (using 10 in. disks) in order to break up crop roots and sod. This generally provided greater than 75% ground visibility over the majority of the plowed areas. Subsequent precipitation and weathering of the site greatly improved artifact visibility and translated into nearly optimal survey conditions. An area of 26.5 ac.—approximately 63% of the 42 ac. site—was plowed (Figure 2).

Two large areas within the New Philadelphia site were necessarily excluded from the survey. A 2.25 ac. area near some remnant foundations and reconstructed buildings had never been plowed and contained protected native prairie grasses (Figure 2 top center)—avoiding plowing this area ensured that any stratified deposits would be preserved. Also, a 3.75 ac. area for which one owner did not provide permission for the survey was not disturbed (Figure 2 left side of bottom-right quadrant). A total of 9.5 ac. were not plowed due to terracing for soil conservation, tree cover, roads, or water features. Additionally, early spring field conditions prevented a small section of the site from being disked; instead, this area was prepared using a harrow prior to the pedestrian survey.

The first step in the survey process involved a floating baseline pedestrian survey using teams of volunteers along with archaeologists. The survey

FIGURE 2. THE PEDESTRIAN SURVEY ENCOMPASSED THE HIGHLIGHTED AREAS OUTLINED WITHIN THE TOWN BOUNDARIES— APPROXIMATELY 26.5 AC. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

team systematically walked over the survey area in transects, marking each visible historic or prehistoric artifact on the ground surface with a flag. The process was repeated until the entire 26.5 ac. project area had been examined.

After all artifacts had been marked, the flagged artifacts were collected by teams of archaeologists and volunteers. The attributes of each artifact were recorded on a log sheet, and each object was assigned a unique provenience identifier. The flag marking the collected artifact was also marked with this unique provenience number.

Artifact Location Survey

In coordination with the pedestrian survey and artifact collection, a survey of the spatial location of each artifact was performed. To establish provenience for artifacts collected, a site-specific 10,000 × 10,000 ft. grid was defined for the site using the land survey data and markers previously established. A primary control point was established at the northwest corner of Block 13, Lot 4 (designated 5000N, 5000E), and a secondary control point was established at the southwest corner of Block 8, Lot 5 (5080N, 5000E). Using these controls, a site grid oriented to the historic town block and lot layout was

established. Additional control points were set up as required by lines of sight to target locations.

With a system of control for the site established, targets were surveyed sequentially using an electronic total station (Sokkia SET500), and each target's spatial location was recorded with an electronic data recorder (Sokkia SDR 8100). For example, an artifact location recorded at 5200N, 5010E would define an artifact 200 ft. north and 10 ft. east of the primary control point. The site-specific spatial location information was annotated with the artifact's unique provenience identification (ID) assigned by the artifact collection teams. These data were then downloaded from the data recorder to a laptop computer for in-the-field accuracy and completeness checking, and then translation to, and analysis by ESRI's ArcGIS geographic information system software.

Attribute Data Entry

Parallel with the artifact location survey, the attribute information logged by the artifact collection teams was entered into a Microsoft Access relational database, recording each unique artifact provenience ID, preliminary artifact identification, collection date, and collection team members. The field log data was then "normalized" to create basic continuity among the collection teams' records. This included spell-checking all records and adding a primary category tag where necessary (for example, ceramic, glass, metal, etc.). The site-specific spatial location of each artifact was then entered from the spatial survey data, and a unique spatial-location-to-attribute tag was generated from these data for each artifact, to facilitate the linking of spatial information within the GIS to the attribute database.

With the spatial location and artifact characteristics recorded, a translation (world) file was created to map the site-specific grid coordinates to "real-world," Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) coordinates and allow co-registration of site aerial photographs (digital orthophotos), the historic town plat, and artifact locations. The spatial data acquired from the field survey were generated as a layer within the GIS and linked to the attribute database. Using this attribute-to-location linkage, preliminary queries of the data were performed, and a preliminary categorization of artifact types was created and visualized.

Laboratory Methodology

Over 7,000 artifacts were recovered from the New Philadelphia town site during the pedestrian survey, including over 5,900 historic period artifacts. Three basic steps were followed: artifact preparation, historic artifact cataloging, and delineation of the catalog assemblages. Museum staff and volunteers in cooperation with faculty and staff from the University of Illinois at Springfield, analyzed the faunal and prehistoric assemblages. Artifact analysis of historic period artifacts was performed by arGIS Consultants of Bethesda, Maryland.

All recovered artifacts were processed by the Illinois State Museum (ISM) staff and volunteers under the guidance of Terrance J. Martin. Processing of the artifacts was designed to prepare them for analysis and permanent storage, and followed standard museum collection protocols. Under the guidance of Lynn Fisher of the University of Illinois, the prehistoric artifact assemblage was cataloged, and Terrance Martin of ISM cataloged the faunal materials.

Historic Assemblage Cataloging

All historic artifacts were identified, classified, and cataloged according to the accepted National Park Service (NPS) protocols and typology set forth in the *Museum Handbook, Part II* (NPS 2000) using the coding structure under the Automated National Cataloging System (ANCS+). Artifacts, photographs, field notes, and other documentary data are stored at the Illinois State Museum in Springfield, Illinois.

Under the NPS protocol, each historic artifact was cataloged by recording unique identification and descriptive information. This included recording the provenience number which uniquely identifies each artifact and links it to its spatial location within the town tract, an object name, quantity, manufacturing dates when determinable, and descriptive codes enumerating materials, manufacturing techniques, decorative elements, colors, and part characteristics of each artifact. Makers' marks were noted where present, and comments were also recorded when elaboration was required beyond predefined codes.

For datable ceramics, manufacturing beginning and end dates were assigned using standard

reference materials. These standard date ranges were interpreted by the cataloger in certain instances when datable characteristics overlapped. Typically the tighter date range was used, so the later *terminus post quem* (TPQ) and the earlier *terminus ante quem* (TAQ) were applied. Some date ranges, however, are "open ended," as is the case when a ceramic type is still in use. For these cases, a TAQ of 1940 was applied, as the latest date of occupation of the town was ca. 1940. A *median* manufacture date for each datable ceramic artifact was also recorded in the database where a reference date was available. A *mean* manufacture date was calculated and entered using the average of the TPQ and TAQ when a median date was not available (for example, undecorated whiteware would have an mean date of 1880, based on a TPQ of 1820 and a TAQ of 1940). The weighted average, mean ceramic date (MCD) (South 1977) for the site and each block, lot or other section of the town was then calculated using the formula below:

As ceramics may of course be used and discarded beyond their MCD, or even their referenced TAQ, the exact dating of blocks and lots within the town site is not possible based on these artifact dates. Also, these dates are based on sherd counts rather than vessel counts, and sample sizes for individual blocks and lots are fairly small, so sizeable distortions are possible. Therefore, for this survey these dates were considered only as a relative dating tool to assist in the determination of areas in which further detailed investigations were warranted.

Visualization and Analysis

The detailed classification of each artifact was entered into the relational database. Once these data were linked to the GIS, each artifact was correlated to the town plat, coded as to block and lot (04:1) or street designator (ST:) if not within an historic block. If an artifact was in a block, but within one of the alleys and not a specific lot, it was coded simply with the block number (04:). As a few of the collected historic artifacts were outside the town boundaries, they were coded as OUT (OU:). The spatially linked data were visualized, and queries performed to ascertain areas of interest.

As previously discussed, the pedestrian survey's focus was limited to determination of the presence of archaeological resources and identification of particular artifact concentrations. Because of the limitations of this survey methodology—stratigraphy is lost due to plowing—in-depth landscape and artifact-assemblage analyses were not undertaken. Each cataloged artifact was assigned, where possible, to a single "functional" category, however. Functional categories utilized in artifact analysis include architectural, domestic, kitchen, and personal. As Shackel notes later in this volume, functional categorization can be problematic, and present-day assemblage analysis has striven to "move beyond functional and systems approaches." For the pedestrian survey, however, such simple categorization was deemed appropriate, as it might help identify activity areas and permit assumptions about landscape use to be made (domestic versus industrial, for example). Visualization of such activity areas can also inform the development of future research questions and help focus Phase II field investigations.

Artifacts in the architectural category include nails, structural spikes, brick, mortar, roofing slate, flat glass, and door or window hinges (Figure 3). Kitchen artifacts included all objects related to the storage, serving, or preparation of food and beverages, such as glass and ceramic vessels, serving and eating utensils, etc. (Figure 4). Personal artifacts include clothing-related items such as buttons or buckles, as well as coins, sewing-related items, tobacco pipes, etc. (Figure 5). The domestic category functioned as a set which distinguishes household-related items that do not easily fit into either the kitchen or architectural categories, such as clothing items, or containers that cannot be identified as to type (Figure 6). As several doll parts and other

$$MCD = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n}(d_i f_i)}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} f_i}$$

where d_i = median manufacture date of ceramic type i,

f_i = frequency of ceramic type i,

for n ceramic types in the area of analysis.

FIGURE 3. Architectural material distribution over the town site included doorknobs, nails, structural spikes, brick, flat glass, and other materials. (Image by authors, 2009.)

toy artifacts were recovered, this category of personal items is listed separately in the results (Figure 7).

Methodological Limitations

As noted, the New Philadelphia pedestrian survey was designed to optimize the use of time, funding, and personnel. The success of the survey relied greatly on the participation

of volunteers, primarily composed of students from local colleges and universities, as well as local citizens. For this reason, the survey was conducted over three long weekends: 11–14 October and 8–10 November 2002, and 14–16 March 2003.

A number of biases inherent in this survey process must be noted, as they could affect the overall results of the survey. Field conditions varied from weekend to weekend as the
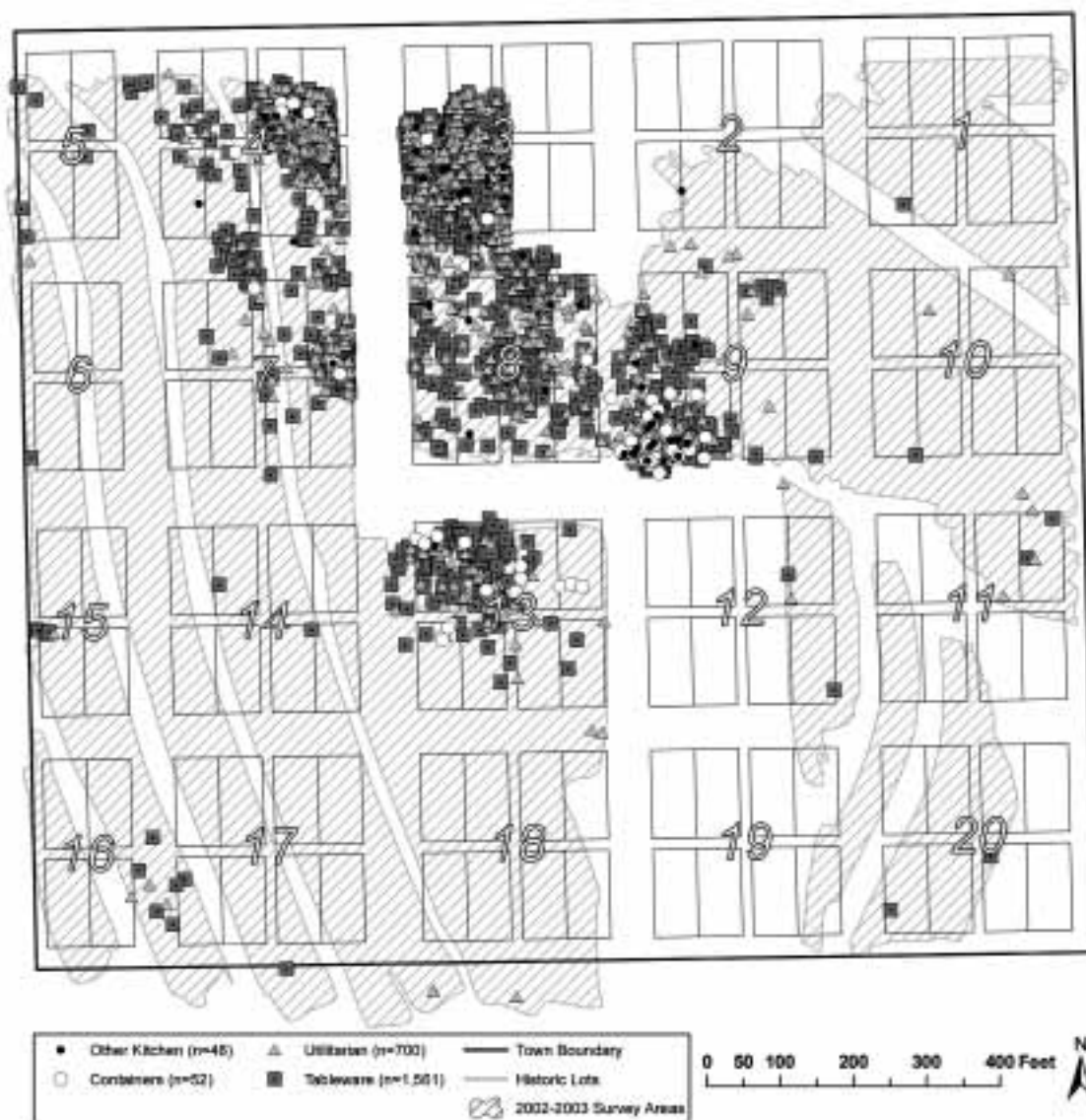
FIGURE 4. THE DISTRIBUTION OF KITCHEN ARTIFACTS IN THE SURVEY AREA. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

amount of precipitation fluctuated. Due to the extraordinary number of artifacts recovered at the site, the survey could not be completed within the original October to November timeframe contemplated, and therefore the last segment of the survey had to be completed in the early spring of 2003. This permitted the final survey segment to weather four additional months. Moreover, the first segment of the survey was completed during daylight saving time, so the

light quality changed somewhat over the three survey weekends. Both of these factors may have affected general artifact visibility, and also made certain artifacts, such as nails or other small ferrous materials, less visible.

Another bias was imposed by variability in the archaeological expertise and experience of the volunteers. Less-experienced volunteers did not always recognize certain objects as artifacts, a factor which may potentially minimize the

FIGURE 5. PERSONAL ITEMS, INCLUDING TOBACCO PIPE, MIRROR, AND RELIGIOUS BEAD FRAGMENTS, ARE MAPPED IN RELATION TO THE TOWN BLOCKS AND LOTS. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

presence of certain artifacts in the collection. To mitigate this bias, however, a professionally trained archaeologist was assigned to every survey and collection team, and volunteers were instructed to flag an object as an artifact even if there were doubt as to whether it were cultural.

Variability within the New Philadelphia site itself was also a factor; certain parts of the site were so densely covered with artifacts that it

was not practical to collect a 100% sample. In these instances, artifacts were collected at the discretion of the archaeologist managing each collection team. While these various factors may have affected the survey process and the results, they did not hamper the overall success of the project. Indeed, discrete concentrations of historic and prehistoric cultural materials were identified and mapped during each of the three survey segments.
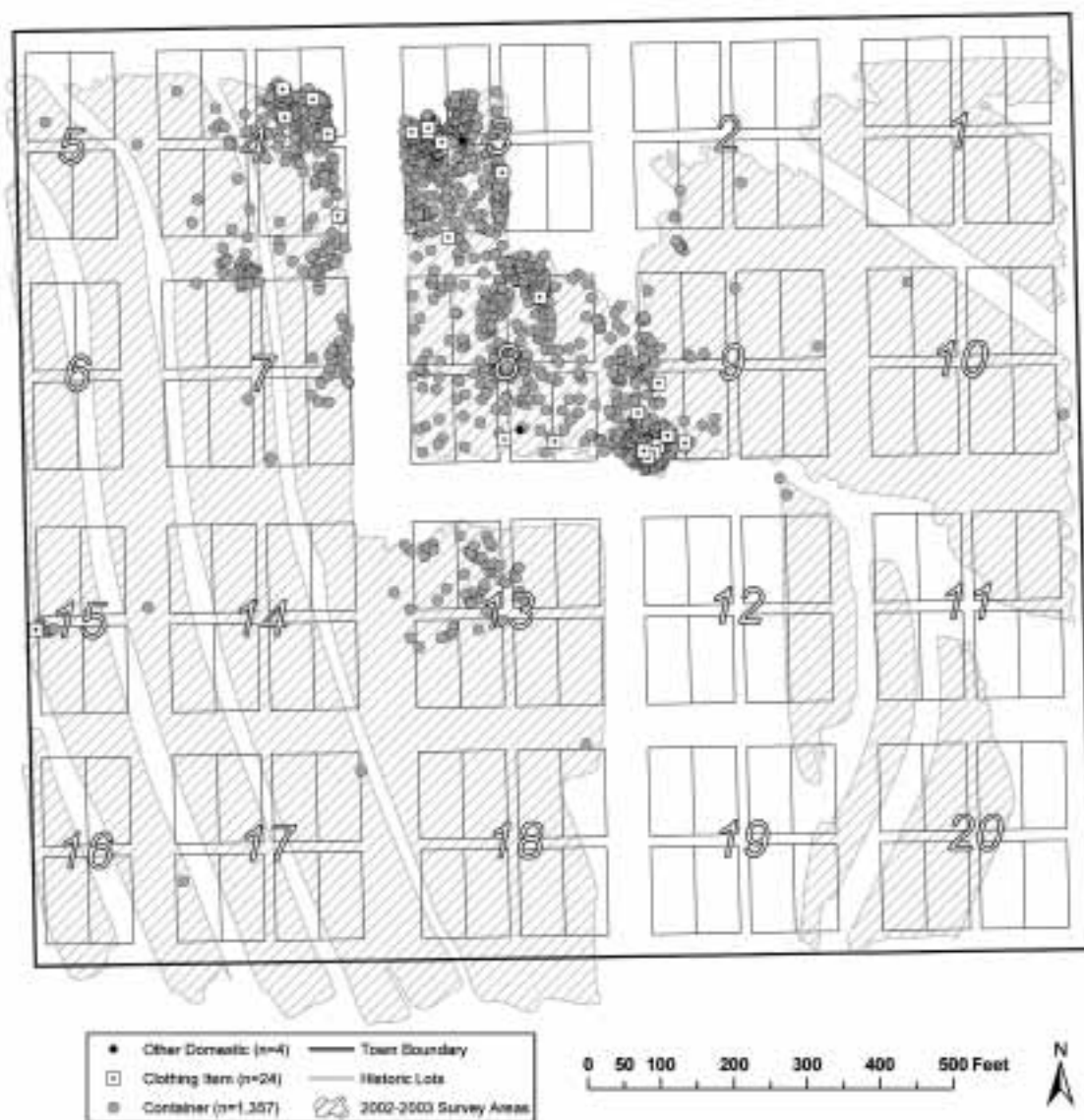
FIGURE 6. DOMESTIC MATERIALS MAPPED IN RELATION TO THE TOWN BLOCKS AND LOTS. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

Results

The project recovered 7,073 historic and prehistoric artifacts, which were identified, collected, and mapped during the 10-day survey. Of these, 5,932 artifacts (including 43 faunal items) were considered historic, and the balance comprised prehistoric or non-cultural material. The distributions of historic and prehistoric materials are shown in Figures 8 and 9.

Categories of Historic Materials Recovered

Among the many different kinds of artifacts flagged, collected, and surveyed were domestic materials such as broken glassware and ceramics, architectural debris such as brick fragments and nails, as well as lithic tools and debitage. While artifacts were scattered throughout the project area, a number of very dense historic
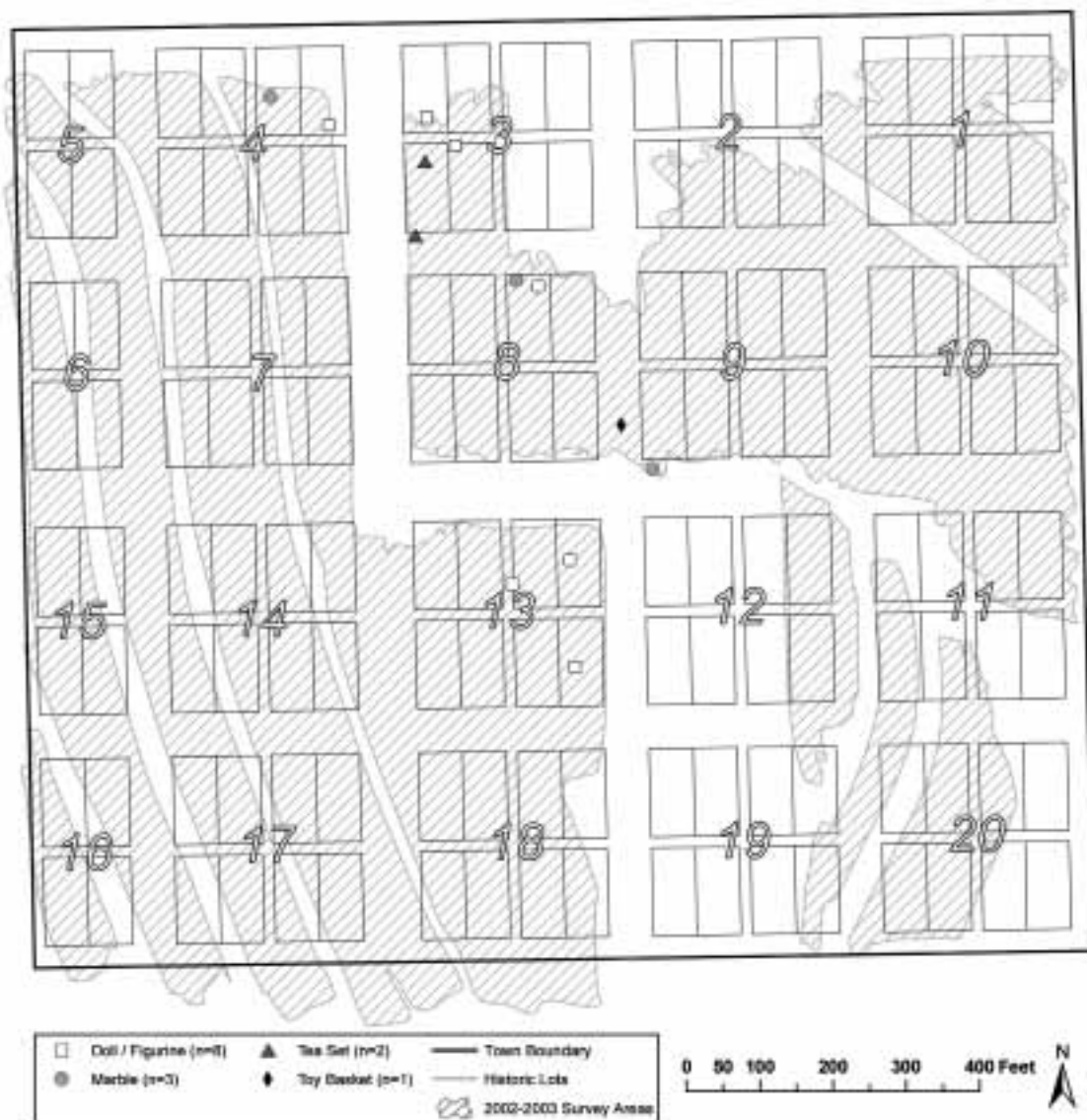
FIGURE 7. THE DISTRIBUTION OF TOY AND DOLL PARTS MAPPED ON THE TOWN SITE. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

deposits were identified. Table 1 details the types of historic materials collected.

Determining Relative Dating of the Artifact Assemblage

Of the historic artifacts cataloged, 2,084 (35.1%) were datable. As noted, for ceramic types still in use, for purposes of analysis a TAQ of 1940 was assigned. Using standard reference sources (Ramsay 1939; South 1977; Sussman 1977; Noel-Hume 1980; Oswald 1982; Jones and Sullivan 1985; Zilmer 1987; Conroy 1998; Stelle 2001), date ranges were assigned where possible, and a mean ceramic date (MCD) was calculated (Table 2). Dates were also assigned to other materials where possible, such as one-piece flat buttons, specific types of container glass, and so on.

From these data, a weighted mean date
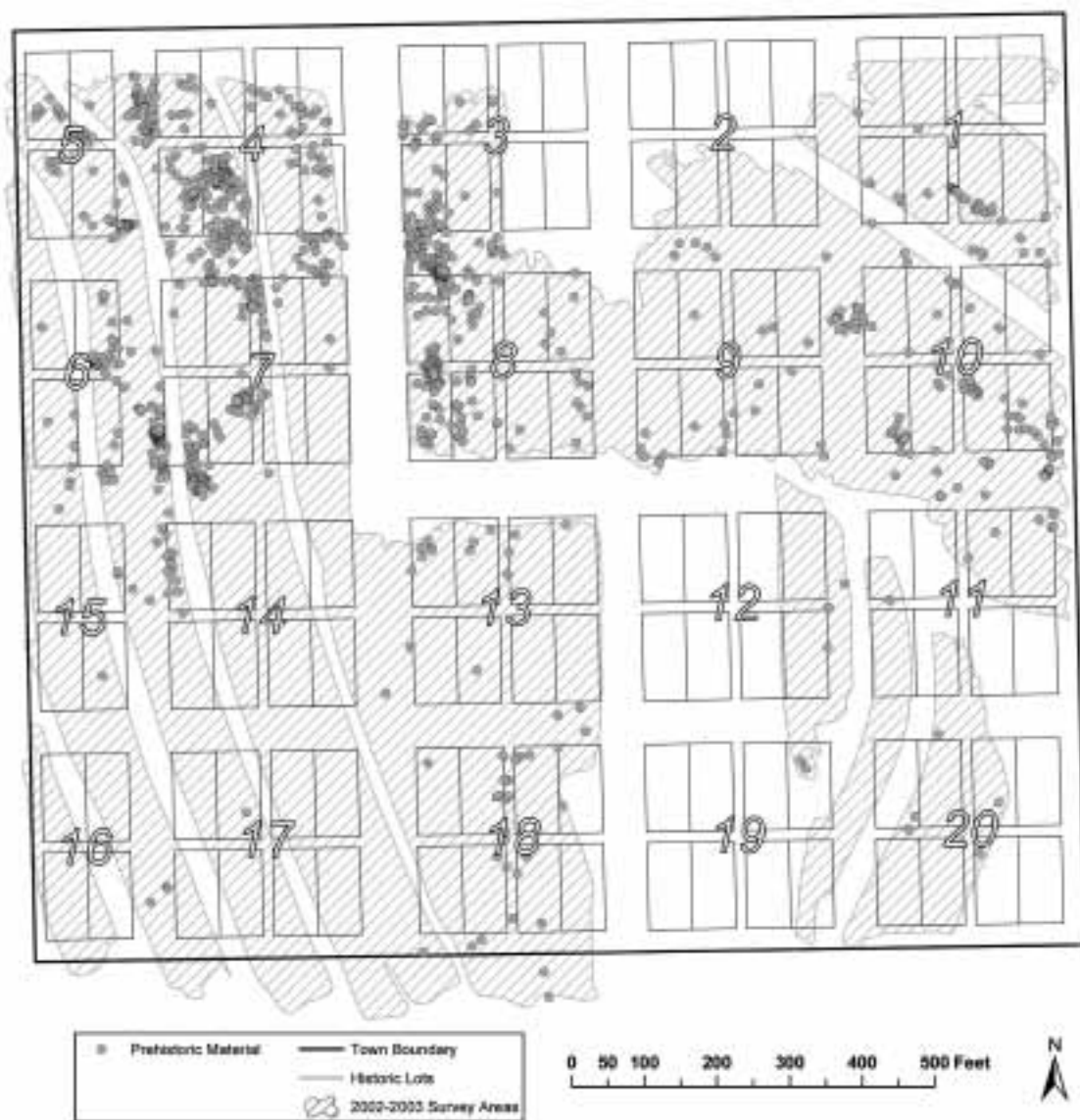
FIGURE 8. PREHISTORIC MATERIAL DISTRIBUTION IS MAPPED ON THE NEW PHILADELPHIA TOWN PLAT. DIAGNOSTIC ARTIFACTS FROM THE PREHISTORIC ASSEMBLAGE DATE FROM THE EARLY TO MIDDLE ARCHAIC ERA. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

of 1870 was calculated for the town. This weighted mean is skewed toward later dates, however, because of the preponderance of open-end-date, undecorated whitewares in the sample. If datable materials with open-ended MCDs are discounted, the site's mean date is 1862. This may be correlated with historical land records for a reasonable estimate of the site's peak occupation period. A summary of mean dates by block and lot, based on pre-1880 materials

is provided in Table 3 to show the relative dating of blocks and lots based on artifacts recovered in the pedestrian survey.

Dating of individual lots given such a small sample of datable materials is highly problematic, of course. Therefore, the dates for both lots and blocks were considered an indicator of the relative dates of occupation, that is, which lots may have been occupied first during the town's settlement period.
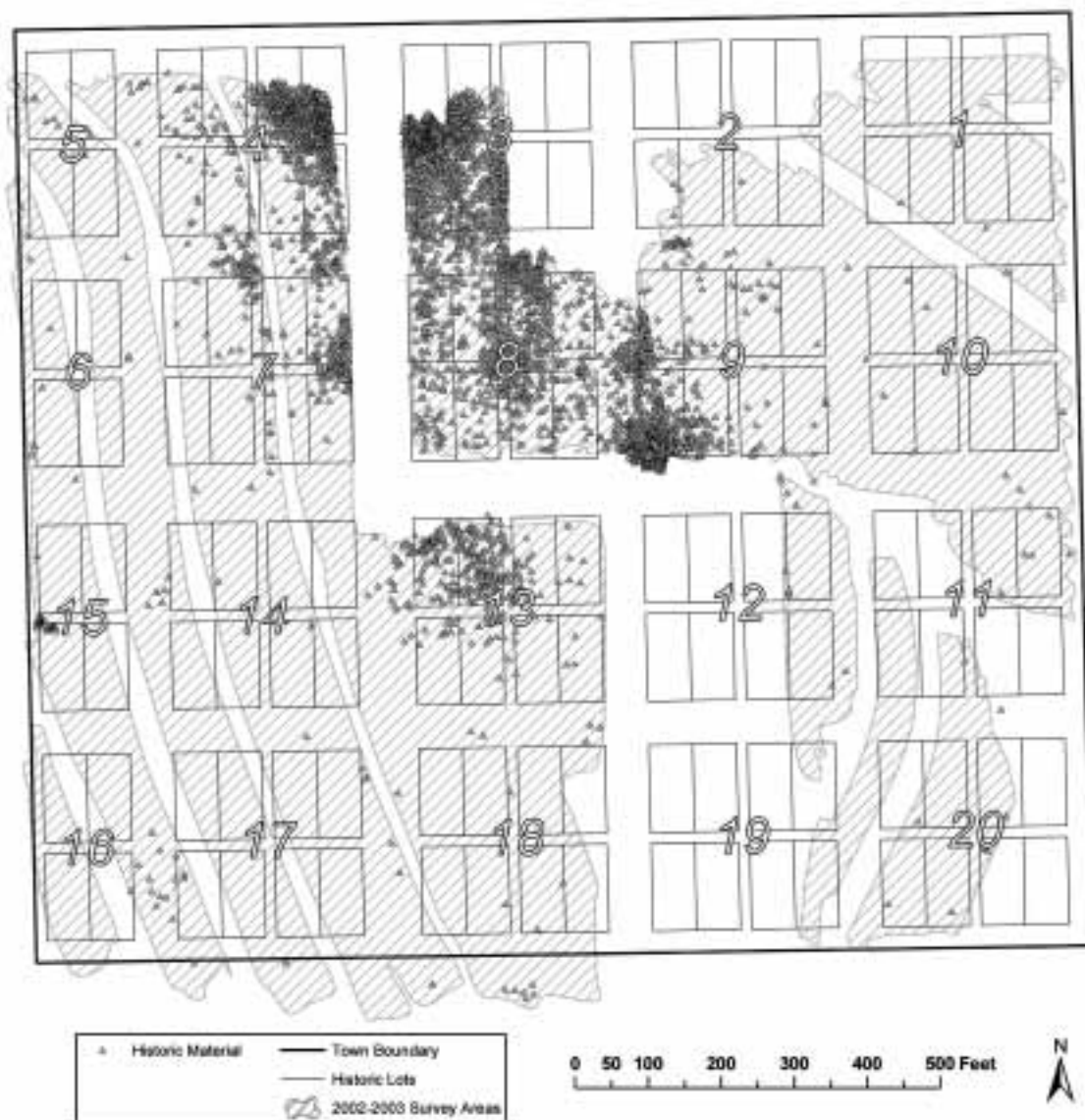
FIGURE 9. HISTORIC MATERIAL DISTRIBUTION IS MAPPED ON THE NEW PHILADELPHIA TOWN PLAT. HIGH CONCENTRATIONS OF ARTIFACTS ARE NOTED IN BLOCKS 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, AND 13. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

**Creating Functional Categories
for Analysis and Visualization**

All artifacts for each block were then analyzed by functional categories without respect to date. Architectural (*n*=1,760), domestic (*n*=1,387), kitchen (*n*=2,361) (with tableware and utilitarian items separated where identifiable), and personal items (*n*=26) were detailed. The kitchen-tableware subcategory was used for utensils or ceramics designed for table use. This includes bowls

suitable for serving at the table, cups, forks, refined hollowwares, drinking glasses, knives, plates, spoons, etc. The kitchen-utilitarian subcategory was used to designate utility wares, including bottles, crocks, jars, and jugs. When an artifact was identifiable as a kitchen item, but could not be categorized as tableware or utilitarian, it was assigned to the basic kitchen category. Table 4 shows the percentage breakdown of these categories within town blocks, as well as the percentage of the whole that each block

TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF HISTORIC ARTIFACTS RECOVERED DURING THE PEDESTRIAN SURVEY

Brick	**319**	**5.4%**
Buttons	**19**	**< 1.0%**
Ceramics		
Earthenware		
Bennington/Rockingham	15	
Buff paste	2	
Gray paste	5	
Pearlware	33	
Red paste	13	
Saltglazed	2	
Whiteware	1,031	
Whiteware, hardpaste	361	
Yellow ware	35	
Other	12	
Total earthenware	*1,509*	*25.4%*
Porcelain	**164**	**2.8%**
Stoneware		
Brown paste	4	
Buff paste	460	
Gray paste	160	
Red Paste	7	
Other	2	
Total stoneware	*633*	*10.7%*
Terra-cotta	**4**	**< 1.0%**
Ferrous metal		
Machine cut nails or fragments	94	
Wire nails or fragments	44	
Other ferrous materials	304	
Total ferrous metal	*442*	*7.5%*
Glass		
Flat glass	1,223	
Curved/other glass	1,484	
Total glass	*2,707*	*45.6%*
Kaolin/Ball clay	**4**	**< 1.0%**
Mortar/Plaster	**13**	**< 1.0%**
Slag	**17**	**< 1.0%**
Slate	**10**	**< 1.0%**
Faunal	**43**	**< 1.0%**
Other	**48**	**< 1.0%**
Total artifacts	*5,932*	

Note: Sixteen artifacts (< 0.3%) were missing before or during cataloging, and were cataloged to the extent possible using field notes. One additional artifact was unaccounted for after cataloging, but all attributes were recorded.

TABLE 2
MEAN CERAMIC DATES (MCDS) FOR SELECT
CERAMIC MATERIALS RECOVERED
DURING THE SURVEY

Bennington/Rockingham earthenware	1873
Bristol glazed stoneware	1888
Albany-type slip glazed stoneware	1863
Parian porcelain (toy doll parts)	1866
Pearlware (various decorations)	1804–1808
Whiteware (various decorations)	1833–1924
Yellow ware	1865

TABLE 3
MEAN DATE ESTIMATES FOR BLOCKS AND LOTS BASED ON MEAN CERAMIC DATES (MCDS)
OF SELECT CERAMIC MATERIALS RECOVERED DURING THE SURVEY

Block: Lot	Datable Artifact Count	Mean Date	Earliest MCD	Latest MCD
3: 3	31	1864	1835	1870
3: 4	25	1850	1805	1870
3: 5	31	1865	1845	1878
3: 6	26	1861	1804	1874
3: 7	3	1864	1863	1865
3: Alleys	60	1862	1805	1873
Block 3	*176*	*1861*		
4: 1	26	1859	1804	1870
4: 2	43	1860	1808	1878
4: 3	1	1870	1870	1870
4: 4	4	1854	1810	1878
4: 5	1	1878	1878	1878
4: 6	1	1860	1860	1860
4: 7	4	1862	1850	1870
4: 8	23	1844	1800	1878
4: Alleys	17	1855	1804	1878
Block 4	*120*	*1856*		
7: 1	23	1854	1805	1873
7: 8	5	1869	1863	1878
7: Alleys	8	1859	1805	1878
Block 7	*36*	*1857*		

Block: Lot	Datable Artifact Count	Mean Date	Earliest MCD	Latest MCD
8: 1	7	1860	1835	1870
8: 2	22	1863	1845	1873
8: 3	7	1864	1863	1870
8: 4	11	1865	1860	1878
8: 5	2	1870	1870	1870
8: 6	2	1868	1863	1873
8: 7	6	1865	1863	1870
8: 8	4	1864	1860	1870
8: Alleys	14	1864	1850	1873
Block 8	*75*	*1864*		

TABLE 3 (CONTINUED)
MEAN DATE ESTIMATES FOR BLOCKS AND LOTS BASED ON MEAN CERAMIC DATES (MCDS)
OF SELECT CERAMIC MATERIALS RECOVERED DURING THE SURVEY

Block: Lot	Datable Artifact Count	Mean Date	Earliest MCD	Latest MCD
9: 2	3	1844	1805	1878
9: 4	2	1863	1863	1863
9: 5	30	1859	1805	1878
9: 6	6	1853	1805	1863
9: 7	1	1870	1870	1870
9: Alleys	1	1863	1863	1863
Block 9	*42*	*1858*		
13: 2	2	1862	1860	1863
13: 3	12	1864	1863	1873
13: 4	7	1864	1860	1870
13: 7	2	1871	1863	1878
13: Alleys	1	1866	1866	1866
Block 13	*23*	*1864*		

Note: Only blocks with more than 10 artifacts are represented.

TABLE 4
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY BREAKOUT OF ARTIFACTS BY BLOCK

Block	Category	Count	% within Block	% within Survey
1	Kitchen-tableware	**1**	100.0%	**0.0%**
2	Architectural	1	20.0%	
	Domestic	3	60.0%	
	Kitchen	1	20.0%	
	Total	*5*		*0.1%*
3	Architectural	539	31.4%	
	Domestic	405	23.6%	
	Kitchen	17	1.0%	
	Kitchen-Tableware	456	26.6%	
	Kitchen-Utilitarian	198	11.5%	
	Personal	13	0.8%	
	Toy	4	0.2%	
	Other	85	5.0%	
	Total	*1,717*		*28.9%*
4	Architectural	273	26.5%	
	Domestic	217	21.0%	
	Kitchen	10	1.0%	
	Kitchen-Tableware	371	35.9%	
	Kitchen-Utilitarian	124	12.0%	
	Personal	4	0.4%	
	Toy	2	0.2%	
	Other	31	3.0%	
	Total	*1,032*		*17.4%*

TABLE 4 (CONTINUED)
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY BREAKOUT OF ARTIFACTS BY BLOCK

Block	Category	Count	% within Block	% within Survey
5	Architectural	3	37.5%	
	Domestic	1	12.5%	
	Kitchen-Tableware	3	37.5%	
	Other	1	12.5%	
	Total	*8*		*0.1%*
6	Architectural	**2**	100.0%	**0.0%**
7	Architectural	55	23.6%	
	Domestic	37	15.9%	
	Kitchen	5	2.1%	
	Kitchen-tableware	74	31.8%	
	Kitchen-utilitarian	47	20.2%	
	Personal	1	0.4%	
	Other	14	6.0%	
	Total	*233*		*3.9%*
8	Architectural	323	38.0%	
	Domestic	214	25.1%	
	Kitchen	7	0.8%	
	Kitchen-tableware	164	19.3%	
	Kitchen-utilitarian	96	11.3%	
	Personal	2	0.2%	
	Toy	2	0.2%	
	Other	43	5.1%	
	Total	*851*		*14.3%*
9	Architectural	160	25.0%	
	Domestic	142	22.2%	
	Kitchen	27	4.2%	
	Kitchen-tableware	187	29.3%	
	Kitchen-utilitarian	61	9.5%	
	Personal	1	0.2%	
	Other	61	9.5%	
	Total	*639*		*10.8%*
10	Domestic	1	20.0%	
	Kitchen-tableware	1	20.0%	
	Kitchen-utilitarian	2	40.0%	
	Other	1	20.0%	
	Total	*5*		*0.1%*
11	Kitchen-tableware	2	40.0%	
	Kitchen-utilitarian	2	40.0%	
	Other	1	20.0%	
	Total	*5*		*0.1%*
12	Architectural	3	50.0%	
	Kitchen-tableware	2	33.3%	
	Kitchen-utilitarian	1	16.7%	
	Total	*6*		*0.1%*

TABLE 4 (CONTINUED)
FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY BREAKOUT OF ARTIFACTS BY BLOCK

Block	Category	Count	% within Block	% within Survey
13	Architectural	67	19.5%	
	Domestic	50	14.5%	
	Kitchen	16	4.7%	
	Kitchen-tableware	124	36.0%	
	Kitchen-utilitarian	54	15.7%	
	Toy	3	0.9%	
	Other	30	8.7%	
	Total	*344*		*5.8%*
14	Kitchen-tableware	**2**		**0.0%**
15	Architectural	5	11.6%	
	Domestic	10	23.3%	
	Hardware	6	14.0%	
	Kitchen-tableware	2	4.7%	
	Kitchen-utilitarian	1	2.3%	
	Other	19	44.2%	
	Total	*43*		*0.7%*
16	Kitchen-utilitarian	**1**	100.0%	**0.0%**
17	Domestic	1	50.0%	
	Kitchen-tableware	1	50.0%	
	Total	*2*		*0.0%*
18	Architectural	2	50.0%	
	Other	2	50.0%	
	Total	*4*		*0.1%*
20	Architectural	4	66.7%	
	Kitchen-tableware	2	33.3%	
	Total	*6*		*0.1%*
No block (in street or offsite)	Architectural	323	31.7%	
	Domestic	305	29.9%	
	Kitchen	17	1.7%	
	Kitchen-tableware	168	16.5%	
	Kitchen-utilitarian	113	11.1%	
	Personal	5	0.5%	
	Toy	3	0.3%	
	Other	92	9.0%	
	Total	*1,026*		*17.3%*
	Grand total	*5,932*		

TABLE 5
TABLEWARE VS. UTILITARIAN BREAKDOWN OF DATABLE, PRE-1880 ARTIFACTS BY BLOCK

Block	Category	Count	% within Block
3	Tableware	21	11.8%
	Utilitarian	157	88.2%
	Total	*178*	
4	Tableware	25	21.4%
	Utilitarian	92	78.6%
	Total	*117*	
7	Tableware	7	20.6%
	Utilitarian	27	79.4%
	Total	*34*	
8	Tableware	6	7.9%
	Utilitarian	70	92.1%
	Total	*76*	
9	Tableware	8	19.0%
	Utilitarian	34	81.0%
	Total	*42*	
13	Tableware	2	8.7%
	Utilitarian	21	91.3%
	Total	*23*	

assemblage represents. Of interest in these raw data is the ratio of tablewares to utilitarian materials. In Block 3, for example, tablewares (*n*=456) are roughly 2.3 times more common than utilitarian items (*n*=198). In Block 4, the ratio is 2.1 to 1 (*n*=371 versus *n*=124). Similar ratios are found in almost all other blocks.

These ratios are somewhat unexpected given the dating of the site, as it would be anticipated that early settlers would be using utilitarian items such as red-paste earthenware in greater quantities than refined tableware. The ratios seen in Table 4, however, reflect the large quantities of open-ended-date whiteware recovered which have MCDs of ca. 1880 and later. When only datable, pre-1880 materials are analyzed by functional group (Table 5), the ratios reflect the pattern expected with early settlement. It can be maintained, however, that such filtering of later-

dated materials is deterministic, as it skews the sample to earlier pieces which are not refined, and eliminates items which are not tightly datable. This is, of course, an inherent limitation in a pedestrian survey methodology, as artifacts are divorced from their subsurface contexts due to disturbance.

Visualization of Other Materials of Possible Phase II Interest

Certain distributions of materials were visualized to provide input to the Phase II investigations, and facilitate comparison with the data recovered in the Phase II investigations. These included ferrous material scatter (Figure 10) which shows distinct nail concentrations in Blocks 3, 4, and 9. Also, burned and melted materials were plotted (Figure 11) to see if there were concentrations. Doorknobs
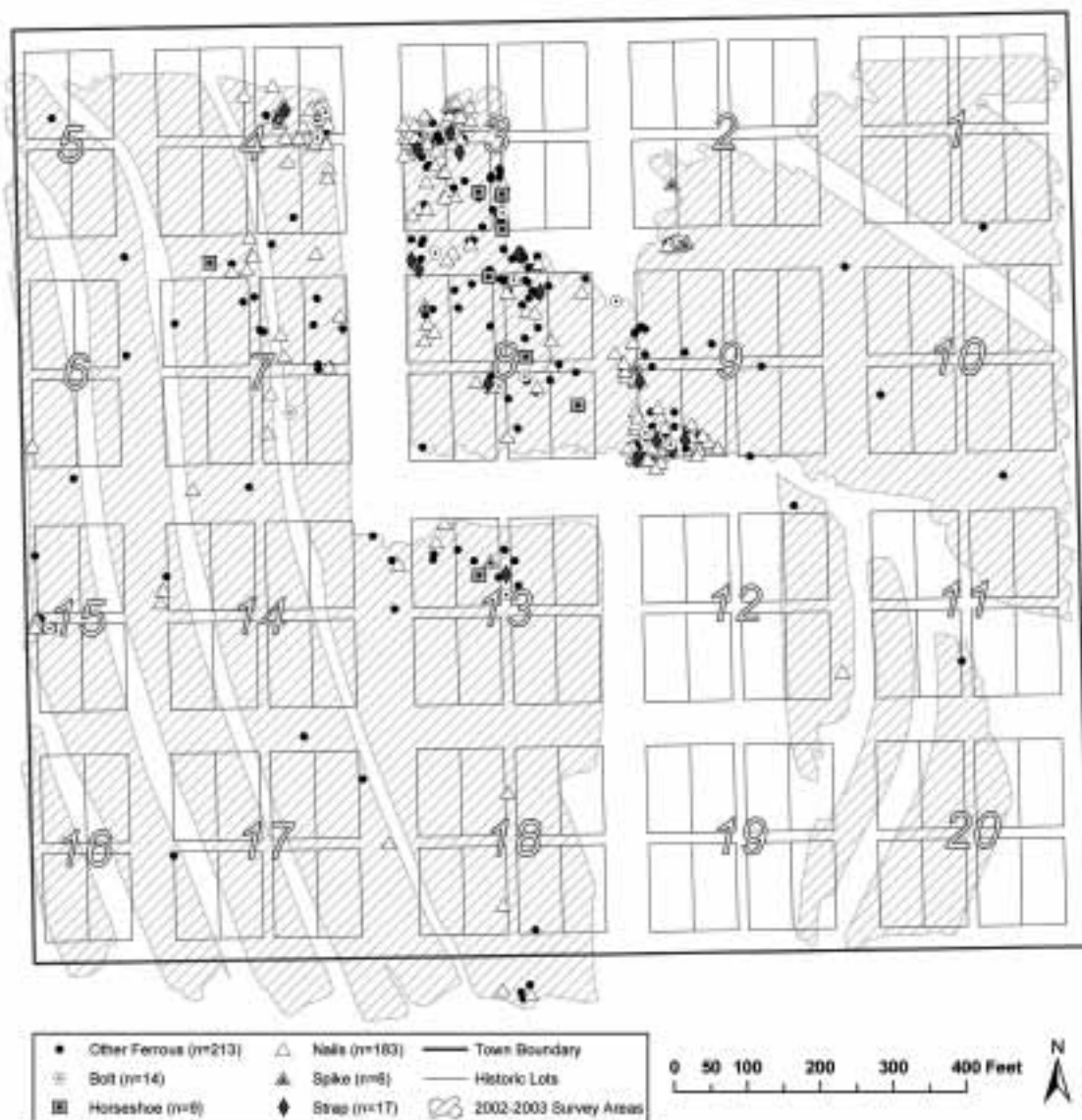
FIGURE 10. FERROUS MATERIAL SCATTER IS MAPPED ON THE NEW PHILADELPHIA TOWN PLAT. NAIL CONCENTRATIONS MAY BE NOTED IN BLOCKS 3, 4, AND 9. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

were plotted to show possible associations with subsurface features (Figure 12).

Faunal Materials: A Brief Overview

The majority of faunal remains were cataloged at the Illinois State Museum by Terrance Martin. Forty-three faunal specimens were recovered during the survey including cat (n=3), cattle (n=2), deer (n=1), large mammal (n=1), medium mammal (n=3), freshwater mussel shell (n=23), pig (n=7), rabbit (n=1), sheep or goat (n=1), and unidentified (n=1) remains. Distinct concentrations of faunal materials may be noted in Blocks 4, 9, and 13 (Figure 13).

It may be noteworthy that the majority of faunal materials recovered were freshwater mussel shell (53%). As Martin noted, the materials are most likely historic, as the temporally diagnostic lithics are suggestive of Early to Middle Archaic occupation, whereas the faunal materials are too well preserved to date to that
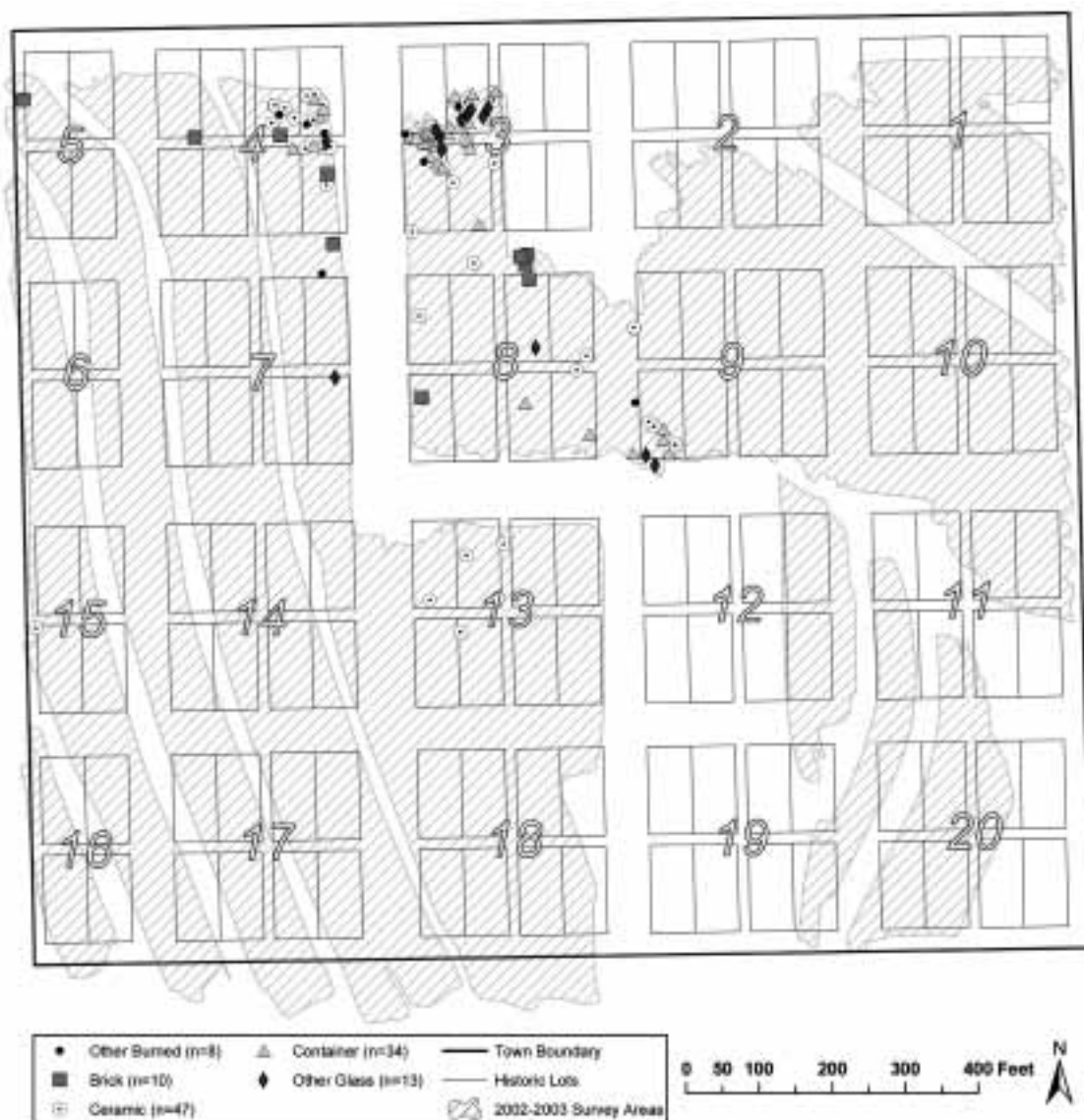
FIGURE 11. Burned or melted artifacts are shown mapped on the town plat. (Image by authors, 2009.)

era. He further noted, "It will be interesting to see if excavations reveal local freshwater mussel shells in 19th-century contexts," perhaps used for making shell buttons (Martin 2004, pers. comm.; T. Martin and C. Martin, this volume).

Discussion

The 10-day pedestrian survey met its objectives, as it identified the presence of historic artifacts at the New Philadelphia site, and isolated several artifact concentrations within the town. The results of the survey show that both domestic and architectural cultural resources are present on the site and discrete concentrations can be noted in the categorizations.

Follow-on research was then directed towards the identification and evaluation of intact subsurface cultural resources, pursuant to nominating the site under National Register Criterion D (United
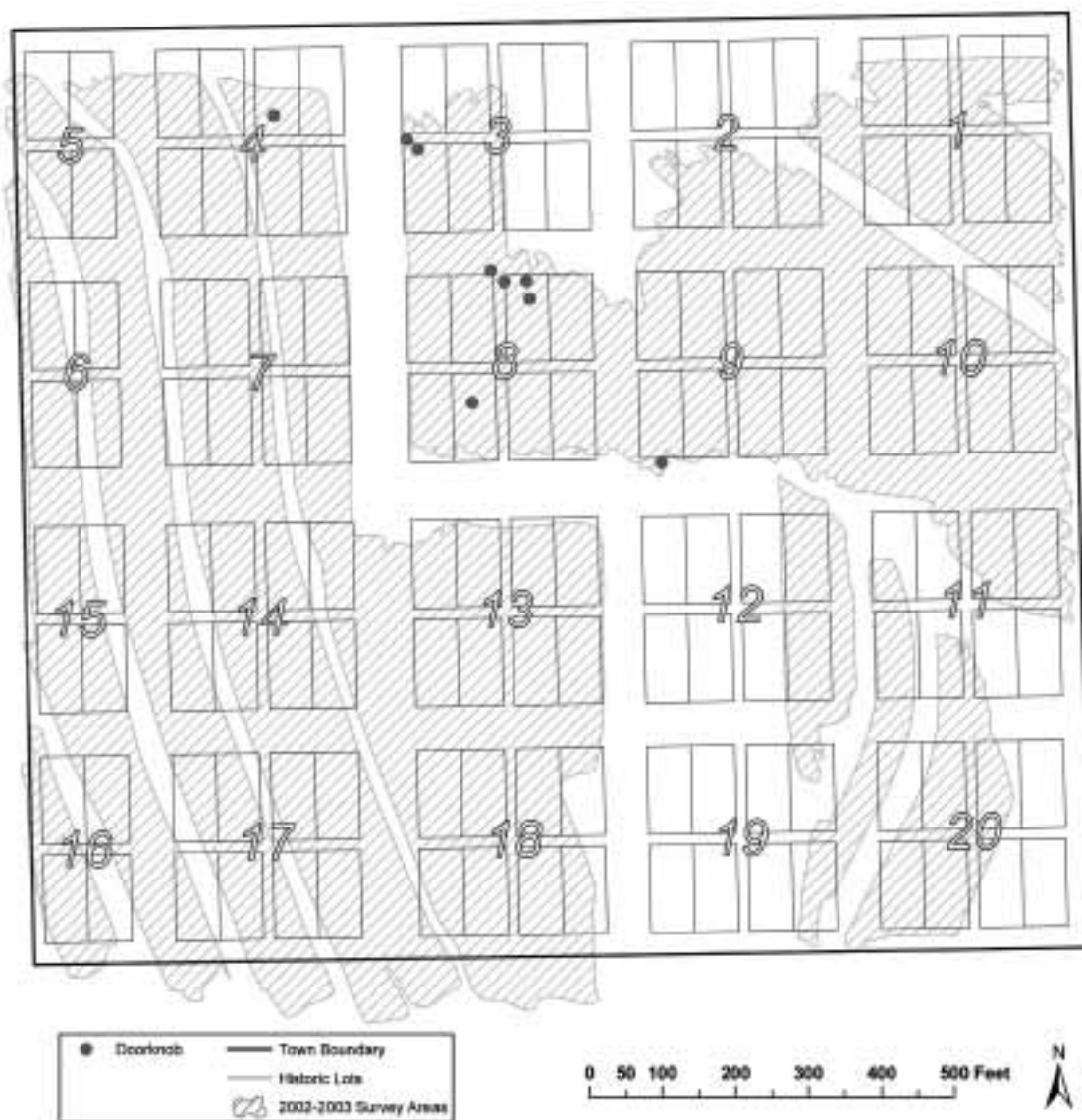
FIGURE 12. THE DISTRIBUTION OF DOORKNOBS RECOVERED IS MAPPED ON THE TOWN PLAT TO SHOW POSSIBLE ASSOCIATIONS WITH SUBSURFACE FEATURES. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

States Code of Federal Regulations 1966). While the site has significance and may meet several criteria for nomination to the National Register, the primary criterion pertinent to the pedestrian survey results is that the site "yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in pre-history or history." Follow-on archaeological and geophysical surveys, discussed in later chapters in this volume, have further defined the integrity of the New Philadelphia site.

Specific areas of concentration were considered "high priority" for further research, based on the survey (Figure 14). These include town Blocks 3 (primarily Lots 3–6), 4 (Lots 1, 2, and 8), 7 (Lot 1), 8 (scatter in Lots 1–8), 9 (Lot 5), and 13 (Lots 3 and 4). Concentrations of datable materials are not weighted evenly, however. Block 4, with the second highest concentration is the "earliest" block, with a mean date of 1856, and with Block 4, Lot 8 dating to ca. 1844.
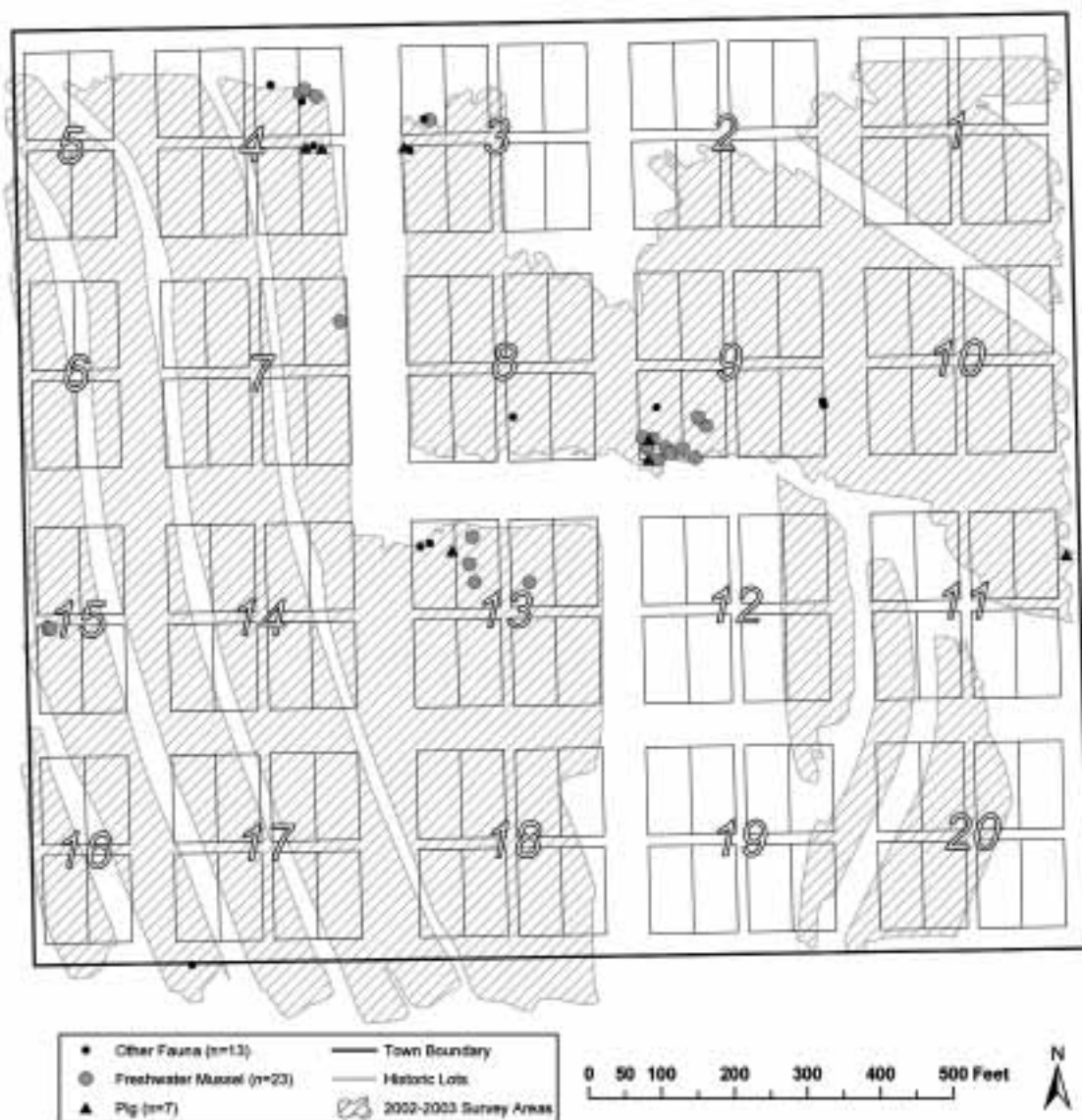
FIGURE 13. FAUNAL MATERIALS ARE MAPPED ON THE NEW PHILADELPHIA TOWN PLAT. CONCENTRATIONS OF FRESHWATER MUSSEL SHELL FRAGMENTS MAY BE NOTED IN BLOCKS 4, 9, AND 13. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

Block 7, Lot 1 is also fairly early, at ca. 1854. Thus, when these concentrations were viewed chronologically, the ca. 1860 and earlier artifact assemblages appeared to be concentrated in Blocks 3, 4, 7, and 9. After approximately 1860, additional materials appear to be concentrated in these same blocks, as well as in Block 13. Some post-1860 artifacts are also scattered in the vicinity of Block 8. These concentrations were used to direct the geophysical surveys conducted at the site in a subsequent field season, which in turn focused the Phase II efforts.
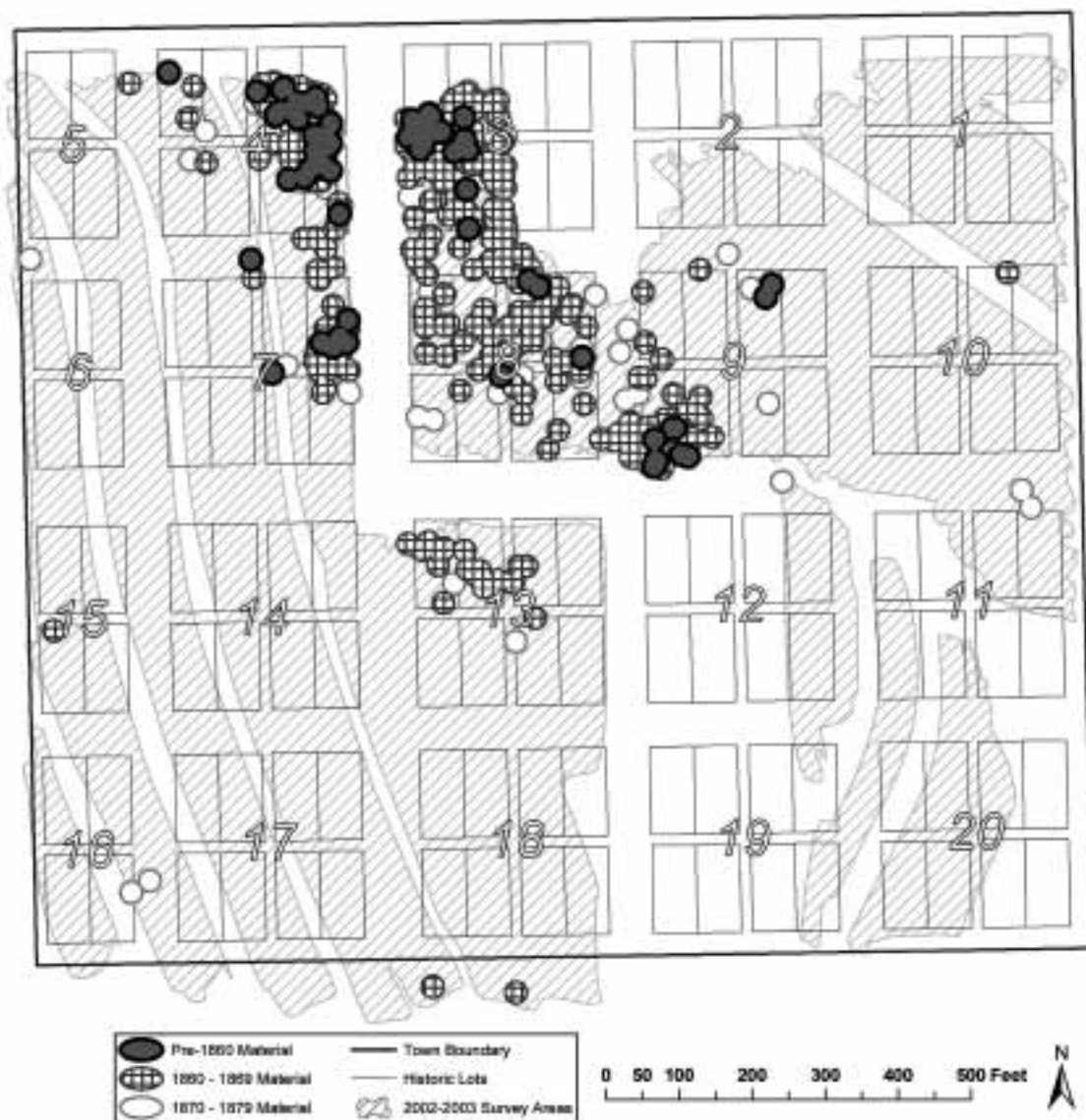
FIGURE 14. DATABLE MATERIALS PLOTTED BY DATE RANGE, DEMONSTRATING THE EARLIEST CONCENTRATIONS AND A "TIME VIEW" OF THE CHANGE IN THE OCCUPATIONAL LANDSCAPE AS INDICATED BY ARTIFACT DISTRIBUTIONS. (IMAGE BY AUTHORS, 2009.)

Conclusion

In sum, the pedestrian survey at New Philadelphia revealed that the landscape has tremendous research potential. Modern disturbance associated with the present-day road, farm access road, and agriculture has impacted the resources at the site, but significant intact archaeological deposits exist, given the extent of the materials recovered. Indeed, such archaeological deposits and features were located with subsequent investigations. As the first step in the determination of the site's

National Register eligibility, the pedestrian survey began the process of obtaining archaeological recognition for New Philadelphia's unique place in America's national story.

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Geophysical Detection of Features and Community Plan at New Philadelphia, Illinois

ABSTRACT

Geophysical surveys, including magnetic field gradient and electrical resistance techniques, were conducted at New Philadelphia to identify productive locations for excavation, investigate the community plan, and present students with training in these techniques. Excavation of a sample of the most promising anomalies identified foundations, stone-lined and pit cellars, wells, a privy, and other features. Archival records available during the fieldwork provided no evidence for the presence of four features constructed in the 1840s and 1850s. Features directly associated with houses, such as foundations and cellars, are located very near the platted locations of streets, alleys, and corners, whereas many of the non-residential features occur in the middle portions of lots.

Introduction

The 2004–2006 investigations at New Philadelphia yielded a wealth of new information, from the existence of early occupations for which the available archival records provided no hints, to household variation in dietary, discard, and consumer practices (Shackel 2006). The project was also successful in that the lives of many individuals—members of the local and descendant communities, student excavators, university and museum researchers, local historians, landowners, and casual visitors—were enriched by opportunities to examine the remains of the actual homes and possessions of New Philadelphia's early residents. Such opportunities to connect with the past often occur during archaeological fieldwork, but they were particularly plentiful at New Philadelphia. Many factors made these opportunities possible: a rich archival record, the sustained involvement of Frank McWorter's descendants, a highly motivated preservationist group (the New Philadelphia Association), a growing awareness of Free Frank's story (Walker 1983) among the broader public, and most importantly, the identification

of well-preserved archaeological deposits. This article focuses on how geophysical techniques were used to locate subsurface archaeological features and to develop a better understanding of New Philadelphia's community plan.

Goals

The use of geophysics at New Philadelphia had three goals. The first objective—one that had important implications for the success of the overall project—was to identify productive areas for hand excavation. Archival sources, including the town's 1836 plat, tax records dating back to 1867 (earlier records exist but had not yet been thoroughly examined), the federal census from 1850 onward, a sketch map of the remains of the town in the early 20th century (Burdick 1992), early aerial photographs, and a controlled surface collection of artifacts (Gwaltney 2004; Gwaltney and Beasley, this volume) provided general information about the likely presence of architectural features within particular 60 × 120 ft. town lots. That information allowed the excavators to identify promising portions of the 42 ac. site, but could not guarantee that excavation units would encounter subsurface features dating to the 19th century. One could fit 288 5 × 5 ft. excavation units into a single town lot, so it was very unlikely that any given unit would fortuitously encounter relatively small but important features like cellars, cisterns, wells, or privies. It was hoped that the geophysical surveys would identify subsurface features, allowing the excavators to focus on highly informative contexts with relatively few unproductive units.

A second goal was to develop a landscape-scale geophysical image (Kvamme 2003) of New Philadelphia that would allow a better understanding of the town's community plan, that is, the spatial arrangement of streets, houses, other buildings, specialized facilities, gardens, pastures, refuse dumps, and so forth. The 1836 plat, and a later version published in an 1872 Pike County atlas (Pike County Deed Book 1836:183; Ensign 1872; Walker 1983:104) depicted the planned arrangement of streets, alleys, and lots, but the extent to which they

ever actually existed was uncertain. The only evidence for other details of the community plan (houses and wells) was an informant's sketch map (Burdick 1992) and an early aerial photograph, both of which pertained primarily to the late 19th and mid-20th centuries.

The third objective was to introduce students to geophysics, primarily through opportunities for hands-on experience in data collection. Geophysical techniques are not widely understood or used by many archaeologists in the U.S. (Hargrave et al. 2002). To overcome this, students and colleagues must be made aware of geophysics' potential benefits and limitations.

Geophysical Methods

Two geophysical techniques were used at New Philadelphia: electrical resistance and magnetic field gradiometry. These techniques have been found to be effective at a number of other Illinois historic sites, and their usefulness at New Philadelphia was verified by a one-day, preliminary survey conducted in April 2004. Conductivity might also have been useful, but the appropriate instrument was not readily available. Conventional wisdom suggested that the site's silty clay soil would not be favorable for ground penetrating radar (GPR). In retrospect, the abundance of rock and brick in features that occurred immediately below the plow zone may have made GPR useful, but in practical terms, it was not essential to use a third technique to achieve project goals.

The resistance survey was conducted using a Geoscan Research RM15 (Hargrave et al. 2002; Somers 2006). The RM15 consists of a resistance meter, digital display, and memory unit mounted atop a lightweight frame. At the bottom of the frame is a horizontal beam that supports either two or three probe electrodes. The probes were spaced 50 cm apart, and this distance determined the approximate depth of survey. When the probes are inserted into the ground, a small electrical current is injected by one probe, and the potential is measured by the adjacent probe. The instrument calculates the resistance, which is the ease or difficulty with which the current passes through the soil at that location.

Variation in resistance depends largely upon moisture content. Changes in resistance are

generally gradual across an undisturbed expanse of soil. Localized disturbances associated with archaeological features, concentrations of architectural debris, large rocks, tree roots, plow furrows, and other phenomena cause abrupt differences in moisture content. When resistance data are collected at regular, closely spaced intervals across the site, features can be detected as anomalies, which are discrete loci characterized by resistance values that are distinct from their immediate surroundings.

In the 2004 and 2006 surveys an MPX multiplexer was added to the resistance system. This allowed two measurements to be made (using three probes) at each data collection point. Data were collected at 50 cm intervals along traverses that were spaced at 1 m intervals, resulting in four resistance values per square meter. The MPX was not used in 2005 because of technical problems. One reading was collected at 50 cm intervals along the traverses, resulting in a data density of two values per square meter. Areas surveyed in 2005 are characterized by (Figure 1) lower resolution and, because the summer of 2005 was very dry, lower contrast between possible features and their surroundings. A three-person crew comprised of field school students and instructors was able to collect resistance data in five or six 20 × 20 m blocks per day.

The magnetic survey was conducted using a Geoscan Research FM36 gradiometer in 2004 and 2005; the instrument was upgraded to an FM256 in 2006. This instrument includes two fluxgate sensors vertically separated by a fixed distance of 50 cm. Two geophysical properties—induced and remanent magnetism—allow some materials to be detected in a magnetic survey. A material's induced magnetism, a response to earth's magnetic field, is determined by its magnetic susceptibility. This potential to be magnetized depends largely upon its content of iron oxides. Cultural activities that result in the deposition of burned and organic materials can cause localized increases in magnetic susceptibility. A-horizon soils and culturally enriched feature fill are generally characterized by a higher magnetic susceptibility than the underlying B-horizon (Kvamme 2006).

Materials containing iron oxides that have been subjected to high temperatures assume a thermoremanent magnetism. As materials heated beyond their Curie point (about 565–675°C)
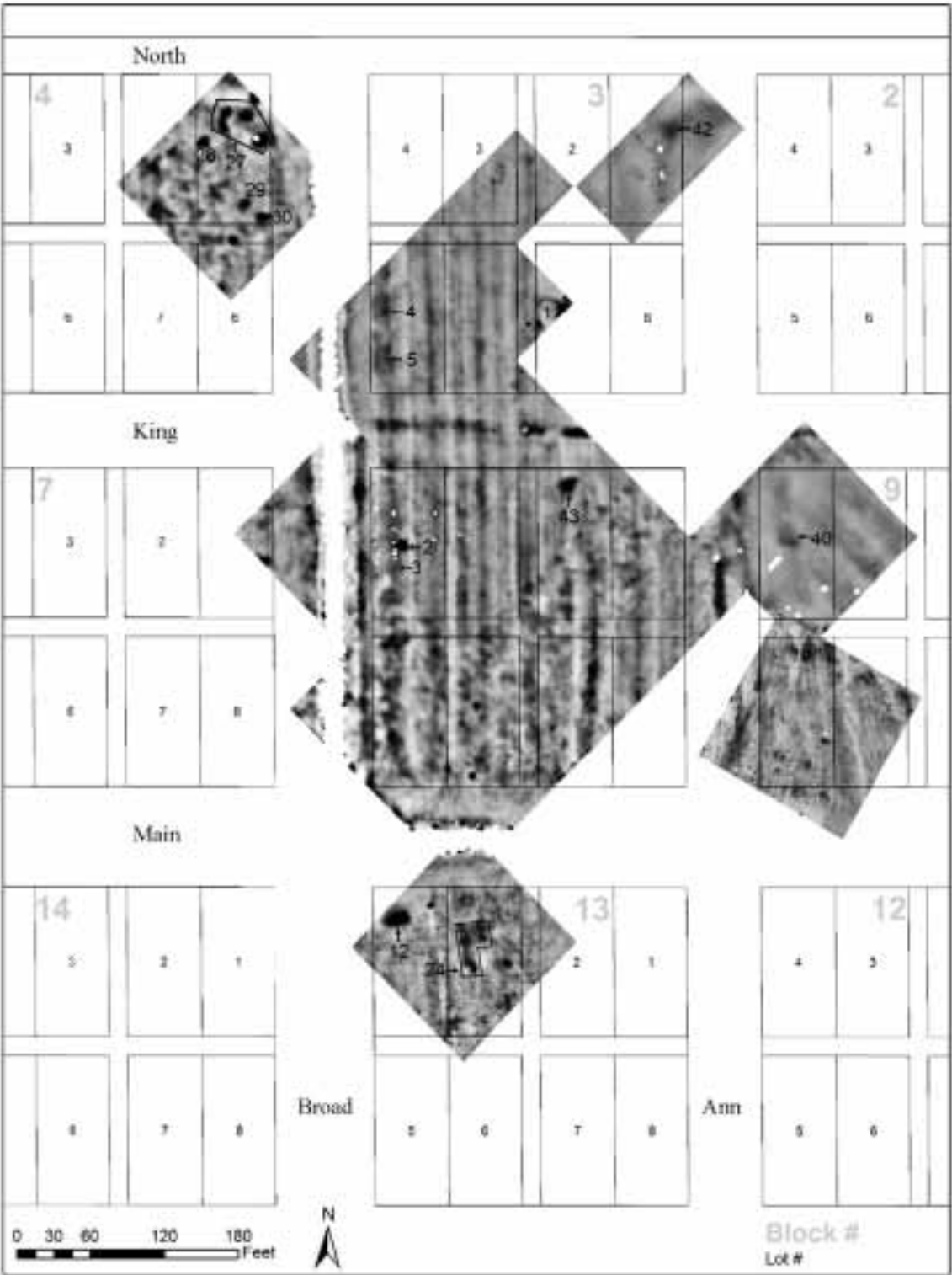
FIGURE 1. Results of the electrical resistance survey. Anomalies discussed in the text are numbered; see Tables 1 and 2 for corresponding feature numbers. (Map by author, 2008.)

cool, components of their iron oxides are realigned relative to earth's current magnetic field (Breiner 1999). Implications of this process for magnetic survey include the potential for detecting artifacts such as bricks, concentrations of daub and pottery, and features such as kilns, hearths, and burned houses (Kvamme 2006). Ferrous metals are, of course, highly magnetic, and strong anomalies associated with iron artifacts typically dominate magnetic maps of historic sites.

The magnetic data at New Philadelphia were also collected in a series of 20 × 20 m grids (Figure 2). Eight data values per linear meter were recorded along transects that were spaced at 1 m intervals, resulting in a data density of eight readings per square meter. Working in a field school setting, it was possible to survey 10 or 12 grids in a normal day. The field strategy was to survey relatively large, continuous areas with the gradiometer, and then to conduct electrical resistance survey in the most promising areas. The magnetic survey ultimately covered 6.5 ac., whereas the resistance survey included 4.25 ac.

The 1836 historic town plat (Pike County Deed Book 1836:183; Ensign 1872; Walker 1983:104) indicated that New Philadelphia's streets and alleys were oriented relative to the cardinal directions, and it was assumed that most structures, fences, and other linear features would conform to that orientation. Because one of the software techniques used to process the magnetic survey data tends to remove linear anomalies that are oriented parallel to the data collection traverses, the geophysical grid at New Philadelphia was oriented northeast to southwest.

Geophysical survey was conducted for two or three days during the first week of each field season. The students' hands-on experience in data collection was supplemented by an evening introductory lecture, opportunities to see preliminary maps when the data were downloaded to a laptop computer during the day, and the excavation team's use of the geophysical maps to guide the placement of many of the excavation units. The excavation team made the final decisions about which of the anomalies recommended for investigation would actually be excavated, and where to place the excavation units. Some town lots were of particular interest because of the ethnicity, occupation, or historical significance of the individuals believed to have

lived there. In a few such cases, anomalies were excavated that were not—based on the geophysical data alone—viewed as probable features, but were nevertheless the most promising targets in high-priority lots.

Anomaly Detection and Interpretation

An effective interpretation of geophysical data requires an understanding of basic geophysical principles, a reasonable amount of archaeological field experience, and previous experience in integrating the two. The reliability of one's interpretations is always enhanced by "ground truthing," that is, the investigation of selected anomalies using small-scale excavations or other independent information (Hargrave 2006). Ground truthing is important because diverse phenomena can often result in very similar anomalies. Additionally, the horizontal dimensions of a magnetic anomaly can be quite deceiving. Very weak magnetic anomalies are often coterminous with (near-surface) buried features or objects, but the relationships between the horizontal dimensions of a strong magnetic anomaly and those of its source are often complex (Breiner 1999).

Resistance anomalies are easier to interpret in that they generally reflect the size and shape of their subsurface sources. At New Philadelphia, however, tire ruts, ridges, and furrows that presumably resulted from the plowing done just prior to the surface collection are apparent in the geophysical data, particularly in Blocks 3 and 8 (Figure 1). The ridges, which appear as positive resistance anomalies because they were drier at the time of survey, made it difficult to detect small resistance anomalies associated with possible features.

At New Philadelphia, the resistance anomalies provided more reliable information about subsurface features than did the magnetic anomalies. Many of the magnetic anomalies are associated with ferrous artifacts in the plow zone. It was assumed that in-situ architectural features and secondary deposits of building debris would be manifest by positive resistance anomalies. It was also assumed that most historic features would include some ferrous metal artifacts or brick, and would thus also exhibit a magnetic anomaly. The primary criterion for identifying probable features was the co-occurrence of a
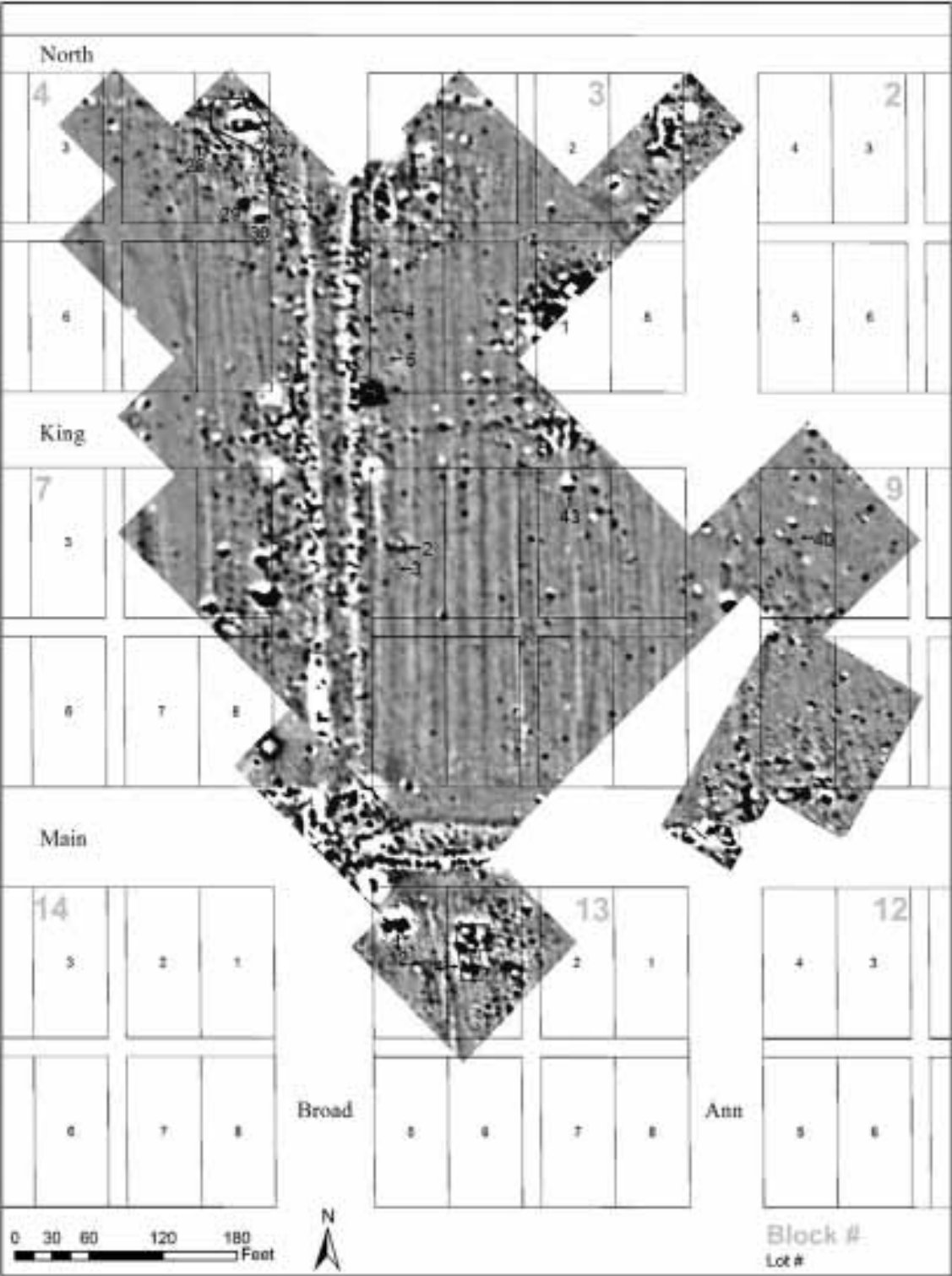
FIGURE 2. Results of the magnetic field gradient survey. Anomalies discussed in the text are numbered; see Tables 1 and 2 for corresponding feature numbers. (Map by author, 2008.)

magnetic anomaly and a feature-sized, relatively symmetrical positive resistance anomaly at the same location.

Results of the resistance and magnetic surveys are presented here as grayscale image maps (Figures 1 and 2). Higher values are darker gray to black; lower values are lighter gray to white. Contrast has been manipulated to present the overall maps to their best advantage, with the result that some of the most subtle anomalies discussed here (e.g., anomalies 3 and 5) are difficult to see (Figure 1). They were detected and evaluated when the data were viewed on a computer screen or using higher-contrast hard-copy maps.

Excavation of Selected Anomalies

Forty-three anomalies were recommended for excavation, and about one-third (n=16, 37%) of those were investigated over the course of the three field seasons. Only one-half (n=8, 50%) of the investigated anomalies were associated with cultural features (Table 1), but this success rate is actually an underestimate. Anomaly 40 would not have been recommended for excavation based on its own merits, but was investigated in hopes of identifying a very high-priority target—an African American schoolhouse that operated within the town before 1874. Anomaly 42 was associated

with a concentration of refuse likely related to a blacksmith's shop, but was not numbered as a feature. Finally, Anomaly 27 (actually a cluster of three closely spaced anomalies) was investigated with a test unit and dismissed, although the unit was not optimally located (Table 2). Taking anomalies 27, 40, and 42 into account raises the success rate to about two-thirds.

Pre-Civil War Features

One of the geophysical survey's important contributions was the detection of several features that date to the town's early (pre–Civil War) period. Feature 7 is a rectangular pit believed to have been used as a cellar, beneath the floor of a cabin constructed in the mid 1840s, possibly when Spaulding Burdick bought the lot (Block 4, Lot 1) from Frank McWorter in 1846. No indications of the cabin itself were detected. Feature 7 measured 3.5 × 10.5 ft. and extended to about 1.3 ft. below the plow zone. The abundant brick and fieldstone rubble in the feature fill accounts for its appearance as a high-resistance anomaly, and suggests that the feature was filled quickly, probably when the briefly occupied cabin was demolished (Shackel 2006:3C.7).

Feature 13, a well, was a circular, 8 × 9 ft. scatter of brick, cinder, metal and other artifacts,

TABLE 1
INVESTIGATED ANOMALIES, ASSOCIATED WITH FEATURES AS PREDICTED

Anom.	Blk.	Lot	Feat.	Type	Description	Date	Location
1	3	7	16, 17 21	Stone walls	Rectangular stone foundation	1867–1880s 1900–1930s	Mid-lot, near Mid-lot, near alley
28	4	1	19	Storage or privy	Rectangular, stone-lined	1848–1860s	Mid-lot, no access
29	4	1	13	Well	Circular	1840s	Near alley
30	4	1	7	Pit cellar	Rectangular, sub-floor?	1840s	Street-alley corner
43	8	2	14	Stone-lined cellar	Below frame house; entry ramp	1850s–1870s, 1930s	Near street Near street
2	8	4	4	Well	Circular	1850s	Mid-lot, no access
24	13	3	9	Fill zone	Above buried barn	?–1937	Mid-lot, no access
12	13	4	11, 12	Cellar, stone walls	Associated with S. and L. McWorter house	1854–1937	Near street

Note: Feature 15 occurs above Feature 16, but is probably a secondary deposit of rock.
Source: Shackel (2006).

TABLE 2
INVESTIGATED ANOMALIES, PREDICTED FEATURE TYPE NOT PRESENT

Anom.	Blk.	Lot	Feat.	Type	Description	Date	Location
42	3	1	None	Waste pile	Associated with blacksmith shop	?–early 20th century	Near street
4	3	5	8	Post hole	Small, square	?	Mid-lot, near street
4	3	5	10	Ash deposit	Irregular plan	?	Mid-lot, near street
5	3	5	None	—	—	—	—
35	3	6	?	Excavation incomplete	—	—	—
27	4	1	None	—	Recent gravel deposit	—	—
3	8	4	None	—	—	—	—
40	9	4	None	—	—	—	—

Source: Shackel (2006).

abundant fieldstones, and large pieces of mortar, and was located a few feet northwest of Feature 7. It retained its circular shape to about 4.2 ft. below the surface, and probably extended much deeper below the base of excavations. Its ceramic contents suggest that it too dates to the 1840s, and much of its contents is very likely derived from the briefly occupied cabin (Shackel 2006:3C.9–12).

Deep, well-constructed privies are rare at early- and mid-19th-century rural sites in Illinois (Mazrim 2002), and only one example was found at New Philadelphia. Feature 19 was a 5 × 6 ft. rectangular structure with five courses of dry-laid stone. It may have been constructed for use as a storage feature shortly after D. A. Kittle bought the lot (Block 4, Lot 1) from Frank McWorter in 1848, and then used as a privy in the 1850s. It is also possible that Feature 19 was initially constructed to serve as a privy (Shackel 2006:3C.16–21). The abundant stone contents account for Feature 19's appearance as a well-defined, high-resistance anomaly.

A second well, Feature 4 (in Block 8, Lot 4), also dates to the town's pre–Civil War period. This feature's roughly circular upper portion sloped down to a cylindrical shaft about 6 ft. in diameter. Rock, mortar, and brick contents account for the feature's detection as a high-resistance anomaly, but the low density of organic refuse and domestic artifacts suggests that it was rapidly filled during the 1850s (Shackel 2006:3E.31–34).

Later Features

The most substantial features identified at New Philadelphia are associated with its Civil War–era and postwar occupations. Feature 14 (in Block 8, Lot 2) was a large (18.6 × 16 ft.) cellar with an average depth of about 2.7 ft. below the plow zone. An extension off the northeast corner that is clearly discernable in the resistance data (Figure 1, Anomaly 43) represents a sloping entrance. Lath impressions on some of the plaster contents indicate this feature was a cellar beneath a frame building with plaster walls. The lower fill zone dates to the 1860s, whereas the upper material dates to the early 1870s (Shackel 2006:3E.4–14). The abundant fieldstone, mortar, and other artifacts account for the high resistance values associated with Feature 14.

Anomaly 1 was initially viewed as a linear resistance anomaly running east–west from a 19th-century log cabin that was brought to the site by the current landowners (Figure 1). Investigation of this portion of the anomaly early in the 2006 field season revealed a relatively shallow scatter of fieldstone and bricks (Feature 15) that was probably consolidated at this location by those who farmed the site. Continued excavation disclosed a well-preserved fieldstone wall (Feature 16). A reexamination of Anomaly 1 revealed that another linear component extended to the south, corresponding to the west wall (Feature 21) of the foundation. This portion of

Anomaly 1 was partially obscured by a prominent anomaly associated with a plow furrow, and its significance was not initially appreciated. Archival data indicate the house was built on Block 3, Lot 7 shortly after the Civil War, used for about 15 years, and then demolished in the 1880s. A second house was built on the same foundation after 1900, and existed into the 1930s (Shackel 2006:3B.35).

Lots 3 and 4 in Block 13 were of particular interest because an informant who lived at the site in the early 20th century described a large structure there as a "hotel" (Shackel 2006:3G.1–3). The structure burned in 1937, but no indications of its remains or an associated barn are visible in a 1939 aerial photograph. The detection of a number of resistance and magnetic anomalies in Lots 3 and 4 suggested the presence of at least two architectural features. Heavily mottled soil and a distinct fill zone (Feature 9) encountered during excavation of the Anomaly 24 complex suggested that the remains of a structure (presumably the barn) had been buried using soil that probably included transported fill from the construction of a nearby pond (Shackel 2006:3B.8).

Based on its size and shape, Anomaly 12 was predicted to be associated with architectural remains. The excavation of a number of units resulted in the identification of Features 11 and 12. These features represent the south and north walls (respectively) of the stone-lined cellar associated with a house built on Block 13, Lot 4 by Squire and Louisa McWorter in 1854 (Shackel 2006:3G.1). It is interesting that the resistance anomaly associated with this stone-walled cellar was crisply defined but also exhibited irregular edges. It is possible that the upper portions of the cellar walls collapsed during the fire, or were (in the case of Feature 11) displaced by plowing (Shackel 2006:3G.10). Deeper portions of the cellar walls were found to be much more intact, but these were beyond the depth range of the resistance. In comparison, Anomaly 1 exhibits far more regular, linear edges that reflect the better state of preservation of the fieldstone walls represented by Features 16, 17, and 21.

Negative Findings

A number of the investigated anomalies were neither associated with features, nor at least, with the types of features that had been expected (Table 2). Anomaly 42 (Block 3, Lot 1) was detected in a low area near Baylis Road, where a blacksmith shop was located during the late 19th century. Excavation encountered a concentration (not recorded as a feature) of metal debris, charcoal, and slag, suggesting that this anomaly represents a waste pile located near the shop (Shackel 2006:3B.1–5). Anomaly 42 exhibited a much lower contrast with its immediate surroundings than did other resistance anomalies that proved to be associated with cellars, pits, and wells (Figure 1), although the associated magnetic anomaly was very promising (Figure 2).

Anomaly 4, located near Broadway Street in Block 3, Lot 5, was one of the geophysical study's biggest disappointments. This resistance anomaly was rectangular, rather crisply defined, measured about 9 × 6.6 ft., and was viewed as a good candidate to be a large pit, possibly a sub-floor cellar. Soil conditions were too dry to permit coring, so the Anomaly 4 locale was investigated by six 5 × 5 ft. units— a significant allocation of time and effort. No feature was found to correspond to the targeted anomaly, although two small features (whose presence had not been predicted) were found nearby. Feature 8 was a square post mold, and Feature 10 was an elongate ash layer (Shackel 2006:3B.15–19).

Anomaly 5 (Block 3, Lot 5) consisted of two low-contrast linear resistance anomalies whose configuration was consistent with structure walls. Systematic soil coring found no indications for an architectural feature, and no further investigations were conducted (Shackel 2006:3B.19). Similarly, Anomaly 3 (Block 8, Lot 4) consisted of several faint linear resistance anomalies that resembled the walls of a rectangular structure. Here again, soil coring failed to provide any evidence for subsurface features (Shackel 2006:3E.45). The investigation of Anomalies 3 and 5 represented attempts to identify very subtle evidence for structures that did not include stone foundations or cellars. Although the results were negative in these cases, it should not be assumed that ephemeral structures are not present at the site.

Anomaly 27, a cluster of three large, high-contrast resistance anomalies in Block 4, Lot 1, was investigated by a 5 × 5 ft. grid of soil

cores and the excavation of a test unit of the same size. Excavation recovered window glass, ceramics, fence staples, and wire, as well as a concentration of small stones, each approximately 0.1 ft. in diameter, in the western portion of the unit. Based on these findings, Anomaly 27 was interpreted in the field as a deposit of gravel associated with the relatively recent grading of nearby Baylis Road (Shackel 2006:3C.23). In retrospect, however, it appears that the excavation unit did not actually intersect any of the three anomalies that were designated as Anomaly 27, and additional investigation is warranted.

The excavation team was particularly interested in identifying remains of the African American school building that was, according to oral history, located on Block 9, Lot 4 until about 1872 (Shackel 2006:3F.1–3). One of several units excavated prior to the geophysical survey encountered a 1.5 ft. long fieldstone pier (Feature 6). This portion of the site is very heavily eroded. The stone pier was located only 0.2 ft. below the surface, and plow-scarred subsoil occurred at that depth. Resistance and magnetic surveys were conducted in hopes of finding additional remains of the schoolhouse. Unfortunately, no well-defined anomalies consistent with architectural remains were identified in that lot. A very low-contrast but roughly rectangular anomaly was investigated, but yielded no evidence for subsurface features (Figure 1, Anomaly 40). That anomaly would not have been recommended for investigation based on geophysical data alone if found elsewhere at the site; it simply represented the best target for excavation in this high priority lot.

Finally, Features 1 and 3 were identified in excavation units that were located using the 1939 aerial photograph and surface artifact evidence (Gwaltney 2004) rather than geophysical data, but were later found to correspond to geophysical anomalies (Table 3). Feature 1, a 5 × 5 ft. shallow pit cellar located in Block 9, Lot 5 (Shackel 2006:3F.7), corresponds to a small resistance anomaly that, based on its size, would probably not have been singled out for investigation (larger, somewhat more promising anomalies are located nearby) (Figure 1). Feature 3 was a substantial fieldstone foundation (in Block 7, Lot 1) believed to represent a late-19th-century addition to the original structure that was reportedly built in the mid-19th century (Shackel 2006:3D.4–5). This foundation was later found to correspond to a distinct magnetic anomaly. Unfortunately, available time did not permit resistance survey to be conducted in this area.

Summary of Ground Truthing

Most of the excavations at New Philadelphia focused on the largest, most clearly defined (in geophysical terms, highest-contrast) resistance anomalies, so it is not too surprising that they identified substantial features like fieldstone foundations, large cellars, wells, and a stone-lined privy (Table 1). These represent the largest volume feature types that one would expect to find at 19th-century rural historic sites in the Midwest (Mazrim 2002). Most of the features had been used as refuse receptacles when abandoned, so they provided relatively large

TABLE 3
FEATURES FOUND WITHOUT USING GEOPHYSICAL DATA

Anom.	Blk.	Lot	Feat.	Type	Description	Date	Location
—	3	4	2	Lime slacking pit	Shallow, rectangular	19th cent.	Mid-lot, no access
—	3	4	5	Post hole	Non-architectural	?	Mid-lot, no access
—	7	1	3	Stone foundation	Assoc. with 19th century addition	Mid-1800s–ca. 1940	Street-alley corner
—	9	5	1	Pit cellar	Square, sub-floor?	1854–1860s	Near street
—	9	4	6	Stone footer	Assoc. with late 19th century school?	Pre-1872–post-1909	Street-alley corner

Source: Shackel (2006).

and informative artifact assemblages (Shackel 2006). These features also represented concentrations of in-situ or discarded building debris, and this contributed significantly to their strong resistance contrast with the surrounding soil. Most of the excavated anomalies that were not associated with features (or at least, not the predicted type of features) (Table 2), were lower contrast and less-crisply defined. They were investigated in hopes of locating the remains of relatively ephemeral structures, or high-priority structures that were, based on archival or oral history information, believed to be located on particular lots. Several of the low-contrast anomalies were investigated only by soil coring, a technique that is very cost effective, but more likely to verify the presence of architectural features or debris, than subtle features like shallow pits with faint fill. On balance, very few low-contrast anomalies were investigated by excavation units, so it is not known if other examples of that category may be associated with cultural features.

Uninvestigated Anomalies

Population estimates for New Philadelphia throughout the 19th century (King 2007) suggest that a number of additional structure and feature clusters must be present. Roughly two-thirds of the 43 anomalies originally recommended for excavation have not been investigated. A reexamination of the geophysical maps after the completion of fieldwork identified additional anomalies that also warrant investigation. None of the promising but uninvestigated resistance anomalies suggest features as large as the Feature 14 cellar, the stone-walled cellar associated with features 11 and 12 (Squire and Louisa McWorter's house), or the stone foundation represented by Features 16, 17, and 21. A number of the uninvestigated anomalies could, however, be comparable to the smaller excavated features (for example, Features 4, 7, 13, and 19). Most of the uninvestigated anomalies occur in the vicinity of large excavated features, so they could provide expanded samples of artifacts, facilities, and subsistence remains related to those occupations. A few of the uninvestigated anomalies occur in isolation and could conceivably represent the remains of archaeologically unidentified households.

The absence of any additional promising resistance anomalies comparable in size and contrast to Features 11, 12, and 14, and Features 16, 17, and 21 suggests that the unidentified structures are either located in lots that have not yet been surveyed, or were structures that lacked substantial cellars and foundations. Early cabins, relatively modest frame houses of the later 19th century, and outbuildings of all periods may have been supported by stone piers that were later removed for use in subsequent structures, or removed as obstacles to plowing. One would expect mid- and late-19th-century occupations to be manifest by concentrations of nails and possibly brick. Unfortunately, magnetic anomalies are so numerous (Figure 2) that it is difficult to identify discrete, small clusters that may be associated with unidentified structures.

Future Survey

To date, only about 15% of the 42 ac. town has been magnetically surveyed, and the resistance data cover only 10%. Although these percentages are low, most of the lots that included dense architectural debris in the controlled surface collection were included in the magnetic survey (Gwaltney 2004; Gwaltney and Beasley, this volume). Only four or five lots need to be added to the resistance survey to include all areas of dense architectural debris.

Unfortunately, much of the site may not be suitable for ground-based geophysical survey. For example, the westernmost 40 to 50 lots (roughly one-third of the town) have, to some extent, been impacted by agricultural terracing. Relatively few surface artifacts were present in the western terraced area (Gwaltney 2004; Gwaltney and Beasley, this volume), but it is not known if this reflects the effects of terracing or simply that this part of the town was never developed. Some terraces are also present on the east side of the site, and some of the (unterraced) investigated areas (for example, Block 9, Lot 4) are heavily eroded. Localized areas of intact deposits may well exist in any of these impacted site areas, and their value should not be discounted without additional work. Large portions of Blocks 13 and 18, and much smaller portions of Blocks 12 and 19 may have escaped the impacts of terracing, although the paucity of surface artifacts suggests that few features may be present there.

New Philadelphia's Community Plan

The 1836 plat conveys Frank McWorter's plan for New Philadelphia's layout (Pike County Deed Book 1836:183; Ensign 1872; Walker 1983:104), but the available archival sources do not indicate the extent to which his intentions were actually realized. Large-area geophysical maps supplemented by small-scale, carefully targeted excavations can provide specific evidence for the actual internal organization of the town during the second half of the 19th century (Hargrave et al. 2002; Kvamme 2003).

At New Philadelphia, residential and non-residential features exhibit distinct locational patterns. Residential features at the town site, defined here as those likely to be directly associated with a residential structure (a house), include cellars, foundations, and a stone pier. Non-residential features include two wells, a privy (perhaps originally a storage facility), two small (non-architectural) post holes, a lime slacking pit, a refuse deposit associated with a blacksmith shop, the buried remains of a barn, and an ash pit. In the following discussion, multiple residential features associated with a single structure are only counted once (Features 16, 17, and 21 are counted as a single feature, as are Features 11 and 12).

All of the residential features identified at New Philadelphia are located very near the platted locations of streets, alleys, or corners (Table 4 and Figure 3). Only one residential feature (the foundation represented by Features 16, 17, and 21) is located in the middle (relative to the long axis) portions of a lot, and it is located very near an alley. In contrast, most (7 of 9, or 77.8%) of the non-residential features are located mid-lot, and a majority of those (5 of 7) have no direct access (close proximity) to a street or alley. Two others (a post and an ash pit) are located mid-lot but reasonably close to a street. Only Anomaly 29 (Feature 13, a well) is located near a corner (Table 4 and Figure 3).

A similar pattern is suggested by the location of cellars on lots at New Salem, Illinois, platted in 1829, only a few years before New Philadelphia (Mazrim and Naglitch 1996). Illustrations in an 1872 atlas suggest that commercial buildings in Pike County towns were consistently—and town houses were generally—located very near the street. The positions of the illustrated rural houses relative to a road were far more variable, however (Ensign 1872; Wurst 2007). The tendency for residential features at New Philadelphia to occur very near streets and corners is thus not unusual, but it is nevertheless relevant in several respects. This pattern may be useful if locating such features is a goal of future excavations. Other factors being equal, anomalies located in those portions of lots are more likely to be features associated with houses than are anomalies located elsewhere. If interpretive exhibits (models or images) are developed for the site in the future, it would be reasonable to depict nearly all houses as being

TABLE 4
FEATURE LOCATIONS ON LOTS

Location on lot	Residential	N	%	Non-residential	N	%	Total N
Mid-lot, no access	—	—	—	2, 24, 28, F-2, F-5	5	55.6	5
Mid-lot, near alley	1	1	14.3	—	—	—	1
Mid-lot, near street	—	—	—	4, 4	2	22.2	2
Street-street corner	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Street-alley corner	30, F-3, F-6	3	42.9	—	—	—	3
Near alley only	—	—	—	29	1	11.1	1
Near street only	12, 43, F-1	3	42.9	42	1	11.1	4
Total	—	*7*	*100*	—	*9*	*100*	*16*

Note: No access indicates the feature is not located near a street or alley. This table includes two features (a post and a lime slacking pit) that were not located within the geophysical survey area. Feature (F) numbers are used where available. Excavation of Anomaly 4 identified two features (F-8, F-10).
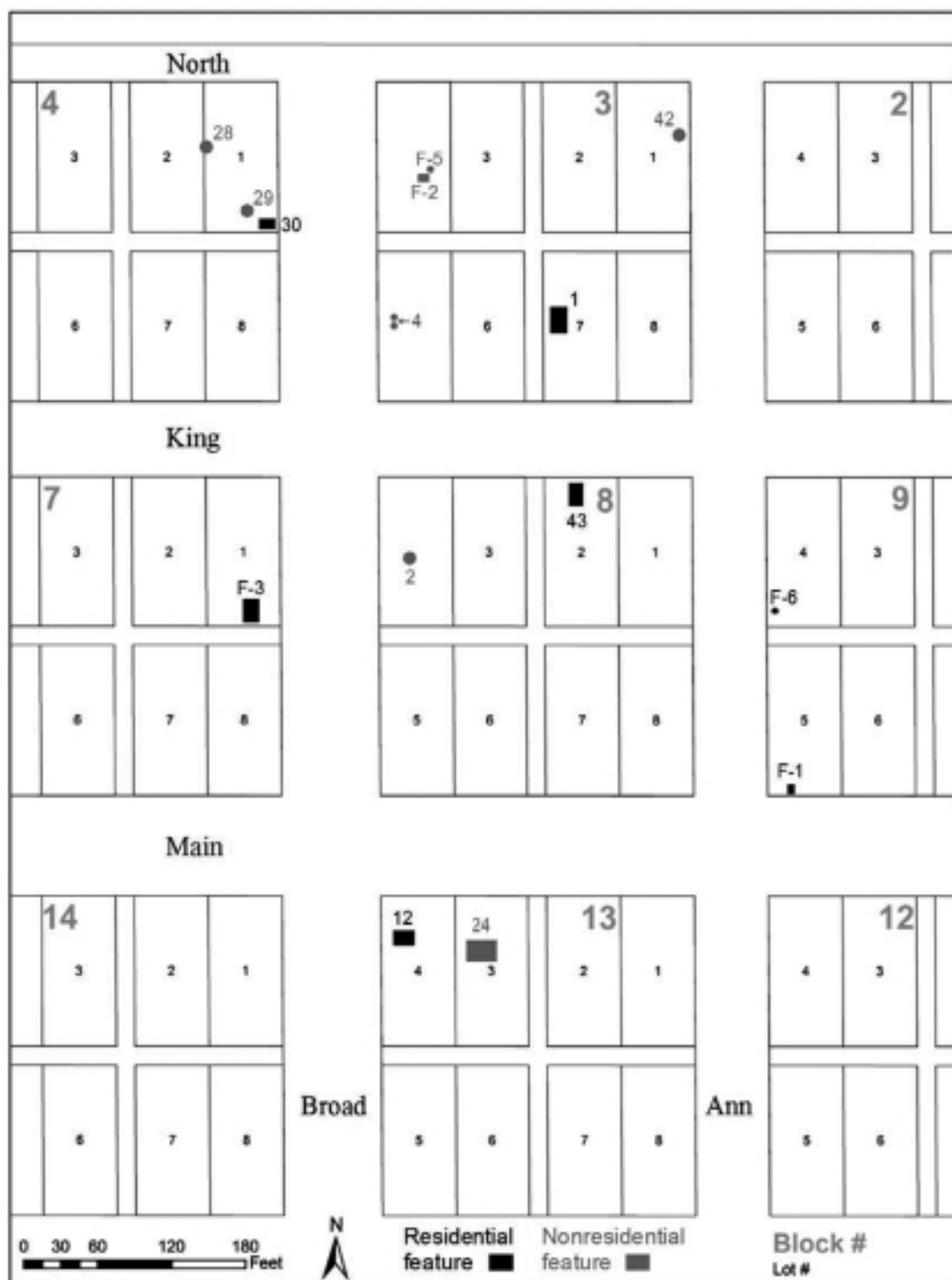
FIGURE 3. Location of residential (black) and nonresidential (gray) features on lots. Labels represent anomaly numbers if available. Features are not plotted to scale. (Map by author, 2008.)

located near streets or street-alley corners, and a majority (62.5%) of the outbuildings and facilities as being located in the middle portions of lots, away from corners.

Locating houses near a street would have maximized the resident's access to thoroughfares, and opportunities for social interaction. There is some evidence that New Philadelphia's early (ca. 1850) merchants, craftspeople, and service providers favored corner lots (Walker 1983:134, figure 8). Locating the house near a street or corner would also preserve a large portion of the lot for gardens, pastures, outbuildings, and outdoor work areas, as well as areas devoted to activities that may have been viewed as private (e.g., privies and refuse discard). Facilities that were often located behind rural Illinois homes before 1840 included cellars, privies, crop storage pits, scalding and butchering pits, cisterns, and water barrels (Mazrim 2007:91). At rural homes, criteria for locating such facilities probably included proximity to the house, shade, and prevailing winds. In towns, the size and shape of one's lot and proximity to streets, alleys, and neighboring homes probably also influenced the spatial patterning of facilities and activities. Interestingly, the subdivision of square blocks into eight rectangular lots would have minimized the size of private areas (that could not easily be seen from the street) behind the houses of those who occupied corner lots (which represent 50% of all lots).

The extent to which alleys played a role in the spatial structure of activities at New Philadelphia is unclear (Dorsey 1891). In densely populated settlements, alleys allowed wagons, horses, and other livestock to be moved from outbuildings behind the house to the street without crossing neighboring lots. New Philadelphia, however, was never densely occupied. It would not be surprising if some of the platted alleys in the settled portion of the town were rarely used (and perhaps not even discernable), whereas others may have simply been treated as streets. For example, Anomaly 1 is located mid-lot (on Lot 7 of Block 3), and is very near, and oriented parallel to an alley (Figure 3). The arrangement of residential and nonresidential features at New Philadelphia may reflect a more-rural, or at least, a less-formalized use of space than one would see in a more densely populated town with a similar layout. Such

questions are important to a comprehensive understanding of life in mid-19th-century New Philadelphia, but unfortunately, they cannot yet be addressed adequately with such an incomplete sample of the town's features.

Conclusion

The geophysical surveys at New Philadelphia were highly successful in identifying productive contexts for excavation. In general, the 2004–2006 field schools focused on the most promising anomalies, and this resulted in the excavation of a number of substantial features, including stone foundations, cellars, wells, and a stone-lined privy. Focusing on the most promising anomalies is a common approach to the use of geophysical data, particularly in situations where field time is limited, or where research goals make it imperative to recover large artifact assemblages from good contexts. The downside of this focus was that it limited the ability to investigate a representative sample of the anomalies (Kvamme et al. 2006). Only a few "minor features"—two post holes and an ash pit—were identified, and these were incidental finds. Otherwise, the project documented no examples of the small pits of indeterminate function that are common at 19th-century rural sites in Illinois (Mazrim 2002). Admittedly, the excavation of such features might contribute relatively little to an understanding of economic and social life at New Philadelphia. As humble as these features may seem, however, they too represent an aspect of the town's community plan, and could contribute to a better understanding of the patterned use of space. From a methodological perspective, one would like to know if such features are manifest in the geophysical data.

Achieving a better understanding of New Philadelphia's town plan was the most challenging goal, but progress was made in several areas. It appears that there are distinct locational patterns for residential and non-residential features, and a tendency for houses to be located near lot corners. The use of geophysics also allowed the identification of several features dating to the town's earliest (pre–Civil War) period. No evidence for those occupations was present in the archival data that were available during the fieldwork.

Future research at New Philadelphia will provide an opportunity to expand the geophysical surveys

in search of additional households, investigate a sample of the more ambiguous anomalies, and provide a more refined understanding of the town's community plan.

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Identity and Collective Action in a Multiracial Community

ABSTRACT

Social identities are often fluid, dynamic, and impacted by issues related to race, class, gender, and ethnicity. The research project at New Philadelphia, Illinois has uncovered archaeological assemblages related to households classified by census takers as black, mulatto, and white, which included different genders and age groups, and residents who came from different regions in the United States, or from overseas. An examination of the material culture from a sample of households in this demographically integrated community indicates that they had ready access to a broad diversity of American-made and imported household goods. Little variation existed among households when comparing these consumer goods. The homogeneity of consumer goods from African American and European American households in this community may have reflected a shared group consciousness within a local social network that existed in a region shaped by racial hostilities and strife.

Introduction

New Philadelphia is located about 25 mi. east of the Mississippi River, and it developed as a small multiracial rural community from 1836. It is the earliest known town legally founded by a free African American, Frank McWorter (Walker 1983). From the beginning of the town, both African Americans and European Americans purchased town lots, and the place attracted craftspeople, merchants, and laborers. The 1855 Illinois state census lists 58 people living in New Philadelphia (Walker 1983). The town's population peaked in 1865 with about 160 residents. Four years later, a railroad bypassed the town by about a mile, and people began to leave for larger cities, as well as migrate west of the Mississippi. About eight households and a blacksmith remained in 1900, and by the 1930s the town site was virtually abandoned. Throughout the town's history, from the 1850s through the 1920s, the African American population fluctuated between 25 and 35%, a significantly high proportion when compared to the surrounding township, county, and state (King 2007).

From 2004 to 2006, summer archaeological field schools helped to explore several house lots of the town's residents. One of the goals was to identify the similarities and differences among these various households. The archaeology team identified and excavated features that belonged to people of both European American and African American descent. Dietary (see T. Martin and C. Martin, this volume) and consumer material culture differences were expected among households of different regions, as well as differences correlating with racial categories. Archaeologists anticipated that the diverse settlers of varying backgrounds participated in a consumer society in different ways. How and why they participated in consumer culture was one of the initial project questions.

Identity studies concerning ethnicity, race, class, and gender drive much of historical archaeology scholarship today. The search for social identities in the past is complicated, because such definitions are malleable and never static. At times such identities can be somewhat elusive in the archaeological record, and in the case of New Philadelphia there was no clear relationship between social identities and consumer patterns.

Dell Upton (1996), in a keynote address at the 1996 Society for Historical Archaeology meeting, provided a useful description of the dilemmas in identifying ethnicity, finding authenticity, and uncovering invented traditions. He explained that defining group identity through the material signatures can become problematic if archaeologists see groups as never changing through time and space. Despite the important works by Eric Wolf (1982) and Marshall Sahlins (1985), which provide long-term histories and describe changing cultures, historical archeologists are often still tied to the idea of finding a particular ethnic identity through material culture as though these practices were embedded in static cultural systems (Upton 1996:1). Archaeologists have struggled to recognize the importance of historical processes and to move beyond the functional and systems approaches that dominated the discipline a generation ago.

Upton's (1996:2) critique of defining past ethnicity provides an important cautionary study. He described a book he edited in the 1980s in which the contributing authors illustrate ethnic architecture throughout the United States. The authors assume that the most exotic or most primitive represented the most ethnic manifestations of material culture. So when cultural traditions change, or when indigenous people stop using a particular architectural form, or stop using a particular object in everyday life, does that mean they are less ethnic, or their cultural practices are less pure?

There is a strong tendency to reduce ethnicity, or any other form of identity, to a list of traits and practices that can be isolated from the changes brought about by cultural interaction. Jones (1997:100) reminds us that "there is rarely a one-to-one relationship between representations of ethnicity and the entire range of cultural practices and social conditions associated with a particular group," however. Definitions of ethnicity by groups are constantly changing and continually being renegotiated. People change, groups interact, ideas and material culture are exchanged. Issues of domination and resistance can come into play, and issues of class should also be considered when examining such "signatures" of material culture.

Barbara Voss (2005:427–428) also points out that there are many archeological studies of Overseas Chinese communities that identify Asian cultural markers. The emphasis has been on acculturation and creating a visible opposition between Eastern traditions and westernization. While celebrating diversity and multiethnic heritage is important, archaeologists need to be careful about creating oppositions and developing heritage for any ethnic group with the idea that the archaeological assemblages are a product of a static community with a fixed identity. In fact, efforts to identify differences in the material culture used in everyday behavior in order to define group boundaries have often proven challenging. For instance, Voss (2005) explains that while many archaeologists have created oppositions to highlight differences between Overseas Chinese and Western cultures, there are also many cultural remains that are similar to those from non-Chinese sites. She notes Sherri Gust's work that shows how the faunal assemblages varied among Overseas Chinese households. Gust (1993:208) observed that the butchering marks observed in the remains of some of the households reflected a "standard Euroamerican style" of food preparation. Baxter and Allen (2002:292–296) also show that the San Jose Chinese community had many economic ties to American manufacturers and distributors, thus potentially blurring any forms of easily identifiable cultural markers.

Since the civil rights movement of the 1960s, there has been a strong desire in American society to encourage a multicultural heritage. Group identity and boundaries are usually seen as being reinforced through the use of symbols. For instance, Stephen Brighton (2004) shows that smoking pipes found in a late-19th-century context in a section of Patterson, New Jersey known as Dublin, were powerful symbols. Some of these pipes had the Red Hand of Ulster design on them. The design helped to develop an identity among segments of the Irish American population, and had social value in their class struggle in both America and Ireland. It created a common language to solidify bonds within a particular group for a common cause.

A large proportion of work related to African American archaeology has been about the persistence of tradition. These studies have identified artifacts that have some association with, or exhibit memory of Africa, like cowrie shells, blue beads, and gaming pieces. The experience of slavery, and searching for power and identity have also dominated the literature (Singleton 1995; Orser 1998; Leone et al. 2005).

A relatively new genre has developed among those working on African American sites. Rather than searching for cultural markers and identifying oppositions, the emphasis in archaeological explorations focuses on social uplift, achievement, and diversity. These stories include the archaeology of the Underground Railroad (Levine et al. 2005), as well as survival and prosperity in a racialized and segregated society (Mullins 2004). These types of stories appear to have greater public support from the descendant communities (McDavid 2002; Leone et al. 2005).

The historical archaeology work at New Philadelphia follows in this new genre. It explores the everyday material culture of both African American and European American settlers of different racial and regional backgrounds, and different genders. The search for identity through

everyday material culture appears to be elusive, especially when looking at how race, ethnicity, class, and gender intersect. How people are defined, constrained, or enabled because of their social identity makes for a complicated scenario at New Philadelphia. Understanding the possibilities associated with social identity, along with the historical context of the place, helps to provide an understanding of this community in a new consumer society.

Goods and Migration to West Central Illinois

Illinois is a northern state with a majority of its early immigrants coming from the Upland South area, which includes Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland. The new Illinois residents from the Upland South were typically poor and white. By the early 1820s, northerners from the Middle Atlantic and New England regions, as well as other midwesterners, mostly from Ohio, began a steady migration to the area (Meyer 1980:99; 2000). The earlier settlers felt threatened by the invasion of northerners, and by free African Americans who would compete for similar resources (Tillson 1995:24–25; Simeone 2000:6). By the mid-19th century the majority of immigrants to the region were northerners.

Pike County, where New Philadelphia is located, is one only of two counties in Illinois bordered by both the Mississippi and Illinois rivers. In the first decades of the 19th century, material goods came from Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Cincinnati, and Louisville via the Ohio River (Davis 1998:133). After 1835, with advances in steam technology, both commerce and population boomed in the area. By 1840 the steamboat served all navigable waters. Soon thereafter, the national road and railroads were being constructed throughout Illinois. The state's population became very diverse as a result of these transportation routes, and residents had little trouble accessing consumer goods (Davis 1998:413).

The completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1848 created new ties to the north, and helped to transform the Midwest "from a southern nexus economy to a northeast orientation of agricultural exports and imported goods" (Taaffe and Gauthier 1973:54–58). The new canal connected Lake Michigan to the Illinois River, and Illinois trade and migration shifted from a north–south orientation along the Mississippi River, to also include east–west movement, connecting the Midwest to New York and New England. By the 1850s railroad lines had expanded significantly, connecting Chicago and St. Louis to major East Coast cities. The transportation of goods and people became faster and easier (Conzen and Carr 1988; Ranney and Harris 1998).

Craftsmen and shopkeepers formed the core of New Philadelphia's economy, and they provided necessary services for the surrounding rural community. Communities like New Philadelphia were vital to the growth and development of the agricultural life of the region. From the 1850s through the 19th century, the U.S. federal census indicates that New Philadelphia had a mix of immigrants form the North and the Upland South. Those of midwestern and northern origins were the largest groups throughout the century, however (King 2007). In Hadley Township, where New Philadelphia is situated, the majority of residents were born in Illinois. Ohio was the second largest contributor of people to the area during the period from 1850 through 1880. Pennsylvania was the third largest supplier of immigrants to the area, until 1870 and 1880, when Missouri took its place (Seligman 2007).

Identifying Consumerism with Ceramic and Glass Vessels

The following archaeological analysis of ceramics and glass vessels is based on six features associated with five households. Three features are related to households whose members were from the North and date to the 1840s and 1850s, and three are linked to households from the Upland South and Illinois, and date to the 1850s, 1860s, and 1880s. A brief description of each household follows.

Spaulding Burdick Household (Features 7 and 13)

Feature 7, a pit cellar, and Feature 13, a well, date to the late 1840s and are associated with the Burdick family. The 1850 federal census lists the Burdick family as white. Spaulding Burdick is a 63-year-old male shoemaker who was born in New York. His wife Ann is 55

years old and born in Massachusetts. Their sons are both listed as born in New York.

David Kittle and John Sider Households (Feature 19)

Feature 19 measures 5 ft. north–south and 6 ft. east–west. It has five courses of dry laid stone and it extends to a depth of 2.8 ft. below the plow zone. The feature is associated with the Kittle family, and the fill dates to the 1850s. David Kittle is listed in the 1850 federal census as a 29-year-old merchant, living with Sophia, who is recorded as 29 years old. Both came from Ohio and are classified as white. No children are listed in the census. John and Augusta Sider owned this lot from 1858 to 1869, and the archeological assemblage there was probably created after John died in 1863 and the location may have been abandoned.

Casiah Clark Household (Feature 1)

Feature 1 is a small shallow pit cellar that measures about 5 × 5 ft. The material in the feature dates to the 1850s, and is associated with Casiah Clark's ownership of the lot. Casiah Clark had farmland in Hadley Township by the late 1840s, and she purchased a town lot from Frank McWorter in 1854. The 1850 federal census lists Casiah as head of household. She is classified as mulatto and originating from Kentucky. Her six children, ranging from 11 to 24 years of age, are listed as born in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Virginia.

Sarah McWorter Household (Feature 14)

Feature 14 is a large cellar that measures about 18.6 × 16 ft. and is 2.7 ft. deep. The artifacts from this feature date mostly to the 1860s. Sarah McWorter is the most likely occupant of this lot during the 1860s. Sarah was Frank and Lucy's third child, and was also called "Sallie" (Walker 1983:160). She died in 1891, and her grave marker is inscribed, "She was the mother of six children" (Matteson 1964:33). Sarah shows up in the 1870 U.S. federal census records as a mulatto, age 60, born in Kentucky. She appears to be the head of household. While she conveyed some form of interest in the property in 1860, Sarah remained

responsible for tax payments on the property into the late 1860s. The value of the property decreased significantly by 1867, however, about the time that the cellar was being filled.

Squire and George McWorter Site (Block 3 Lot 7)

Block 3, Lot 7 contains a fieldstone foundation that was probably built after the Civil War. A layer of plaster is found throughout the entire area, a signature of demolition. The materials found below this layer date to the 1880s, while the materials above the plaster layer date to the early 20th century. McWorter family members Squire and George, owned this property in the 1880s and 1890s, and the archaeological assemblage is associated with them. George and Squire are Frank and Lucy's grandsons, and sons of Squire and Louisa who lived on Block 13. They are listed in the 1850 U.S. federal census as being mulatto, and born in Illinois. Their parents are from Kentucky.

Consuming Identity

A summary of the ceramic and glass vessels from features associated with different households provides a rather small data set for comparison (Tables 1–4). If the data is viewed as the presence and absence of vessels, however, a few observations can be made. First, each of the households participated in a consumer society. Glass and ceramic vessels are similar among the different households, indicating that they had similar access to markets, and they all purchased fashionable contemporary wares. All households had a relatively high proportion of medicine bottles, an indication of self-medication.

The use of the material culture varied slightly, however. For instance, some households preferred using only smaller plates. This phenomenon may be indicative of a dining style whereby plates were removed from the table after each course. In all likelihood it seems that this form of dining, known as dining *à la russe*, or *à la practical* in the hybrid American style, was practiced by some of the households. Other households had only large plates, suggesting one-course meals. Those households with the larger plates had a relatively larger proportion of bowls, suggesting the serving of stews, also

TABLE 1
CERAMIC VESSELS FOR TWO HOUSEHOLDS FROM THE NORTHEAST

Functional Category	Form	Burdick Household Feature 7		Burdick Household Feature 13		Kittle Household Feature 19	
		N	% of Form	*N*	% of Form	*N*	% of Form
Tableware	Plate 10 in.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Plate 9 in.	0	0	3	15	5	22.7
	Plate 8 in.	0	0	1	5	0	0
	Plate 7 in.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Plate 6 in.	1	14.3	3	15	0	0
	Plate 5 in.	1	14.3	0	0	0	0
	Plate 4 in.	0	0	2	10	4	18.2
	Plate (unid.)	5	71.4	11	55	13	59
	Total Plates	*7*	*100*	*20*	*100*	*22*	*99.9*
	Platter	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Flatware	1	25	3	75	1	14.3
	Tureen	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Pitcher	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Bowl	1	25	0	0	2	28.6
	Holloware	2	50	1	25	4	57.1
	Subtotal	*4*	*100*	*4*	*100*	*7*	*100*
Teaware	Cup	0	0	0	0	1	100
	Saucer	0	0	3	100	0	0
	Subtotal	*0*	*0*	*3*	*100*	*1*	*100*
Storage/prep.	Crock	3	100	5	55.6	1	50
	Bowl	0	0	2	22.2	1	50
	Jug	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Bottle	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Other holloware	0	0	2	22.2	0	0
	Subtotal	*3*	*100*	*9*	*100*	*2*	*100*
Other/unid.	Flowerpot	0		0		0	
	Chamber pot	0		0		0	

an indication of one-course meals. The use of larger plates conforms to a dining etiquette that shows a conscious selection of certain middle-class ideals (setting a proper table) and resistance to others (segmentation of the meal into many individual courses) (Lucas 1994).

While all of the households had refined ceramics, none of them had matched sets, even though mass marketing of consumer goods existed, and material goods could be easily accessed in Pike County by the 1840s. These assemblages run counter to Victorian expectations for ceramic consumption, and are similar to what Paul Mullins found at African American sites in Annapolis (Mullins 1999:148). The ceramic assemblages in New Philadelphia were not acquired piecemeal in order to put together a larger and more complete set. The ceramic assemblages vary in color, decoration, and functional types despite the community having access to larger markets and participating in the consumer society. Nevertheless, they made

TABLE 2
CERAMIC VESSELS FROM THREE HOUSEHOLDS FROM THE UPLAND SOUTH AND ILLINOIS

Functional Category	Form	Clark Household Feature 1		S. McWorter Household Feature 14		S. and G. McWorter Household Block3, Lot 7	
		N	% of Form	*N*	% of Form	*N*	% of Form
Tableware	Plate 10 in.	0	0	5	35.7	1	10
	Plate 9 in.	0	0	5	35.7	2	20
	Plate 8 in.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Plate 7 in.	1	11.1	0	0	0	0
	Plate 6 in.	1	11.1	0	0	0	0
	Plate 5 in.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Plate 4 in.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Plate (unid.)	7	77.8	4	28.6	7	70
	Total Plates	*9*	*100*	*14*	*100*	*10*	*100*
	Platter	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Flatware	1	100	0	0	0	0
	Tureen	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Pitcher	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Bowl	0	0	6	60	1	50
	Holloware	0	0	4	40	1	50
	Subtotal	*1*	*100*	*10*	*100*	*2*	*100*
Teaware	Cup	3	42.9	3	37.5	2	50
	Saucer	4	57.1	5	62.5	2	50
	Subtotal	*7*	*100*	*8*	*100*	*4*	*100*
Storage/prep.	Crock	6	75	5	55.6	5	55.6
	Bowl	1	12.5	0	0	2	22.2
	Jug	0	0	1	11.1	1	11.1
	Bottle	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Other holloware	1	12.5	3	33.3	1	11.1
	Subtotal	*8*	*100*	*9*	*100*	*9*	*100*
Other/unid.	Flowerpot	0		0		0	
	Chamber pot	0		0		0	

choices about what they purchased and how they used the goods. Barbara Little (1994, 1997) explains how households in a consumer society acquire fashionable goods like ceramics as a cultural necessity. They may reject the meaning often associated with these objects, however, like the implied necessity for matched sets. In embracing the ideology of consumerism, these households embedded themselves in the market economy, and reinforced their roles in that economy as objectified individuals empowered

to sell their products and their labor (Palus and Shackel 2006).

In New Philadelphia, the meaning of the tea ceremony was probably different from that observed in urban areas. For instance, Diana Wall (1991) shows that in a mid-19th-century context in New York City, families belonging to the upper-middle class and lower-middle class used similar tablewares, and dinner probably had the same social meaning in both contexts. The wealthier family had more expensive porcelain

TABLE 3
GLASS VESSELS FROM TWO HOUSEHOLDS FROM THE NORTHEAST

Vessel type/container	Burdick Household Feature 7		Burdick Household Feature 13		Kittle Household Feature 19	
	N	% of Form	N	% of Form	N	% of Form
Liquor/whiskey	0	0	0	0	0	0
Beer bottle	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wine bottle	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-alcoholic	0	0	0	0	0	0
Beverage	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other bottle	0	0	0	0	1	10
Food (bottle or jar)	0	0	0	0	1	10
Medicinal	1	50	0	0	7	70
Chemical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toiletry	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tumbler	1	50	0	0	1	10
Personal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	1	100	0	0
Total	*2*	*100*	*1*	*100*	*10*	*100*

TABLE 4
GLASS VESSELS FROM THREE HOUSEHOLDS FROM THE UPLAND SOUTH AND ILLINOIS

Vessel type/container	Clark Household Feature 1		S. McWorter Household Feature 14		S. and G. McWorter Household Block 3, Lot 7	
	N	% of Form	N	% of Form	N	% of Form
Liquor/whiskey	2	18.2	2	6.7	1	5.6
Beer bottle	0	0	1	3.3	0	0
Wine bottle	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-alcoholic	0	0	0	0	0	0
Beverage	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other bottle	3	27.3	5	16.7	1	5.6
Food (bottle or jar)	0	0	6	20	4	22.2
Medicinal	5	45.5	11	36.7	8	44.4
Chemical	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toiletry	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tumbler	1	9.1	3	10	1	5.6
Personal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	2	6.7	3	16.7
Total	*11*	*100*	*30*	*100*	*18*	*100.1*

teawares, however, while the poorer family tended to have cheaper ironstone teawares (Wall 1991:78). The New Philadelphia households participated in tea drinking, but with less-expensive ceramics. At New Philadelphia, like many other rural communities, status was likely acquired by personal character and landholding rather than through the display of material culture.

The ceramic and glass assemblages described for the five households vary somewhat. There is not a clear pattern of different uses of these artifact types when comparing African American and European American sites, however. There are also no clear differences when comparing households from northern states with those from the Upland South and Illinois. What is clear is that all of

these households have access to the market place. They are all buying the most fashionable goods, although not necessarily adhering to all of the rules of the consumer society, such as buying and using matched sets of dishes and tea wares.

Archaeology can counter preconceived notions about communities. By the time of the closing of the Illinois frontier in the 1840s, the region was well established and had access to eastern markets and goods. The archaeological data from the late 1840s through the 1880s show some signs of material homogeneity among the sites. Some of the consumer goods suggest that the New Philadelphia community did not necessarily develop as a collection of bounded, isolated, ethnic groups with each group having its own cultural and material traits, despite the widespread racial tensions in the area before and after the American Civil War.

This phenomenon appears to be true at other communities. For instance, Linda Stine's (1990) work in the North Carolina Piedmont, an area that followed the Upland South tradition, provides a comparison of a farming community that had a racial makeup similar to that of New Philadelphia. Almost 30% of the population was classified as African American at the turn of the 20th century. Differences between blacks and whites are difficult to discern in many forms of material culture. People of the same class, regardless of color, lived in similar types of homes. "For the most part area farmstead facades would not help an outsider predict a family's wealth, social status, or ethnic background" (Stine 1990:45). Residents in the community could purchase the same types of goods on credit or using cash. Comparing the archeological assemblage of a site inhabited by an African American family and another occupied by a white family, both from the same economic stratum, she found no significant difference between them. The only reflections of inequality on the landscape are the separate cemeteries and segregated schoolhouses (Stine 1990:49).

Charles Cheek and Amy Friedlander (1990) discuss the archaeology of African American alley dwellings in Washington, D.C., and compare them to dwellings on a street inhabited by whites at the turn of the 20th century. Comparing the value of ceramics in the different assemblages, they found no significant difference in the relative value of each of the assemblages. They also did not find a clear difference in the types of meats consumed by these households. They expected to see a greater number of bowls in the African American assemblage, but both assemblages are about the same (Cheek and Friedlander 1990:52–53). A few differences among the assemblages exist. For instance, the white households had a greater variety of glass tableware vessels, and the African Americans had more pigs' feet in their diet. These differences, however, are explained as ethnic differences, rather than economic and class differences. Pigs' feet are also common in assemblages associated with European Americans (Burk 1993), and are common in the Upland South diet (Martin and Martin, this volume).

Barbara Little and Nancy Kassner (2001:64) summarize other studies whereby ethnicity is not archeologically visible. For instance, in their study in New Castle County, Delaware, Wade Catts and Jay Custer (1990) describe an African American occupation from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Compared to other similar sites there is great variability in the assemblages, but all participated fully in the consumer culture. In their study in South Carolina, Melanie Cabak and Mary Inkrot (1997) also find that there is a poor correlation between ethnicity and material culture.

Gaming Pieces

The gaming pieces found at New Philadelphia may be associated with the game known as *mancala* (Figure 1). It refers to a large family of games based on distributing seeds, pebbles,

FIGURE 1. A SAMPLE OF GAMING PIECES FOUND THROUGHOUT NEW PHILADELPHIA. (IMAGE BY CHRISTOPHER VALVANO, 2006.)

pieces of ceramics and glass, or shells, into holes or cups. These gaming pieces have, until now, only been identified from African American sites, and mostly found near the quarters of enslaved people.

Mathematicians who study games often call the *mancala* family "sowing games." *Mancala* is derived from the Arabic word *manqala* meaning "to move." Also calle*d Adi, Adji, Awale, Awele, Awari, Ayo, Ayo-ayo, Gepeta, Ourin, Ourri, Oware, Wari, Warra,* or *Warri,* the game is played by distributing gaming pieces into holes or cups. The game developed about 4,000 years ago in the Middle East, and is also widely played in various regions of Africa. The boards, number of playing pieces, number of players, and rules of play vary greatly. The playing board may have two, three, or four rows of cups. These rows may contain anywhere from 5 to 36 holes. Some games require 10 playing pieces (usually seeds) per cup while others require only 4. To win, a player has to accumulate the most playing pieces, although some forms of the game require the winner to get rid of all of his playing pieces (Culin 1894). Individuals in various regions of Africa often played with pebbles or cowry shells, using hollows scooped into the earth or pecked into stone. They brought versions of the *mancala* game with them to the Caribbean and the United States during the 17th and 18th centuries, and evidence is mostly found close to slave quarters (Patten 1992; Samford 1994; Galke 2000; National Park Service 2005a). For instance, Susan Kern (2005) infers that several counting pieces found near slave quarters at Shadwell, the boyhood home of Thomas Jefferson, could have been used as *mancala* pieces. They were small pieces of worked and polished shell and ceramic that often served as markers for games.

Archaeologists have often associated gaming pieces with sites occupied by enslaved African Americans. Ethnographic information from the early 20th century indicates the long tradition of the game. Felix von Luschan (1919) mentioned *warra* being played in southern states and communities with large African American populations. Melville Herskovits (1932) wrote about *wari* being played on several different Caribbean islands. He mentioned that mostly men played the game, although there were no specific sanctions against females participating.

The typical *mancala* pieces found archaeologically are small, diamond-shaped objects fashioned out of broken ceramic and glass. These pieces are smoothed and worn around the edges from years of play (National Park Service 2005b). In New Philadelphia the gaming pieces are found at African American as well as European American sites. The pieces at New Philadelphia are mostly whiteware or yellow ware, with the former being the most common. All have a color on them, most being a remnant of the ceramic glaze, while a few had color applied to the earthen body. One is a worn piece of glass. All of the pieces are between 0.50 and 0.75 in. long. While these pieces have often been identified with enslaved sites, they are not a good cultural marker at New Philadelphia since they are found in free African American as well as European American sites.

Black and White Identity

The search for identity has a long tradition in archaeology. Today, ethnic interpretations of archaeological data are playing a role in contemporary conflicts, such as the Serbs' and Albanians' claims over the territory of Kosovo (Hakenbeck 2004:1). Historical archaeological studies related to ethnicity are often related to consumption and the marketplace. It becomes difficult to make predictable correlations between material culture and the created categories of ethnicity and race, however (Little and Kassner 2001:63). These categories are not natural, but rather created through power differentials (Williams 1992:608–612). Therefore, accessing race and ethnicity purely on the basis of material culture can be problematic. Material objects cannot be simple ethnic markers, although they can reflect ethnic significance if the meaning and the cues are known (Orser 2004).

Hall (1997:443) argues that identity is produced within specific historical and social conditions, and he describes the implications of looking for ethnicity based on skin color. He states:

> The end of the essential Black subject is something which people are increasingly debating, but they may not have fully reckoned with its political consequences. What is at issue here is the recognition of the extraordinary diversity of subjective positions, social experiences and cultural identities which compose the category 'black'; that is, the recognition that 'black'

is essentially a politically and culturally *constructed* category, which cannot be grounded in a set of fixed trans-cultural or transcendental racial categories and which has no guarantees in nature (Hall 1997:443).

In other words, cultural markers are always changing, and meanings are shifting depending upon sociopolitical contexts. Ethnic identities are not a given, and their fluidity can affect archaeological interpretations. Ethnic groups are not static, nor are they neatly defined and segmented into predetermined groups. Rather they should be understood as the social and/or political process of categorization (Vermeersch 2004:23).

Paul Mullins's work in Annapolis, Maryland serves as a fine example. His archaeology uncovered everyday consumer goods from all of the African American households. He provides an important view about finding expected ethnic and racial differences in the archeological record. Mullins builds a case to show that African Americans participated in consumerism as a strategy to confront racism. Consumerism has a symbolic appeal. It is empowering, and it allows people to participate in a type of consumer civil citizenship. This purchasing power was important to African Americans since they were excluded from American social and economic life. This work emphasizes that archaeologists should avoid any monolithic characterizations of black, especially when constructed by genteel whites (Mullins 1999:173).

When examining the historical records related to New Philadelphia, the creation of African American identity by the dominant group can be observed. For instance, one of the first county histories of the area reaffirms the subordinated position, or the "otherness" of African Americans. Chapman (1880) wrote that in the early 1830s a black man known as Bob went to the southern part of Pike County and wanted to marry a white woman, the daughter of Mr. Guernsey. The prospect of an interracial marriage upset many of the locals, and Chapman (1880:217) stated that the proposal "aroused the indignation of the whites, and as soon as he saw the citizens after him he took to his heels and ran away so fast the 50 men couldn't catch him!"

Chapman (1880:216–217) also described the early settlement of Hadley Township, where New Philadelphia was located. The McWorters were the first settlers in the township, and others joined them two years later. Another

county history explained that, "the first white man in Hadley Township was a colored man" (Thompson 1967:151). It was as though the historian had a template for writing the county's history, and had a difficult time crediting African Americans for their accomplishment. They were clearly seen as others and outsiders because of their skin color.

The story of Ansel Vond is an example of changing identity. Vond was a head of household, and lived on a farm adjacent to, and north of New Philadelphia. He first appears in the 1860 U.S. federal census, and he is classified as black. His wife Lucy Ann is listed as mulatto. In 1870 they are both classified as white. In the 1880 census, their color changes again, and they are listed as mulatto. Clearly each census taker saw the Vond family differently. The census records reflect the changing needs of whites to create otherness when describing people of color.

An 1862 newspaper account in the *Pike County Democrat* described the growing anti-African American sentiment in the county. A mass meeting of about 3,000 residents gathered at the Court House Square in Pittsfield. They passed a resolution expressing fear of African Americans invading the state, and the fear of white men potentially losing their jobs. One year later, the same newspaper wrote that they strongly opposed a war to "liberate the niggers" (Waggoner 1999:67,79).

New Philadelphia's population hit its peak by 1865, during Reconstruction, and began to decline steadily after 1869. Perhaps the Vonds, who had become well established in the community, were no longer seen as a threat, and perhaps they were able to "pass." By the 1880s, on the eve of Jim Crow, however, racism and prejudice were on the rise again, and the white census taker made sure to create distinctions based on color. At the turn of the century, sundown towns developed around New Philadelphia, towns where African Americans were not welcome after the sun had set (Loewen 2005). Oral histories (Christman, this volume) also indicate that the Ku Klux Klan was active in the area in the 1920s.

Sometimes there are strong relationships between ethnic identity and material culture, and items such as clothing, food, and other everyday materials signal meaning and identity. Goods

can create, enforce, and reinforce behavior. They can help maintain social boundaries and communicate through a whole set of clues which elicit appropriate behaviors (Bourdieu 1977). Goods may have different meanings in different social circumstances as their messages are continually changed and renegotiated. Goods can be used to justify and support different subgroups in society, or they can mask, contradict, or exaggerate social relations (Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Hodder 1982; Miller and Tilley 1984; Miller 1987; Rapoport 1990).

Archaeologists have recognized that cultural uniformity of material goods between groups may be an expression of within-group cohesion and competition, however (Hodder 1979:447, 1982:7). The case study from New Philadelphia, Illinois, a multiracial town that developed from the 1830s, shows that while people can be identified by race according to the historical records, identifying groups through their material culture becomes difficult. While different ethnic backgrounds, places of origin, gender, and occupation are considered, based on the comparison of consumer material culture, the households appear to be indistinguishable. The boundaries sometimes found in material culture seem to be blurred. Access to market goods appears to be similar among different households with very different backgrounds, and gaming pieces traditionally associated with African Americans are found in both white and black households. It also appears that all of the households rejected the Victorian ideal of matched ceramic sets.

While identity is something that is very fluid and always changing, households of very different backgrounds used material culture to create some form of group homogenization at the level of consumer goods. The sameness of the assemblages, and the rejection of Victorian ideals, contributed to what may be a type of group cohesion among people of different backgrounds. Differences existed in other areas, such as differences in landholding and livestock, personal wealth, access to government and law, and general stature in the community, among others. While archaeology of agency, and the focus on individuals and bounded groups has recently dominated research in the field, perhaps this work shows how different groups made decisions to act collectively in a rural community. The examination of material culture at New Philadelphia helps to provide a scenario of how goods were used to shape and create a community in a racist society.

Acknowledgments

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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

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 back-country 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 govern-ment, an open class system, evangelical Prot-estantism, 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] corn-bread" (Fischer 1989:727). They replaced their oat mush with corn mush, and accepted other native American crops, including squash, pump-kins, 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 back-woods 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 tradi-tions 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 Phila-delphia 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 govern-ment 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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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 redhorse, 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 (NISP) 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-butchering 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, *Didelphis virginiana*	2	1	1.3	.033
Eastern cottontail, *Sylvilagus floridanus*	12	3	10.6	.220
Tree squirrel sp., *Sciurus* sp.	15	2	6.8	.148
Norway rat, *Rattus norvegicus*	26	4	10.2	–
Unidentified small rodent	4	–	.1	–
Swine, *Sus scrofa*	59	2	194.8	3.028
White-tailed deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*	1	1	3.1	.073
Cattle, *Bos taurus*	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, *Branta canadensis*	1	1	.2	.005
Green-winged/blue-winged teal, *Anas crecca/discors*	1	1	.5	.011
Duck sp., subfamily Anatinae	1	1	2.2	.042
Domestic chicken, *Gallus gallus*	44	8	44.9	.651
Turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*	3	1	10.9	.179
Northern bobwhite, *Colinus virginianus*	3	1	.7	.015
Passenger pigeon, *Ectopistes migratorius*	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., *Bufo* sp.	1	1	.1	–
CLASS: FISH	**40**	**8**	**14.2**	**.287**
Buffalo sp., *Ictiobus* sp.	21	6	10.5	.194
Yellow bullhead, *Ameiurus natalis*	2	1	.3	.006
Crappie sp., *Pomoxis 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

[1]Number of identified specimens.
[2]Minimum 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, *Didelphis virginiana*	2	1	1.2	.031
Eastern cottontail, *Sylvilagus floridanus*	6	1	5.0	.112
Fox squirrel, *Sciurus niger*	2	1	1.6	.040
Tree squirrel sp., *Sciurus* sp.	7	2	3.5	.081
Old World rat, *Rattus* sp.	11	4	3.3	–
Unidentified medium rodent	1	–	.1	–
Swine, *Sus scrofa*	71	2	223.2	3.418
Cattle, *Bos taurus*	4	1	31.0	.578
Sheep/goat, *Ovis/Capra*	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, *Branta canadensis*	2	1	8.5	.143
Goose sp., Tribe Anserini	1	1	.4	.009
Duck sp., subfamily Anatinae	1	1	.4	.009
Domestic chicken, *Gallus gallus*	25	6	16.3	.259
Turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*	2	1	1.3	.026
Northern bobwhite, *Colinus virginianus*	7	2	1.3	.026
Passenger pigeon, *Ectopistes migratorius*	1	1	.3	.007
Unidentified medium bird	10	–	2.4	.045
Eggshell pieces	6	–	.4	–
CLASS: FISH	**16**	**4**	**5.0**	**.128**
Buffalo sp., *Ictiobus* sp.	3	3	.5	.017
Freshwater drum, *Aplodinotus grunniens*	1	1	.5	.023
Unidentified fish	12	–	4.0	.091
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATA	**11**	**–**	**2.2**	**–**
CLASS: BIVALVES	**39**	**3**	**50.4**	**–**
Chemnitz ark, *Anadara chemnitzi*	1	1	1.2	–
Florida prickly cockle, *Trachycardium egmontianum*	1	1	3.2	–
Cockle sp., family Cardiidae	1	–	.2	–
Three ridge, *Amblema plicata*	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

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

TABLE 3
SKELETAL PORTIONS OF SWINE, CATTLE, AND SHEEP/GOAT FROM NEW PHILADELPHIA FEATURES

	Feature 1		Outside Feature 1		Feature 14		Feature 7		Feature 13		Feature 19	
	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%	NISP	%
SWINE												
Cranial fragments	6	10.2	4	5.6	17	17.5	0	–	3	12.5	10	31.3
Isolated teeth	1	1.7	18	25.4	8	8.2	0	–	3	12.5	9	28.1
Proximal forequarter	1	1.7	5	7.0	4	4.1	3	9.7	3	12.5	3	9.4
Vertebrae	6	10.2	4	5.6	8	8.2	4	12.9	1	4.2	0	–
Ribs	7	11.9	4	5.6	24	24.7	4	12.9	1	4.2	0	–
Innominate bone	0	–	0	–	1	1.0	0	–	0	–	1	3.1
Proximal hindquarter	3	5.1	8	11.3	8	8.2	1	3.2	2	8.3	5	15.6
Feet	35	59.3	28	39.4	27	27.8	19	61.3	11	45.8	4	12.5
Totals	*59*	*100.1*	*71*	*99.9*	*97*	*99.7*	*31*	*100.0*	*24*	*100.0*	*32*	*100.0*
CATTLE												
Cranial fragments	0	–	0	–	1	7.1	1	20.0	1	12.5	0	–
Isolated teeth	0	–	1	25.0	0	–	0	–	2	25.0	0	–
Proximal forequarter	0	–	1	25.0	2	14.3	0	–	1	12.5	2	8.0
Vertebrae	3	100.0	1	25.0	0	–	2	40.0	3	37.5	6	24.0
Ribs	0	–	1	25.0	6	42.9	1	20.0	0	–	7	28.0
Innominate bone	0	–	0	–	2	14.3	0	–	0	–	2	8.0
Proximal hindquarter	0	–	0	–	3	21.4	1	20.0	1	12.5	4	16.0
Feet	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	4	16.0
Totals	*3*	*100.0*	*4*	*100.0*	*14*	*100.0*	*5*	*100.0*	*8*	*100.0*	*25*	*100.0*
SHEEP/GOAT												
Cranial fragments	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–
Isolated teeth	0	–	1	50.0	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–
Proximal forequarter	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	1	20.0	2	40.0
Vertebrae	0	–	1	50.0	1	16.7	0	–	1	20.0	1	20.0
Ribs	0	–	0	–	3	50.0	0	–	2	40.0	1	20.0
Innominate bone	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	1	20.0
Proximal hindquarter	0	–	0	–	0	–	1	100.0	0	–	0	–
Feet	0	–	0	–	2	33.3	0	–	1	20.0	0	–
Totals	*0*	–	*2*	*100.0*	*6*	*100.0*	*1*	*100.0*	*5*	*100.0*	*5*	*100.0*

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, *Sylvilagus floridanus*	3	2	1.0	.026
Fox squirrel, *Sciurus niger*	8	2	4.6	.104
Squirrel sp., *Sciurus* sp.	6	1	1.4	.036
Old World rat, *Rattus* sp.	29	7	8.8	–
Dog/coyote, *Canis* sp.	1	1	1.9	–
Domestic cat, *Felis catus*	1	1	.5	–
Swine, *Sus scrofa*	97	3	650.5	8.952
White-tailed deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*	1	1	12.4	.254
Domestic cattle, *Bos taurus*	14	1	454.3	6.480
Sheep/goat, *Ovis/Capra*	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, *Gallus gallus*	87	10	76.2	1.053
Turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*	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., *Bufo* sp.	1	1	.1	–
CLASS: FISH	**20**	**2**	**7.3**	**.157**
Buffalo sp., *Ictiobus* sp.	1	1	.6	.020
Channel catfish, *Ictalurus punctatus*	10	1	5.1	.094
Unidentified fish	9	–	1.6	.043
UNIDENTIFIED VERTEBRATA	**4**	**–**	**.4**	**–**
CLASS: BIVALVES	**2**	**2**	**20.8**	**–**
Ark sp., *Anadara* 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

[1]Number of identified specimens.
[2]Minimum 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 harkened 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, *Marmota monax*	1	1	1.4	.036
Fox squirrel, *Sciurus niger*	1	1	.3	.009
Old World rat, *Rattus* sp.	8	2	2.1	–
Swine, *Sus scrofa*	24	3	301.7	4.484
White-tailed deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*	2	1	30.0	.562
Domestic cattle, *Bos taurus*	8	1	323.7	4.777
Sheep, *Ovis aeries*	1	1	26.8	.507
Sheep/goat, *Ovis/Capra*	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, *Branta canadensis*	1	1	2.8	.052
Domestic chicken, *Gallus gallus*	5	3	2.9	.054
Turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*	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

[1]Number of identified specimens.

[2]Minimum 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, *Sylvilagus floridanus*	1	1	1.2	.031
Tree squirrel sp., *Sciurus* sp.	4	2	1.7	.042
Old World rat, *Rattus* sp.	24	2	6.1	–
Swine, *Sus scrofa*	31	2	108.5	1.786
Cattle, *Bos taurus*	5	1	102.4	1.695
Sheep, *Ovis aeries*	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, *Gallus gallus*	16	4	16.7	.265
Greater prairie chicken, *Tympanuchus cupido*	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., *Ictiobus* 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

[1]Number of identified specimens.

[2]Minimum 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, *Didelphis virginiana*	1	1	1.0	.026
Eastern cottontail, *Sylvilagus floridanus*	1	1	.2	.006
Cottontail/domestic rabbit, family Leporidae	3	–	4.2	.096
Fox squirrel, *Sciurus niger*	4	2	3.8	.087
Squirrel sp., *Sciurus* sp.	3	–	.3	.009
Old World rat, *Rattus* sp.	2	1	.3	–
Swine, *Sus scrofa*	32	3	191.1	2.973
Cattle, *Bos taurus*	25	1	1,251.6	16.133
Sheep, *Ovis aries*	2	1	14.0	.283
Sheep/goat, *Ovis/Capra*	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, *Gallus gallus*	24	5	4.8	.085
Unidentified medium bird	6	–	.7	.015
CLASS: AMPHIBIANS	**1**	**1**	**.1**	**–**
Toad sp., *Bufo* sp.	1	1	.1	–
CLASS: FISH	**7**	**1**	**12.5**	**.232**
Buffalo sp., *Ictiobus* 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

[1]Number of identified specimens.

[2]Minimum 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
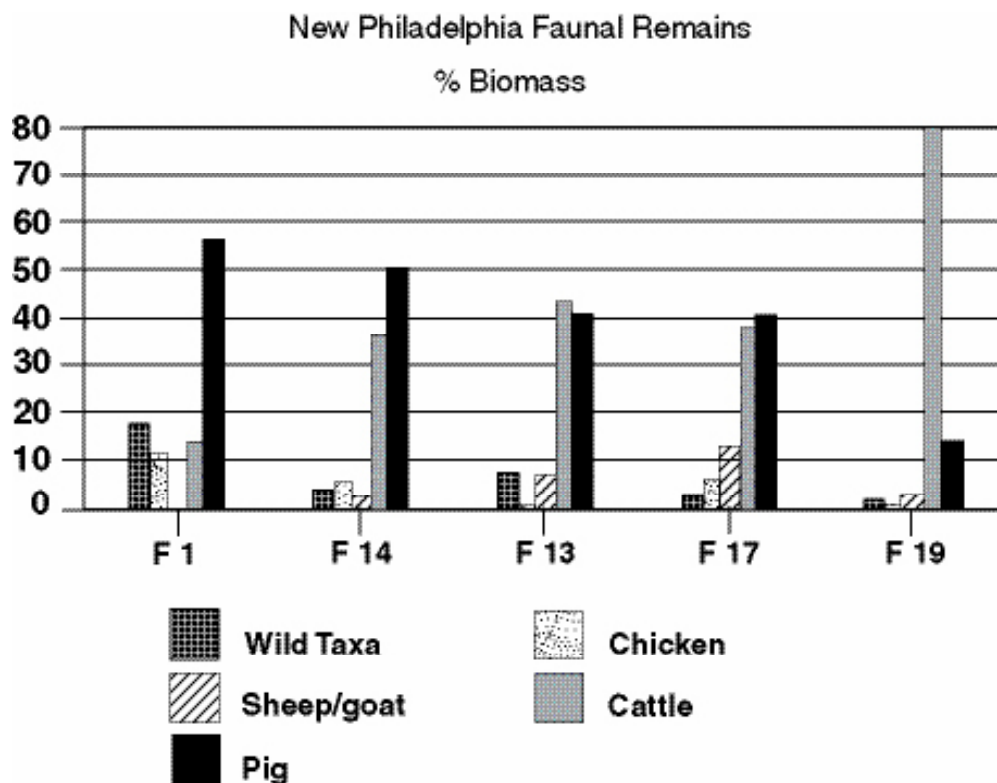

FIGURE 1. DIETARY CONTRIBUTIONS OF MAJOR ANIMAL TAXA FROM FIVE NEW PHILADELPHIA FEATURES. (GRAPH BY THE AUTHORS, 2008.)

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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Voices of New Philadelphia: Memories and Stories of the People and Place

ABSTRACT

A project of collecting and recording oral histories related to New Philadelphia provided a valuable avenue for understanding facets of racism, and played an integral role in establishing a community-based archaeology program that emphasizes civic engagement. These oral histories also provided details of the historical context of the town, and revealed information that aided archaeological investigations. Several interviews supplied valuable data concerning the likely locations of structures, residences, and businesses that once existed within the town site. Oral histories further contributed data for meeting the challenges of analyzing cultural, ethnic, and class differences in artifact assemblages recovered from each house lot.

The struggle against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.

—Milan Kundera

Introduction

It is often stated that history is written by the winners, the lead actors. What, then, of the many lesser-known characters? How do they remember the past? In the summers of 2004 through 2006, a National Science Foundation Research Experiences for Undergraduates program was conducted at the New Philadelphia archaeological site in Pike County, Illinois. New Philadelphia is an important archaeological as well as historical site because it was the first town legally founded and platted by an African American, Frank McWorter, in 1836. McWorter, a former slave, worked hard to free his wife and himself from bondage. He continued to pursue freedom by selling lots in the newly platted town in order to pay for a total of 16 family members' liberty from enslavement. New Philadelphia prospered as a multiracial town before the Civil War, in a time of intense racism in western Illinois.

During the 2004 and 2005 field seasons, 18 interviews were conducted with the descendants of town residents and with local community members to understand how they remembered New Philadelphia. Potential interviewees were identified through members of a local nonprofit organization called the New Philadelphia Association, or through interviewees' own expressed interest in the project. Due to the interviewer's additional activities in helping to supervise the archaeological field school, those interviewed were limited to accessible individuals within the vicinity of the New Philadelphia site. Nearly all descendants of New Philadelphia's African American population have left the area. Consequently, the vast majority of participants interviewed are of European American heritage, and one, Ron Carter, is African American. This set of voices comments on a racial history and how it has impacted a rural community that is now predominantly white, and how memories of New Philadelphia have continued to evolve locally. Six people described themselves as descendants because their families had lived in New Philadelphia. Twelve interviewees were considered to be members of the local community, as they and their family lived near, but not actually in the town of New Philadelphia (Table 1).

The interviewer met with the memoirists (to use an alternative term for "interviewees") before each interview, and generally asked them what they remembered about New Philadelphia. After this initial discussion, the taped interview began, giving both the interviewer and memoirist time to expand on questions and answers. All the participants signed an informed consent form before the interview, allowing the use of their names with their quotations in New Philadelphia reports. The oral histories were recorded on a Panasonic pocket digital recorder and then uploaded to a laptop using the Panasonic recorder software, Voice Studio. Through Voice Studio, the interviews were converted into MP3 files, burned onto audio compact disks, and then transcribed verbatim. Each verbatim transcription was edited for reading clarity, and copies of both verbatim and edited transcriptions, along with the audio disks, were given to the New Philadelphia Association to archive for the Pike County Historical Society.

TABLE 1
NAMES OF THE MEMOIRISTS QUOTED IN THIS ARTICLE AND THEIR CONNECTIONS
WITH THE COMMUNITY OF NEW PHILADELPHIA

Quoted Memoirist	Gender	Age at time of interview	Association with New Philadelphia	New Philadelphia Connection
Janita Metcalf	Female	80	Local community	Town of Barry historian
Carol McCartney	Female	66	Local community	New Philadelphia Association treasurer
Pat Likes	Female	68	Local community	New Philadelphia Association board member
Ruby Duke	Female	63	Descendant	Lived between Baylis and New Philadelphia, her great-grandmother was midwife to area, her family was close friends with the McWorters
Chris Hamilton	Male	63	Local community	Farms old McWorter land, grandfather a Barry banker
Mary Jo (Welbourne) Foster	Female	86	Descendant	Her Welbourne and Baker ancestors owned land in New Philadelphia bought from Free Frank, family was close with the Washington family
Glen Ralph	Male	73	Local community	Attended Shaw school
Grace Hughes	Female	83	Local community	Father farmed near New Philadelphia and knew McWorters and William Butler
Clara Alexander	Female	66	Local community	Family lived in the old New Philadelphia schoolhouse owned by Frank McWorter (Free Frank's grandson)
Robert Gleckler	Male	72	Descendant	Owns the Washington's land, Lemoyne Washington cared for his great-grandfather
Nancy (Johnson) Mills	Female	Unknown	Descendant	The Johnson family lived in New Philadelphia, bought land from Free Frank, Nancy's grandfather was New Philadelphia justice of the peace
Ron Carter	Male	71	Descendant	Descendant of New Philadelphia African American settler, William Butler
Elmo Waters	Male	82	Local community	From Hadley, attended New Philadelphia schoolhouse

When the interviews were finished, five themes emerged among the memoirists: Frank McWorter as a romantic image, the memory of the Underground Railroad, conflicting images of both community cooperation and racism, and the community's involvement in the archaeology project. Many local residents associate New Philadelphia's history with Frank McWorter's story because they value his determinism and entrepreneurship in freeing his family members and establishing the town. Many people further romanticize Frank McWorter and the surrounding

area by claiming the existence of several "safe house" locations from the antebellum period that served the networks of escaping enslaved laborers that are referred to as the Underground Railroad. Two conflicting images arise, one in which descendants and local residents relate stories of pastoral and community cooperation, while another has racial and social tensions lying just beneath the surface. All the participants supplied information about the locations of buildings that could assist archaeological excavations, and they expressed a considerable interest in the continuation of the archaeological project.

Frank McWorter's Image

The story of New Philadelphia begins with Frank McWorter in Kentucky, as he used his earnings from his own saltpeter mining operations and other resources to buy his wife, himself, and one of his sons out of slavery. In 1836, Free Frank laid out the plan of New Philadelphia, which included 144 lots, and subsequently sold them to both African American and European American settlers. He used the money from the land sales to purchase freedom for additional family members (Walker 1983:41–63). Frank McWorter's story is appealing because he worked hard to realize his dream of freedom for his family. As early as 1876, William Grimshaw, giving the nation's centennial address at Pittsfield, Illinois, described the McWorters as living "exemplary lives," and "by industry and economy" leaving behind a valuable farm and "a large and respectable settlement of their descendants around the old home" (Grimshaw 1876). Jess Thompson, in his *Pike County History* of 1935–1939, referred to Frank McWorter as being "remembered in the early settlement as a reputable, worthy citizen, kind, benevolent, and honest," who "labored hard on his Hadley acres" (Thompson 1967:152). McWorter the self-made man, overcoming slavery, is often viewed as an heroic figure, and reminiscent of an aspect of the "American Dream."

The oral history interviews echo this "American Dream" sentiment. Janita Metcalf, a local historian, observed that "Free Frank McWorter is really history," and she stated further that the McWorters "were very highly respected. Free Frank had no education, but he used his brain and he was a successful businessperson."

McWorter's story is sometimes equated with Abraham Lincoln's life, as that president also had overcome an early life of relatively low social and economic status. Carol McCartney, treasurer of the New Philadelphia Association, described her first impression of McWorter's life as being "like Abraham Lincoln's story," where "Here, was Free Frank being a slave and becoming a rich person and being able to buy his family" out of enslavement. Pat Likes, also a member of the New Philadelphia Association, observed, "I think what catches people's interest is the story about a man who bought his freedom and bought his family and more and more people are becoming aware of that." It is also the emotion that McWorter's pursuit for freedom evokes in people that makes his story among the most significant lessons related to the history of New Philadelphia. Likes envisioned McWorter's life as a "love story," in which "[t]he love of a man for freedom first and then, he loved his wife and unborn child that he would buy them before he bought his own freedom." Frank McWorter's story, as an agrarian Horatio Alger, is important to the existing agricultural community because it serves as a poignant allegory. McWorter, a least-likely success story with his beginnings as an enslaved laborer, illustrates how hard work and fortitude—ideals the current agricultural community values—can lead to success. From these oral history interviews it became obvious that Frank McWorter's story of freedom evoked emotion in those interviewed, and that his story of courage, determination, and hard work was one that members of an agricultural community readily embraced.

McWorter's story does not end with his death in 1854. His descendants carried with them his story of determination and freedom. Thus, many of those interviewed in the local community mention how they or their family knew the McWorters when they still lived in Pike County. Ruby Duke, a New Philadelphia descendant, said, "The McWorters worked for them on the farm in order to get money to help bring more of their relatives to Pike County." Duke also related that her great-grandmother and great-great-grandmother were talented cooks, and "taught my mother and the McWorter girls." Her mother and she had both kept her great-grandmother's rolling pin. Duke recalled that when visiting her mother either Festus or

Cordell McWorter mentioned, "'I remember that rolling pin because it's got a warped place on it. Every time I cut the cookies, there was always a warped place and I always had a lop-sided cookie.'" Again the connection to Frank McWorter being made through his descendants can be seen when Janita Metcalf, a local historian, made a parade float and wrote a pageant for the United States' bicentennial, and the town of Barry's sesquicentennial. She stated, "Thelma played Lucy and her brother, Cordell, portrayed Free Frank." Thelma McWorter Kirkpatrick and Cordell McWorter were both great-grandchildren of Frank McWorter. Even after the family had left the area, their presence was felt by those interviewed. Chris Hamilton, a local community member, recalled that the McWorters's return to the area was a familiar event: "There used to be some McWorters who came down to Barry each year. I do know from some of the people I work with that they used to come back occasionally, some of the descendants of the McWorter family."

The story of Frank McWorter bringing himself and his family out of slavery and into freedom and economic success has stayed with the local area. When asked when he had first heard the story of Free Frank, Hamilton responded, "Oh, I don't recall. I mean I can remember knowing it as far back as I can remember, but not a lot of detail." Even if the details of McWorter's story are sometimes lost, the idea of the self-made man coming up from slavery remains the most romantic image at New Philadelphia.

The Memory of the Underground Railroad

Another romantic image, that of the Underground Railroad, is also associated with the McWorters and the local area, especially since Pike County lies along the Mississippi River, just east of the slave state of Missouri. Several people interviewed recall many possible locations for stops on the Underground Railroad and stories associated with them. In her book, *Free Frank: A Black Pioneer on the Antebellum Frontier*, Juliet Walker (1983:149–150), Frank McWorter's great-great-granddaughter, recounts her family's oral tradition that the McWorters were connected with the Underground Railroad, and assisted escaping slaves on their way to Canada. Ellen McWorter Yates, Frank's great-granddaughter, recalls the oral tradition that Frank built his first cabin on a site underlain with granite so he could build a cellar as a hiding place for fugitives.

Locally, the Eells House in nearby Quincy, Illinois is known to have been a place where escaping slaves were aided on their way to freedom. When asked if she had heard any stories about the Underground Railroad, Mary Jo Foster, a New Philadelphia descendant, recalled that as she traveled towards the town of Baylis that, "There was a big house that Jim Corey lived in. There were holes in the basement, and I read about the Eells House in Quincy." She added, "That's where they took them from here and brought them north to Canada, getting them away from slavery."

Glen Ralph, a local resident, remembered being told about an old shed located in the town vicinity that was used as part of the Underground Railroad: "I looked at it and all it was then was kind of a slumped hole in the ground." Ruby Duke, a New Philadelphia descendant, described a cave along the edge of a nearby creek where runaway slaves hid: "It was in the side of the hill and they used to hide them there. Out in the middle, there's a big open-hole cave." She explained that they filled up the large cave in the middle of the hill when they built a roadway overpass. She said, "That's where the slaves used to hide if you go on down and follow that creek. If you go east past New Philadelphia, maybe half a mile, I don't know it's not too far there." The knowledge of such activities, and the involvement of Frank McWorter and the landscape of New Philadelphia in the Underground Railroad is based on oral history accounts, and researchers continue to seek additional, corroborating evidence.

A mythology of secret places and hidden cellars and rooms is perpetuated in the area. John Michael Vlach (2004:108) states that exotic trapdoors, crawl spaces, and storage places are normal features of a 19th-century house that give rise to these legends. Most fugitives were given refuge in existing rooms, and Vlach (2004:109) comments that Levi Coffin, operating a safe house in Indiana for over 20 years, simply had them sleep on bedrolls in the kitchen. As with other perceptions of Frank McWorter, people feel a need to connect with this successful story of enslaved persons striving for freedom. In

addition, such stories likely represent a way for members of current communities to hold onto an idea of a past time of interracial cooperation (Glaude 2004:304).

Ruby Duke told of how her great-grandfather helped enslaved persons escape and hide when bounty hunters came looking for them. Her great-grandparents had a large dog that would bark if people came down the road, and then the fugitives would run to the creek to hide in a cave, or hide underneath the chicken coop. She said, "Then, my great-grandparents would let a chicken out and that dog would kill the chicken. So, when the bounty hunters got there, that's what they thought was all the commotion. The dog was just killing a chicken. My great-grandpa never did lose one of the blacks then, even though they had a lot of people looking for them."

David Blight (2004:239) believes that many people claim the Underground Railroad as history for their family or local community because of the romantic idea of heroes who did not play by the rules, who resisted the institution and regulations of slavery, and who pursued a higher cause. Scholars have found that much of the Underground Railroad was actually operated by free African Americans, however, and that attention should also be given to fugitive slaves as self-reliant individuals (Blight 2004:243). Thus, it would be African Americans living in or near New Philadelphia that would be the most likely to give aid to runaway slaves. Milton Sernett (2004:263) perceives the perpetuation of Underground Railroad legends as a way a community can promote itself or be "counted among the righteous." The proximity of New Philadelphia to the Mississippi River and the slave state of Missouri would have made the local area more favorable for fugitive slaves. It seems that local residents believe that interracial cooperation extended outside New Philadelphia, and that neighboring communities also fought the good fight.

New Philadelphia and Interracial Community Cooperation

While the perpetuation of Underground Railroad stories implies past interracial cooperation, the oral histories of New Philadelphia also directly comment on the existence of interracial cooperation in an agricultural community.

Memoirists seem to define this idea of community as a sharing of the burden of agrarian economics by "pitching in" with farming activities or neighborly needs. In her oral histories of East Tennessee, Melissa Walker (2000:344–348) noted that the themes of rural self-sufficiency, community mutual aid, and relative economic and social equality reverberated through each interview. The community memory of mutual aid creates a sense of idyllic nostalgia. Most of the interviewed New Philadelphia descendants reminisce about blacks and whites helping each other out. Grace Hughes remembered, "Well, Frank and Arthur [McWorter] both would give us rides home. We'd be walking and they'd stop and ask us if we wanted a ride. We hopped in." When Clara Alexander, whose family lived in a New Philadelphia schoolhouse, was asked if Frank McWorter (Free Frank's grandson) worked throughout the community, she responded, "He'd help anybody that needed help." Several interviewees also remembered New Philadelphia residents hiring out or volunteering their labor for seasonal farm activities.

Robert Gleckler recalled a story about his grandfather and one of the McWorters: "Oh, my grandpa hired one of the McWorters to help him put up hay and they were stuffing loose hay in the barn next to a metal roof up there. And he says, 'Harry [Gleckler], if it ever gets any hotter in Hell than this, I don't want to go there.'" The idea of mutual aid and sharing labor added to the nostalgic memory of an agricultural area.

Within these memories of an integrated agricultural community, stories exist of unusual events. Barbara Allen (1984:10) believes that such punctuated events in the course of everyday life are often retold in oral histories to help provide texture and depth to the remembered experience. Grace Hughes recalled that several of the African American men helped her father, and she particularly remembered a story about the strength of a man named Butler. As they were replacing a wagon wheel, "They had to replace it or repair it and this Negro held the wagon up all by himself, while they fixed the wheel. Then, he took a sack of wheat in his teeth, the edge of it in his teeth, and flipped it over in the back of the wagon."

Unusual, yet well-remembered events can be passed on even without the firsthand experience.

Ruby Duke recalled a story Festus McWorter told her about when he was talking to Duke's mother. The events followed Festus attempting to find Duke's great-grandmother, who was a midwife. Ruby repeated Festus's story:

> One time one of the girls was going to have a baby. Festus McWorter said it was just raining and it was muddy. He said, "I was little, bitty tiny boy," and he thought he was about five or six years old. He asked mom if she remembered that and Mom did because she had a good memory. Festus said he had to walk all the way to their house in the mud and in that terrible storm to get my great-grandmother to come and deliver that baby. They got in the buggy. It was him, my mom, and my great-grandmother. They got in there and got just a little ways up the road when the buggy went all the way down to the axles. He said, "There we were in those itty-bitty short things. She was carrying this lantern. We had to walk the rest of the way." He said, "I will never forget that experience until the day I die." He said, "I hope I never have to walk through the mud again."

The punctuated events that occur throughout the oral histories of New Philadelphia give a depth to the social interactions and the agrarian community nostalgia.

The idea of a cooperative community persisted in Pike County. New Philadelphia residents continued to help their neighbors later on. The Washingtons were an African American family that had married into the McWorter family. LeMoyne Washington was the last remaining member of the family until his death in 2000. The way in which Robert Gleckler spoke about LeMoyne was the best testament to the recurring theme of community as family. Gleckler recalled of LeMoyne Washington, "Oh yeah, he took care of my great-grandfather when his wife died when he [LeMoyne] was in high school. He moved in with them and cooked and took care of them while he was in high school. He also did that with Burdick, Virgil Burdick." In turn, Gleckler said, "Mary Burdick took care of him [LeMoyne] when he got older. Mary Burdick took care of him in her home down in Pleasant Hill. They never put him in the nursing home." The statement "They never put him in a nursing home" accentuated how important the idea of community as family is in these oral histories.

The residents reciprocated support and never simply left someone to seek help elsewhere. Nancy Mills, a New Philadelphia descendant, recounted that when she attended MacMurray College and needed a job, her father told her to see Irene Butler Brown, who was head cook at MacMurray. Irene Butler Brown was the daughter of William Butler, one of the African American settlers at New Philadelphia. Mills continues, "Of course she knew my dad, Frank Johnson, and she thought that was just wonderful." Ron Carter, a descendant of William Butler, often would go to reunions with the McWorters. He added, "At the time, they would say these are your cousins. These are your cousins." The importance of New Philadelphia as a community and family is a recurring image in most of the oral histories (Figure 1).

Racism in a Multiracial Town

Contrary to these images of an integrated and cooperating community, several New Philadelphia descendants recounted stories of racial prejudice and events of racial strife in the area. Although her mother warned her against hurting the Washington children, African Americans, or else she would "blister her," Mary Jo Foster recalled that the Washingtons "had to toe the mark pretty well." Foster also indicated that racial prejudice existed at community gatherings. For instance, when Sophie Washington would bring food, people would take special notice of what she brought because they did not want to eat what an African American woman made. Foster recalled:

> When we went to school there, once a month, we'd have community meetings at night and people would take refreshments and then on the last day of school, we just had a regular big blowout. Sophie Washington, LeMoyne's mother, was such a nice woman, and they lived in the neighborhood. She would bring food just like the rest of us did, and some people would go around looking to see what she put out because they didn't want to eat anything a Negro woman made. I'd be going around asking what the recipe was because she was a wonderful cook, but that was the attitude.

Both Glen Ralph and Nancy Mills also recalled that the local community suffered from forms of racism. Ralph described the undercurrent: "There were different ways that there was discrimination. Depending on who you talked to, there was some discrimination against the Washingtons." Mills admitted to this as well, as she recalled that some fellow classmates in high

FIGURE 1. Social reunions in the New Philadelphia area have been a continual focus of descendant and local communities. Homecoming, September 1948, Shaw Country School, Hadley Township, Pike County, IL (Courtesy Pike County Historical Society).

school refused to sit next to Juanita Washington. She remembered, "I mean we didn't have a large class, but some of them in Home Ec. wouldn't sit by her, but I rather enjoyed it." These non-overt, "different ways" of discrimination created an image of integration, but still maintained a social order in which the African Americans were considered to be different and outsiders.

Stories of overt racism and prejudice also existed in the oral histories. Ruby Duke commented that the town of Barry was a "sundown" town. "When the McWorters used to go into town, they wouldn't let them go after dark." Ron Carter, a descendant of William Butler, related a more disturbing and blatant story of racism he had heard from one of his family members. Butler "married a lovely full-blooded Caucasian woman named Catherine Wright, whose father had brought her from Missouri to Illinois" (Matteson 1964:35). Carter recounted, "Now, this lady obviously doesn't look Afro-American. And she had a child, could have been this child right

here [pointing at a picture]. The baby got sick. This was back, maybe in 1900s. ... Anyway, she called the doctor for the baby and the doctor was a white doctor. He went in the room and said, 'I got to shut the door.' So, he shuts the door and they stayed outside." Carter continues, "I don't know why he said, 'Stay outside,' but the baby died. It is suspected that he might have killed the baby. I don't know." Carter dismissed it, but offered the explanation that the doctor did not like a black man married to a white woman.

These incidents of overt racism towards the local African American community offer a stark contrast to the image of a community working together that is presented in other oral histories. Even though the stories about existing racism seem to clash with the previous idea of an agrarian community, both images supplemented the historic and social context by presenting these two perspectives.

In addition to these memories, many descendants remember Ku Klux Klan activity in the

area. Three people recalled the same story of the Ku Klux Klan disrupting the building of old Highway 36 during the 1920s, where they had African American women cooking for the men. The *Barry Adage* also mentioned the incident under local items in 1925 as, "The Ku Klux Klan gave a scare to Negroes of the grading crew on the hard road" (Freeman 2008). Mary Jo Foster saw the event firsthand when her father, who was told about it by his cousin, took the family down the road to a neighboring farmer's house. Foster recalled, "Anyway, we were in there visiting and Dad looked up and said, 'Well, there they come,' and they were coming out of Barry. The Ku Klux Klan was coming out because they'd moved in a big tent with women, about 28 to 30, to cook for those men who were putting the highway through. They had horses and lights and sheets all in front of things. Oh, it was scary looking." Foster further commented that the "next morning there wasn't a Negro woman there." The incident was so etched in the community's consciousness that Foster said that the daughter of the local farmer "always remembered when they were burning the cross down there on her dad's farm."

Likewise, when Elmo Waters was asked what he could remember about growing up near New Philadelphia, his first response was the story of the cross burning. He even questioned himself, "I don't know why I remember that more than anything." Kathleen Blee (1993) observed that when she conducted oral histories with former members of the Ku Klux Klan, many would refer to their involvement as uplifting, and found no need to explain why they found the Klan appealing. To them, it was normal to have a life in the Klan. This empathy with the Ku Klux Klan did not exist in the oral histories of New Philadelphia. To those interviewed, like Mary Jo Foster and Elmo Waters, the memory of the Klan appeared to lurk uncomfortably below the surface in the community. It inspired a kind of fear and awe in the children of the 1920s, who probably did not quite comprehend the intended meanings of a burning cross. The retelling of the story might have had more to do with what events people, especially children, remember, rather than as evidence of the contours of local social norms. By the repetition of this story in the oral histories, it did seem that the Ku Klux Klan cross burning near old Highway 36 made

a lasting impression on more than the African American women who were cooking for the road laborers. The image of the burning cross was etched in the minds of the local residents, and the extent to which it affected social and racial interactions is unclear.

Ruby Duke, whose family was close to the McWorters, admitted that she also had two great-uncles in the Ku Klux Klan. Her mother had never told her about that side of the family, and she had wondered why both families never liked one another. Duke commented, "I loved them to death, but I didn't like it, I didn't like it because I had two uncles on the Ku Klux Klan." It seems that the contradiction of community cooperation and racial tension can be envisioned within the families of the New Philadelphia residents themselves. Families had to exist in both worlds, and in a sense create an uneasy balance. Mary Jo Foster made an interesting comment about the Washington family, who lived less than half a mile from the cross-burning incident. Foster acknowledged that the Washingtons, especially LeMoyne, who she knew quite well, were severely frightened that night. She says of the Ku Klux Klan, however, "They didn't bother them at all because they were natives, but they were scared anyway."

The idea that the Washingtons were safe because they were "natives" to the community, but were still scared for their lives, illustrates how thin the line was between both worlds. Foster's reassurances that established African American families were spared from violence failed to recognize the fear felt by those African Americans in the face of Ku Klux Klan violence. The complicated stories and memories associated with the Ku Klux Klan in these oral histories failed to answer fully questions as to how much racism existed in the supposedly multiracial town, but they indicated a more complex social situation than the agrarian community image.

Archaeology, Oral Histories, and the Community

Oral histories can provide an historical context and reveal information that can lead to further places for archaeological investigations. Several individuals interviewed for the oral histories provided locations for structures they

remembered when those buildings were still standing in the town. As a young girl, Grace Hughes remembered her father taking plowshares to the New Philadelphia blacksmith shop. She recalled, "It would be east of the road that goes alongside where you're digging. It would be south of the blacktop." Matteson (1964:19) reported that in 1964 the foundation of the blacksmith shop, which had been operated by Squire McWorter into the early 20th century, remained visible on the town site, which was then part of neighboring farmlands. She commented that the blacksmith shop remnants were the last of the original businesses in New Philadelphia. The location of the blacksmith shop has yet to be fully excavated, but Hughes's description, along with the other information, can lead to a clearer interpretation and historical context.

The archaeological findings at New Philadelphia are far from being completed. Some difficulties arose when it came to identifying African American material culture as different from that of other town inhabitants. When comparing early-19th-century sites in Illinois, Mazrim (2002:268) concluded that many forms of material culture become homogenized and earlier cultural differences become indistinguishable. When attempting to distinguish between the material culture of African Americans and European Americans, problems arise with the archaeologists themselves. What appears to be similar material culture may have been defined or seen with different symbolic values by blacks and whites. It is also difficult to distinguish artifacts with regard to class at New Philadelphia, because most of the residents participated in an agricultural economy.

Considering the difficulties associated with determining cultural, ethnic, and class differences in the assemblages recovered from each house lot, the oral histories became increasingly important. White (2005) concluded that the oral histories were essential to developing a clearer understanding and picture of the Butlers as an African American family living at New Philadelphia, and supplied a richer perspective that the archaeological record alone could not provide. Ron Carter, a Butler descendant, reported his family history, and other participants told stories that presented how the rest of the community viewed the Butlers. The New Philadelphia oral histories offered a way to help historical archaeologists understand race and racism where the material culture did not readily offer a full story (White 2005).

In addition, the oral histories helped to establish the idea of a community-based archaeology program. Every person interviewed was asked what he or she thought of and desired from the archaeology project, and each one of them was enthusiastic about its potential. Elmo Waters commented, "Most people don't have any idea where it [New Philadelphia] is, but they will before long. Then, they will really know about it." The memoirists are also excited about their own contribution to the history by being part of the oral history project. Mary Jo Foster stated, "Well, I'm glad I could tell you those things because they need to go down in history. If it doesn't get down by our generation, it won't get down because my son doesn't know any of this."

As for the potential future development of the New Philadelphia site, people have different ideas, from a museum and visitors' center to a town reconstruction. Shackel (2004:11) has emphasized the importance of archaeologists including communities in the decision process: "By practicing archaeology and recognizing its potential for creating heritage, archaeologists can embrace the various and diverse histories found in any one place or community." Ron Carter wanted "some nice recognition, something that's probably unique like a former slave founding a town." He commented, "To have a community that's as diverse as it was and the fact that it was during the time of slavery and for a man to be able to do it, that's beyond expectations for anybody." It seems that the passion of the New Philadelphia descendants and local community members for this heritage, and their embrace of the archaeology project will lead them to a shared stewardship.

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Education and Gender in New Philadelphia

ABSTRACT

Education plays a vital role in any society, providing a process by which young community members are enculturated. New Philadelphia included two segregated schools until approximately 1874, when an integrated schoolhouse was constructed nearby. Historical documents and oral histories provide guides to archaeological investigations of those structures, and a likely foundation stone of one school was located in excavations, as were artifacts related to educational activities. Institutional education in 19th-century America can be understood as assigning value to specific knowledge, behaviors, and beliefs. Before public education became mandatory, parents were given choices as to how their children would be educated, and which of their offspring they could afford to send to school. Education is examined in New Philadelphia through a study utilizing U.S. census data, and is an ideal subject for an analysis of race, gender, and class dynamics.

Introduction

There is a column on the federal census forms between 1840 and 1860 that is labeled "School in Last Year." For Hadley Township, the location of the town of New Philadelphia within Pike County, Illinois, the checkmarks in this column are important for understanding the relationship between education, race, gender, and class. Understanding the larger context in which education was considered—its purpose and usefulness—is important for knowing how it may have been perceived in this rural community.

The town of New Philadelphia included two segregated schools until approximately 1874, when an integrated schoolhouse was constructed on the edge of town. Historical documents and oral histories (Christman, this volume) provide valuable data as a basis for further archaeological investigations of these structures. Excavations in the town site in 2004–2006 revealed artifacts related to such instructional activities, including items such as slate pencils. Archaeological work also located a likely foundation stone of

an African American schoolhouse that existed within the town (Shackel 2006:1.22,3F.1–5). Aspects of education, both in New Philadelphia and nationally, are examined in this article through a study utilizing local federal census data, and through evidence of broader educational policies and practices that likely impacted the town's population, such as the common school movement.

The common school movement is foundational to any discussion of education in the early 19th century. In the 1830s and 1840s, the United States developed a public school system. The drive for this radical institution, public education, was directly related to the radical nature of our nation's government—allowing any white adult male to vote encouraged those in charge to put in place a system to educate the nation. Referred to as the common school movement (Spring 1994:62), its goals are summarized by Cremin (1980:2) in the introduction to *American Education: The National Experience*. He explains "republics needed an education to virtue that would motivate all men to choose public over private interest" (Cremin 1980:2). This was not just an education in facts, but an education in morality as well. Although during this time "debate raged over whether the government had a duty, or even a right, to educate its citizenry" (Connor 1997:47), a consensus eventually developed that without a monarch to guide them, the (white, male) people of the United States needed an education in order to make informed decisions about who would lead the country. In the case of white women, this meant encouraging their family members to make altruistic and moral voting decisions. Many times, local communities in non-slave states decided to educate children who were not white as well. It was believed and asserted that for a child's education to be complete, it should make him or her a morally upright person, and in this context morality was defined in a very narrow way that corresponded to the doctrines of Protestant Christian beliefs (Connor 1997:1).

The common school movement was integrated into wider notions of charity and social uplift.

"The creation of a popular ideology and a justification for the common school movement was mainly the work of a class of individuals who were able to devote the majority of their time to the educational causes" (Spring 1994:64). Those of the upper-middle class often took it upon themselves to decide what their less-affluent countrymen needed to mold them into proper citizens. "The idea of using education to solve social problems and build a political community became an essential concept to the common school movement" (Spring 1994:63). The irony is that this decision to educate the lower economic classes was made by the educated and well-off, and was rooted partly in fear of an uneducated electorate controlling the apparatus of government. It was thought that a Christian education was the route to altruism. Shaping the indigent into responsible citizens meant reproducing middle-class standards and ideals. The common school was a part of this tradition that incorporated a wish to uplift the poor, often because they were worrisome to those better off.

This national system of education was a controversial idea, and debates on the national curriculum often took a backseat to concerns over who was to be educated. The idea of boys and girls sitting next to each other in class, or even being in the same space with one another, was enough to be of grave concern to those promoting a morality-centered education. The teachers' institute of Whiteside County, Illinois discussed this problem in an 1858 meeting and decided that coeducation was reasonable, as can be seen from an account of their debate and its resolution. The editor of *The Illinois Teacher* relates that "the usual complimentary remarks to the *females* were made on this resolution, and some pretty plain remarks made by one individual as to charging upon coeducation of the sexes evils which were chargeable to want of proper arrangement of grounds and out-buildings" (Bateman 1858b:185). While this statement conveys more impressions than specifics, it yields valuable information and raises related questions. Do the "usual complimentary remarks" imply the ability of girls to keep up in a classroom on an intellectual level, or did this have to do with the perception of young women as having a higher moral fiber than their male counterparts? Regardless, this was a conversation with sufficiently common themes for the editor

to assume that his readership knew to what he was referring. Although subscribers to *The Illinois Teacher* were primarily educators and students, the listed occupations of its subscribers vary from farmer to lawyer, from wheelwright to architect (Bateman 1858a:35–41). This suggests that diverse members of the American public were familiar with debates over coeducation.

The second part of the sentence quoted above from *The Illinois Teacher* is perhaps a little clearer, while being similarly noncommittal. One can assume that the "proper arrangement of grounds and out-buildings" refers to the placement of privies at the school. A separation of male and female outhouses would mean that children would be less likely to see a member of the opposite sex using that facility. Bateman (1858b:185) seems to think that the conflation of coeducation and "evils" of a sexual nature were easily remedied by the layout of an institution, and additionally that this was a distasteful subject for conversation. Although others may not have been as convinced of this as Bateman, perhaps the conditions of the frontier forced parents and educators to settle on coeducation. There were often shortages of schoolteachers on the frontier, and so while it may have been feasible to have separate schools for the education of boys and girls in established towns and cities, it is likely that rural communities were forced to teach girls alongside boys if they wanted their female children educated at all.

The issue of integration in antebellum schools was not quite as straightforward as having separate toilet facilities. In some states the education of African Americans was illegal in general, to say nothing of such regimes' views of integrated education. Of course, not everyone agreed with or abided by these rules. For example, the public school in Oberlin, Ohio educated black and white students side by side as early as the 1830s, in spite of Ohio's Black Laws (Oberlin Heritage Center 2007). While instances of such subversive behavior can be found, it is important to note that during this timeframe there was no standard for the education of African American children that paralleled the scope of the common school movement for white children.

It was only after the Civil War that white educators began to focus significant energies on black education.

> Given their apparent awareness of the extent of the social control encouraged by the educational system, it is perhaps surprising that the majority of white statesmen and educators ignored these avenues to controlling blacks before the war (Salvino 1989:146).

As Salvino states, the impetus for the education of any child was at least in part, an attempt at normalization by state and national governments. In some free states during the pre–Civil War era, African Americans were typically not excluded from the goals of this public education effort (Spring 1993:165).

Education was not only designed to benefit the objects of its attention, but to act as a normalizing influence on a diverse body of citizenry. It was believed and asserted that for a child's education to be complete, it should make him or her a morally upright person, and in this context morality was defined in a very narrow way. Specifically, morality was grounded in the ideals of democracy and the religious framework of Protestantism.

> The primary focus of education was not on the diffusion of knowledge, but on the inculcation of an 'American' moral code, based upon Protestant prescriptions for thinking and acting, and designed to alleviate the social and economic anxiety caused by an influx of immigration—much of it non-Protestant (Connor 1997:90).

The standardization of morality was intended to make members of lower economic classes and new immigrant populations more stable in the eyes of middle-class Americans (Connor 1997:2). The centrality of a Protestant morality to education in the 19th century was grounded in a desire to create conformity of beliefs and principles among the youth of the nation.

Education is thus conceptualized as the process of creating an ideal citizen. Clearly, during the 19th century this general vision meant more than creating a literate electorate. A unifying moral code was essential, if not of surpassing importance, when compared to traditional academic subjects. In bringing this vision from the national to the local level, the architects of the New Philadelphia schools undoubtedly personalized this vision of America in unique ways based on their particular beliefs and situation. Truly, "in order to fully understand a community, the history of the local school must be understood" (Struchtemeyer 2008:11).

Through an analysis of documentary sources and a discussion of archaeological investigations of schoolhouses, this article takes on that goal through a lens of gender and race.

A Common School Reader

An excellent resource for understanding the goals of educators, goals both stated and unstated, is a textbook published in 1865. Written by Benson Lossing, it is entitled, *A Common-School History of the United States*. While there is no data on whether this book would have been available in New Philadelphia specifically, this work is a valuable source because it provides a practical example of how the ideals of the common school movement were disseminated to children across the country.

There are sweeping generalizations throughout *A Common-School History* that are used to convey vital aspects of the American character. For example, in describing the accomplishments of the so-called Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony, Lossing (1865:34) states, "what rich and powerful men could not do, a few humble Christian men and women performed." Such commentary underscores an identity of the Protestant majority of the United States.

Another uniformly presented topic is the ineptitude and depravity of the British. King James is introduced as "the conceited bigot," and "his son Charles [as] . . . a weak and selfish man" (Lossing 1865:37, 52). Even Benedict Arnold is treated in a more humane fashion; "Arnold was a brave soldier, but a bad man" (Lossing 1865:179). The youthful audience of this work was meant to either identify with, or absorb the premises that hardworking Christians founded this nation, and had to defend their claim to the nation against both the reportedly warlike natives and the hateful British.

What is somewhat surprising is a lack of any meaningful discussion of race in America. The author was most likely writing this work during the Civil War, but no real discussion of the racial implications of that conflict is included. American Indians are treated in a brief and trivial manner, confined to a four-page chapter and a series of failed battles with white colonists, but even this is much fuller coverage than African Americans or any other non-white people receive in Lossing's text.

Similarly, the book lacks any discussion of women. Of the many thumbnail portraits of important figures throughout the book, only two are of women: Queen Isabella and Pocahontas (with the latter depicted in iconic British dress). These occur in the first few pages, and after this, women largely disappear from the book (Lossing 1865). Its focus shifts to war and politics, which clearly are not conceptualized as the domain of females. If children were expected to see a reflection of themselves in this book, this would be an easier task for white male students.

Educators and Students in Hadley Township

Hadley Township was the location of New Philadelphia, and specific locations within the township were listed in the federal census only starting in 1880. Therefore, the following analysis examines all data for the township to evaluate the context in which New Philadelphia educational activities were undertaken. There are two categories related to education examined in the federal census data concerning this township: the children who went to school, and the adults who taught them.

Before examining this data, it is necessary to define a number of terms. Teachers are identified by what is listed in the "Occupation" column of the census. This includes variations such as "school teacher," "teacher," "common school teacher," and others. On the census form there is a column labeled "School in Last Year" and a box underneath that may be checked or not. For the purposes of this article, the group referred to as "students" are the children with a check in this column. The term "of school age" is used in this study for any individual (students and unschooled children) between the ages of 3 and 19, inclusive. These boundaries are the youngest and oldest ages at which children regularly attended school, according to the federal census for Hadley Township. In the analysis presented here, an "adult" is defined as anyone older than 19 years of age. These definitions can be problematic: by the age of 20, many people were already married and had children of their own, and many younger than that would have considered themselves adults. The purpose of these definitions is for the interpretation of educational data, however, and

these terms prove useful for that application. Additionally, in the instructions given to census enumerators for the years 1850 and 1860, it is not until 20 years of age that a person could be determined to be illiterate (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850b, 1860b).

Teachers

From the years 1850 to 1880 on the federal census, there are a total of 28 individuals who list their occupation as "school teacher" or some variation thereof. Twenty-two are female, six are male, and all are white (Table 1). The number of teachers increased in each successive census from 1 in 1850 to 17 in 1880.

TABLE 1
CENSUS DATA FOR SCHOOLTEACHERS,
HADLEY TOWNSHIP

Year	Number of Teachers	Male Teachers	Female Teachers	Average Age
1850	1	0	1	28
1860	2	1	1	24.5
1870	12	1	11	22.5
1880	17	5	12	24.2

Source: United States Bureau of the Census (1850a, 1860a, 1870a, 1880).

The number of students was greater than the available teachers could handle, however, with the possible exception of 1880 (Table 2). If Mabel Shipman, the sole schoolteacher recorded on the 1850 census had been the only teacher working in Hadley Township, 280 students could not have attended school. So where were the other teachers? It is possible that children were sent away to be educated, or that their teachers lived outside of Hadley Township. It is also likely that at least some of these instructors were in Hadley Township at the time of the census, however, and did not list their occupations as "school teacher."

The census was taken in the summer months in each of these four years. In 19th-century rural America, schools were in session only during the winter, when children were not needed to

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN HADLEY TOWNSHIP

Year	Female Students	Male Students	Total Number of Students
1850	129	151	280
1860	144	152	296
1870	174	196	370
1880	112	129	241

Source: United States Bureau of the Census (1850a, 1860a, 1870a, 1880).

help with farming duties, and less needed to help with housework. Teachers without family in Hadley Township would have had to support themselves if they remained in the area. Their educational winter occupations could have been easily subsumed by work current at the time of the summer census. Unlike the student checkbox, which specifies interest in whether the child has been to school in the last year, there is no "Educator in Last Year" column. These individuals could be listed in the census as a "servant" or "domestic." The Hadley Township census data likely would have looked quite different if the census had been taken in the winter months. This would also affect male teachers, perhaps to a greater degree. Teaching was seen as women's work, and so men who worked as farmers or laborers in addition to teaching in the off months could easily have identified with their more "masculine" occupations.

When there was only one blank for occupation in the census form, it was the primary work activity that was listed. For unmarried women who only worked outside the home for a few months of the year, "schoolteacher" must have seemed the obvious choice. For a grown man with a family who spent the majority of the year farming like the most of his neighbors, "schoolteacher" must have been an afterthought, rather than something the government was interested in. Supporting this observation is the fact that the only people in Hadley Township who list themselves as "unemployed" in the 1880 census (the first year this column is present) are schoolteachers. Three of them are men and two are women.

Another factor that obscures the number of teachers present in Hadley Township relates to the "snapshot" nature of the federal census.

Most women would not have worked as schoolteachers for more than a few years before marrying and ceasing work outside the home (Cordier 1992:89). Of the 22 female teachers, only 3 or 4 are listed on two censuses, and none are listed as teachers on three.

Students

General observations on the education of children in Hadley Township, specifically on how education was valued based on the gender of the child, can be derived from an examination of the same census lists. While there are many complicating factors to consider, overall one can see that girls' education was valued less than boys' education during the timeframe of this study. A brief overview of education trends for Hadley Township recorded in the 1850–1880 federal censuses follows (Table 3). Enrollment in these years varies from about two-thirds of children being enrolled to approximately one-half. In all four of these census lists, the percentage of students of each gender was roughly 50%, with girls representing a slightly smaller part of the population of those attending school. The percentage of girls attending school out of all girls in Hadley Township was between two to seven percent below the boys' corresponding percentage on all four censuses. The year 1860 represents a minimum in school attendance for both genders, but also it was a year with a comparatively low disparity of attendance between male and female children.

These census data provide evidence of the differences between those households that only educated girls and those households that only educated boys in the years 1850, 1860, and 1870 (Table 4). All of the members of these households were categorized as white in each census. One might expect to find that those households that educated girls would be wealthier than households that sent boys to school. Before education was compulsory and free, this would imply that the education of female children was a luxury, while educating boys was a better economic choice.

In 1850 and 1860, the average real estate values for households that only educated girls were higher than the comparable values for households educating boys only (Table 5, Table 6), although in 1850 and 1860 the median real estate value for households that only educated

TABLE 3
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY GENDER

Year	Girls Attending, of Total	Girls Attending, of all Girls	Boys Attending, out of Total	Boys Attending, of all Boys	Total Attending
1850	31% (*n=129*)	64%	36% (*n=151*)	70%	67% (*n=280*)
1860	26% (*n=144*)	51%	27% (*n=152*)	54%	53% (*n=296*)
1870	29% (*n=174*)	61%	33% (*n=196*)	65%	63% (*n=370*)
1880	22% (*n=112*)	47%	26% (*n=129*)	49%	48% (*n=241*)

Source: United States Bureau of the Census (1850a, 1860a, 1870a, 1880).

TABLE 4
HOUSEHOLDS (HH) WITH CHILDREN AT SCHOOL AND AT HOME

Year	HH with Girls at School and at Home	HH with Girls in School and Boys at Home	HH with Boys at School and Girls at Home	HH with Boys at School and at Home
1850	5	10	6	4
1860	8	7	16	16
1870	11	7	5	6

Source: United States Bureau of the Census (1850a, 1860a, 1870a).

TABLE 5
AVERAGE DEMOGRAPHICS FOR THE SELECTED SUBSET OF HOUSEHOLDS EDUCATING
ONLY GIRLS IN HADLEY TOWNSHIP

Year	Girls per Family	Family Size	Number of Adults	Average Real Estate Value	Median Real Estate Value
1850	1.82	6.09	2.43	$584.29	$200
1860	1.53	6.16	2.79	$2,226.32	$800
1870	1.76	6.0	2.95	$4,330.95	$2,500

Source: United States Bureau of the Census (1850a, 1860a, 1870a).

girls was lower. In 1870, the median real estate value for boy-educating homes was nearly twice the value for girl-educating homes, and the average real estate value was higher as well. Perhaps over this 20-year period there was a shift towards education being thought of as important regardless of gender, and not simply as a luxury expenditure.

The trends described above can also be seen in the data concerning families who did not send their children to school (Table 7), as determined by a lack of checkmarks in the "School in Last Year" column for all school-aged children listed for a family. The family sizes of those with unschooled children are much smaller than those with formally educated children; it is not as easy to generalize about the number of adults per family, however. The number is predominantly lower for families with unschooled children than it is for those with

TABLE 6

AVERAGE DEMOGRAPHICS FOR THE SELECTED SUBSET OF HOUSEHOLDS EDUCATING
ONLY BOYS IN HADLEY TOWNSHIP

Year	Boys per Family	Family Size	Number of Adults	Average Real Estate Value	Median Real Estate Value
1850	1.70	5.35	2.5	$329.50	$300
1860	1.74	5.74	2.05	$1,705.26	$1,000
1870	1.26	5.11	2.63	$4,747.37	$4,500

Source: United States Bureau of the Census (1850a, 1860a, 1870a).

TABLE 7

DEMOGRAPHICS OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH NO CHILDREN AT SCHOOL

Year	Girls per Family	Boys per Family	Girl HH, Family Size	Boy HH, Family Size	Girl HH, No. of Adults	Boy HH, No. of Adults
1850	1.57	1.0	4.14	4.0	2.57	2.17
1860	1.44	1.44	4.32	4.31	2.28	2.38
1870	1.32	1.44	4.27	4.5	2.32	2.56

Source: United States Bureau of the Census (1850a, 1860a, 1870a).

children attending school, but for both boys and girls there is a year in which the number of adults is higher in the families that do not send their children to school. On the other hand, the number of children of school age per family is always lower among those with children not at school than it is for those which have children being schooled. This, combined with the relatively small family sizes, would indicate that the families who chose not to educate their children formally were younger families. They did not yet have more than one or two children, and there were no grown children at home. This may also indicate that the families that kept their children at home were less-established families, and therefore had fewer economic resources than the families that sent their children to school.

In spite of this fact, a determination of real estate values as an influence on gendered educational choices has its limitations, perhaps the most important of which is that owning real estate does not necessarily imply available funds. Of course, no human decision is dependent on only one variable—parents of potential students most likely did not look at their various land

holdings to help them decide whether to send their children to school.

Therefore, another variable was examined: family size. One can assume that in the 19th century, even in the winter months, children provided an important source of labor. Sending them to school would significantly affect the ability of a household to complete its routine tasks and meet production needs. It follows that if a girl's education was believed to be a lower priority than a boy's instruction, the families that chose only to educate girls were likely larger, and therefore more able to absorb the loss of a working member, even for a limited portion of the day and year. This is true in all three census lists examined (Table 5, Table 6). Households that only educated girls had (on average) no less than six members in all three census years, while the comparable values for families that only educated boys were lower. The results for the number of adults in each family were similar, with the exception of 1850. With household tasks divided strictly along gender lines in many households, overburdened mothers may have been reluctant to allow their female children to spend precious time away at

school. Therefore, in some ways, an economic expenditure may have been less of a burden to frontier families than having a child out of the home for a significant portion of the day.

In the end, education in the mid-19th century was a matter of parental choice. That choice was constrained by a number of variables, such as funds and availability of schools and teachers. In Hadley Township, this choice was at least partially motivated by gender constructs.

An Archaeology of Education

Although examining educational statistics can be a useful endeavor in terms of shedding light on how gender constructs were played out and affected lives, census data provide just one way to explore this topic. The material culture of schooling also provided an essential part of the educational experience. It is important to think about how these items were used. In an era when children did not have myriad toys, games, and other accoutrements, the rare school supply—something as simple as a slate pencil—could have had a much deeper meaning to a child than a yellow No. 2 pencil does today. The material culture of education may have been dictated by cost and availability, but those items could have consequently held greater significance for those who used them.

It is difficult to locate archaeological studies of rural 19th-century frontier schoolhouses, or schoolhouses in general. One reason is that "they are considered to exhibit low archaeological visibility" (Peña 1992:10). Gibb and Beisaw (2000:124) report "studies of non-architectural artifacts" at each of 19 school sites surveyed "have been disappointing." It is important to recognize the implications of such findings. The lack of distinct artifacts at schoolhouse sites may result from the lack of specialized material for education in a 19th-century rural context, as well as the lack of disposable material culture associated with children. One of the conclusions reached by Catts and Cunningham (1986:56) about a schoolhouse in Delaware was that "few artifacts were recovered, possibly because the students had few material items to lose." This is not to say that schools do not have any archaeological visibility whatsoever. At the Old Elliot School in Bermuda, "very few dishes or other kinds of ceramics" were recovered during excavations,

suggesting a marked difference from domestic assemblages (Agbe-Davies 2001:23). Additionally, "another interesting difference was the lack of animal bone that can be linked to peoples' diets. The few fragments of bone that were found are almost exclusively from animals such as rodents and small birds that probably crept into the building uninvited" (Agbe-Davies 2001:23). Even considering these differences, consultation of historical sources provides an important resource for reconstructing the ways schoolhouses were used by communities (Catts and Cunningham 1986:57; Agbe-Davies 2001:26).

Two important studies of schoolhouse sites were conducted on the grounds surrounding standing schoolhouses in the eastern United States, schoolhouses which were both in operation during the 19th century. Peña's (1992:10) study was of a building known as Schoolhouse 12 in LeRay, New York, and the focus of her research was finding one or both of the two privies that were associated with the building, but no longer standing. Neither was found, and her conclusion was that "the results of the archaeological excavations indicate that the activities carried on in the vicinity of Schoolhouse 12 lacked archaeological visibility" (Peña 1992:17).

Although they did not find significantly more artifacts than Peña, Catts and Cunningham (1986) come to the more constructive conclusion that "although the archaeological record of a one-room schoolhouse will not be rich, the importance of the historical study of schoolhouses lies in their use as social and cultural centers in pre-industrial rural communities" (Catts and Cunningham 1986:57). The schoolhouse that their team excavated was located in the Welsh Tract, a rural section of Delaware. Although the original structure was still standing, the schoolhouse had been significantly altered when it was converted to a home in 1939 (Catts and Cunningham 1986:56), as opposed to Schoolhouse 12 in New York where remnants of a blackboard and stove remained (Peña 1992:12). Catts and Cunningham (1986:46) found through archival research that during its life as a school the schoolhouse they excavated contained "a slate blackboard ... teacher's desk ... benches ... no chairs in 1851 ... six oil lamps ... a potbelly stove [and] ... the floor was wooden." Additionally there were several

external structures associated with it, including "two frame privies ... a frame wood and coal shed ... the post-and-rail fence ... [and] a flagpole" (Catts and Cunningham 1986:46). The authors were able to identify one of the privies as well as the general area of the coal shed. At the Welsh Tract school, a privy yielded two coins, which provided date ranges for the feature (Catts and Cunningham 1986:56).

The remains of schoolhouse privies can often be elusive, however. Even when a schoolhouse is still standing, it is unlikely that a structure associated with unsanitary and antiquated waste disposal methods will have survived into modern times. Additionally, there was no consistent method to the placement of such outhouses. "Privies were often located to the rear of the playground, although an early-20th-century report recommended that privies be completely hidden from the playground if possible" (Peña 1992:12–13). As discussed above, the editor of The Illinois Teacher seemed to believe that the separation of male and female privies was essential to a proper educational environment (Bateman 1858b:185). Such preferences for physical separation of privies from the schoolhouse, combined with a desire for teacher oversight of such an outbuilding, means that privy placement would likely be distant from the school building, separated by gender, and yet be visible to the school yard. Privies make excellent archaeological finds, due to both their short-term use and their use for trash disposal. They often yield some of the most attractive finds from a site, such as at Morganza Elementary, where a fountain pen and its inkwell, the only pen located during excavation, were recovered from a privy context (Struchtemeyer 2008:49). None of this means privies are easy to find. The task of locating the remains of such structures is dependent partially on understanding the sensibilities of the original architects, but also on the particular layout of the school grounds at the time of construction.

While the archaeology of schoolhouses may be somewhat elusive, there is no shortage of discussions of schoolhouse architecture. In addition to modern studies, there is much in the historical record about the proper form a schoolhouse should take. "Schoolhouse architecture and schoolyard landscaping figure prominently in educational literature of the 19th century, most

comprehensively and influentially through the published work of Henry Barnard" (Gibb and Beisaw 2000:112). Barnard and Horace Mann, two of the greatest influences on 19th-century educational theory, both thought that a building should reflect its function, and so the structure of the school itself should encourage learning and education. The editor of the The Illinois Teacher weighs in on this subject as well, declaring that the "old, unsightly, poorly-adapted school-houses, in many parts of the state, are not only a blot upon the face of nature, but an absolute clog upon educational effort and school efficiency" (Bateman 1858c:204). This rich record of the theory behind schoolhouse architecture informs archaeological explorations by elucidating meaning in visible forms.

The surest way to determine that a site was used as a school is if there is a standing schoolhouse. Many archaeological studies of schoolhouses are done at sites with a period building present. At the Old Elliot School in Bermuda, Agbe-Davies (2001:2) was able to "approach the structure archaeologically; that is to say, examining the various phases of construction, repair and renovation, and the order in which they occurred." Combining this approach with the historical literature on educational archaeology, Agbe-Davies was able to determine ways in which this schoolhouse reflected theories on education from the period of its construction. For example, there was a Gothic-style arch over the original door to the structure of the Old Elliot School, which was later filled in. "The Gothic style was thought to be suitable for settings where instruction, either spiritual or intellectual, and contemplation were the primary activities" (Agbe-Davies 2001:21). This style was particularly popular in the mid-19th century in America, and clearly fell out of favor in Bermuda at some point during the Old Elliott School's use.

The Welsh Tract school in Delaware examined in the Catts and Cunningham (1986:23) study was also standing at the time of their survey. Since 1939 it had been used as a private residence rather than as a school, however. Due to the change in its function "the schoolhouse structure itself revealed little about its use as a school" (Catts and Cunningham 1986:56). Accounts of alterations to the structure of 19th-century schoolhouses are common throughout

the archaeological literature on those structures still standing. These structural changes vary in extent. While some thwart entirely an architectural reading of the buildings' use as schools, in other cases subsequent renovations can be distinguished, and the original shape of the schoolhouse can be revealed.

At New Philadelphia, there is no standing structure that could have been used as a school, though it is known that at least one existed. Since the land has been returned to agricultural use for decades, historical documents and oral histories become guides to archaeological investigations for the New Philadelphia schoolhouse. In previous seasons, artifacts relating to schooling have been discovered. Specifically, two slate pencils have been found on different lots of the former town (Shackel 2005:3A). During the 2005 season, a foundation stone was located which was initially interpreted as the pier to the "negro schoolhouse," based on oral accounts of its location in the town (Shackel 2005:3F). Further excavations did not reveal additional remains of a structure, however, and this hypothesis, while not disproved, remains uncertain.

As discussed above, education was most often in the hands of young female teachers. The curricula these women decided upon varied widely. This implies that the material culture associated with 19th-century classrooms will vary considerably. In many cases, teachers simply taught from the Bible, as it was the only book readily available and one that was viewed as aiding the moral upbringing of youth, making it doubly suited to a school environment. Some teachers were very creative, however, such as one Wisconsin schoolteacher discussed by Polly Kaufman. The teacher used bones provided by the local doctor for teaching physiology, had a blackboard made, and taught her students to sing (Kaufman 1984:29). Such a classroom could be archaeologically confusing, and so it is important to keep an open mind as to what exactly constituted the material culture of education in the 19th century.

At least some elements of the archaeology of a schoolhouse are predictable. For one, slate pencils, such as those already recovered from excavations at New Philadelphia, are routinely recovered in quantity from schoolhouse sites, such as the Altaville Schoolhouse in southern California. Of 330 artifacts recovered from within the schoolhouse itself, 50 were slate pencils (Napton and Greathouse 1997:17). Although a seemingly simple educational device, these items still can provide important information about the material culture present in a school. Napton and Greathouse (1997:18) describe the collection: "many of the slate pencils bore obvious signs of sharpening, and several displayed spiral-pattern striations, as though they had been used in some type of holder." A holder was not necessary to the function of a slate pencil, but most likely improved the comfort of the student using it. Spiral marks can therefore be a useful indication of the availability of funds for nonessential items, either on the part of the school or on the part of the families of the students. If more marked or unmarked slate pencils are recovered from a future excavation at New Philadelphia, conclusions may be drawn about the economic situation of the school within the community. Additionally, the length of the pencil at the time of discard is an indication of the availability of the pencils themselves.

Another archaeologically visible aspect of education is seating furniture, specifically student desks. During her excavation of Morganza Elementary School, an early-20th-century African American school in Louisiana, Structemeyer (2008:52) documented six metal desk frames, each exhibiting a maker's mark. From the diverse nature of the makers' marks, she concluded that these desks were come by secondhand, most likely as castoffs from a better-funded white school in the area (Structemeyer 2008:55). Being less portable than slate pencils, the recovery of desk elements would be an excellent indicator of the location of a school, and they can be a useful addition to analysis.

Toys are also to be expected in the archaeological remains of a school. While New Philadelphia was a frontier town, possibly indicating a scarcity of material culture aimed at children in its early years at least, doubtless children had items either intended for, or used for play. Already recovered items include several marbles, pieces of porcelain dolls, and a miniature train. The presence and quantity of toys can be a useful indicator of the time of a deposit, particularly before the Civil War, as children preferred games that were not dependent on toys (Mergen 1992:87). In addition to

such traditional children's material culture, it is important to keep in mind the nature of children when recovering artifacts from a context associated with young people. Not all items which functioned as toys are immediately identifiable as such. Dollhouses could be furnished with broken pottery, rings, and rubber balls (Mergen 1992:91). In analyzing artifacts recovered from a privy associated with an elementary school, Struchtemeyer discusses some unexpected artifacts: a fossil, a 1915 coin in a 1970s context, and a purple rock. She classes these three items as toys, and notes that they "possess elements that children find intriguing: unusual shape, shininess and color" (Struchtemeyer 2008:68). Children who lack what would be considered a stimulating environment can easily create one for themselves, leaving a baffling archaeological record in their wake.

Toys are artifacts to which it is tempting to assign gender. A slate pencil cannot be viewed as gender specific, but what about a toy gun, a doll, or a marble? It may seem obvious that a particular toy belonged to either a girl or a boy, but it is essential to remain cautious and critical about gender assignments. In an environment where toys are scarce, it is likely that the "correct" gender of a toy will have less sway over a child than its entertainment value. Additionally, such categories do not remain stable. Formanek-Brunell (1992:121) asserts that when it came to dolls, it was not the toy itself that was gendered but the particular manner of its use, with both girls and boys using the toy to act out the gendered roles of their society.

Assignment of gender on an artifact level can be ill-advised, but a more thoughtful way to discuss gender and the material culture of education and childhood is through context. Privies are one obvious location where children are separated by sex. The tendency of elementary schoolchildren to self-select companions of the same gender can also be helpful to an archaeological investigation. Bugarin (2008: 29) describes oral history testimony in which her informant "remembered where the boys would play and in which corners the girls would giggle." While this type of spatial separation on the playground is helpful to keep in mind, it is equally important to remember the transient nature of student populations; what was once the girls' corner may in just a few years become a favored hangout of the

boys. Reading gender from the archaeological record alone can be very problematic, and lead to a reinforcement of stereotypes and a disregard of transgressive behavior. It is through the combination of careful archaeology, documentary records, and open-minded analysis that meaningful conclusions about gender can be drawn from the material record.

Conclusions

It is important to realize that education existed in informal structures as well formal institutions like the common school. Education was begun in the home, and in many cases stayed there when it was impractical, impossible, or undesirable to send children to school. Additionally, education took place at church, and given that in the mid-19th century religious instruction blended with what we consider academic instruction, this may have been considered a legitimate education by some. The guidelines provided to census enumerators in the years 1850 and 1860, however, indicate that if a child were only educated at a Sunday school, this was not a sufficient criterion for him or her to be marked as attending school within the last year (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850b, 1860b). By 1870, what was meant by "at school in year" must have been viewed as self-evident and standard across the wide geographical region of the United States, because there were no longer guidelines given to enumerators on this topic (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1870b). This sort of transition is a valuable one to note, as it reveals that as schools became more entrenched within American society, they became the only "school" of import.

The archaeological study of education is still a fledgling field, which can be of much more use with the development of a critical body of theory, as well as the addition of more data. Gibb and Beisaw (2000:113) frame a series of related questions as a way to approach this topic: "Has archaeology contributed to the history of education? How might it contribute in the face of a rapidly dwindling resource [frontier schoolhouses]? Can schoolhouse sites offer anything to the archaeological study and explication of the historical and cultural development of the Western Hemisphere?"

These are all valuable inquiries, and to them a few more questions should be added. For

instance, how can constructs of race, class, and gender be seen in the archaeological record of education? How can the material culture of education within the home be distinguished from that of the institutional education of schools? Where does study of the archaeology of education necessitate a reliance on documentary sources, and what can be learned only from material culture? All of these questions can be addressed in studies of the archaeology of education.

Archaeology provides a way to better understand the past, and in turn, a means for improving our current society. Through deconstructing and exposing past notions of race, class, and gender, discrimination based on these axes can be better eliminated in the present. As Audre Lorde (1984:112) states, "in a world of possibility for us all, our personal visions help lay the groundwork for political action." It is hoped that as archaeological investigations continue at New Philadelphia, the findings will yield critical insights that will combat current forms of oppression.

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Separated by Death and Color: The African American Cemetery of New Philadelphia, Illinois

ABSTRACT

Residents of New Philadelphia utilized two cemeteries, one which served primarily African American families, and one which served mostly European Americans. Details of grave markers and material culture remains in the cemetery that served African American residents of the town, including members of the McWorter family, were recorded, researched, and analyzed. This study reveals connections between several material items recorded in that cemetery, and the continuing development of particular commemoration traditions related to West African cultures. Broken vessels and animal bones distributed on grave sites, and trees growing in and around the cemetery in a seemingly random fashion, may appear to a casual observer as evidence of a graveyard unkempt. In fact, such placements were often intentional, and involved particular spiritual and symbolic meanings.

Introduction

Cemeteries and burial grounds manifest historical and cultural characteristics of the dead and those who bury them. Mortuary elements, such as the inscriptions on, and the style and material of grave markers, and the landscapes of graveyards, serve as cultural and historical narratives of the lives and tenets of the dead, their families, and neighbors (Little 1998:3; Clow et al. 2000:449; Foster and Eckert 2003:469). As Clow et al. observed (2000:449): "Simply the presence or absence of certain materials is often symbolic and can lead researchers to possible answers about what activities or beliefs might have been important to an individual or community."

For enslaved Africans and African Americans, cemeteries held special significance. Burial grounds represented the domain of the departed, and a place to express continuing developments of cultural identities within African diasporas. African American cemeteries throughout the United States manifested cultural links to Africa through mortuary traditions, reverence for the dead, and a belief in spirit life beyond death (Genovese 1974:197; Vlach 1990:139).

By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, African American cemeteries represented a combination of African, European, and American customs and traditions melded over more than three centuries. While many mortuary practices combined African with European and American customs, some burial rituals survived as beloved practices, recalling cultural beliefs brought by the enslaved from the societies in Africa from which they were abducted (Center for Historic Preservation 2001; Gundaker and McWillie 2005:187). As art historian M. Ruth Little (1998:269) remarks, "graveyards speak with the accents of the homeland."

The final resting place of some of New Philadelphia's African American residents shares traits with other African American cemeteries in the United States, and also exhibits unique characteristics. As in other African American burial grounds of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the cemetery of New Philadelphia reflects the creolization of African, European, and American customs and traditions.

African American Burial Traditions

The transatlantic slave trade resulted in the largest forced migration in history. Approximately 12 million Africans from various parts of the continent, and with different customs and traditions, were forcibly shipped to exploit natural resources and to settle the Americas. Nearly 40% of the enslaved emanated from West Central Africa (Eltis and Richardson 2003:42; Heuman and Walvin 2003:4).

In the Americas, the enslaved buried their dead according to an array of African customs. Burial traditions were transmitted through generations by continued practice, tales, and songs (Herskovits 1931:68–69; Wright and Hughes 1996:22; Eltis and Richardson 2003:45–46; Walvin 2006:53). The mortality rate among enslaved laborers was staggering; only about 10% of enslaved children survived to the age of 16 years (SCIway 2006b). According to key

belief systems of African societies targeted by the slave trade, particularly those of West and Central Africa, death was not the end of life, but a phase in the cycle termed the "four moments of the sun" (Washington 2005:166–167). The rising sun symbolized birth. The sun's movement higher in the sky represented adulthood; the setting sun signified death; and midnight, "when the sun is shining on the world of the dead," marked movement to the spirit realm (Washington 2005:166,170). Melville Herskovits (1958:63) notes that "the funeral is the true climax of life, and no belief drives deeper into the traditions of West African thought ... whatever else has been lost of aboriginal custom, the attitudes toward the dead as manifested in meticulous rituals cast in the mold of West African patterns have survived." The enslaved may have accepted the inevitability of death, but they mourned the physical loss of family and community members, and manifestations of grief were part of mourning rituals. Burial rites were not taken lightly, for it was believed that the living were responsible for guiding the spirit to the realm of the dead through proper burial rituals and tributes (Morrow 2002:105; Washington 2005:170,174).

Although burial traditions varied across the African societies impacted by the transatlantic slave trade, those traditions shared a common belief in a spirit life after death. The belief in an afterlife encouraged adherence to the shared tenet that the dead must be interred according to custom, and the conviction that offended spirits could harm the living. Death was the culmination of life, and the burial rite was a ceremony often imbued with particular African beliefs and traditions. African religions typically included a belief that a spiritual element of the deceased continued to exist after death. Historian Robert Farris Thompson (1983:142) refers to this ever-present element as the "flash of the departed spirit." It was believed that the requirements in the spirit world were the same as the material world. Spirits continued to hunger and thirst, and the living were accountable for satisfying the needs of the spirits or would suffer the consequences of neglect. It was also believed that the spirits were aware of events occurring in the material world and could exert influence over the living (Herskovits 1931:197; Creel 1988:52,316; Joyner 1991:77).

Most printed information about the funerary practices of enslaved African Americans is found in reports about plantation life in the southern states. Thompson (1983:132) observes that in no other place was African influence "on the New World more pronounced, more profound, than in black traditional cemeteries throughout the South of the United States." Accounts of burial traditions indicate that enslaved African Americans on southern plantations and farms accepted their mandate to help the dying "cross the river" into the spirit world (Washington 2005:170). Once in the spirit world, it was believed, those souls would join departed family members (Joyner 1984:138).

In the southern states, burials of the enslaved took place shortly after death, but sometimes days or weeks passed before a second funeral or commemorative service took place. The custom may have originated in West African traditions, but the delay in time also allowed those in servitude in neighboring areas to attend. A delay was often also required to accumulate an adequate amount of food to feed the mourners (Genovese 1974:198; Washington 2005:174).

Many African American funerals in the southern states took place at night, once the workday was completed. When held without the presence of white surveillance, the occasion fostered a sense of community among the enslaved. As social events, funerals were an integral part of their lives. Burial ceremonies were also an opportunity for enslaved laborers to express their cultural ties to African cultures (Genovese 1974:195,197–198; Goldfield 1991:147).

Friends and family carried the dead to their graves while singing mournful hymns. Once at the burial site, a religious service was conducted. In the South it was often the custom for each of those attending the burial to cast soil into the graves. The exact meaning of the practice is unclear, but is believed to be of African origin. For many Africans, and later, African Americans, grave soil held spiritual significance (Genovese 1974:199–200; Thompson 1983:105).

Some slave owners attempted to control burial ceremonies of the enslaved to limit opportunities for laborers to enhance their own social cohesion and the potential for coordinated actions against plantation owners. Other plantation owners recognized the importance of attempting to

cultivate the loyalty of their enslaved laborers, however, and they therefore took a more permissive approach to such burial practices. In addition, some slaveholders accepted such practices as fulfilling a basic humanitarian responsibility (Genovese 1974:194; Heuman and Walvin 2003:250).

Landscapes of Repose

Graveyards were often located on land deemed too poor to be agriculturally productive (Trinkley 2006). On plantations, burial grounds of the enslaved were sometimes confined to segregated areas on the fringe of family or community graveyards, or on separate plots (Krüger-Kahloula 1994:133–134). Exceptions were occasionally made for favored enslaved laborers who were buried with the white families they served. Krüger-Kahloula interprets this seemingly magnanimous gesture as further subjugation of the enslaved. "Assembling family and servants around the master's grave projects the latter's patriarchal image into the beyond" (Krüger-Kahloula 1994:137). By such a spatial claiming of deceased African Americans, white owners attempted to deprive the enslaved community of time-honored expressions of grief, and denied the deceased a traditional burial (Genovese 1974:196).

Formal landscaping was not typical of 19th- and 20th-century African American cemeteries. Graves were often randomly placed, and to maintain tranquility and avoid disturbing the spirits, no attempt was made to control the growth of vegetation. Graves were often unmarked or indicated by handmade markers or stones, while more ornate markers became increasingly common in the 20th century (Center for Historic Preservation 2001). In the early 20th century, flowers, such as lilies, were introduced as grave decorations (Holloway 2005:200).

The Material Culture of African and African American Cemeteries

Scant investigation and lack of documentation of African and African American burial traditions, such as grave decorations, limit the understanding of many mortuary traditions prior to the 20th century (Foster and Eckert 2003:468–469). Although not completely understood, the practice of leaving grave offerings is linked to cultures of West and West Central Africa. For example, materials used during the funeral rite were observed on the graves of Angola's Ovimbundu people. Cultural groups of Africa's Ivory Coast left food and other provisions on graves for the deceaseds' use in the spirit world. The Mende people of West Africa also left food at the grave site (Creel 1988:316–318; Davidson 2004a:36). Examining the history of cultures in West Central Africa, Thompson (1983:132) explains the purpose of grave offerings as "decorative objects that, both in Kongo and the Americas, cryptically honor the spirit in the earth, guide it to the other world, and prevent it from wandering or returning to haunt survivors."

The custom of grave decorating is also linked to members of the BaKongo culture, who comprised a significant proportion of those persons abducted in the transatlantic slave trade (Washington 2005:153). The ethnic group known as the BaKongo originated from "parts of the contemporary countries of Bas-Zaire, Cabinda, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon and northern Angola" and may have represented as many as 60% of the enslaved who were forcibly transported to British colonies from 1817 to 1843 (Morrow 2002:105,110). The BaKongo people decorated graves with personal items and objects used by the deceased just before death. The objects, it was believed, held remnants of the owner's power (Thompson 1983:134; Joyner 1991:81).

The practice of grave decorations was observed in the Lower Congo by E. J. Glave (1891:835), associate of British explorer Henry Morgan Stanley, who wrote in 1891 of graves covered with "crockery, old cooking pots, etc. ... which articles are rendered useless by being cracked or perforated with holes." A similar practice was observed in Gabon in 1904 by Rev. Robert Hamill Nassau (1904:232) who observed graves adorned with ceramics, eating utensils, and pieces of furniture.

The custom of intentionally breaking objects left as grave decorations is interpreted to symbolize destruction of the body, and to prevent the cycle of death from enclosing family members. John Michael Vlach (1990:141) notes that often the base of a vessel was broken, but the shape of the object was retained. Breaking the object would prevent the spirit of the dead from returning in

search of the object and to influence the lives of the living (Genovese 1974:200;Wright and Hughes 1996:20).

The BaKongo people believed that the dead, placated and guided by mortuary practices, joined the spirit domain, metaphorically located beneath bodies of water. White was the favored color of grave decorations, for its association with the world of the spirits and dead. White seashells, symbols of immortality and water, were often left on African American burial sites, along with a variety of other white objects (Creel 1988:319; Vlach 1990:143; Ferguson 1992:114).

The tradition of decorating with seashells carried over to the 20th century in some South Carolina gravesites of Vietnam War veterans (Thompson 1983:135). Graves adorned with shells were also found in North Carolina's Big Rockfish Presbyterian Churchyard and the Hall-Horne Graveyard (Little 1998:240–241). A shell-covered grave can be found in the Mount Olivet Cemetery in Washington, D.C. (Joyner 2003:14). According to Vlach (1990:143), seashells "create an image of a river bottom, the environment in African belief under which the realm of the dead is located." Some gravesites were outlined with seashells, others were entirely covered. Shells were also used to create designs and decorations.

Although many of the original meanings may have been forgotten over time, the burial traditions carried by the enslaved from their African homelands continued in practice as cherished cultural rituals and traditions. For example, African Americans are still burying their dead with traditional tributes at South Carolina's Coffin Point Cemetery, burial site of a plantation's enslaved laborers, and in the Coosaw Islands (Holloway 2005:201). New designs now used to adorn graves, such as clock faces set at midnight or the time of the individual's death, are modifications of burial traditions, yet maintain the customs of grave offerings. Glass fragments embedded in some modern grave markers are reminiscent of broken glass and ceramic vessels left on burial sites. Although cultural traditions may have been modified, the practices reflect and maintain a link to the heritage of particular African cultures. Creolization of customs perpetuated an element of creed disguised in symbolism (Genovese 1974:197; Vlach 1990:144–145; Davidson 2004a:36).

As grave offerings, ordinary objects took on new significance based on shared experiences, combining African cultural traditions with non-African objects. As observed by John McCarthy (1997:379), "material culture is not a passive product but gives agency to individuals in the creation of meaning in a social and cultural environment." For the enslaved, the cemetery was one of the few places where African identities could be expressed (Vlach 1991:109). The nature of grave offerings often caused archaeologists unfamiliar with African and African American burial customs to misinterpret the decorations as merely discarded objects. "Far from being garbage, these heaps of objects are offerings or sanctified testimonies; they are material messages of the living intended to placate the potential fury of the deceased" (Vlach 1991:44).

Archaeological Investigations of African American Cemeteries

Many 18th- and 19th-century African American cemeteries have gone undetected, and few have been investigated archaeologically (SCIway 2006a). The "oldest (late 1600s to 1796) and largest (five to six acres) African descendant cemetery excavated in North America to date" (*Encyclopedia of New York State* 2005) was uncovered in 1991 during the construction of a federal office building in New York City's Lower Manhattan. Between 10,000 and 20,000 free and enslaved individuals of African descent were interred in New York City's African Burial Ground. Archaeological investigations recovered the remains of 419 individuals. Most were found to have been buried in wooden coffins facing east, and many were shrouded with white cloth fastened with copper pins, a practice traced to several African regions. Physical anthropologists reported that skeletal remains showed evidence of severe strain and strenuous work (Joyner 2003:27–28; *Encyclopedia of New York State* 2005; Howson et al. 2005:73–74).

South Carolina's African American Mount Pleasant Cemetery was discovered during the construction of a motel. Forensic anthropologists identified the remains of 36 individuals, and dated the burials to the years between 1840 and 1870. Like those found at New York City's African Burial Ground, the skeletal remains in

South Carolina bore evidence of intense physical labor (SCIway 2006a).

Development of a commuter tunnel through Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1980 exposed a burial ground determined through historical investigation to be the free cemetery of the First African Baptist Church. The church was established in 1809, and interments in the burial ground occurred until the 1840s (Parrington and Wideman 1986:55–56). More than 140 burials were excavated. In some burials, a single coin was found inside the coffin, near the individual's head. Parrington and Wideman (1986:61) speculate that the coins represented payment to return the spirit of the deceased to Africa. McCarthy (1997:374) also reported that the tradition was common in West African burials to fund the deceased's entry to the spirit world. Single shoes were found on the coffin lids of six individuals. Enclosing a shoe within the burial may signify the journey to the spirit world, or an attempt to impede the spirit's return to the world of the living (Parrington and Wideman 1986:61).

A variety of glass and ceramics were found on graves in African American cemeteries, such as the Ox Bottom Road, the Isle Rest, and the Bethlehem African Methodist Episcopal Church cemeteries, all located in Tallahassee, Florida (Morrow 2002:111). In the African American cemetery at the Levi Jordan Plantation in Texas, "[b]ottles, ceramics, knives, plow parts, car parts, and tractor parts were identified as having been placed on top of or within the graves" (Brown 2001:106). African American graves decorated with ceramics and shell were also noted in cemeteries in southern and southern coastal states (Joyner 1991:76). Freedman's Cemetery, where the majority of the deceased from the African-derived population of Dallas, Texas was buried between 1869 and 1907, also reflected evidence of the practice as late as 30 years after the last burials took place. Disruption caused by highway construction and years of neglect dislocated many of the grave decorations (Davidson 2000:233, 2004a:22, 2004b:293).

Although more numerous in the South, African American burial grounds found in New York and Pennsylvania are evidence that Africans and African Americans were buried according to African American traditions in community and church graveyards throughout the United States (Wright and Hughes 1996:121–122). One such African American burial ground is located in western Illinois, near the site of a once vibrant 19th- and early-20th-century town known as New Philadelphia.

The Cemeteries of New Philadelphia

It was in 1836, during a time of high racial tension in the United States that Frank McWorter, a freedman, mapped out and founded a town on 42 acres of Illinois frontier. McWorter called his town Philadelphia, and sold lots to black, white, and mulatto settlers alike, intending to use the funds to buy family members out of bondage. New Philadelphia, as it came to be known, offered residents fertile, moderately priced land, and economic opportunities (Walker 1983:101–110,118; King 2006a).

The town grew from a small hamlet of 58 residents in 1850 to a community of 160 individuals by 1865, but in 1869 the new Hannibal to Naples railroad bypassed the multiracial town and signaled the demise of New Philadelphia. By 1885, state census enumerators recorded the names of only 87 residents (King 2006a).

According to some reports, New Philadelphia was a racially unbiased community. Yet, the town's dead lie buried in cemeteries separated by racial categories. Many of the community's white residents are buried in the 19th-century Johnson Cemetery, sometimes called the New Philadelphia Cemetery, about a half mile southeast of the New Philadelphia town site (Matteson 1964:21; Cemetery Records of Pike County, Illinois 1979:143–145; Burdick 1992a:20).

New Philadelphia's African American burial ground, also referred to as the McWorter Cemetery or Old Cemetery, occupies a rise above Kiser Creek, about three-quarters of a mile southeast of the town site. Solomon McWorter, son of the town's founder, owned the land on which this cemetery was established. In selecting the site, he may have been influenced by the heritage of West African cultural traditions and a related belief that bodies of water symbolically separate the living world from the realm of the spirits (Ferguson 1992:114). The McWorter family and New Philadelphia's African American townsfolk may also have been aware of beliefs that water guided spirits to peaceful repose, and perhaps

to the realm of African homelands (Matteson 1964:21; Gundaker and McWillie 2005:40; Huttes 2005:7.9).

Helen McWorter Simpson, great-granddaughter of the town's founder, made an excursion to the cemetery with several local residents in the spring of 1964 to find the graves of her ancestors. Mrs. Simpson and her group noted that many of the gravestones lay toppled and broken on the ground. The group recorded headstone inscriptions of 16 individuals, including Frank McWorter, his wife Lucy, seven of their children, and seven others who were residents of New Philadelphia (Matteson 1964:31–34; Simpson 1981:9–10) (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. An interior view of the New Philadelphia African American Cemetery, 2005. (Photograph courtesy Illinois State Museum)

Mrs. Simpson (1981:9–10) lamented that accumulated leaves covered the burial ground and obscured gravesites, and she noted little in the way of decorative items on gravesites. Foliage and spring plant growth most likely obscured the many grave decorations, which could have reflected West African burial traditions, including broken ceramics, glass, animal bone, and shells scattered throughout the burial ground (Simpson 1981:9–10). According to a cemetery inventory compiled in 1979, the earliest burial occurred in 1851 (Cemetery Records of Pike County, Illinois 1979:146) with the death of Francis McWorter, son of the town's founder. He was the older brother of Solomon, owner of the land at the

time. James Washington, a McWorter family member who died in 1950, is reported to be the last individual interred in the cemetery. Mrs. Simpson reported that the group found Mr. Washington's grave located close to the cemetery's entrance; his name does not appear on the cemetery inventory, however (Cemetery Records of Pike County, Illinois 1979:146; Simpson 1981:9; Walker 1983:168; Burdick 1992b:4) (Table 1). In 1988, the gravesite of Frank McWorter was placed on the National Register of Historic places by Juliet E. K. Walker, his great-great-granddaughter (Free Frank: New Philadelphia Historic Preservation Foundation 2005).

Michael Hargrave of the U.S. Army Engineer Research and Development Center, Construction Engineering Research Laboratory, conducted a geophysical survey in the African American cemetery near New Philadelphia in March 2006 to confirm the locations of graves marked by headstones or footstones, and to locate unmarked burial sites (Hargrave, this volume). He used a Geoscan Research FM256 fluxgate gradiometer to record magnetic readings, and a Geoscan Research RM 15 resistance meter was used to detect subsurface features that contain ferrous metal. A metal fence surrounding the site, and the variable effects of large tree roots on moisture retained in the soil impacted the reliability of the geophysical results (Hargrave 2006:1).

Electrical resistance survey suggests the presence of 22 graves (Hargrave 2006:1,3–5). There is a slight discrepancy between the geophysical survey indicating the presence of 22 graves, and the cemetery inventory. According to the inventory, 24 individuals are interred in the burial ground (Cemetery Records of Pike County, Illinois 1979).

Further investigations, such as manually locating additional grave markers currently concealed in the earth, and recording and analyzing the locations of ground depressions that could be unmarked graves, were recommended. Exposing grave markers concealed in the earth; documenting and recording the epitaphs of inscribed grave markers, some of which were severely distorted by the effects of nature; and matching marked graves and grave depressions detected through geophysical investigation with cemetery records to identify burial locations, could provide further details about New Philadelphia residents buried in the African American cemetery.

TABLE 1
NEW PHILADELPHIA CEMETERY INVENTORY (TRANSCRIBED FROM THE CEMETERY
RECORDS OF PIKE COUNTY, ILLINOIS 1979:146)

Name	Date of Birth	Date of Death
Judy Armstead	13 May, 1800	12 March, 1906
Tom Clark	-----------------	-------------------
Martin Kimbo	-----------------	20 November, 1907
Aphelia McWorter	-----------------	31 July, 1915
Commodore McWorter	-----------------	15 March, 1855
Franke McWorter	-----------------	7 September, 1854
Francis McWorter	-----------------	21 June, 1851
Lucy McWorter	1771	25 August, 1870
Lucy McWorter	1888	15 May, 1913
Sarah McWorter	-----------------	22 March, 1891
Solomon McWorter	-----------------	7 January, 1879
Squire McWorter	-----------------	18 December, 1855
Lucy Ann Vond	22 September, 1825	17 April, 1902
Lucretia Vond	4 August, 1864	6 October, 1875
Moses Wagner	22 August, 1815	9 March, 1880
Lettie Walker	----------------	28 May, 1862
Louisa Walker	11 February, 1846	1 January, 1875
Oregon Walker	---------------	17 September, 1906
Mary Washington	---------------	9 January, 1922
Ruby Zenobia Washington	---------------	31 July, 1916
Wilbur E. Washington	---------------	21 May, 1910
Christena Watts	21 April, 1892	15 February, 1916

A walkover survey was also conducted in March 2006 to locate and record cemetery artifacts. No invasive archaeological excavation occurred. The artifacts were left in place, and their locations were mapped and recorded using an electronic total station (a Nikon DTM 352 and TDS Recon data collector). During the walkover survey, artifacts were found scattered throughout the site, their original locations disturbed through years of human and probable animal activity, as well as acts of nature. While the cemetery appeared to be untended, the condition of the site may be related to an African American tradition of burying the dead in a natural setting (Center for Historic Preservation 2001).

No complete vessels were found at the site, but many of the numerous glass fragments found throughout the burial ground appeared to be containers and food preservation jars manufactured in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, evidenced by the presence of mechanically produced mold seams and suction scars on some of the glass vessels. The presence of peach- and purple-colored glass fragments corresponds to Vlach's (1991:112) report of finding colored glass on graves of the enslaved on a Georgia plantation. The numerous glass fragments found at New Philadelphia are consistent with those found in Freedman's Cemetery of Dallas, Texas (Clow et al. 2000:450).

Light reflecting objects, such as glass, mirrors, and porcelain, believed to represent the spirit of the deceased, are associated with a BaKongo tradition that favored luminescent white grave decorations, associating the color with the spirit world (Vlach 1991:45; Morrow 2002:105–106). Two white porcelain sherds were noted in New Philadelphia's cemetery (King 2006b). The base of a milk glass vessel embossed with a relief swirl design found at the site (King 2006b) is reminiscent of milk glass fragments found in other African American burial grounds (Clow et al. 2000:453; Morrow 2002:106). Such findings may reflect the continuing development of West African traditions. As Morrow (2002:106) remarks, "the gleaming whiteness of milk glass,

the sparkle of broken edges of clear glass in the sun ... remind the visitor of the spark of the ever-present spirit."

A broken, amber-colored glass vessel impressed with a sunburst design present in the cemetery (King 2006b) may be associated with another West African tradition passed through generations from the enslaved who brought it from their homeland. In the BaKongo culture, the setting sun symbolized death, and the rising sun rebirth, indicating that life was an unbroken circle that did not end with death (Creel 1988:52,308–309).

The design could also be interpreted to represent spokes of a wheel. Objects symbolizing travel, such as wheels depicted on a 20th-century grave monument, can be interpreted as a means to speed the soul of the deceased to the spirit world (Thompson 1983:139). Wheels are also alluded to in the spiritual hymn "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot!" (Perkins 1922:237):

> Swing low, sweet chariot,
> Comin' for to carry me home!
> Swing low, sweet chariot,
> Comin' for to carry me home!

Grey Gundaker and Judith McWillie (2005:195) point out that other spiritual hymns imply an additional meaning for the wheel. Some traditional African American spirituals equate the absolution of sin to the turning of the wheel, such as "Roll, Jordan, Roll" and the refrain in "Mary Wore Three Lengths of Chain."

Three large mussel shells, from freshwater mussels present in nearby rivers, were also found in New Philadelphia's cemetery. These may correspond to African American traditions of decorating graves with seashells. For many captive Africans and African Americans on North American plantations, sea shells were associated with symbols of the realm of spirits. According to tradition, shells enclosed the presence of the spirit (Vlach 1990:143; Thompson 2005:312). Placing shells on graves is also reported to symbolize the "middle passage" that brought the enslaved from Africa, and may represent a longing to return to Africa (Creel 1988:319). For African descendants born into American slavery, the romantic ideal of returning to Africa may instead have represented a yearning for

freedom and a release from bondage (Brighton 2006, pers. comm.).

Since a number of West African traditions held that spirits continued to hunger and thirst after death, water was often poured on graves during dry spells, and food was often left on graves. Sometimes burial rites included animal offerings. These practices were also carried out in some African American cemeteries. White chickens were a favored tribute for the color's association with the spirit world. According to some African traditions, the sacrifice, food, and water served to satisfy the spirits and encourage them to remain in repose (Creel 1988:316; Vlach 1990:144; Washington 2005:176).

A number of animal bones were found in New Philadelphia's burial ground, including those of a fetal or newborn hoofed animal, perhaps a lamb (Martin 2006, pers. comm.). The presence of a lamb bone could be interpreted as an acceptance of Christianity and reference to the Lamb of God (Shackel, 2006 pers. comm.). Other faunal remains that may have been placed in the cemetery included those of an adult hoofed animal, and eastern cottontail rabbit (Martin 2006, pers. comm.). It is not known if the animal remains were intentionally left as grave offerings, or if the remains are associated with another activity, however.

The custom of burying the dead to face east, practiced in many African American burial grounds, is attributed to West African traditions that burials should follow the path of the rising sun, and the Christian tenet that individuals should face east to witness Christ's coming on Judgment Day (Creel 1988:320; McCarthy 1997:374). Contrary to that practice, New Philadelphia's burials appear to face west, since headstone inscriptions face that direction. The grave markers may be directed west toward the cemetery's entrance and the path into the site most likely followed by town residents. The nearby Johnson cemetery, which contains graves of a number of European Americans associated with New Philadelphia, also has a west entrance and many grave epitaphs facing that west-side entranceway (Fennell, 2007 pers. comm.).

The direction of interments in New Philadelphia's African American cemetery may be attributed to the continuing development of certain African beliefs about, and practices of

orienting burials toward a body of water, in this instance, toward Kiser Creek, less than a quarter mile away. Similarly, a few interments in the African American Midland Cemetery in Pennsylvania are also oriented to the west, toward the Susquehanna River. Some African American traditions also linked this belief and practice to a concept that water guided the spirit back to Africa (Afrolumens Project 2006).

Star-shaped metal grave decorations inscribed "Veteran 61–65" found in the African American cemetery near New Philadelphia were placed by the Grand Army of the Republic, a group of Civil War veterans active from 1866 until 1949. They are reminders that several New Philadelphia residents were military veterans (Figure 2). For example, Squire McWorter, grandson of the town's founder, served in the 38th Regiment of

FIGURE 2. Grand Army of the Republic Civil War marker located in the New Philadelphia African American Cemetery, 2005. (Photograph courtesy Illinois State Museum.)

the United States Colored Infantry during the Civil War (Walker 1983:164; Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System 2006; Knight 2006).

It is not yet clear where Squire McWorter is buried, but according to the 1979 inventory, Martin Kimbo, identified as an "old soldier," and Thomas Clark, noted as a Civil War veteran, are buried in New Philadelphia's African American Cemetery. Research continues for information about Martin Kimbo, but it is known that Thomas Clark, like Squire McWorter, served in the 38th Regiment of the U.S. Colored Infantry. Clark was a member of the Quincy chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic. He died in the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home in Quincy, Illinois, 2 May, 1907 (Cemetery Records of Pike County, Illinois 1979:146; Northcott and Brooks 2003).

The Illinois Department of Natural Resources analyzed the plant life of New Philadelphia's African American cemetery in August 2001. Natural heritage biologists identified 79 different species. The daisy, rose, and grass families were most prevalent, and are also the most common plant families found in the state of Illinois. Many of the plants in the cemetery were noted to be typical cultivated graveyard plants, such as lily of the valley, daylily, blackberry lily, and peony. No endangered species were found (Corgiat 2001:1–12). According to some African American traditions, aromatic flowers were planted to coax spirits to remain in repose within the burial grounds (Morrow 2002:107).

Trees often also held spiritual meaning in African American cemeteries. One belief held that tree roots anchored the spiritual world beneath the earth to the material world above ground. In many regions in Africa, trees planted on graves symbolized the spirit's journey to the domain of the dead below ground, and represent the ever-present spirit of the dead. According to BaKongo beliefs, trees were planted on graves as a tribute, to shelter the final resting place of the dead, and as a symbol of immortality (Morrow 2002:107; Thompson 2005:139,311). Trees in New Philadelphia's graveyard include red cedar, various types of oak, Ohio buckeye, hickory, black cherry, apple, and elm (Corgiat 2001:1–12). Cedars are among trees frequently found in African American cemeteries (Wright and Hughes 1996:261).

Conclusion

New Philadelphia's African American cemetery is historically significant as the final resting place of Frank McWorter, founder of the first town platted and registered by an African American (Walker 1983:101–107; King 2006a). This burial ground appears to contain material culture and a landscape shaped by the heritage of African beliefs and practices, as well as by European influences.

Kiser Creek separates the cemetery from the town site of New Philadelphia, and the graveyard's location may be in keeping with an African American tradition of locating burial grounds near bodies of water (Gundaker and McWillie 2005:40). Contrary to some conventions, burials in the cemetery appear to face west instead of east, and this may be attributed to the custom of burying the dead facing toward water, which was believed to separate the living world from the realm of the dead, and guide the spirit back to Africa (Gundaker and McWillie 2005:40).

Fragments of glass and ceramics found throughout the cemetery are consistent with grave decorations found in other African American burial grounds, particularly in the southern United States. As in other African American burial grounds, porcelain and milk glass fragments are present in New Philadelphia's cemetery (Joyner 1991:76; Brown 2001:106; Morrow 2002:106, 111). An amber base impressed with a sunburst or wheel design found in the burial ground may be a symbol of immortality, forgiveness of sin, or travel to the spirit world (Thompson 1983:139; Creel 1988:52,308–309; Gundaker and McWillie 2005:195). Shells, symbolizing immortality and a spiritual return to Africa, which decorate many African American graves, are also found in New Philadelphia's cemetery (Creel 1988:319; Thompson 2005:312). The presence of animal bones may be associated with evolving traditions associated with certain African beliefs and practices of leaving food to nourish the spirits (Creel 1988:316; Vlach 1990:144).

The final resting place of New Philadelphia's African American townsfolk reflects aspects of vibrant and evolving traditions related to the heritage of African cultures impacted by the transatlantic slave trade. This burial ground also exhibits the influences of European and American customs integrated over time, creating its own unique character. As Joyner (1984:143) explains, such developments and combinations of particular African customs with new cultural practices represent African Americans' "creative response" to a social environment in which they adapted and responded to the contingencies of Christianity, slavery, and racism. Despite merging old and new burial customs and traditions, New Philadelphia's burial ground, like other African American cemeteries, reflects aspects of African beliefs of a spirit life beyond death, and the tenet that, as Herskovits (1958:197) observed, "life must have a proper ending."

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Damaging Detours: Routes, Racism, and New Philadelphia

ABSTRACT

The 19th-century impacts of racism and transportation developments on New Philadelphia, Illinois are explored by examining oral history, documentary, and archaeological evidence. This study first addresses the region in which New Philadelphia was located, outlining the contours of a landscape torn by racial strife. Analysis of the history of the construction of a regional railroad that bypassed New Philadelphia is then provided. Evidence shows that the town was bypassed for reasons other than competition from other potential depot towns, engineering concerns with topography, or other rational business reasons. The impacts of aversive racism very likely diverted the railroad route around New Philadelphia, spelling its demise. Finally, the lessons that emerge from these past social, economic, and racial dynamics are considered.

Introduction

New Philadelphia, located in Pike County in western Illinois, was the first town in the United States planned, platted, and legally registered by an African American. Founded in 1836 by Frank McWorter, a formerly enslaved laborer, New Philadelphia developed as a multiracial community through the late 1800s. This town was located in a region that was shaped by racial ideologies and strife, with competing factions of abolitionists and proslavery elements clashing in the surrounding region of western Illinois, and in the nearby slave state of Missouri. Yet, there is no report of racial violence occurring within New Philadelphia during the period that it existed as a town.

Racism very likely impacted this town in a more structural way, however. In 1869, a new railroad was built to connect points on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, crossing Pike County on an east–west line that should have taken the railroad through New Philadelphia and made the town into a thriving depot facility. Instead, the railroad moved on a straight line from east to west, and then curved northward by several miles before arcing back to the south, thereby bypassing New Philadelphia. The impact of this detour was dramatic, leading to the demise of the town by the late 1880s (Simpson 1981:1; Walker 1983:165–167, 1985:56). Today nothing remains above ground at the town site, which is covered with agricultural fields and prairie grasses.

Such profound effects, resulting from a town's becoming a depot station or of being bypassed by a new railroad, occurred frequently across the Midwest in the 19th century (Conger 1932:285; Jenks 1944:14; Davis 1998:368–370). As historian Theodore Carlson (1951:103) observed: "Every enterprising hamlet had visions of becoming an important commercial city if at least one railroad could be built through the community." Settlements that were known as communities of African American families and businesses were typically bypassed by new railways, however (Cha-Jua 2000:42).

The impact of racism and this important transportation development on New Philadelphia are explored by examining documentary, archaeological, and oral history evidence. A collaborative project of researchers is working to obtain a detailed understanding of the social history of this community, and the many families and businesspeople who resided there in the 19th century. This collaborating group includes archaeologists, African American studies scholars, historians, descendants of families that lived in and around New Philadelphia, and current members of the local communities in the region where the town site is located. The impacts of past and present racism have been among the primary themes and research questions pursued in this project of civic engagement.

The first part of this article addresses the region in which New Philadelphia was located, outlining the contours of a landscape torn by racial strife. Archaeological findings related to potential impacts of racism within the town are also considered. An analysis of the history of the construction of the regional railroad that bypassed New Philadelphia is provided in the second part. Persuasive evidence indicates that the town was bypassed for reasons other than competition from other potential depot towns, engineering concerns with topography, or other

rational business reasons that have been known to fuel the decisions of railroad construction companies. Racial prejudices likely diverted the railroad route around New Philadelphia, spelling its demise. The third part of this article considers the lessons that emerge from these past social, economic, and racial dynamics.

A Regional Context of Racial Strife

Frank McWorter's design for New Philadelphia (which was also called Philadelphia) was set out in a plat filed in the Pike County courthouse in 1836. A town covering 42 ac., it was designed to consist of 20 blocks, 144 lots, and several streets and alleyways in a grid pattern. New Philadelphia was located just 25 mi. due east of Hannibal, a small city along the Mississippi River that before the conclusion of the Civil War served as a slave trading market in the slave state of Missouri. The Illinois River was just 15 mi. to the east of New Philadelphia, and the town was platted on a tract of land situated within the "Military Bounty Lands" located between these two river-transport routes. Planned construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal in the early 1830s, and its anticipated impact on transport flow on the Illinois River to and from Chicago and the Great Lakes, greatly enhanced land values in this region during this time period (Putnam 1909:414; Walker 1985:51).

While many think of the state of Illinois as having developed as a "free" state, famous as the "Land of Lincoln," this region was marked by racial strife and often accommodating views toward the rights of slave owners (Walker 1983:110–111; Davis 1998:19; Shackel 2006:2.4). The land that would be encompassed by the state of Illinois in 1818 was earlier part of the old Northwest Territory, as governed by the Ordinance of 1787. The 1787 provisions generally described this territory as a "free" domain, but were otherwise protective and accommodating to existing claims of property rights in enslaved laborers asserted primarily by French colonial residents (Walker 1983; Davis 1998:94).

Illinois's 1818 state constitution described it as a free state, yet again made a number of concessions to slave ownership claims. Slavery was permitted to continue for 25 years in the southern part of the state, and other slave-ownership claims were converted into legally binding indentured servitude (Savage 1943; Davis 1998:165; Simeone 2000:5). Slavery in Illinois was not effectively outlawed until an 1845 court decision. The state also passed its own version of "Black codes" in the early 1800s, which placed significant constraints on the rights of free African Americans, and attempted to discourage African American families from immigrating into Illinois (Savage 1943:312; Davis 1998:413; Simeone 2000:157).

Illinois and federal laws also provided recognition of the slave-ownership claims of residents in Missouri and other slave states, who often hired bounty hunters to travel through Illinois in search of laborers who were attempting to escape from bondage. These bounty hunters often engaged in kidnapping, enslaving free African Americans by capturing them and destroying the legal documents that proved their free status. Bounty hunters were also known to kidnap enslaved African Americans who did not match the warrants of runaways, so the bounty hunters could profit by unauthorized sales of those laborers in Hannibal and other slave markets (Savage 1943; Davis 1998:289).

Combating these proslavery elements were active contingents of abolitionist groups, and individuals assisting runaway slaves in the networks of the "Underground Railroad." New Philadelphia was located in an area surrounded by abolitionist centers, including Quincy, Alton, and Jacksonville, Illinois (Figure 1). In 1837, Elijah Lovejoy, an ardent abolitionist, was shot dead at his publishing house in Alton by a proslavery crowd that burned the printing press he had used in promoting the cause of freedom (Simon 1994). Abolitionists active in Quincy had frequent clashes with proslavery interests and authorities in Missouri and western Illinois, at times suffering imprisonment and death (*Quincy Herald* 1857b:3; Savage 1943; Turner 2001). Private homes in Jacksonville were active participants in the Underground Railroad (Steiner 1996; Turner 2001). Clashing factions of proslavery and abolitionist advocates faced off in Griggsville, Illinois, in 1838, just 13 mi. to the east of New Philadelphia (Figure 1) (Chapman 1880:516). Frank McWorter and his family, who owned farmsteads in the area surrounding New Philadelphia as well as lots within the town, were reported in oral histories to have helped individuals escaping from slavery (Walker 1983:149; Turner 2001:vii,15).

FIGURE 1. New Philadelphia in regional context. (Image by author, 2008.)

In the midst of this landscape, New Philadelphia grew as a multiracial community of homes and businesses that over time included families raising crops and livestock, merchants, blacksmiths, shoemakers, carpenters, a cabinetmaker, a wheelwright, a wagon maker, a physician, schoolteachers, and a preacher (Shackel 2006:2.12). The town founder, Frank McWorter, had attained the legal rights to found this town in a notably public and visible way. Born into slavery in South Carolina, McWorter had purchased his wife's freedom and then his own while living in Kentucky in the early 1800s. He later purchased a tract of 160 ac. in the Military Bounty Lands of western Illinois, and moved his family there in 1831 (Walker 1985:54). Manumission alone did not provide a free African American with all of the legal rights of someone classified as "white" in the federal census and Illinois state law. Under Illinois law, for example, free African Americans during the antebellum period were unable to give testimony against a white person in court,

and were required to post bonds as evidence of their economic capabilities upon immigrating into the state.

After living in Pike County on his 160 ac. farm for a few years, McWorter obtained support from his neighbors, who were farmers of European American heritage, and he applied to the Illinois legislature to register his name legally and to obtain full legal rights as a free citizen of the state (Chapman 1880:739; Simpson 1981:1; Walker 1983:106–107). These rights would facilitate his plan to plat and found the town of New Philadelphia on a 42 ac. parcel immediately to the south of his farm. An act of the Illinois legislature recorded in 1837 granted him these rights, and publicly recorded his plans to use the proceeds from sales of lots in the newly established town to purchase additional family members from bondage (Illinois State Archives 1837).

His neighbors' support, recorded in an 1837 "certificate of good character," further detailed McWorter's strong reputation, and his intention that New Philadelphia would be a town open for settlement by other free African American families, as well as by European Americans (Walker 1983:107). While there is no direct evidence indicating how McWorter chose the name of "Philadelphia" for this new town, the association of that eastern city with a growing abolitionist movement of free African Americans was well known by the early 1830s (Walker 1983:119–120; Berlin 2003:111; Davis 2006:171). McWorter's accomplishments and plans for the town were sufficiently well known in the following decades to be discussed in local history accounts and public ceremony speeches in 1872, 1876, and 1880 (Ensign 1872:54,100; Grimshaw 1876:31; Chapman 1880:739). Thus, his aspirations and achievements were also very likely known to other residents of this region of western Illinois and Hannibal, Missouri, who may have harbored racial biases against African Americans.

New Philadelphia grew slowly through the 1840s and 1850s, attaining its largest population in the time of the 1865 Illinois census, with approximately 160 residents in 29 households (Shackel 2006:1.2; King 2007). In each of the federal and state census lists compiled from 1840 through 1880, the residents of New Philadelphia were classified as "white," "black,"

or "mulatto," with approximately two-thirds of the town classified as white, and one-third classified as black or mulatto over the time period in which the town existed (King 2007). The town grew as a community at an agricultural crossroads, with wagon traffic from surrounding farms moving across roads that passed through New Philadelphia on their way to merchant and transport facilities along the nearby Illinois and Mississippi rivers (Walker 1983:167, 1985:55–56).

Daily social and economic events in New Philadelphia, and in other, larger towns nearby were reported in local newspapers in the 19th century. Archival copies of local and regional newspapers provide a rich record of the social history of this multiracial town, with many social and economic events within the town having been reported over the years. Notably, there is no instance of racial violence reported to have occurred within New Philadelphia over the several decades of its existence as a town, even though it was located in a region that was otherwise marked by racial strife, riots, and killings. Archaeological surveys and excavations undertaken in the town site have yielded evidence consistent with such findings from the documentary evidence.

Census lists, tax records, and deed books present researchers with extensive information about the past residents of New Philadelphia. Those documentary sources do not provide detailed maps of the particular locations within the town in which residents over time constructed their homes and businesses, however. Archaeological surveys and excavations can provide that richer detail of the spatial relationships spanning blocks, lots, streets, and the time period of the community's existence. This will be particularly useful data for the social history of New Philadelphia. A newspaper report in 1876 provides an example of frequent instances in which actual lifeways departed from the metes and bounds of official documents: "The village of Philadelphia ... has been readjusting lines, and it is found that most of the people are on other than their own lands. There will have to be some moving of property lines or a general compromise" (*Barry Adage* 1876c:3).

Excavations of several household and merchant locations within the town, dating from the 1850s through the late 1800s, show no evidence of riots or arson (Shackel 2006). One might speculate that racial tensions within the town would lead to a pattern of segregated housing, with white and black residents occupying different portions of the town's space. Similarly, one might speculate that racial tensions would lead to assemblages of housewares and types of personal property that were distinctive to households of white or black residents. Archaeological surveys and excavations to date, however, show that house and merchant sites associated with both European Americans and African Americans were interspersed with one another, and largely clustered in the north and central part of the town's platted space (Hargrave 2006; Shackel 2006). The types of household belongings recovered from the residences of both whites and blacks, such as ceramic housewares, are also similar (Shackel, this volume).

Differences in, and separations of social activities that correlate with racial categories of white and black were evident in a number of lifeways in the town, however. For example, two cemeteries served the town. African American families typically buried their loved ones in a nearby cemetery where Frank McWorter and members of his family were interred. European American residents primarily used a different graveyard just to the south of town (King, this volume). Up until 1874, the children of African American families within the town were taught within one building, and the European American children learned their lessons in another building nearby. In 1874, a new, integrated schoolhouse was built next to the town's north edge, and accommodated all of the children in the area (Helton, this volume). In addition, archaeological excavations have shown that there may have been differences in the dietary choices made by some of the African American and European American residents in New Philadelphia (Shackel 2006; T. Martin and C. Martin, this volume).

Many instances of the impacts of racism in the United States have occurred in more structural and indirect ways than in overt declarations of prejudice, or in open acts of violence and malevolence (Omi and Winant 1994:56–61; Orser 2001; Leone et al. 2005:576–580). Such structural and indirect forms of racism have been conceptualized as manifestations of "aversive" racism, in which members of a dominant social group channel social and economic activities

away from the members of a group targeted by racial prejudices. This aversion to social and economic interactions and opportunities is often detrimental to the targeted group. In contrast to such an indirect and structural impact, "dominant" racism is conceptualized as including direct, overt actions of violence and malevolence against members of a targeted group (Kovel 1970; Gaertner and Dovidio 1986; Kleinpenning and Hagendoorn 1993).

An early example of such a structural impact of racial prejudice can be seen to have occurred in 1840, when business interests of European American residents in the town of Barry lobbied the Illinois legislature to relocate a state road that ran through New Philadelphia on an east to west route between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers (Walker 1983:127–128). The relocation altered the road's course away from the center of New Philadelphia, and to a route that took it through the center of Barry, to the detriment of the town founded by McWorter, and to the benefit of Barry's businesses (Walker 1983:128). This lobbying proved successful, and the roadway changes were implemented in the following decade. As historian Juliet Walker (1983:128) observed, "by 1840 the state legislature was not prepared to give a black town proprietor an economic edge, however indirect, over white town proprietors."

New Philadelphia survived that early setback of 1840, although the pace of its growth was no doubt diminished. The town population continued to grow steadily, and even more land sales occurred at the hands of speculative investors who purchased and sold lots in the town without residing on those parcels. Other roadways passing through the area of New Philadelphia provided the community with regional traffic through the 1850s and 1860s. Entrepreneurs located in the town provided blacksmith, shoemaking, carpentry, wheelwright, and wagon repair services to town residents and to agricultural producers who lived and worked in the surrounding landscape. Another transportation development would have a more profound impact on the town, however. When a new regional railroad was built across the county in 1869, its route bypassed New Philadelphia.

The impact of the railroad's bypassing of New Philadelphia was dramatic, with businesses and residents departing the town over the following years. By 1885, an order was entered into the local court records to vacate the legal status of a large part of the town and to return those parcels to general agricultural use. Local publications attested to the town's demise. For example, the 1872 *Atlas Map of Pike County* observed that the "railroad did not run through the town, which has greatly ruined its trade" (Ensign 1872:10). Charles Chapman's 1880 *History of Pike County* stated of New Philadelphia: "At one time it had great promise, but the railroad passing it a mile distant, and other towns springing up, has killed it. At present there is not even a postoffice at the place" (Chapman 1880:740–741).

There are many reasons that a particular railroad route might take one path rather than another. If a topographic feature such as a high point of elevation or a deep ravine lies along a particular path, a railroad will often be diverted to avoid the expense of traversing that location. The lobbying of existing towns to become depots along a proposed rail route often causes other towns to be bypassed. Yet, none of these typical explanations is persuasive in the case of New Philadelphia.

An Expensive and Damaging Detour

The history of the railroad built across Pike County in 1869 can be studied in detail through surviving corporate records of the companies that funded, surveyed, and constructed the railroad, and the many local newspaper reports published in that period. One needs to read such documents with a critical eye, however, in order to compile data on past events separated from the opinions and biases of the past authors of such records. There is no direct statement in these collections of documentary evidence as to why the railroad bypassed New Philadelphia, whether for sensible business reasons or due to racial biases. Indeed, no reference to the town in those records has been found at all. Upon considering the contextual evidence presented in the following discussion, however, it becomes apparent that the railroad's bypassing of the town was not motivated by rational business choices of minimizing costs and maximizing profits.

In the early 1850s, business interests in Hannibal, Missouri began promoting a plan to create a company that would construct a railroad across Pike County, Illinois, to link Hannibal to the railroad town of Naples, located on the Illinois

River (Figure 2) (*Pittsfield Union* 1853:3; Grant 2004:22). In doing so, these promoters sought to advance Hannibal as a major railroad transport and commercial hub of the region (*Hannibal Daily Courier* 1878:1; Grant 2004:22). Two earlier railroad developments provided the Hannibal interests with this opportunity by creating railroad lines to the east and west of the city (Fishlow 1971:190–191).

To the east, the Northern Cross Railroad had been sponsored by land grants and funding from the federal and Illinois governments (Grant 2004:7–11). Construction began in 1838, and the rail line linked Meredosia on the Illinois River on the west to Jacksonville and Springfield on the east in 1841 (Corliss 1934:19; Grant 2004:7–11). This publicly funded railroad enterprise was later purchased by the privately held Sangamon and Morgan Railroad Company, and by 1849 the line was connected to Naples (*Alton Weekly Courier* 1855:4; Conger 1932:277; Carlson 1951:100; Grant 2004:11–12). Successors of the Northern Cross, including the Sangamon and Morgan and later the Great Western Railroad Company, planned on linking that east–west railroad with the Illinois Central Railroad, which
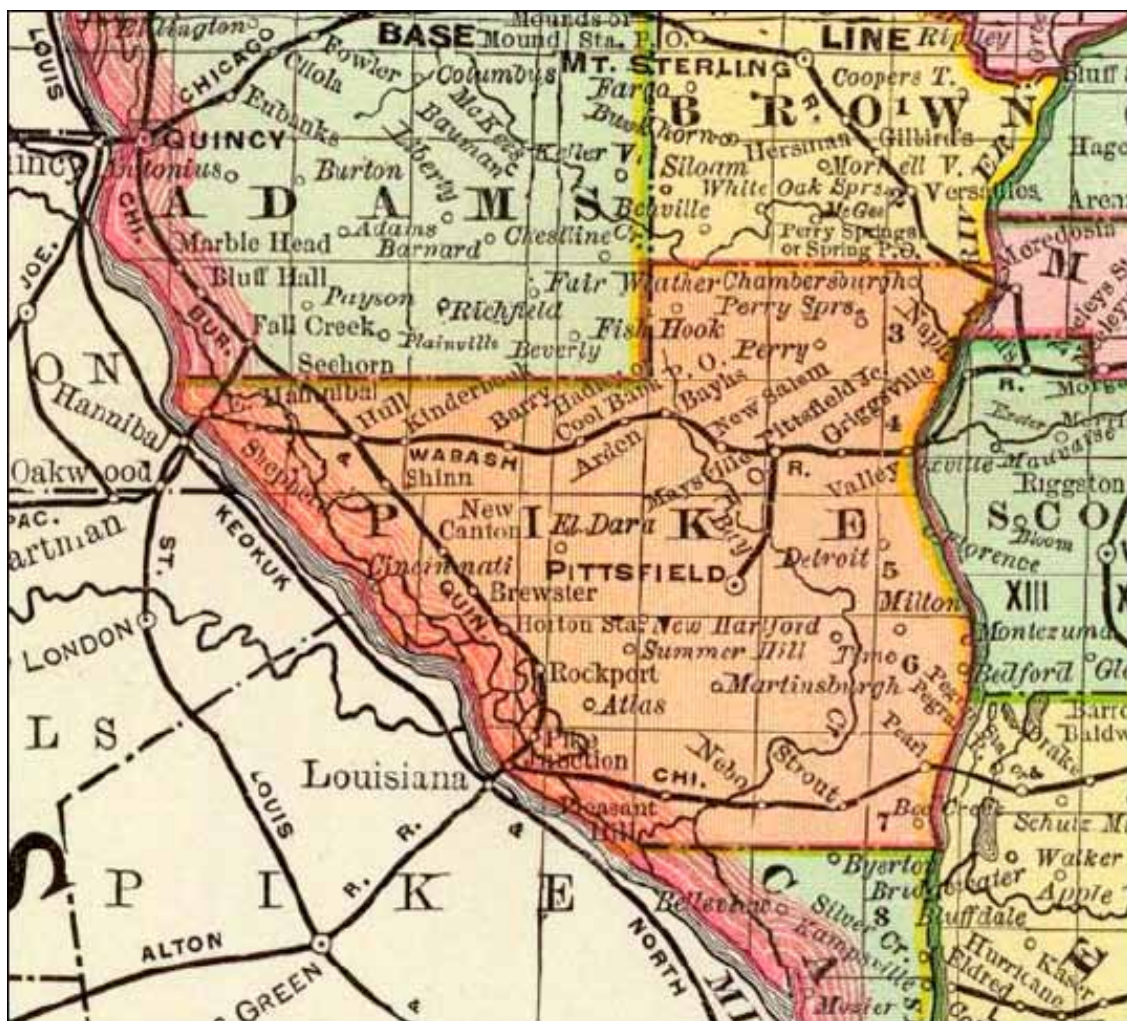

FIGURE 2. AN 1895 ATLAS MAP SHOWING THE REGION OF PIKE COUNTY, ILLINOIS, AND THE ROUTE OF THE HANNIBAL AND NAPLES RAILROAD, LATER REFERRED TO AS THE WABASH RAILROAD (RAND MCNALLY 1895). THE LOCATION OF THE NEW PHILADELPHIA TOWN SITE IS MARKED BY A STAR. THE IMAGE IS ORIENTED WITH NORTH AT THE TOP; FOR A SENSE OF THE SCALE, ON THIS MAP THE TOWN OF BARRY IS 17 MI. WEST OF GRIGGSVILLE.

ran north to Chicago and to further connections with eastern market centers (Corliss 1934:37–38; Grant 2004:13).

In the other direction, the Missouri and federal governments had funded construction of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad in the late 1840s, with a plan to link Hannibal with the town of St. Joseph, located on the western edge of Missouri, and the Missouri River and its transport route to points farther west (*Scientific American* 1848:1; *Alton Telegraph & Democratic Review* 1849:3; Cochran 1950:55–57). The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Company was incorporated in 1847, received land grants and subsidies in the early 1850s, and construction was undertaken in the following years until completion of the line in 1859 (*Hannibal Daily Courie*r 1878:1; Million 1894:77–82; Riegel 1923:159). A connecting rail between Naples and Hannibal would link these lines and promote Hannibal on a vibrant east to west flow of freight and passengers in a growing transcontinental system (*Hannibal Daily Courier* 1878:1). The town of Quincy, Illinois, located on the Mississippi River just 30 mi. north of Hannibal, competed to become a similar railroad hub in this interregional network (*Quincy Daily Whig* 1852:3; Carlson 1951:101,104; Davis 1998:375).

The construction of railroads in this midwestern region thus included three prominent projects in the 1840s that were heavily subsidized by state and federal funds, including the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad in Missouri, and the Northern Cross and Illinois Central railroads in Illinois (Cochran 1950:55,63; Fishlow 1971:190–191). After experiencing significant challenges in managing finances and in attempting to control both construction and operating expenses in such subsidized railroad projects, representatives of state and federal agencies would later disapprove additional proposals for other subsidized railroad projects (Carlson 1951:100; Davis 1998:230). Instead, other railroads to be built in the region during the 1850s and 1860s were to be constructed by private investment companies funded primarily through local funds and shareholder subscriptions (Riegel 1923:154–156; Fishlow 1971:190–191; Dobbin 1994:23–24,39–41).

To implement a plan for building a new railroad linking Hannibal to Naples, the Pike County Railroad Company (PCRC) was formed in 1857 and received a charter from the Illinois legislature (PCRC Records 1857:14 February). This charter did not involve state subsidies, but rather provided a basic mechanism of state recognition and authorization of a private investment company that might need to request aid of local courts in obtaining rights-of-way in constructing such a railroad. Using a fairly common approach, funds for the PCRC were raised through the sale of stock to investors, and to collectivities of investors in the form of local governments that purchased stock subscriptions later paid for through bond sales (PCRC Records 1857:February; Riegel 1923:156). From the outset, this investment company was dominated by business interests based in Hannibal, with the City of Hannibal holding the most voting stock, and the managing board staffed largely by individual investors who operated in that city (PCRC Records 1857:14 February, 1860:4 June, 1862:4 June; Chapman 1880:904–905).

The PCRC accomplished quite a lot in 1857 before a significant economic recession hit the nation and impeded further progress on the railroad project (PCRC Records 1857; Cootner 1963:499; Grant 2004:22). The company optimistically advertised for "sealed proposals for grading and bridging this road" in August of that year (*Quincy Herald* 1857a:1). Grading involves clearing, leveling, excavating, and embanking the roadbed along the designated route for the railroad (PCRC Records 1857:29 December; Vose 1857). The PCRC had hired an engineering firm earlier in the year to survey the best path for the railroad, and progress on the surveying likely motivated the PCRC to start seeking bids for grading the route.

In August, the PCRC also issued a directive to the engineering firm for an additional segment of surveying. A 21 August 1857 stockholders' meeting records an order for "a survey to be made during the fall [of 1857] beginning at some point near the town of New Salem, thence down Keyser Creek to Hannibal, the citizens in that route to pay the expense of such survey" (PCRC Records 1857:21 August). Local newspapers reported on this development as well, observing that "a new impulse has been given to the Pike road, and a new route is spoken of down Keyser creek. The citizens along that

route, we are informed, have become aroused to the importance of a rail road to themselves, and with an almost entire unanimity, they propose to subscribe to the road, much more liberally than any other route" (*Quincy Herald* 1857b:3).

Keyser Creek was a relatively shallow stream-bed that ran from the northeast to the southwest and was located just east of New Philadelphia. The town of New Philadelphia is not mentioned anywhere in the railroad company records of the PCRC or its successor company. This discussion of obtaining a survey of the area "down Keyser Creek" is the only mention of that stream found thus far in the PCRC Records or in newspaper reports about the construction and later operations of the railroad. Another stream, called Hadley Creek, located just to the northwest of the town of Barry, was discussed more frequently in rail-road company records and in local newspaper reports about later railway operations, because that creek was prone to flooding (PCRC Records 1857:21 August; *Barry Adage* 1873a:4). Bay Creek, which ran just west of New Salem, is also mentioned in the railroad company records without any reference to flooding concerns. There is no discussion in the railroad company records or in later newspaper reports that would indicate that Keyser Creek was significant as a topographic feature due to its contours, or due to problems of flooding or drainage.

The engineer's survey report to the PCRC was submitted and recorded in December 1857 (PCRC Records 1857:29 December). That report recommended that the railroad route proceed a short distance down the Illinois River from Naples, to a point along the same latitude with the existing towns of Griggsville, New Salem, and Barry. This path down the Illinois River side was viewed as cost effective because of the even grade that could be followed by paralleling the river, and due to a preference for crossing the river at a point level with Griggsville (PCRC Records 1857:29 December). That point for crossing the Illinois River was a location in Pike County originally called Phillips Ferry Landing, and later renamed as Valley City. Phillips Ferry Landing had served as a busy transport stop on the Illinois River, and had facilitated a heavy flow of road traffic across Pike County (Walker 1985:50,63). The engineer's report then recommended that the railroad route should proceed east to west through Griggsville, New

Salem, and Barry, and on to the Mississippi River shoreline just opposite Hannibal (PCRC Records 1857:29 December).

As can be seen in the 1895 map in Figure 2, the route recommended in the 1857 engineer's report was largely followed when the railroad was built in 1869. Notably, that route as described by the engineer should have also taken the railroad on an east–west line through New Philadelphia. The route made perfect sense from a business perspective, as it took the shortest distance between the terminal points of Naples and Hannibal, and thus involved the lowest amount of construction costs in terms of distance traversed by the railroad (PCRC Records 1857: 29 December). That route also would have followed fairly even topography, and would not have incurred extra costs of travers-ing notably higher or lower points of elevation as the railroad crossed Pike County.

The PCRC continued its work as best it could after the 1857 economic recession. The company completed the surveys for the route of the rail-road and began some of the roadbed grading. In 1863, the management of PCRC placed its assets up for sale, and the operation was reor-ganized under a new company charter, called the Hannibal and Naples Railroad Company (HNRC) (HNRC Records 1863:12 February). The HNRC was made up of the same inves-tors and stockholders, and was again dominated by Hannibal interests (HNRC Records 1863:4 August; Chapman 1880:904–905). A resolution passed by the HNRC management in 1867 clearly expresses this continuing influence of Hannibal and Missouri interests:

> Resolved that the people of Pike County are abun-dantly able and willing to secure the building and completion of the Hannibal and Naples Railroad and we hereby agree that we will co-operate with the Han-nibal and Central Missouri Railroad Company in the construction of both roads as an entire line and we pledge ourselves to the people of Missouri that we will secure such aid as will insure the completion of the Hannibal and Naples Railroad at as early a day as they shall be able to complete their road on the west side of the river (HNRC Records 1867:17 July).

The halting steps of building this railroad across Pike County gained solid momentum in 1868, when a number of interrelated contracts were executed. Utilizing a common strategy, the HNRC focused on constructing the railroad and

then leasing it to another company that would operate trains on it (HNRC Records 1868; Jenks 1944:8). On 22 June 1868, the HNRC entered into a contract with the Toledo, Wabash and Western Railway Company (TWWRC) for the latter to lease and operate the new railroad for 99 years (HNRC Records 1868:22 June; Grant 2004:22). The TWWRC also agreed to purchase a majority share of the stocks in the HNRC, and the HNRC agreed to hire a contractor to handle construction of the railroad (HNRC Records 1868:22 June). On 19 August 1868, the HNRC hired J. L. K. Haywood and Company of Hannibal to construct the railroad, using the existing surveys that had been completed by the PCRC (HNRC Records1868:19 August). Such utilization of surveying and earlier groundwork completed in the 1850s when renewing a project after the Civil War, was a fairly commonplace occurrence in such projects (Riegel 1923:153; Cootner 1963:502; Grant 2004:22).

Due to demands made by the TWWRC, the HNRC instructed Haywood that the railroad had to be built using high-quality iron rails, expressed as a greater quantity of iron per yard (HNRC Records 1869:17 March; 1869:1 December). The TWWRC required this quality of iron rails because it was in the business of operating freight and passenger trains over interlinking railroads from the western part of Missouri, through the Midwest, and to Toledo on Lake Erie. The TWWRC therefore demanded higher quality iron rails to withstand traffic, and to lessen its own expense of maintaining the rails over time (HNRC Records 1868:21 August; Grant 2004:21).

Construction of the 52 mi. long Hannibal and Naples Railroad was commenced and completed by Haywood in late 1869, and inspections were conducted by the HNRC in February 1870 (HNRC Records 1869–1870; *Weekly North Missouri Courier* 1869a, 1869b; Grant 2004:22). Haywood transferred the completed railroad to the HNRC in June 1870, and the HNRC ran trains on the railroad for two years thereafter, until the TWWRC's 99-year lease started in 1872 (HNRC Records 1870:8 June; 1872:5 October). The bridge across the Illinois River was open in 1870, and the bridge across the Mississippi River at Hannibal was built in 1871 (Chapman 1880:905–906). The 1895 map shown in Figure 2 depicts the route taken by the com-

pleted railroad, which was called the Wabash at the time that map was published.

Why did the railroad bypass New Philadelphia and take a northward arc up and around the town in a way that significantly deviated from the east–west line originally recommended by the engineer's report in December 1857? There is no direct statement in the railroad company records to answer this question. To date, extensive searches through newspaper reports from the relevant region and time period have similarly uncovered no direct statement of the reason. Very persuasive contextual evidence indicates, however, that this bypassing was not motivated by rational business choices.

There are typical business reasons that have motivated other railroads to follow one path rather than another as they traverse their territory. First, the successful lobbying of some existing towns to become depot stations along a planned railroad route often has an effect of pulling the route away from other communities in their area. In addition, topography often explains some parts of a chosen path. It is more costly to build a railroad up to and across high points of elevation, or to cross deep river ravines. Railroad routes are often planned to bypass such significant topographic features (Vose 1857:32; Cootner 1963:484). Do these reasons explain the course of the railroad across Pike County?

New Philadelphia did not lie upon, or next to a significant topographic feature or change in elevation. The town was located at elevation of 732 ft. above sea level. New Salem, to the east, lies at 784 ft. above sea level, and Barry, to the west of New Philadelphia, lies at 712 ft. (United States Geological Survey [USGS] 2007). Kiser Creek (also called Keyser Creek) runs just to the east of New Philadelphia, but is a shallow streamed that was never mentioned in the PCRC or HNRC records as a matter of concern as to its contours, location, or drainage. The primary consideration for keeping construction costs low in building a railroad was to choose a route that involved the least distance between the railroad's end points (Jervis 1861:48; Cleeman 1880:12–13; Webb 1917:3–5). It would have been much less expensive to build the Hannibal and Naples Railroad on a straight line from New Salem through New Philadelphia, and on to Barry and Hannibal, simply because

that route involved a smaller linear distance of roadbed and rail than did the route that circled several miles to the north.

The factors of greatest expense in railroad construction were the linear yards of roadbed that had to be graded, excavated, and embanked, and the linear yards of iron rails and ties to be installed (PCRC Records 1857:29 December; Vose 1857:39–40; Cootner 1963:484; Fishlow 1971:118–122). In the 1850s and 1860s, railroad construction projects incurred the expense of obtaining iron rails and related hardware imported from British producers, because American-based producers could not yet meet their volume demands (Jenks 1951:381; Fishlow 1971:138–140). Straight railroad routes were also preferred over curving paths, where possible, because curving routes resulted in extra friction between train wheels and rails, and therefore additional operating, fuel, and maintenance costs (Vose 1857:10,47).

These cost items were particularly relevant for the Hannibal and Naples Railroad, because the TWWRC's 1868 contract with the HNRC required rails with higher weights of iron per yard to be used in the construction of that railroad. In contrast, items such as constructing culverts over stream beds, or even smaller bridges over small rivers, involved significantly lower cost concerns for such a railroad construction project (Cleeman 1880:29–31,44–60). Thus, it was typically less expensive to build a straight railroad route that required a number of culverts across streambeds, than it would have been to build a line that curved extra miles out of the way to avoid construction over those streams. These factors all indicate that there was no business reason to bypass New Philadelphia due to costs related to topography.

Perhaps the effects of lobbying can explain the northward arc of the railroad around New Philadelphia. Looking at the map in Figure 2, one can see a town named Baylis located along the railroad at the northernmost point of the arc. A simple answer to the question could be that the town of Baylis lobbied hard to have the railroad route come up to their location so they could serve as a depot station. This explanation fails, however, because Baylis did not exist before the railroad was built. In fact, no towns existed along that northward path before the railroad was built—it was a circuitous route

through undeveloped prairie. Initially named Pineville, the town later renamed as Baylis was platted by William Pine, Jr., in 1869, and grew over the following years as a newly created depot town (Ensign 1872:10; Chapman 1880:641–642).

Another possibility is that one or two influential landowners, such as Pine, were able to lobby the railroad on their own behalf, plying the railroad company with donations to influence the choice of the route (Walker 1985:62). This explanation fails too. The northward arc around New Philadelphia traversed the lands of numerous individuals who each held relatively modest-sized parcels. Similarly, members of the Pine family appear in reports over the following decades as individuals of relatively modest assets, and were by no means Midwest land barons (*Barry Adage* 1876b:3; Chapman 1880:641–642). Nor did the railroad pay for or receive remarkable conveyances of land from those numerous landowners along that line of tracks. Each conveyed a narrow swath of land to the HNRC in 1865 for passage of the railway across his or her parcel in a contingent deed that would become null and void if the railroad were never constructed (Pike County Deed Records 1865:247–248). That was the simple and low-cost method of land acquisition used for most of the pathway of the railroad through the county.

Would there have been a long-term interest in having the new railroad traverse previously undeveloped prairie lands? Such an interest was certainly at play in the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad, which was subsidized by the Illinois legislature and federal land grants. Running north to south from Chicago to Alton, the Illinois Central was purposefully routed through previously undeveloped parts of the state, rather than meandering from one existing town to another along its overall trajectory (Jenks 1944:3; Fishlow 1971:174). This subsidized project was designed to help spur settlement developments and new towns in underdeveloped locations, with the hope of contributing to the state's future economic growth.

Unfortunately, these large-scale, subsidized projects met with considerable time delays, financial strains, and a "consequent waste of millions of dollars [that] was a costly lesson in the evils of inflation and over-optimism"

(Carlson 1951:100; Davis 1998:230). After a subsequent shift to railroad projects being handled by private investment companies, those later private business concerns did not try to play the role of a subsidizing government. Railroad projects managed by private investment companies were designed and managed to keep costs low and profits high.

Railroads built in the 1850s and 1860s, like the Hannibal and Naples Railroad, were designed with a concern for the large-scale interconnections they provided which linked to other regional railroads (Grant 2004:22–23). Such rails were not built simply to connect a hub like Naples with a hub like Hannibal with no concern for the rail traffic in between, however. The local freight and passenger traffic that could be obtained along the extent of such a railroad was also of great concern in order to maximize operating profits (Conger 1932:286; Cochran 1950:56–57; Grant 2004:14). This factor again makes the bypassing of New Philadelphia appear problematic. That town had existed for decades before the Hannibal and Naples Railroad was built, and had grown as an agricultural service community, attracting local traffic of farmers moving their products by wagon to nearby river-based merchant points. No such traffic centers existed along the northward arc that bypassed New Philadelphia; new depot towns had to be built there from scratch after the railroad was constructed, incurring delays in the inflowing traffic available when the freight trains started running in 1870. Here again, no business justification explains the route bypassing New Philadelphia.

Topographic considerations provide another conundrum. The northernmost point of the bypass route, where Baylis would later grow as a depot town, was the highest point of elevation in the region, at 863 ft. above sea level (*Barry Adage* 1876d:2; USGS 2007). This point was sufficiently high that newspaper reports and railroad company records during the 1870s at times called it "Summit Point" or "Summit Station" (HNRC Records 1857:7 October; *Quincy Whig* 1870:4). In addition to requiring greater linear distance to bypass New Philadelphia, this path required even more length of roadbed and rails due to the increasing grade, rising to the highest point in the area. Overall, it was preferable to design a railroad route so "there should be as

little rise and fall as possible" (Vose 1857:32; Webb 1917:3–4).

Such a pathway over a high point of elevation like Baylis did not only cost more in construction outlays. Later operating costs for freight trains were also significantly increased. As one newspaper observed: "Regular outgoing freight trains from Hannibal on the Wabash are drawn by two locomotives as far as Baylis, the highest point on the road between the two rivers" (*Barry Adage* 1876a:3). The primary flow of freight traffic was from Hannibal and Barry eastward to Baylis, and beyond to market centers such as Chicago or Toledo. A freight train had to climb from Barry, at 712 ft. elevation, to Baylis, at 863 ft. elevation. To do so required a helper locomotive for the larger freight trains, and such an extra engine was maintained on the tracks near Hannibal for this purpose. With heavy freight traffic "constantly increasing" on the line, the railroad company soon began considering the possibility of changing the route to reduce this uphill grade (*Barry Adage* 1877:1).

Maintaining and operating a helper locomotive in this manner was an undertaking to be avoided by railroad companies wherever possible, due to manifold expenses (Wellington 1901:601–604). A helper locomotive required extra expenses in wages, fuel, water for steam, and space for maintaining the engine when in use and when waiting for use. Even when waiting, a helper locomotive burned fuel, because its boiler was kept heated so the engine was ready to go as soon as an eastbound freight train was ready to depart. Moreover, there were considerable opportunity costs, with such a locomotive relegated to episodic use on a limited stretch of railway, rather than being employed in a more efficient and continual manner as a sole engine on a long-distance, through-bound freight train (Wellington 1901:601–604).

In the overall operation of a freight train, one can obtain offsetting benefits related to an uphill grade if the train can then roll downslope for a comparable distance, thus conserving some fuel on the downgrade (Vose 1857:37; Wellington 1901:608; Cootner 1963:484). This was not the case for the Hannibal and Naples Railroad, however, as the freight trains incurred a longer and steeper climb from Barry, at an elevation of 712 ft., to Baylis at 863 ft., which was not fully offset by the downhill distance from

Baylis to New Salem at 784 ft. Any benefits of a downslope were similarly overridden by the extra expenses of having to maintain the helper engine (Vose 1857:37; Wellington 1901:608; Cootner 1963:484).

In the 20th century, a succession of railroad acquisitions placed the old Hannibal and Naples Railroad line within the operations of the Wabash Railway Company. Heavy freight train traffic still flowed on these tracks, and the direction of trade remained largely west to east as it did in the 19th century. After incurring the higher operating costs of running freight trains over the high point of Baylis for a number of decades, the Wabash company rebuilt the segment that corresponded to the northward arc that bypassed New Philadelphia in 1869. The Wabash moved the rail route south, away from Baylis, and closer to the town site of New Philadelphia (USGS 2007). The more even grade of elevations achieved in this rerouting lowered the railroad's operating costs from that time forward. Unfortunately, by that time in the 20th century, New Philadelphia existed only as the ruins of a town buried beneath the soil.

Another question of distance and topography can be raised. The PCRC and HNRC planned for the railroad route to pass through the existing towns of New Salem and Barry, and for depots to be located in those two communities. Could New Philadelphia have been bypassed because the railroad company saw no need for additional depot stations on the rail line between New Salem and Barry? The answer is clearly "no," as demonstrated by the fact that two to three additional depot stations were constructed along the rail line that circled to the north around New Philadelphia, linking New Salem and Barry (Figures 2 and 3). The distances between New Salem, New Philadelphia, and Barry fit comfortably in the typical range of distances between the depot stations constructed along this railroad line across Pike County.

Two other subjects concerning the ability of Pike County towns to influence the Hannibal and Naples Railroad route bear attention in this analysis. First, consider the town of Pittsfield, which was the county seat, and one of the larger communities in the area during the time when the railroad path was under consideration. One might expect the citizens of Pittsfield to have been in a confident position to lobby the

HNRC to have the main railway route pass through their community. Pittsfield is located several miles south of the east–west line of the railroad path that was recommended by the engineer's report in 1857, however (Figure 2). Rather than incur the extra expense of diverting the main railroad on a large curve to the south to run through Pittsfield, the HNRC built a separate connecting rail to link Pittsfield to the main line by a shorter distance rail (Figure 2) (HNRC Records 1870:2 June; Ensign 1872:7; Grant 2004:22). The attractiveness of having a county seat and active urban settlement along the main line of the railroad did not outweigh the desire to avoid the expense of building such a meandering route when the HNRC's primary purpose was to link Hannibal to Naples in a cost-efficient manner (Vose 1857:10; HNRC Records 1868). This extra rail line to Pittsfield was also promoted as one with a future potential extension southwest to the town of Louisiana, Missouri (HNRC Records 1868; Grant 2004:23). That additional extension was never built, however (Carlson 1951:104).

Next, one should ask whether the citizens of New Philadelphia attempted to lobby representatives of the PCRC or the HNRC to ensure the town's position along the planned railroad path. Research to date has uncovered no evidence that residents of New Philadelphia or members of the McWorter family attempted to influence the route plan in that way. No evidence has been uncovered that would indicate that the interests of New Philadelphia's residents and businesspeople were represented in the deliberations and decisions concerning the railroad.

Families of both African American and European American heritage resided in New Philadelphia, or lived on adjacent farmsteads and owned extra lots within the town. African American families, including the McWorters and Walkers, were prominent landowners and entrepreneurs with investment interests in and around the town (Ensign 1872:23,54,58; Chapman 1880:752). Frank McWorter, the town's founder, had passed away in 1854. His surviving wife and adult children were also prominent citizens and businesspeople, however. For example, Solomon McWorter was praised in the 1872 *Atlas Map of Pike County*, a publication to which he subscribed, as follows: "He is quite extensively engaged in farming and raising stock, and there

are few men in Pike county who are succeeding better than he. ... He is now the owner of five hundred acres of first class land, well stocked with cattle, hogs, horses, and mules. He is a man of good moral habits, and is highly respected by his neighbors" (Ensign 1872:54). Yet, to date no evidence has been found that Solomon McWorter, or others with interests in New Philadelphia worked to lobby representatives of the HNRC to have that town become a depot station on the railroad route.

In 1867, the HNRC appointed a number of local citizens and businesspeople to act as liaisons to the residents of the townships to be traversed by the railroad. John McTucker was listed as liaison to Hadley Township, in which New Philadelphia was located (HNRC Records 1867:17 July). McTucker served as a supervisor and treasurer for Hadley Township at various times (Ensign 1872:100). After construction of the railroad was completed in 1869, a depot named "Hadley Station" was constructed along the railroad's passage through that township (Walker 1983:167). That station was built on a parcel of land owned by John McTucker, located approximately one mile northwest of New Philadelphia (Figure 3) (Ensign 1872:100).

The northward arc of railroad that bypassed New Philadelphia cannot be explained persuasively based on business reasons, or by the lobbying of existing towns. In the absence of those alternative justifications, this dynamic appears to have been the result of the impacts of aversive racism. This was an indirect and structural impact of racial tensions, and not a direct, malevolent act recorded in a dramatic and overt manner. The HNRC was dominated by social and business interests centered in a region that was contorted by racial ideologies and strife for decades leading up to, and following the construction of this railroad.

The same set of circumstances also readily indicates why individuals invested in the community of New Philadelphia and adjacent farms, such as Solomon McWorter, would not be motivated to try to lobby business organizations such as the PCRC and HNRC. The PCRC was dominated by the business interests of Hannibal, and operated while that city contained an active slave market. The HNRC maintained that focus on the interests of Hannibal investors, even declaring in 1867 that the citizens of Pike County, Illinois should "pledge [them]selves to the people of Missouri" and the goals of making Hannibal a primary hub in a growing, transcontinental system of rails (HNRC Records 1867). New Philadelphia suffered a fate seen by other towns bypassed by a new rail, as local roadway traffic was drawn away to new depot towns and stations in their area, and then businesses departed, followed by town residents (Ensign 1872:10; Chapman 1880:740–741; Walker 1983:167). As Mark Leone and his co-authors (2005:579) observe, towns such as New Philadelphia existed in "the midst of racial hostility," and "were subject to antiblack legislation, were sidelined economically, and were then all but forgotten as their inhabitants migrated to cities and larger towns in a quest to maintain their economic viability."

African American residents of the area may have seen some benefits from the placement of Hadley Station on John McTucker's land. The rail route leading from the location of Pineville southwest to a point level with an east–west line to Barry also passed through parcels owned by John Walker and Louisa McWorter, close to the McTucker tract and another neighboring tract owned by Sarah McWorter (Figure 3) (Ensign 1872:100). The railroad company typically paid nothing for such conveyances of a path through individual landowner parcels (Pike County Deed Records 1865:247–248). The fact that John Walker and Louisa McWorter granted such conveyances indicates that those African American land owners did not generally oppose the railroad's arrival in Pike County.

After New Philadelphia was bypassed by the railroad, the lots, blocks, and public streets that made up its configuration as a town were converted into agricultural land over the following decades. Those ensuing changes followed a broader trend in this region of western Illinois. Locations without direct rail line connections in the late 1800s saw more and more acreage placed into agricultural cultivation by farms of increasing size. The expanded transport capacity of interregional railroad networks led to increased demand for livestock and agricultural products, and the lands situated in outlying areas around the railroad stations saw more acreage moved into larger-scale agricultural use (Carlson 1951:111–113). Locations that became railroad depot stations, in contrast, often developed as service
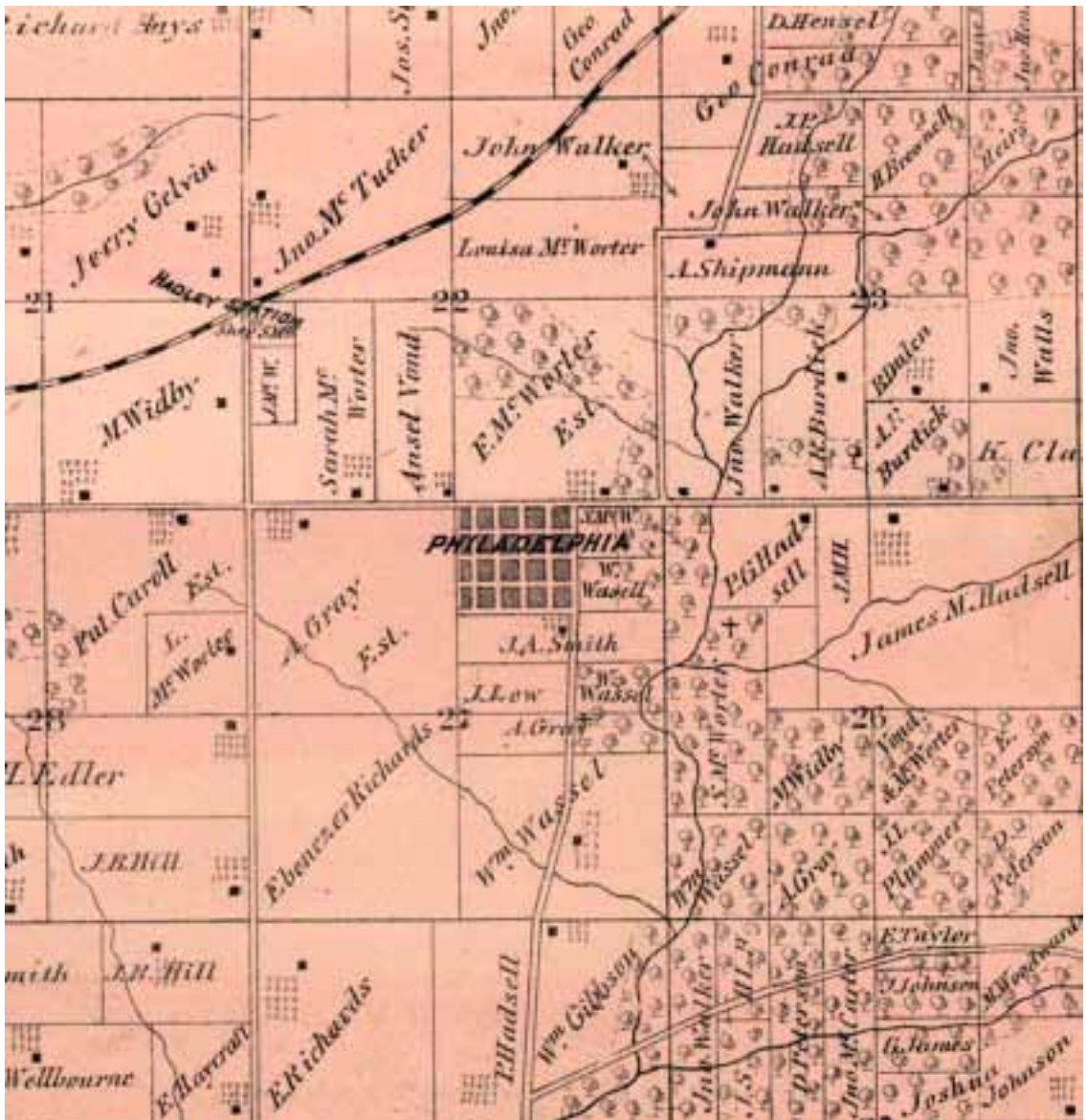
FIGURE 3. AN 1872 MAP OF HADLEY TOWNSHIP SHOWING HADLEY STATION ON THE RAILROAD LINE CROSSING LAND OWNED BY JOHN MCTUCKER, JOHN WALKER, AND LOUISA MCWORTER, AMONG OTHERS (ENSIGN 1872:100). THE MAP IMAGE IS ORIENTED WITH NORTH AT THE TOP; FOR A SENSE OF THE SCALE, THE TOWN SITE OF PHILADELPHIA AS DEPICTED ON THIS MAP WAS APPROXIMATELY 0.25 MI. WIDE.

centers enjoying an increase in local traffic and merchant trade (Jenks 1944:14; Walker 1985:64; Davis 1998:369–370).

Lessons of Combating Racism and Overcoming Adversity

What lessons are to be learned and communicated about the railroad bypassing New Phila-

delphia? One approach is to focus upon this episode as an example of racist conduct, and to insist that the knowledge and awareness of such past actions should be part of the continuing struggle against racism in the present (Shackel 2003; Leone et al. 2005). Such a message could be articulated by focusing on the racism that shaped the actions of investors and managers of the railroad, and the damage their actions

inflicted upon the residents of New Philadelphia, leading to the demise of that community as a town. Yet, some might raise a concern that present condemnations of racism should avoid constantly emphasizing European Americans as those who had choices and agency that victimized African American families. Instead, one can focus on lessons to be learned by this past event by emphasizing the choices made by African American families in New Philadelphia to overcome the adversities that confronted them (Shackel 2003; Leone et al. 2005).

Solomon McWorter provides an excellent example of the ways in which African Americans overcame obstacles and succeeded in their social and business lives. Shortly after the railroad bypassed the town his father had founded, Solomon availed himself of its transport facilities to further his own economic operations. In 1873, according to the *Barry Adage* newspaper, Solomon simply drove his livestock to the depot at Barry several miles to the west, and used the railroad to ship them out for sale. "One hundred head of fat cattle were shipped to Buffalo from this place on Tuesday. They belonged to S. McWorter" (*Barry Adage* 1873b:4). Other residents of New Philadelphia moved on to pursue new opportunities and to deal with the challenges they encountered. Some families moved to nearby cities in Illinois and Missouri, while others moved to more distant locations (Walker 1983:169). The social history of these numerous instances of perseverance should be central to society's reckoning of its past.

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Conditions of Subject and Object

ABSTRACT

This collection of articles concerning archaeological and historical investigations of New Philadelphia concludes with a commentary that discusses the heritage of Frank and Lucy McWorter and the town, and the challenges of such research endeavors from the perspective of a descendant and a scholar of Black agency and African American history. Like many other McWorter descendants, Abdul Alkalimat sees such an archaeological project as a way to promote, preserve, and further explore the story of that founding family and the town. The role of such research projects in expanding the base of support and knowledge is highly valuable. The legacy of freedom, a powerful story rooted in the history of Frank and Lucy McWorter, provides a profound and important message within American history.

Comment

Writing this comment has required that I gather my thoughts from two vantage points, both as a subject and an object in the production of historical interpretation. I write as the great-great-grandson of Frank and Lucy McWorter, as a spokesperson for the McWorter family, and as such I am an activist in establishing and maintaining the collective memory and imagination of our family. At the same time, as a social scientist in the Department of African American Studies at the University of Illinois, I have the responsibility to make sure my interpretation takes into consideration the scientific evidence. Yet, I am also part of the evidence in the eyes of others. I am both subject and object, a universal human condition.

New Philadelphia has a special meaning in that the main stewardship of the McWorter land passed through the male lineage of Frank to Solomon to Arthur. Arthur's children, and some cousins, were the last (fourth) generation of McWorters to grow up in New Philadelphia. This included my father, Festus. There were seven of us in the fifth generation, grandchildren of Arthur, who grew up together in Chicago. We lived within a culture of memory and return.

They made the story of Frank McWorter a living part of family identity, and a ritual recollection at church and community events. We were also taken to the Barry Apple Festival, convened just a few miles from the site of New Philadelphia, and to visit relatives in Jacksonville, Springfield, and other locations in the area. We stood on this identity. In fact, I became defined by the dialectics of carrying this tradition forward.

At our most recent family reunion, six surviving members of the fifth generation issued a statement to represent the views of the family. This is the statement:

> The McWorter family, descendents of Frank (1777–1854) and Lucy (1771–1870) are holding a 2005 family reunion in Springfield, Illinois and Barry, Illinois (Pike County). We are gathering from many states—Alaska, California, Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Ohio, Tennessee, and Texas, as well as England. Our family now includes descendents from the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th generations. Our oldest family member is 103, Zelia Alberta McWorter Ewing. She will not be in attendance but has sent a video greeting and message to the family reunion from her home in Chicago. She grew up in New Philadelphia.
>
> Over the years our family has had many reunions that have kept alive our collective memory of our early family history, especially the commitment of Frank McWorter, known as "Free Frank," to free his family from slavery and contribute to the overall freedom of Black people. He was successful in working and saving money so he bought 16 family members out of bondage and established a successful rural town and family farm. In addition, his farm was a station on the Underground Railroad so he risked everything he had built for his family in order to help other slaves get to freedom. He was the model of a man who believed and committed his life to the freedom of his people.
>
> Frank McWorter and his son Solomon have been written about since the late 19th century. A historical tract by the Pike County Historical Society was published in the 1960s. The main genealogical work in the 20th century was started by Thelma McWorter Kirkpatrick Wheaton (4th generation, 1907–2001). Her work was continued by her daughter who wrote her PhD dissertation and published a book on "Free Frank" McWorter. Helen McWorter Simpson (4th generation, 1895–1990) who also wrote a book, "The Makers of History" (1981) based on her research in the 1950s.
>
> We have gathered at this time for several reasons:
> 1. We are connecting members of the family who have independently been doing genealogical research and who have not known each other in the past. New research is redefining the lineage of the McWorter family.

2. We have been honored to have Governor Blagojevich dedicate a stretch of Interstate 72 in Illinois to Frank McWorter, so we are pleased to gather to affirm our ancestral family founder.

3. We are very interested in the National Science Foundation sponsored archeological project to study the material remains of the town of New Philadelphia founded by Frank McWorter in 1836.

4. Finally, we are interested in cooperating with the New Philadelphia Association in building a lasting monument to keep the memory of Frank McWorter alive as part of the local history of Pike County, Illinois.

We are a diverse and geographically dispersed family. Our family has its origins in the offspring of a slave owner and a woman from West Africa whom he owned. From this time our family includes the widest possible social and ethnic diversity, literally a spectrum from Black to white including Native Americans and Latinos. Our story is the American story, from slavery to freedom, Black and white, from the farm to the city, from the South to all regions and areas of the world.

We have many family initiatives regarding family history and historical restoration projects. We are in the stage of generating proposals and plans for the future. Our goal is to encourage all family members, and interested parties in Illinois and throughout the country to contribute their ideas so that in the near future we can gather as a family and come to final plans.

Our family is united around the goal of preserving the memory and legacy of freedoms started by Frank and Lucy McWorter. We welcome everyone willing to join and contribute to this effort.

Signed by fifth generation organizers of the 2005 McWorter Family Reunion (24 June 2005) Shirley McWorter Moss, Allen Kirkpatrick, Sandra McWorter, Gerald McWorter, Patricia McWorter, and Lonie Wilson (for her mother).

The philosophy of our family was summed up decades ago by Thelma McWorter Kirkpatrick Wheaton in the following words:

> Through the years we have some extended families not by blood or marriage but by circumstances that arise from crises or by circumstances from empowerment, through work, academics, cultural, psychological, religious, and even politics. Family reunions help to achieve and further long held dreams—renew old relationships—meet the new born—celebrate getting together—having fun—joy—great happiness. The desire for getting to know relatives is one of the basic fundamental factors that make a family reunion a success. In fact it is human nature to want to be accepted and approved by relatives and family.

Within our fifth generation there are two competing narratives, two different interpretations of the meaning of Frank McWorter:

1. Frank McWorter as frontier entrepreneur.
2. Frank McWorter as freedom fighter.

Of course, one can make the obvious point to say that he was both, but that would miss the main point of emphasis. The key is to grasp his main priority and then see how he went about making it happen. In fact, to put together his business practices with his political practices, he was really a "by any means necessary" kind of guy.

My first cousin, Juliet Walker (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1976, History) made the following point at a press conference in June 2005:

> My concern in this rebuilding, restructuring of New Philadelphia is to exemplify and to emphasize what is truly the significance of Free Frank's life. And that is that he was an entrepreneur; a business person who uses his business skills first as a slave, and then as Free Frank, a free Black, to buy his family from slavery. Free Frank's whole life was about freedom. And he was able to do this because he was involved in business activities. The founding of the town was a business activity.

My approach (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1974, Sociology) would rather state that because he was motivated by the freedom impulse he was able to go into business. My main evidence is that our family has not engaged in business traditions. We have been industrial workers and service professionals. Our family members have been teachers, community and labor activists, social workers, postal workers, and bus drivers. No one went into business. The freedom impulse was transformed into a "serve the people" ethic.

This is both a family drama and a scientific drama, as the story of Frank McWorter becomes part of the iconic structure of the African American narrative. This is a challenge to every African American family to rediscover the freedom impulse in their family history, to trace its movement across the generations, and to nurture it now and for the future.

Dr. Walker has made many seminal contributions to the McWorter family and New Philadelphia history, notably her book (Walker 1983) and her relentless continuation of her mother's passion to keep the Free Frank story alive. One of her recent contributions, however, has been to keep all current and new researchers sensitive to the concerns of family and her work as the standing scholar of record. She went way overboard in some of her actions, but in the end she made sure there would be no utopian scenarios in which racism was whitewashed. Sometimes black people have to take extreme actions to make a

point. The fight over historical interpretation is in fact part of the freedom struggle, so Juliet is acting in the family tradition.

On the other hand, Paul Shackel, Chris Fennell, Terry Martin, and their colleagues have proven themselves to be decent people and careful scholars, so it has been a pleasure on my part and for our family as a whole to work with them in this project. It has been especially important for them to use the Internet to make available their findings and the actual data being collected. This transparency suggests the dawn of a new age of research in which the campus-based scholar and the community-based citizen-scientist can collaborate with many diverse voices all crunching the same data.

Finally, in my view, the big question that frames this research is searching for black agency as part of the core identity of this country. Standing at New Philadelphia in the time of Frank McWorter (1829–1854), one would have white agency, but the belittling of black agency. Twenty miles to the west in Hannibal, Missouri across the Mississippi, we have the story of Sam Clemens (1835–1910), who as Mark Twain was a cultural voice that rose up and dealt with the morality of slavery. Twenty miles to the east we have Pittsfield, Illinois, where practicing attorney Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) went on to do the same thing in the realm of politics. To the north in Quincy, Illinois we have the abolitionist Dr. Richard Eels and his court case of 1843. At the same time, especially in the area of Canada where Frank Jr. lived as a runaway freedman, Alexis de Tocqueville visited and made the morality of slavery part of his writings in *Democracy in America* in 1835 (de Tocqueville 1836).

Where is the voice of the African American in all of this? Terrell Dempsey reminds us of the distortions and omissions in our understanding of Sam Clemens in his book *Searching for Jim* (Dempsey 2003). Lerone Bennett (2000) helps clarify our understanding of the fundamental flaws in Lincoln's beliefs and actions. The story of the abolitionist Dr. Eels in Quincy often leaves out the escaped and then recaptured slave named Charley. And while many quote de Tocqueville, few know about or refer to the novel of his companion, Gustave de Beaumont (1999), *Marie, or, Slavery in the United States*, written in 1835. All of this represents efforts to rewrite the history of this country without the romantic illusions that serve as a fetter on historical consciousness, and our maturation and acceptance of each other as part of a process, a process that we can shape and determine by our collective will.

This is the test before us. We have a developing body of empirical data and some initial interpretations, or at least possible ways of connecting these dots of data. The goal is to amass as much of this data as possible, and use the big ideas to help us configure them for the greatest consensus among descendents and scholars, local people and specialists, historians and residents. This collection of articles is a wonderful addition to this process.

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