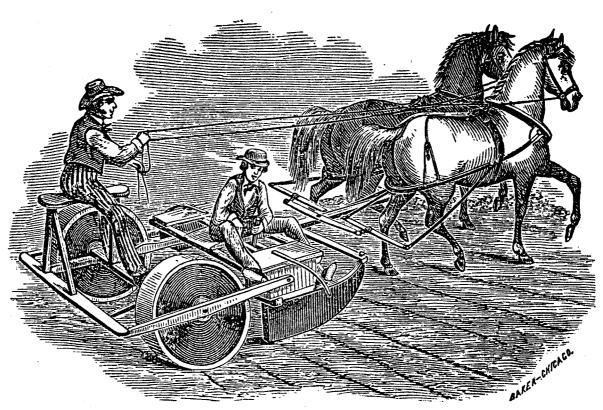
# CLAYVILLE RURAL LIFE CENTER & MUSEUM Pleasant Plains, IL 62677

# Publications Series II Research Report # 6 INNS AND THEIR FARMS IN THE CENTRAL MIDWEST: TOWARD AN INTERPRETATION OF FARMSTEAD FUNCTIONS

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BROWN'S CORN PLANTER

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# INNS AND THEIR FARMS IN THE CENTRAL MIDWEST: TOWARD AN INTERPRETATION OF FARMSTEAD FUNCTIONS

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Note

The Interpretations Set Forth Here Do Not Necessarily Represent the Views of the National Endowment for the Humanities

# Introduction

The Broadwells left evidence of their farming activities in the Federal Agricultural Censuses and in county probate and court records. These do not suffice to indicate the full range of what they might have done at Clayville, nor do they put the family farming activities related to the Inn into context. In other words, there is not enough material about their "particulars" to confidently plan reconstruction of a farmstead or to carry out interpretation of life on the farm or farms associated with the Inn during the 1840s and 1850s.

To determine what might have gone on at Clayville it is necessary to turn to what innkeepers elsewhere with farms in Sangamon County and in the State of Illinois were doing, as indicated by comparable data from the censuses and the probate records. This information can be placed in context in several ways. It is appropriate to turn to data on Sangamon County farmers compiled from these same public records several years ago by students under the direction of Professor Edward Hawes to obtain a "localized" version of the "typical" in the form of averages. Diaries, letters and account books of farmers are useful. Periodicals of the time contribute to determining the patterns of farmers who were "typical" innovators. Finally, these findings can be compared with those of agricultural historians who have written about farming and innovation in Illinois and the Midwest.

All of this has been done and more for this research report. Melinda Kwedar is to be congratulated for the depth of her study. She has pursued a number of leads and come up with important data and hypotheses. Armed with this material, it is possible to fashion a picture of the Broadwells as innkeeper/farmers useful in physical and interpretive planning. Their activities are placed in context through the analysis of the data of other innkeeper/farmers in the county and a few elsewhere in the state whose one-time inns were examined in the intensive field work in May and June, 1981, under the grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

The research report should be useful to other historic sites with inns. For the importance of farming associated with innkeeping is not interpreted at Midwest historic sites and outdoor museums in any depth at all. This report should serve as an inspiration for the kinds of questions which need to be asked, the kinds of sources addressed and the sorts of methods utilized.

It is divided into a main text and appendices. The former is composed of chapters dealing with the early association of innkeeping and farming, with implements, crops and livestock typically found at documented farms associated with inns, with the Broadwell farming operations, and with farm labor and markets. In the appendices are tables summarizing the data from the agricultural and population censuses and probate inventories of one-time innkeeper/farmers. Several notes indicate the methods which were utilized to uncover the names used in the tables, and the nature of manuscript farmers' letters and account books used in the text.

The Editor

#### Chapter I

#### Early Innkeepers as Farmers

In the report on tavern functions the observation was made that in a sense every dwelling was a tavern in the beginning period of Illinois settlement. This was particularly true in the rural areas between towns.<sup>1</sup> Unless the male settler was a tenant he owned or squatted on his land. Whichever was the case, as soon as possible he converted it into agriculturally productive land. Therefore, if most early rural settler families took in travelers and most of the families were involved in farming, most early taverners were also farmers. In traveling from the east in 1835 Patrick Shirreff wrote "almost any farmer would receive us for the night." So this practice must have persisted into the mid 1830s.<sup>2</sup>

In the early 1820s Tillson, Cobbett and Faux all mentioned the existence of farms around some rural taverns. Telling in great detail of her stay just west of Shawneetown, Illinois, Tillson quoted her taverner: "the hogs and cows get into my corn-field and destroy more corn and potatoes than thar eternally cursed necks are worth." Near Princeton, Indiana, Cobbett stopped for breakfast at a "dirty log-house" of a man who "had a large farm." Faux mentioned farms connected with the taverns where he stayed many times in Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. He specifically referred to farm-related activities and buildings. In Indiana he stayed at the farm/log-house tavern of a Mrs. Moore "who had three fine sons and no servants." He declared that they "do all the household work, and that on the farm themselves, hiring none. They clear five or six acres every year, have cleared 60 acres, and mean that the other 60 of their quarter section should remain in wood." Farming seemed to be the rule in the rural taverns where Faux stopped. In fact he mentioned that farm land on main arteries of travel brought more money because of its potential for this mutually profitable relationship.<sup>3</sup>

There is a local example of the tavern-farming relationship in the Broadwell's home area. In Sangamon County on Salt Creek in 1835 Patrick Shirreff stayed at the "hotel" of Mr. Musick where he made the following evaluations about the family. "These people seemed in good circumstances, having a well-stocked farm and an abundance of Indian corn."<sup>4</sup>

The farmer-tavermer attempted and achieved self-sufficiency to a large extent. However, most still depended on other suppliers as well. In a Frankfort, Ohio, daybook of an innkeeper from 1836 to 1839 there is evidence of some produce being sold, but also some being purchased. The following are products which were sold: oats, bacon, corn, apples, potatoes, and lard. However, essential items like beef, pork and flour were purchased at different times.<sup>5</sup>

Yoder gave two examples of taverners who started farming as a means of supplying their needs. They were Lewis in central Michigan and Ream in Madison, Wisconsin. For these men the tavern was the chief concern but "For the majority of rural innkeepers, however, the situation was reversed, having invested heavily in a farm." Whichever was the most important, "the combination of farming and tavern keeping . . . was all but universal for innkeepers located in rural areas provided the soil was arable." Since the Broadwell's had a rural location and were on a main travel artery, their combination of innkeeping and farming would have been typical.<sup>6</sup>

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# Chapter II

#### Implements

Data concerning farming implements used by a specific family or in a specific area are very scarce. One valuable source which itemizes agricultural implements is probate inventories. Inventories of the Broadwells, Sangamon County one-time innkeepers, and Sangamon and Menard County farmers were used to provide localized information. The data from these have been brought together in a series of tables in the appendices. See Appendix C, 1-3.

The types of agricultural implements available and ones used by farmers would have changed over time. So both time and place specific data for the 1840s and 1850s in Central Illinois is very important. The inventories of the two Broadwells who died in the 1820s are not very useful in this regard, whereas William K. Broadwell's inventory made after his death in 1851 could have had more potential. Unfortunately, his only showed two plows and lacked any description of brand or type. This may have been because some of the equipment used on the farm was his father John's, for the latter is shown as living with his son in the 1850 population census. See Appendix B-1 and C-1.

From the 1840s and 1850s probate inventories of Sangamon and Menard County farmers, more extensive data on local farming implements was extracted. See Appendix C-3. Of the eight farmers studied all but one owned plows with an average of almost six per farmer. Only one half of them owned harrows, with only one harrow per owner. Scythes and cradles were more common with an average of two for the seven farmers who owned them. For hoes and axes the averages were a little over one, with five of the eight farmers owning them. Chains and gears were the next most common items which are used with horses and/or implements. This gives a very rough indication of some of the implements that were used by some farmers in the time-period. There is no way to determine if all of their possessions of this kind were recorded, but these few local clues are important. As will be seen, agricultural census data were found for a few of the innkeeper/farmers elsewhere in the state whose one-time inns were examined in the field work. However, probate inventories either were too late or not available.

The only implements for which brand names or styles were given in the inventories were plows. For Samuel Musick, an innkeeper/farmer who died in 1836, there were three plows, one being called "Barshear" and two called "Cary." When James Burtle died in 1851 his two plows were listed as "Jewett." Obviously either farmers did not have much name brand equipment or inventory takers did not bother to write down the names. So to get an idea of what the brand name implements available locally were, it is necessary to turn to the Springfield newspapers. "Jewetts Improved Patent Cary Plough" was advertised for sale in 1849 in a Springfield newspaper. There were some other brand names for many of the various tools. There were C. S. Ames Shovels and Spades, Gleasons grain shovels and Iron grain shovels, and Kings 4-prong manure forks. Collins, Lippincott and Mann axes, and Douglas Patent pumps were also advertised. Rowland's cast steel shovels and spades, Adams polished spades, iron grain scoops, cast steel scoops, and iron and steel corn hoes appeared in another advertisement. There were also Waldron's Brush Scythes. Grubbs Grain Cradles appeared in an 1850 advertisement.

The next useful source with data on implements was a farmer's daybook from the Greenville-Alton area of Illinois. On March 3, 1850, William

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Tunnel listed the following inventory: "One 2-horse wagon, 1 small plow, 1 fan mill, 1 2-horse harrow and 2 sets of harness." On April 16, 1850, he "made machine to mark off corn rows," and on July 9 of that year he "made one horse harrow." How common this practice of the farmer hand-making his own implements in the 1850s was is difficult to assess, but this is one documented case. On July 2 he "went to see harvesting machine" which seems to have been at a neighbor's place rather than at the town where he often stopped.<sup>8</sup>

In a letter collection from Northern Illinois, DeKalb County, farmer Currier tells of a wheat harvest in an 1853 letter. A McCormick reaper which cut 15 acres per day using four horses was used. A total of 75 acres were harvested and put into shocks. Although Cyrus McCormick patented his first mechanical harvester (reaper) in 1834, the early machines were unreliable, and crude. But over the next few years, many improvements were made by him and other manufacturers. In 1850 the following advertisement appeared in a Springfield newspaper. "Reapers: McCormicks celebrated reapers can be had by leaving orders with John Williams." Another Springfield establishment advertised "McCormicks Patent Virginia Reaper" which also had an optional mowing machine that could be attached. They maintained that 2,300 of these machines had been sold. However widespread the distribution of reapers was, the famous farmer and agricultural editor from Virginia Edward Ruffin wrote in 1850 of his concern, which was no doubt shared by many. "Because of their great liability to get out of order, the difficulties of working them, and especially my own ignorance of machinery, I have feared to attempt the use of reaping machines." Ruffin did write that the reaper was being used in his neighborhood in his state, which must have also been the case in Illinois with Tunnel as seen above in his

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daybook entry.<sup>9</sup> Currier in Northern Illinois was obviously one of the users, also.

Another machine which was advertised in a Springfield newpaper in 1849 was a "Threshing and cleaning machine on consignment and for sale . . . together with a horse power to run same . . . sufficient for 8 horses."<sup>10</sup> So this type of machine was available for the farmer.

In the Illinois State Fair of July, 1854, there were eight different patentees of farm machinery exhibiting. Two of the three self-raking reapers were patented by Palmer and Williams, and the third by Atkins. The five mowers were patented by Ruggs, Manny, E. Danford, Smith and Ketchum. A detailed chart including the prices, acres done per day and many other factors appeared with the Illinois State Fair Report. The prices for self-rakers ranged from \$150 to \$175; and for mowers from \$105 to \$130. The rakers could do from 3.75-4.35 acres per day; and the mowers from 7.46 to 7.50 acres per day.<sup>11</sup>

How widespread the general usage of mechanical implements was in 1850 is difficult to tell, but it seems to have been confined to innovative farmers. High prices would have eliminated most average farmers. No mechanical farm machinery was found in the Sangamon County probate inventories, even as late as 1863. Even John C. Crowder, an innkeeper/farmer who was a local Illinois State Fair winner and had a large farming operation, had no machinery in his probate inventory. See Appendix C-1 . In his book of **recollections**, Marsh itemized the following on his retrospective list of 1850s farming tools: "A stubble plow, harrow, breaking plow, single shovel plow for corn, two hoes, two forks, two rakes, a scythe, a cradle, a spade and a scoop."<sup>12</sup> From examing the local probate inventories and Illinois diaries and letters, this seems to be a fairly accurate evaluation.

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## Chapter III

#### Crops

Were the innkeeper/farmers the same as one of the catagories of "typical" farmers in the crops they raised? The answer to this can be found by comparing the data recorded on the Agricultural Census and Probate Inventory Tables. See Appendices A and C. Although this sample is very small, some indication of trends may be revealed.

In comparing the crops that were raised there is little variation in the kinds of crops. With the Broadwells, Sangamon County farmers, Sangamon County innkeepers, Illinois innkeepers and Illinois farmers the emphasis was on raising corn (Indian corn), oats, wheat, (Irish) potatoes, and hay. See Appendix A. Many farmers raised small quantities of market garden and orchard products. There were a very few farmers raising buckwheat, hemp and rye, but the vast majority were involved in corn, oats, wheat, hay and potatoes.

In examining the Sangamon County farmers' averages from the Agricultural Census from 1850, a county crop trend emerges. See Appendix A-6. The amount of Indian corn was way out in front as the leading crop produced, with the average farmer raising 1855 bushels in that year. In quantity of production the next crop was oats at 178 bushels. This was not even close to the level of corn production, with oats at less than one-tenth the volume of corn. Wheat was next with less than onethird the volume production of oats (one-thirtieth that of corn). When these county averages are compared to statewide numbers, corn still remained the leader at 57,646,984 bushels production in 1850. Oats was also next at 10,687,241 bushels or one-fifth that of corn. At 9, 414, 575 bushels production, wheat was in third place, as in Sangamon County, but it was much closer to being equal to the oats production.<sup>13</sup> So the three most productive crops remain in the same relative positions for Sangamon County and Illinois as a whole but the proportions vary.

Evidence that corn, oats and wheat were the most commonly raised crops is apparent in the probate inventories and elsewhere in period sources. See Appendix C. In his daybook, Tunnel referred to the various tasks involved in raising those three crops also. In his 1838 Sangamon County diary, Clarke mentioned corn, wheat, and oats in his farming processes. The same three crops were recorded in Harry Riggin's Menard County farm account book in 1850. A Boone County, Illinois, ledger from the 1840s also recorded corn, oats and wheat as farm products. In <u>Illinois in 1837</u> these three crops were discussed as the most commonly raised.<sup>14</sup>

In examining the Agricultural Census data for 1850 for the Broadwells, it is apparent that Euclid and William Carson raised corn, oats and wheat in roughly the same proportions as the county averages. See Appendix A-1, 2. Dan raised only corn and wheat, and more of the former. William K. raised only corn which was unusual for that time period. By 1860 J. B. and Josiah were only growing corn so it may have become more common then.

In comparing the data from the Illinois innkeepers table with the Sangamon County averages a consistency is seen. Innkeepers also raised corn, oats and wheat, but not necessarily in that order from the standpoint of quantity. The Sangamon County one-time innkeepers fit in with the county proportional trend if they raised all three crops. However, Elliot and Crowder raised only two of those three crops. See Appendix A-3.

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Both of these samples in Appendix A-3,4 are too small to be significant, but the data in the table on Illinois innkeepers do show some different trends. Their relative proportions by volume of corn, oats and wheat raising vary as follows: While most raised all three crops as did the Sangamon County and Illinois farmers, the average volume of each crop was much closer to being equal. On the average they raised less corn (700 bu.) and more oats (400 bu.) and wheat (250 bu.) than the Sangamon County farmers. Whether this was due to their occupation of innkeeping or because they lived outside Sangamon County is not clear. However, the state-wide crop proportions are closer to the Sangamon County farmers, than the Illinois innkeepers included in the tables. A comparison of the 1850 and 1860 data showed no significant variation in this trend. The Broadwell 1850 data showed the family to be closer to the Sangamon County farmers' trend than that of the Illinois innkeepers. There was, however, a slightly higher quantity of wheat production than oats.

In the raising of potatoes another significantly greater quantity is seen in comparing the Illinois innkeepers with the Sangamon County farmers. Potato production averaged 45 bushels for the innkeepers and 19 bushels for the farmers. The Broadwells had less than both with 11 bushels. In his daybook, William Tunnel of Green County, Illinois, made the following entries on March 15th and 19th in 1850: "raised potatoes" and "went to Alton 22½ potatoes sold them at 33 cts."<sup>15</sup> So it is possible that the innkeepers were selling some of their potatoes at a market, as well as using them for fare at their inns.

The comparison of hay production of the Illinois innkeepers and the Sangamon County farmers is also revealing. While on the average the farmers produced only six tons per year in 1850, the innkeepers averaged

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55 tons. The Broadwells were closer to the Sangamon County average with 12 tons production. Since innkeepers were expected to provide forage for transport animals, this higher production would be expected. They could have provided food for drovers' livestock, if this pattern had been established in the county. As grasses to be grown for hay, timothy was mentioned in Clark's 1838 diary and Tunnel's 1850 daybook. In an article in the <u>Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural</u> <u>Society</u>, James N. Brown, a leading livestock raiser in Sangamon County, wrote of the relative merits of raising timothy, clover or bluegrass.<sup>16</sup>

There were many different varieties of corn available to the farmer, according to an 1855 <u>Prairie Farmer</u> article. Six yellow corns and ten white varieties were listed. One of the yellow and five of the white ones had "flint" in their names. According to Ellsworth in 1837 "The white and yellow flint are best adapted to the [Illinois] climate."<sup>17</sup> So this may have been the variety used by the Broadwells, Sangamon County farmers and the Illinois innkeepers.

In the data on the yield of crops per acre the figures vary widely. In their depositions from 1845 the Broadwells gave a low yield of 12 bushels of corn per acre.<sup>18</sup> In a statement an Illinois State Fair winner from Tazewell County in 1857 listed 122 bushels per acre as his yield. James N. Brown from Sangamon County reported his yield as 60-80 bushels per acre in 1853. Although Brown was best known for his cattle raising, he still probably had a higher than average yield since he was an innovative farmer very involved with the Illinois Agricultural Society. Figures on wheat were always lower, with fall wheat producing 25 bushels per acre and spring wheat producing 35 bushels per acre. The oats crops receiving the top three premiums in 1856 were listed as having 83, 80 and 88<sup>1</sup><sub>2</sub> bushel per acre yields.<sup>19</sup> These yields were probably greater than those of the average farmer or farmer/innkeeper. Since innkeepers especially did not farm as their main economic activity, their crops yields may have been less.

The comparison of farmers and innkeeper/farmers have yielded the following conclusions. In general, they raised all of the five most commonly grown crops: corn, oats, wheat, potatoes and hay, in that order. However, the production by innkeeper/farmers of the last four crops was greater and that of corn was less. So their farm production may have been more tailored to their innkeeping needs rather than to the wider marketing for which most farmers in 1850 Illinois produced. Chapter IV

#### Livestock

What were the kinds of livestock raised by Illinois innkeepers and did their innkeeping function make a difference in determining what they raised? Was there any farming specialization among the taverners? How did the Broadwells and Sangamon County one-time innkeepers and the Sangamon County farmers fit into any trends established in analyzing these questions using the data on tables in the 1850 and 1860 Agricultural Census. See Appendix A. This sample is very limited so all the analysis and interpretations must be viewed with this in mind. These are only suggestions of the possibilities and not conclusions. In the future, research could be directed toward establishing larger sample groups to provide more extensive material for quantitative analysis.

In comparing the number of horses or mules owned by the Illinois innkeepers and the Sangamon County one-time innkeepers the numbers for 1850 were 11 and 12 respectively. This may mean that an above average number of horses or mules were needed for the tavern operation. They could have been horses for transport which some innkeepers kept for stagecoach exchanges.<sup>20</sup> The Broadwells' low number might indicate that their inn did not keep horses for stagecoach exchanges. Otherwise these animals could have been used for pulling farm implements, wagons and other aspects of the farming operation.

Oxen had been used for this purpose but their popularity was fading at mid-century. "They were of no use with the mowing machines and reapers, which required fast-stepping horses, were too slow and awkward to use with light plows and rakes, and could not easily be used in power devices to run the thresher, . . . or the hay baler."<sup>21</sup> So as farming became more mechanized between 1850 and 1860 the use of oxen decreased. A comparison between the 1850 and 1860 tables for Illinois innkeepers shows that the averages declined from two to zero oxen on their farms. The Broadwells had no oxen in either 1850 or 1860.

When the western emigrant set forth he was often "burdened with little more than a few household goods, an axe, a gun, a cow, a yoke of oxen or horse, and some poultry and a few indispensable swine." The hog was described as "an ungainly animal, of the type that yielded small hams and a little lard, and was fit only for a stringy bacon. But it was a great traveler, well adapted physically . . . Turned loose in the forest, he searched persistantly and successfully for nourishment."<sup>22</sup> This is the tribute to this ubiquitous animal which was so necessary for all early Illinois settlers.

The presence of a number of swine in the averages of 1850 and 1860 Agricultural Census data shows that Sangamon County farmers and Illinois innkeepers raised pigs. In 1850 all groups, except the Broadwells, had more swine than any other kind of animal. The Sangamon County farmers' average was 36 in 1850 while the earlier (1827-1842) probate study average was only 15. See Appendix A-7. Even though this is a different study group it would appear that more pigs were accumulated by farmers during the 1830s and 1840s. The Sangamon County one-time innkeepers had the highest number of hogs with an 81 average. J. C. Crowder had 150 of them. He was a noted Sangamon County hog raiser who won Illinois State Premiums for the "Best boar," and "Best breeding sow" in 1854.<sup>23</sup>

The Illinois innkeepers also had a high number of swine in 1850 with a 49 average. This could reflect the use of pork as the mainstay of the Illinois tavern fare. Although they also kept cows and sheep, the number of hogs was over twice that of these. Curiously, though, the average number of hogs was reduced to only 17 in 1860 while the cow population increased slightly from 23 to 27. The innkeeper/farmers could have changed their operations from producing so much pork to an increased production of beef. This reduction in hogs did not reflect an Illinois trend. "Decade by decade (from 1850-1900) the number of hogs rose in Illinois and Iowa."<sup>24</sup> The Broadwells had comparatively few hogs in 1850 and 1860, the figures being 11 and 18 respectively.

Cattle-raising in large numbers came later to Illinois and Sangamon County than that of hogs. "During the 1840s and 1850s most farmers owned from one to six cows and a somewhat larger number of young stock."<sup>25</sup> This would seem to be validated by comparing the probate study average of six cows per farmer in the 1827-42 time period and the later 1850 Sangamon County farmer average of 15. The Illinois innkeepers had an average of 23 cows in 1850 and 27 in 1860. The Sangamon County one-time innkeepers are higher with an average of 45 in 1850. However, Council had 104 and Crowder 45, so the average may not be significant. The Broadwells fell behind all groups with 12 in 1850 and 4 in 1860. The slight elevation of the Illinois innkeepers above the Sangamon County average may be significant since "Sangamon County was apparently the center of activity among breeders of Shorthorn cattle, with at least seven breeders located there." In nearby MacLean County in 1850 the Funk family of breeders kept herds of cattle as large as 2,000 to 2,500 head. This county had one of the eight highest per hundred acre cattle populations in the state in 1850.<sup>26</sup> So the fact that Illinois innkeepers had an average greater than Sangamon County may mean that they were using cattle for

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beef, milk and butter for their tavern operations.

"With the coming of the early 1840s, sheep made their first major onslaught on the prairies of Illinois and Iowa." In the earliest (1827-1842) probate study averages there were seven sheep per farmer and the later 1850 average was up to 22 for the Sangamon County farmers. "Sangamon and adjacent counties received their pioneer flocks," declared Bogue in his history. "Soon this region was the stronghold of the sheep industry in Illinois." Sangamon County men like James McConnell in an 1847 letter told of his flock of 1,500 or 1,600 head of Merino sheep.<sup>27</sup> So it seems that primary source evidence supports Bogue's claims.

What seems to be more significant than comparing various averages is looking at the number of the different groups of farmers who raised sheep. It does seem to have been a more specialized activity than the raising of cattle or swine. In the probate study data only 20 of the 42 persons studied had sheep. For the Illinois innkeepers only three of the five had sheep in 1850 and only one of the four Sangamon County one-time innkeepers had sheep in that year. By 1860 only one of the five Illinois innkeepers had sheep and he only had six. From the Broadwell data of 1850 and 1860, it is apparent that only William K. Broadwell and William Carson had sheep, and by 1860 J. B. Broadwell and William Carson were the only sheep raisers. William K. Broadwell died in 1851 and in his probated estate inventory are listed 220 sheep. The difference between the 1850 Census figure of 28 and the inventory figure of 220 cannot be explained. See Appendix A-1, 2. He also had 350 lbs. of wool in the same inventory. John Broadwell, W. K.'s father who presumably farmed his son's land after his death, had a flock of 125 in 1860. It would seem that the Broadwells were part of

the Sangamon County trend toward greater sheep holdings. However, as early as 1824, William Broadwell (J. B.'s brother) had 31 sheep in his probate inventory and there is evidence of Broadwell sheep raising in earlier generations in New Jersey.<sup>28</sup> This seems to clearly indicate that one branch of the Broadwell family had a special interest in sheep raising. By 1860 J. B. had only 12 swine and two cows in addition to his 125 sheep.

For the Illinois innkeepers the sheepraising connection to the inn operation is not clear. It is not likely that they were using mutton for food because "mutton seldom appeared on the western farm table."<sup>29</sup> If there was a connection, it seems to have faded in importance between 1850 and 1860 as reflected in the decline of the sheep population in the Illinois innkeeper group.

#### Chapter V

# Farming Practices of the Broadwells

In attempting to determine specific Broadwell farming practices, two valuable documents were uncovered. They are depositions or statements taken from people who knew the Broadwells in 1843 and 1845 which yielded data for the case against John B. Broadwell.<sup>30</sup> Since this case involved 280 acres, the use and value of the land over time was an important aspect. Therefore, many elements of farming and general land use were discussed in great detail. This Prairie Creek tract was not the land on which John lived, but it can be assumed that his methods for using and farming the other land on which the Broadwell Inn stands would have been similar.

The land not under cultivation was timber land and specific types of trees were named. They are Spanish oak, white oak and black oak, walnut, ash and hickory in various quantities. However, of the 100-110 acres of timber, half was elm. Some specific uses for the different timber were: Spanish oak for green rails for fences; white oak for a barn; and hickory for a stable. The elm was called the most lasting and valuable timber. The land initially broken for cultivation was about 22½ acres and the cost for breaking in 1837 was about \$2.00 per acre. There "was considerable hazel and crab apple" on the land when it was broken.

The crops that were mentioned were corn and wheat. There was a general yield of only 12 bushels of corn per acre with a dollar value of \$1.25 per acre. Wheat production was listed for the years of 1841 through 1845. For two of those years there was no yield, and the other three had 27, 100 and 147 bushel yields. In 1827, 20-25 acres were under cultivation and in 1845, 50 acres were cultivated.<sup>32</sup> How much acreage was used for each of these two crops over the years cannot be assessed.

There were successive tenants paying rent who lived on and farmed the Prairie Creek land for John B. Broadwell. William Pelham lived there from 1831-1836; then Isreal Carman from 1836-1840; James Linn in 1840 and Caleb Riggin from 1841-1845. Linn and Riggin paid Broadwell rent in the form of one-third of their produce. The latter estimated that his would amount to about \$1.50 per acre per year. Pelham stated that rent for land in 1835 was \$2 per acre and in 1843 it was \$1 per acre. They all talked of improvements which they had made to the house and on the farm, outbuildings and fences.<sup>33</sup>

Many of the deponents gave descriptions of buildings in some detail, which permit some indication of the composition of this farm. There was a double log house with each room being 16 ft. x 18 ft. It had two fireplaces with brick chimneys and hearths and glass windows. One gable end was weatherboarded by Riggin, the latest tenant. There was also a double hewed corn crib with a passage which was 24 ft. square. This area was also referred to as a wagon house. "Stables and other outbuildings" were also discussed, and a stone-walled well 18 feet deep with a foot high curb. In reference to fences, a 22 panel post and rail fence had two gates, and 1½ to 2 acres of land used as stock yards and garden were "under fence." <sup>34</sup> These buildings and fences existed on what was referred to as "Thompson land" or that which John B. had to give up to Thompson eventually because of the court's order.

Other buildings and fences were discussed as existing on "John B. Broadwell's adjacent land." They were "a frame house" and a double log house with each side being 16 ft. square. There were also references to two barns, one being 30' x 25' and the other 30' x 42'. A stable built of hickory was discussed as well. On land farmed by John Seaman, John B.'s son-in-law, there was a barn shingled with 5,000 shingles on one side. An 80-rod post and rail fence was built on Broadwell's land.<sup>35</sup> These buildings and fences were itemized because the timber for them all originated on the disputed acreage.

#### Chapter VI

#### Farm Hands

From the statements in the Broadwell depositions of 1843 and 1845, it is apparent that John B. Broadwell had renters or tenants farming the Broadwell land on Prairie Creek. There is also census data from 1830, 1840 and 1850 in which unidentified males were listed in the various Broadwell households. There was one in Jane's and two in John B.'s households in 1830. Euclid had three in 1840 and one 25 year old Farrington male whose occupation was listed as farmer in 1850. See Appendix B-1. Elsewhere in Sangamon County, Council and Crowder, had one and two males respectively in their 20's listed as farmers in their households. Andrew Elliot, who had three young sons, ages 21, 15, and 12, seemed to have his own family males to help. This is from 1850 census data. See Appendix B-2. In the 1850 Population Census data collected for the innkeeper/farmers from other Illinois counties the same trend appears. Dodds and Rutherford had one and Silkwood had two young males who were farmers in their households. Only the younger farmers like Greene Garfield (son of Timothy, the innkeeper) did not have an additional young male. These males would most likely have been farm helpers. See Appendix B-3.

Thus there seems to be ample evidence that the Broadwells, Sangamon County farmers, and other Illinois County farmer/innkeepers used extrafamilial help for their farms. Whether they were hired hands or tenants cannot be determined from this data. John B. did have tenants on the Prairie Creek farmland, but he and his brothers may have hired day laborers to farm the land on which they lived. The farmers' diaries and account books are helpful in the investigation of farm labor. According to an 1838 and 1839 diary, Sangamon County farmer C. J. F. Clarke helped his neighbors, especially at the harvesting time. There are many entries showing of his work for several area people. He was cradling wheat on July 10, sowing wheat "for Colby" on September 27, and gathering corn for Carr and Caverno around November 8, 1838. Clarke had come to Illinois in 1834 and owned a quarter section of land so he was no indigent immigrant. It is not clear if he was paid with money or produce or at all for this work.<sup>36</sup>

In his 1850 farming daybook Tunnel of Greene County indicated various means for getting his farm work done. On January 9, 1850, he made an arrangement with a neighbor for his son John to start work in the plowing season. This was to cancel the neighbor's debt to Tunnel John ended work on June 30. Later a Mr. Drennen was hired on October 3 and left on October 7. Mr. Smith was hired on October 3 and was paid on October 22, \$2.50 plus boots.<sup>37</sup> These last two men were short term seasonal workers who worked for pay and did not seem to be neighboring landowners.

In Menard County, near Athens, Illinois, Harry Riggin owned about 256 acres in 1837. He kept a ledger of his farming and store activities from 1831 to 1857. Many entries deal with his employment of farm hands. "Samuel Wilson commenced work for me by the month on Friday 8th Mar. 1850 for the sum of \$14. per mo. for the term of 5 months. H. Riggin." On July 1, 1850, S. Holland was credited with the following farming tasks: "cradling wheat, . . . bending wheat after machine, . . . cradle spring wheat, . . . mowing 5½ days." He was paid with eight bushels of apples, and eight bushels of wheat, and an old harness. Other laborers were paid with store goods, crops and cash, and one contracted to work for "A. Riggins Black Horse." On July of 1851 he paid cash to 12 different men for one, two and three days culling wheat. They all received \$1. per day. Other tasks for the hands included: killing hogs and beef, three hours driving hogs, cocking hay, putting hay in the barn, harrowing corn, building a hen coop and pasturing horses. There seemed to be a great turnover, although some names kept reappearing. The terms of employment seemed to vary, with some having board and washing, and others not.<sup>38</sup>

The number of hours which comprised a working day of a laborer was discussed by Cobbett. "An American labourer is not regulated, as to time by clocks and watches. The sun, who seldom hides his face, tells him when to begin in the morning, and when to leave at night."<sup>39</sup> Whether this was consistent practice in Illinois and through the 1850s is not known.

The living arrangements seemed to vary with the farm and the tenant, but for John B. Broadwell the tenant's abode was described. It was a double log house with each room being 16' x 18', a fireplace in each room with brick chimney and hearths, and glass windows. Two of the tenants paid rent to John B. in the form of one-third of their produce.<sup>40</sup>

The concept of "agricultural ladder" deserves some note here. According to editor T. Harry Williams, Abraham Lincoln declared:

> Many independent men everywhere in these states, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world, labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself; then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him.<sup>41</sup>

The society was very fluid and in very few years a man could move up the social ranks from laborer to landowner. This was probably one reason for the demeanor Cobbett noted. "The American labourers, like tavern keepers are never servile, but always civil... Full pocket or empty pocket these American labourers are always the same men: no saucy cunning in the one case, and no base crawling in the other."<sup>42</sup>

An intermediate step on the way up the ladder was to be a tenant farmer. "In fact, renting or working a farm on shares was considered more respectable by society than working for wages," stated David E. Schob in his study <u>Hired Hands and Plowboys.</u> The tenants working the Broadwell's Prairie Creek farmland may have been laborers first, then they became tenants. Eventually they may have advanced to landowner status. At least this is the American myth.

# Chapter VII

#### Farm Marketing

The relationship between farming and tavern keeping has been established. But one of the most important connecting aspects has not yet been examined, that of marketing. The meal serving function of the tavern was a direct means of turning farm products into cash quickly. For this reason, William Faux, an 1820s English traveler, made the following observation. "I slept at a good tavern, the keeper of which is a farmer. All are farmers, and all the best farmers are tavern keepers." In Indiana he stopped at a tavern where he had the following conversation with an old man, a two quarter-section farmer:

> 'We can always sell all the produce we raise from the land to travellers like you, and others, newcomers.' 'But,' said I, 'what will you do when your said newcomers and neighbors have as much to spare and sell as you have?' 'O, then we'll give it to cattle and pigs, which can travel to a market somewhere. I see no fear of a market in some shape or other.'<sup>43</sup>

Another taverner and her sons were the subjects of this evaluation: "They located themselves here eight years since, and find good land, good crops, and a market at the door." The inevitable location of inns on main-traveled roads was also advantageous for sending the produce to market with wagoners and other carriers who stopped on their way. From evidence of the quantity and variety of produce sold in the Frankfort, Ohio, daybook, which covered the years 1836-1839, it seems apparent that all the produce sold was not in the form of tavern meals. Whether the buyers were travelers or neighbors cannot be determined.<sup>44</sup> The Broadwells had such an advantageous location, and may have done marketing in the form of produce and prepared food.

In the early days of the settlement of an area, farmers had few options for marketing their products. Many farmers preferred direct dealing with their customers and there is some evidence that the practice of selling to or trading with neighbors existed. One example of this was a September 16 entry in Tunnel's daybook. It read "Old Mr. Jayne got 2 1/3 bu. corn for the widow Johnson."<sup>45</sup> Even though there were several entries like this, it is evident that this method of marketing involved small quantities and therefore very limited in its usefulness. It would seem that as their production increased, farmers would have had to look beyond their neighborhood for markets.

The next step in the farmers' expanding vision was still shaped by limited options. "Most, of necessity, saw their market in terms of the nearest merchants." An 1836 daybook from a store in Petersburg, Illinois, a budding town 20 miles north of Springfield, shows that many farm and garden products were brought in as barter items. In 1849 a Springfield wholesale and retail store advertised for farm products. "Wanted 100,000 bu. of corn, rye, and barley." In a different ad the retail store made this claim. "Most kinds of country produce taken in exchange for Goods."<sup>46</sup> So this method of marketing persisted until at least mid-century.

These local merchants were not necessarily selling exclusively to their immediate customers. Many were involved in their own marketing network. This is illustrated with John Broadwell's dealings with the Gatton and Enos firm in Springfield. These two men had a local outlet and contacts with similar outlets in St. Louis. One letter to Messers

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Riley and Ames extolled the virtues of Broadwell's flour upon sending 46 barrels for them to sell. "This flour we expect is of as good if not superior quality to any in your market."<sup>47</sup>

Similar retail and marketing dealers were advertised in 1849 Springfield newspapers. There were also ads in the Springfield paper of firms in Beardstown with the following words: "N. P. Tinsley Forwarding & Commission Merchants, Beardstown, Illinois." Before the advent of the railroad, a route from Springfield to Beardstown on the Illinois River was the main connection to the major transportation route of the Mississippi River and its tributaries. The Broadwells' land was located on this Springfield to Beardstown route. After 1840 it was improved to "turnpike" status, and John B. Broadwell acted as supervisor of construction.<sup>48</sup> It is assumed that the family must have used this route to market their farm products, as would most farmers from Sangamon County.

Throughout the state of Illinois, location would determine the nature of the access of a farm or town to a specific trade route. Most of Southern and Western Illinois towns would have used the Mississippi River route. However, those places located close to Chicago would have transported their farm goods to there. An 1843 entry in a Boone Co., Illinois, ledger listed an expense of \$9.12½ to "David V. Niles to hauling 3,630 bushels wheat to Chicago." Two of the Northern Illinois innkeepers, Stacey and Garfield would have sent their farm products to Chicago. In fact, the letter in Garfield's diary hinted at a reason for the increased business of their tavern: "The winter of 1843-44 developed a greater volume of travel, especially loaded teams going to Chicago."<sup>49</sup> Salmon Rutherford would have had direct access to the Illinois and Michigan Canal after its opening in 1848.<sup>50</sup> So he could have sent his produce to Chicago or to

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the south and west to the Illinois and Mississippi River route. Samuel F. Dodds' location in Lena would have determined his use of the Galena access to the Mississippi River route. Silkwood would have most likely used the same route entered into from his Southern Illinois location.

There is some evidence that livestock were marketed differently. This is particularly evident with cattle and hogs, the two most common types of livestock raised in Illinois. "Cattle was usually slaughtered at the consuming market." The method of transporting the cattle to market was on foot with a drover. "The key figure in the movement of large numbers of cattle from raiser to feeder and from feeder to markets was the drover. He arranged for financing, assembled the drove by purchasing the animals from perhaps scores of farms, and supervised the time-consuming drive." "Roadside inns" were places where cattle driven East could be sold along the way.

The regular trail followed to Chicago was itemized in a Central Illinois reminiscence. Cattle from the Broadwell area could have been marketed in Chicago. The Funks, who had at least one family member operating as drover, sometimes drove cattle to Buffalo, New York. They could also have been driven in large numbers, up to a thousand, directly to the East coast. There have been reports that the Broadwells' land was used for the purpose of assembling cattle in the local area. Drovers were to have stayed at the Inn while gathering the animals.<sup>51</sup>

"In the early days of development of the industry, hogs were slaughtered and packed on the farm, the barreled product then being hauled to a river town and sold to merchants." Although this was still done later, it was usually carried out on a limited basis for personal and neighborhood consumption only. "As early as 1826, three-fourths of the Cincinnati pork packed represented purchases of live hogs by the packer; by 1843

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the percentage had risen to ninety. Cincinnati dominated this industry, although every town on the Ohio River was a packing center."<sup>52</sup> This was also true to some extent for the Illinois River on which Beardstown was a pork packing center. In general, there were many more local packing plants for pork than there were for beef, so the distance to the closest market was less. But the drover was still the key figure and typical farmer's sales took place at his barn door. As with cattle the farmer dealt only with the drover, not the ultimate market. In his daybook, Tunnel tells of selling some hogs to E. Johnson on December 31, 1849 and on November 14, 1850. He also mentioned that "Johnson started his hogs this evening." (November 17, 1850). This man seemed to be someone that Tunnel knew. A complicated price was set based upon weight categories of each of Tunnel's 36 hogs.<sup>53</sup> These buyer-drovers obviously had personal contact with the farmers.

The Broadwells were raisers of sheep, as were many farmers in Sangamon County. So was Tunnel On May 27 and May 30 of 1850 he made the entry, "sheared sheep," in his daybook. His inventory listed 39 sheep. On July 30 he "Went to Fayette" and paid for "Woll carding to Taylor's."<sup>54</sup> This was a nearby town where he went often to buy goods and supplies. Among the Broadwells in the 1830s Charles was involved in a carding mill at Sangamo Town.<sup>55</sup> A "Fulling and Dyeing" operation was advertised on Richland Creek in a Springfield newspaper in 1832. In New Salem (12 miles north) Samuel Hill opened a carding machine mill in 1835. This was later moved to Petersburg where it became quite a large factory with a steam engine added when the business grew sufficiently. Springfield also had a carding mill in 1834, to which was added a fulling and dressing mill for homewoven cloth in 1848. Thus the Broadwells would have had several local choices at which to market their wool. Raw wool seems not to be taken by local stores, but woolen cloth such as "Woolen Jeans" were taken in trade for goods in at least one Springfield store.<sup>56</sup>

"Wool and not mutton was the object of sheep-raising." This seems to be true for Sangamon County and most of Illinois. There was no mention of mutton in a list of market prices in Chicago published in the <u>Prairie Farmer</u>.<sup>57</sup>

With the coming of the railroad the transportation and marketing system changed, giving another option to the farmers. The importance of this mode of transport in terms of its Sangamon County impact for farmer/innkeepers needs investigation in the future.

#### APPENDICES

- A. Agricultural Census Data Tables
  - 1. Broadwells in Illinois, 1850
  - 2. Broadwells in Illinois, 1860
  - 3. One-time Sangamon County Innkeepers: 1850
  - 4. Illinois Innkeepers: 1850
  - 5. Illinois Innkeepers: 1860
  - 6. Sangamon County Farmers Averages
  - 7. Illinois Innkeepers, Sangamon County Innkeepers, Broadwells and Probate Study Averages
- B. Population Census Data Tables
  - 1. Broadwells: 1850
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  - 3. Illinois Innkeepers: 1850
- C. Probate Inventory Data Tables
  - 1. Broadwells and Innkeeper/farmers in Central Illinois (2 pages)
  - 2. One-time Innkeepers (Sangamon County) (2 pages)
  - 3. Sangamon and Menard County Farmers (2 pages)
  - 4. Analysis of Probate Inventories, 1827-42
- D. Notes on Sources and Methodology for the Preceding Tables
- E. Notes on Sources: Farm Records

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a. Manuscript census, Illinois State Archives, vol. \_\_\_, p. 747. b. Ibid, p. 767. None of these Broadwells were listed in the 1860 Agricultural Census. There was only a "J.B. Broadwell" in the Pleasant Plains Area.

c. Categories not listed: Cotton, Peas, Beans, Wine, Clover, Garden Seeds, Hops, Hemp, Flaxseed, Silk, Cane Sugar, Molassas, Bees wax, Rice, Tobacco.

Agricultural Census: Sangamon County, 1850

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Agricultural Census: Sangamon County, 1860 Broadwells

b. MS Census, vol. , p. •

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- 34 -TABLE A-2

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Moses Stacey	250		30			100		6		11	35	45	5	
		Livesto	ck Pro	duct	s	····	Valuation							
	9	10	1 1	1	12	13		14		15	1	10	6	
	Cheese	Butte	r Mi	1k	Wool	Value H		Fan	m Imp	lements		Liveș	tock	Ы
						Manufac	ture				Liv	e	Slaughter	ed 🗄
Samuel F. Dodds	-	500		-	_	-		-		-	76	0	100	ed linois
Timothy Garfield	-	400		-	50			-			- 1		-	Di
Salmon Rutherford	-	500		-	60	-		-		-	80	0	130	
"Basilla Silkwood	-	100		- 1	-	50		-		- 1180		1180		In
Moses Stacey	150	1000	_		146						-			s Innkeepers
	1	Crops:				Cereal			······	I	ield Cro	ps		ei
	17		18		19	20		21		22	1 2		24	bel
	Indian		Oats	1	Rye	Wheat		arley		atoes	Buckw		Нау	N
	Area	Bu A	rea Bu	Ar	rea Bu	Area Bu	Ar	ea Bu		a Bu	Area	Bu	Tons	
······	<b> </b>								Irish	Sweet				\ <u>`</u>
Samuel F. Dodds	400		800		-	150		-	50	-	20	0	30	850
Timothy Garfield	400	1	400		-	750	1	125	50	-		-	60	0
Salmon Rutherford	1200	1	400		-	150	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	
Basilla Silkwood	1000		150		-	-		-	10	10	-	-	-	
Moses Stacey	600		300			300			100			-	150	
			Cro	ps t	o be P	rocessed				Fa	rm Relat	ed		
	25	26		2	27	28		29		30	31		32	
	Flax	Sorgh	um	Мар	le	Honey	Bro	om Cor	n Ma	rket	Wood Cu	tting	Orcha	rds
				Sug	ar				Ga	rden				
Samuel F. Dodds	-	-		-		-		-		.2	-		-	
Timothy Garfield	1 - 1	-		-				-		-	-		-	-
Salmon Rutherford	-	-		-		-		-	2	25	-			
Basilla Silkwood	-	-		-		-		_		-	-		-	
Moses Stacey							<u> </u>	-			-			

1

- 36 -TABLE A-4

Agrarian Structure																			
		t	-	L		2		3				4	5		(	6	7	8	
						Cash		ł							Cati	tle			
Innkeepers		Impro	oved/Ui	nimpro	ved	Valu	le	Value I	mpro	ve-	Hor	ses-	0xen	Co	ws	Other	Sheep	Swine	د
				_		Farm	1	ment Ma	chin	iery	Mu	les							
Samuel F. Dodds	1.	180	)	240		12,6	00	10	0		]	2	-		8	-	-	6	
Timothy Garfield	2.	160	)	33		6,0	00	25	0			3	-	1	2	39	-	12	
Ira Rutherford	3.	160	)	-		3,2	00	10	0			4	-		9	-	-	15	
Basilla Silkwood	4.	400	)	700		11,0	00	200		j		8		1	6	-	-	40	
Moses Stacey	5.	250	)	60 8,000		20	0			6	-	5	4		6	15	_		
			Livestock Products				V			Valuation							-		
		9	10 11 12			13		14	. [		15			16					
		Cheese	e But	ter	Milk	Woo	1	Value He	ome	Far	m	Impl	ements			Lives	tock		
								Manufac	ture			,			Live	1	laughte	red	
Samuel F. Dodds		-	20	)0	_			_							131		50		
Timothy Garfield		- 1	130	00	-	- 1				- 1	.		-		_				
Ira Rutherford		- 1	4	50	-	-		-		-			-		440	4	60		inoi
Basilla Silkwood		-	30	00	-	_		_			.		_		_				Ľ. s
Moses Stacey		600	100	00	-	-		-		-			-				-		
						Cro	ps:	Cereal							Fie:	ld Crop	S		- 37 TABLI Innke
		17		1 18	3 · 1	19	*	1 20	I	21	1		22	-	23		24	25	– 37 ABLI nnkec
		Indian	Corn	0at	1	Rye		Wheat		Barle	v		atoes	Bu		neat	Hay	Clove	· ·
		Area	Bu	Area	Bu	Area		Area Bu	1	Area B	·	Are	a Bu	A	rea	Bu	Tons	Seed	
												Irish Sweet						у. ••	
Samuel F. Dodds		200	)	20	0			400				40	-		_		50	-	-
Timothy Garfield		300	)	60	0	-		200		-		40			20		60	-	18
Ira Rutherford		600	)	30	0	-		1.0				-	-		-		_	-	860
Basilla Silkwood		1500	)	-				300		-		15	-		-		-	1	
Moses Stacey		1000	)	100	0			200				150	_	1	-		150	60	
				Cro	ps to	be Pr	oce	ssed						Far	m Re	elated			-
		26	27		1	28	1	29	l	30		ł	31		32		33		
		Flax	Sorgh	um	М	aple	1	Honey	Br	oom Co	rn	Ma	rket	Wood	- Cutt	ing	Orcha	rds	
			.,			ugar		5				Ga	rden			0			
Samuel F. Dodds		-	-		_	_		-				1	-		_		40		-
Timothy Garfield		-		÷				-		-		}	-	-	-		-		
Ira Rutherford		-	-				[	50		-			-	-	-		100		
Basilla Silkwood		-	-			-	}	-		-		1	-	-	_		60		
Moses Stacey	-	-			-		50		-			6	-	_		10			
		• <u> </u>										·					<u>+</u>		

1. Stephenson Co., Wadam P.O.

2. Kane Co., Compton P.O., p. 22.

3. Grundy Co. Auxsable.

:

4. Franklin Co., Little Muddy P.O., p. 45.

5. DuPage Co., Milton P.O., p. 37.

Prepared by Melinda Kwedar Research Associate, 9/81

# TABLE A-6

# Sangamon County Farmers Averages

ī

Farm Size	Horses- Mules	<u>Oxen</u>	Cattle	Sheep	<u>Swine</u>	Cheese
150-199	5	1	15	22	36	14 lbs.
Butter	<u>Woo1</u>	Ir	ndian Corn	<u>Oats</u>	-	Rye
233 lbs.	57 lbs.	]	855 bu.	178 b	u.	9 bu.

Wheat	<u>Potatoes (Irish</u> )	Buckwheat	Hay
63 bu.	19 bu.	2/3 bu.	6 tons

<u>Maple</u>	Honey	Market Garden	Orchards Area
2	1 3/4	\$17.	\$29.

					Livestock			
l			1	2	3	4	, 5	6
			Horses-					Indian Corn
		· ··· · ··· · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Mules	Oxen	Cows	Sheep	Swine	Bu
1.	Illinois Innkeepers	1850	11	2	23	21	49	720
		1860	.7	0	27	1	17	700
2.	Sangamon County One- time Innkeepers	1850 (only)	12	7	45	10	81	5,450
3.	Broadwell's	1850	3	0	12	14	11	1,700
		1860	4	0	4	48	18	1,300
4.	Probate Study Averages	(1827-42)	3	1/4	6	7	15	1 (lot)

# Averages for Innkeepers from the Agricultural Census and Probate Study

			Crops: C	Cereal		Field Crops			
			7	8	9	10 Potatoes	11	12	
1						Bu	Buckwheat		
		····	Oats Bu	Rye Bu	Wheat Bu	Irish	Bu	Hay Tons	
1.	Illinois Innkeepers	1850	400		250	45	4	55	
		1860	420		222	49	4	52	
2.	Sangamon County One- time Innkeepers	1850 (only)	512	0	80	30	0	25	
3.	Broadwell's	1850	125	0	144	-11	0	12	
		1860	83	0	33	0	50	50	
4.	Probate Study Averages	(1827-42)	1/4 (lot)		1/2 (lot)	0	0	1/8 (lot)	

TABLE A-7 Averages for Innkeepers 1 ξ 1

# - 40 -TABLE B-1 Population Census: Broadwells, 1850

Household Number	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	Property Value	Birthplace
1551	Broadwell, William	25	М	Farmer	\$3000	Illinois
1551	" , Cynthia	25	F			New York
1551	", Isaac	3	М			Illinois
1551	", Jacob	2	М			Illinois
1551	", John	50	М	Farmer		Ohio
1551	" , Harriet	18	F			Illinois
1551	" , Francis	14	М			Illinois
1551	", Henry	12	М			Illinois
1551	Hodgkiss, Mary	50	F			New York
1550	Broadwell, E.	41	M	Farmer	\$2000	Ohio
1550	" , Laura	35	F			Ohio
1550	" , Louisa	14	F			Illinois
1550	" , Rosaline	11	F			Illinois
1550	" , Maria	8	F			Illinois
1550	", Chas	4	М			Illinois
1550	" , David	56	М	Farmer		Ohio
1550	Farrington, Louisa	60	F			Vermont
1550	", A.	25	М	Farmer		Ohio
1364	Broadwell, Danel	29	М	Farmer	\$3000	Illinois
1364	", Irean	25	F			Ohio
1364	", Emma	7	$\mathbf{F}$			Illinois
1364	" , Alonza	5	М			Illinois
1364	" , Wills	3	М			Illinois
1564	Carson, William	51	М	Farmer	\$2600	Pennslyvania
1564	" , Cynthia	43	F			Ohio
1564	" , Mary (Leah A.)	21	F			Illinois
1564	" , Elizabeth A.	19	$\mathbf{F}$			Illinois
1564	" , Rachel (c)	18	F			Illinois
1564	" , Mary (M.)	16	F			Illinois
1564	" , Helen (B)	13	F			Illinois
1564	" , Winfield Scott	7	М			Illinois
1564	" , William (L.)	4	М			Illinois
1564	", George	3/12	М			Illinois
1564	McGiveney, Stephen	8	М			Illinois
1564	" Robert	3	М			Illinois

### - 41 -TABLE B-2

### One-Time Innkeepers (Sangamon County): 1850

Inhabitants of Dwellings in the Population Census of Sangamon County

Where the Head of Household Owned or Operated an Inn Sometime Between 1830-1860

Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	Property Value	Birthplace
COUNCIL, Hardie	56	М	Farmer	\$17,000	North Carolina
", Jane	53	F			Kentucky
", John	28	М	Farmer		Illinois
" , Wesley	25	М	Farmer		Illinois
", Wm.F.	22	М	Farmer		Illinois
", Rosan	18	F			Illinois
", Robert	19	М	Farmer		Illinois
" , Geo. W.	16	М	Farmer		Illinois
LACON, Sarah	17	F			Indiana
WITSON, Wm.	23	М	Farmer		Ohio
CROWDER, John	48	м	Farmer	\$10,000	Kentucky
" , Mary	45	F			Kentucky
", Wm.	22	М	Farmer		Illinois
", Thom.	15	М			Illinois
" , Frances	12	F			Illinois
" , Martha	10	F			Illinois
" , Catherine	5	$\mathbf{F}$			Illinois
WARREN, Paul	20	М	Farmer		Illinois
GREEMWALT, Francis	21	М	Farmer		Illinois
ELLIOT, Andrew	58	М	Farmer	\$ 6,000	North Carolina
ROLL, Mariah	22	F			Illinois
ELLIOTT, Andrew	21	М	Farmer		Illinois
", James	15	М			Illinois
" , William	12	М			Illinois

Prepared by Melinda Kwedar Research Associate, 9/81

These names were uncovered in the search of the inn licenses in the County Commissioners' Records 1930-39, the newspaper advertisements of 1840s, and the Springfield city directories of the 1850s, as described in the research report on Inns and Taverns in the Midwest by Melinda Kwedar and Edward Hawes (Springfield, 1981), pp. 4-5.

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# TABLE B-3

# Illinois Innkeepers: 1850

Inhabitants of Dwellings in the Population Census (Non-Sangamon County)

Where the Head of the Household Owned an Inn Recorded in the Illinois Field Survey

	Name	Age	Sex	Occupation	Property Value	Birthplace
_	.County: Stephenson (p	). 318).	Field S	Survey No. 81:1	_4	
	DODDS, Samuel F.	44	M	Farmer	\$ <b>6</b> 00	Kentucky
	" , Mary J.	39	F			Tennessee
	" , Rachel	21	F			Ohio
	" , Elizabeth	18	F			Pennsylvani
	" , Samuel	15	М			Indiana
	" , Malinda	3	F			Illinois
	PIFER, George	28	M	Laborer		England
r	County: Kane (p.	38). F	ield Sur	vey No. 81: 9		
	GARFIELD, Green	22	М	Farmer	\$1500	Vermont
	", Francis	20	F			Vermont
-	", Dwight	6 mt	hs. M			Illinois
	County: Grundy (p. ]	.59). F	ield Sur	rvey No. 81:6		
	RUTHERFORD, Saloman	53	M	Farmer	\$8000	Vermont
	", Eluira	45	F		·	Vermont
	", Emily	14	F			Illinois
	", Eluira	8	F			Illinois
	", Henry	6	М			Illinois
	WALT, Shay	35	М	Blacksmith		Ireland
	County: Franklin (p	o. 38).	Field S	Survey No. 81:5		
	SILKWOOD, Barzilla	48	M	Farmer	\$2000	Virginia(?)
	", Mahala	48	F	Turmer	42000	Tennessee
	ANGAR, Leara M.	13	F			New York
	SILKWOOD, W.R.	12	M			Illinois
	", N.J.	12	F			Illinois
	STOCKWELL, J.B.	21	r M	Speculator	\$ 128	Tennessee
	JOHNSON, Robt.	21	M	Farmer	Y IGO	Tennessee
	·	24 26	M F	raimei		Illinois
	, Pricilla (Mulatto)	20	Г			11111012
	(MULATTO)					

			<u>Vehicle</u>	<u>Vehicles &amp; Accessories</u>			Livestock				
Surname	Died	Total Acres	Wagons	Saddles	Harness	Poultry	Horses- Mules	Oxen	Cows	Sheep	Swine
1. Moses Broadwell	1827		l(dearborn)		1						3 lots + 6 + pigs
2. William Broadwell	1824				2 sets	 				31	18
3. William K. Broadwell	1851		1					 	6 + calves	220	9
4. Samuel Musick	1836								3		<u>1 lot</u>
5. Edward Mitchell	1836		l(dearborn)	l mans l ladies	1			2	3		9
6. John Tackett	1850		1		1 set				5 3 calves	"sheep"	1 lot
7. Globe (none)											

# TABLE C-1a: Probate Inventory Data: Broadwells and Innkeeper/farmers in Central Illinois

## Tools and Implements

Surname	Plow	Harrow	Scythe/ Cradle	Shove1 Spade	Hoe	Grindstone	Sau	Axes Adze	Fro	Fork	Clevis			Steel-
	1100	India Low	- oradic	opauc	noc	0111103cone	Jaw	Auze	<u> rro</u>	FOLK	CIEVIS	Auger	Chain	Yards
1. Moses												3		
2. William			1											1 pair
3. William K.	2				L									
	1 Barshear													
4. Musick	2 Cary		1	11	L		L			1	2			l pair
5. Mitchell	1			1			1	3 chopping		1 (1 )				
J. MILCHEII	L		<u>⊥</u>	1				<u>l meat</u>		1(hay)	2	2		<u>l pair</u>
5. Tackett			1(mowing)	l(scoop)	1	1		2		l(dung) 2(pitch)			1	<u>l pair</u>

TABLE C-lb: Probate Inventory Data: Broadwells and Innkeeper/farmers in Central Illinois

### Crops: Cereals

### Field Crops

Surname	Indian Corn	Oats	Wheat Area Bu	Hay	Potatoes Area Bu	Buckwheat Area Bu	Feed for Animals	Hemp	Flax
1. Moses	l lot corn l(in crib)								
2. William				hay		buckwheat		Wool	flax
3. William K.	corn	oats						350 lbs.	
4. Musick									
5. Mitchell		2 ricks		2 ricks					1
6. Tackett	l lot corn								4

## Animal Accessories

### Farm Related

Surname	Gears	Singletree Doubletree	Beekeeping	Market Garden	Wood	Orchards/Fruit	Cheese Hoops
1. Moses			5 stands				3
2. William		1					
3. William K.	2 sets	l single l double					
4. Musick	1 1ot	2					
5. Mitchell		1					
6. Tackett							

TABLE C-2a: Probate Inventory Data: One-time Innkeepers (Sangamon County)

			Vehicle	Vehicles & Accessories			Livestock					
Surname	Died	Total Acres	Wagons	Saddles	Harness	Poultry	Horses- Mules	Oxen	Cows	Sheep	Swine	
1. David Spear	1863		1									
2. John C. Crowder	1863		l(two horse)	1	2 lots 2 sets				20 + calves		<u> 37 + pigs</u>	
3. A. Elliot	1863		l(two horse)						4 + calves		10 + pigs	
4. W. Carpenter	1859								1			
5. J. Burtle	1851		l(two horse)						4		43 <u>+</u>	

# Tools and Implements

	1	1	Scythe/	Shovel	1	1	l.	Axes			l		1	Steel
Surname	Plow	Harrow	Cradle	Spade	Hoe	Grindstone	Saw	Adze	Fro	Fork	Clevis	Auger	Chain	Yards
1. Spear														
2. Crowder	6(2 double)	1	l 2(sraths) 1(corn knife) 1(grain cradle)	l(grain)	2	-		2		l(stable) 2(grain)			1	2
3. Elliot	2	1	1				1(x)			1			1	
4. Carpenter			•											
5. Burtle	2(Jewett)		1	1	2	1		2						

TABLE C-2b: Probate Inventory Data: One-time Innkeepers (Sangamon County)

# Crops: Cereals

## Field Crops

Surname	Indian Corn	Oats	Hemp	Wheat Area Bu	Hav	Potatoes Area Bu	Buckwheat Area Bu	Feed for Animals
1. Spear-								
2. Crowder	2 lots							
3. Elliot	3 lots				2 stacks			
4. Carpenter								
5. Burtle	corn	oats		wheat				

### Animal Accessories

### Farm Related

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Surname	Gears	Singletree Doubletree	Beekeeping	Market Garden	Wood	Orchards/Fruit
1. Spear			4 stands			
2. Crowder		1				
3. Elliot			2 stands			
4. Carpenter						-
5. Burtle		l pair	1 stand			

						Vehicles & Accessories				Livestock					
	5	urname		Died	Total Acres	Wagons	Saddles	Harness	Poultr		ses- les	0xen	Cows	Sheep	Swine
acres	1. Jacksor		r		20(rented)	1	3	3 sets			6		17-7 calves		48
				10/2									······································		1
	2. Joseph	P. Sm1	th l	1843	40	11		1			2		1		3
-10( res	3. Joshua	C. Alex	kander	1843	80						7			10	18
50	4. James M	I. Pensl	naw	1852	80	1	1				2	2			
100 200	3. Joshua 4. James M 5. John Go	oden*		1853	160	1		3			8		22	11	11
	6. Robert				351	1	1	2			5		9-7 calves	42	146
+ aci	7. Nathan	Butler			412	1			19 gee	se	3		10	11	24
300-	7. Nathan 8. John Da	rneille	2		480	2	1				5		17	36	40
;	*Menard Co	untv				Too	ls and Ir	plements							I
		2													47 -
	_		1	Scythe		1			1	Axes	1	1	1 1	1	
	Surname	Plow	Harrow	Cradle	e Spade	Но	e (	Grindstone	Saw	Adze	Fro	Fork	Clevis	Auger	Chain
<u>1. A</u>	rcher	10	1	1		l(grub	bing)						5		
2. Sr	mith	2		2								1			
<u>3.</u> A.	lexander	2	1	1	1	1		-	2	1	1	1	4	1	1
4. Re	enshaw														2
<u>5. Go</u>	ooden	3		2		2				2					
6. Cı	row	7	1	1				1	1	6				3	
7. Bi	utler	5		6		3		1		1	]	1			4
<b>8.</b> Da	arnielle	10	1	2	1	2		1		1	1				1
AVERA	AGE:	5	1/2	2	1/4	1		1/3	1/3	1-1/2	1/4	1/3	1	1/2	1

# TABLE C-3a: Probate Inventory Data: Sangamon and Menard County Farmers

		Crops:		Field Crops					
	Indian Corn	Oats	lleme	Wheat	11	Potatoes	Buckwheat	Feed for Animals	
		Uats	Hemp	Area Bu	Нау	Area Bu	Area Bu	Animais	
1. Archer					<u> </u>			1	
2. Smith		1-1/2 stacks			<u>l stac</u>	k			
3. Alexander	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·								
4. Renshaw	172-2/3 shocks	1/3 stack							
5. Gooden	2 shocks	80 bu							
6. Crow	21 acres	250 bu	3						
7. Butler	116 bu			34 bu	6.5 to	ns			
8. Darnielle	l lot in crib	96 bu		40 bu	1		{	1	
		Animal Accesorie	S		Farm Re	lated		2 2 2	
								1	
	Gears	Singletree Doubletree	Beekeepi	ng Gard		Wood	Orchards/I	ruit	
1. Archer									
2. Smith						l lot Planks 1" Lathing			
3. Alexand	lerl set	1 lot	13 hives	3					
4. Renshav	A	•							
5. Gooden						1,800 shingles 160 clapboards			
6. Crow	1	1		1 be	ans	2 planks			
7. Butler	4 sets					2 lots			
8. Darnie]	Lle _8	1							

# TABLE C-3b: Probate Inventory Data: Sangamon and Menard County Farmers

### TABLE C-4

### Analysis of Probate Inventories, 1827-1842 in the New Salem Precinct (Sangamon and Menard Counties)

Farm Items

Items listed on 42 probate inventories were averaged using as a base the number of inventories actually containing the item in question. The number in parenthesis following the item(s) indicates the number of inventories which listed it (them).\*

1 pr. sheepshears (3)	l Shovel (8)
2 Chains (20)	2 Forks (6)
2 lots of pork (8)	2 handtools such as
l Clevis (14)	spades, rakes, sickles (13)
4 Gears (20)	2 Axes (31)
2 Accessories to Agricultural Implements (11)	1 Saw (18)
2 Scythes (15)	2 Plows/Harrows (31)
2 Hoes (23)	l Steelyard (9)
2 Wagon Accessories (7)	1 Wagon (17)
l Sleigh (l)	1 Cart (4)
l Saddle (29)	2 Harnesses (12)
2 Single and/or Double Trees (12)	2 Bridles (20)
1 Girth (2)	1 Cowbell (2)
2 beast chains (8)	l Martingale (6)
l Collar (6)	l pair Saddle Bags (9)
3 Horses (39)	2 animal accessories (18)
24 Hogs (26)	7 Cows, calves, cattle (34)
14 head Sheep (20)	18 head Geese (6)
4 Oxen (9)	l beaste (l)
2 lots Corn (18)	l lot Flax (5)
1 lot Oats (8)	2 lots Wheat (10)
2 lots Hay (3)	2 lots Rye (2)
4 lots of Planks (1)	6 lots Bees (8)
5 wood items such as lumber or firewood (7)	2 Rivits (1)

\*From Melinda F. Kwedar, James Allen, John Paterson, "Interpreting 1830s Storekeeping in New Salem, Illinois" (typescript), Illinois Department of Conservation, Research Office, Springfield, Ill., 1980).

١

Appendix D: Notes on Methodology and Sources:

For the Preceeding Tables

In the effort to find data about farming practices of the innkeepers who engaged in farming the following steps were taken. First the data from the Federal Agricultural and Population Census were extracted and charted for all the Broadwell farms in 1850 and 1860. See Tables A-1 and 2, Appendix A.

The returns from the questionnaire sent out to almost 1300 historic societies and agencies, libraries and archives in the Midwest indicated that there might be up to fifty surviving buildings of one-time inn, taverns or hotels of the pre-1860 era left. So, secondly for this research report, twelve of these from Illinois were selected for intensive field study. The criteria used for selecting them related essentially to their likely similarity to the Broadwell Inn. The size (about seven rooms) and a location in a rural or small town setting were considered most important. Of these one-time inns, five were in Southern Illinois and seven in Northern Illinois. These were inspected and photographed in late May and early June, 1981, on two trips. Surviving records were examined and oral interviews of people involved in them as property owners or as interpreters were made. If there were presently or had been farm buildings in the vicinity of the place, record was made of the fact on paper, photograph or tape. During the course of the field work, several additional places were examined even though they were not on the top priority list, because they were on the way. All in all, seventeen places were visited in Illinois, although photographs were made of only fifteen.

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The names of owners of the original twelve inn in the 1840s and 1850s were used as a basis for a search in their respective county histories for biographical data. Then the 1850 Population Census Index at the Illinois State Archives was checked, if they did not have a prior death date. One of the five from the southern field work and four of the seven in the northern field work were found in the index. These five were also found in the Agricultural Census. The resulting data from both 1850 and 1860 censuses were put into tabular form, as it was for the Broadwells. These data are to be found in Table A-5 in Appendix A.

Thirdly, in order to get more data on local innkeepers who also farmed, the previously compiled list of people who received tavern licenses from Sangamon County Commissioners' was used. The names of rural tavern owners were checked in the 1850 Population Census Index. Only two names were found, which is not surprising, since the licenses stopped in 1838 and the census was made 12 years later. The Sangamo Journal and Springfield City directories yielded many other names for the 1840s and 1850s, but only two were of taverners who owned land. Data on these four Sangamon County people were also found in the Population and Agriculture Census and were charted as described above. See Appendix A-3. When it is recalled from the research report on Inns and Taverns in the Midwest in the chapter on inventories that more than 150 names were included in the combined list, it will be seen that a gigantic sifting process revealed few tangible results. It seems to indicate that innkeeping was a rather ephemeral activity for many early Illinois people. The presence of so few surviving inn and tavern records in the Midwest as a whole

becomes more understandable.

Fourthly, the list of possible innkeepers for which probate inventories could be found described in the report on Inn and Taverns was again utilized to discover what agricultural implements, crops and livestock they possessed. The charts on the Broadwells' Innkeeper/ farmers, and One-time Innkeepers and the Sangamon and Menard County Farmers show the resulting data. Also included is a chart called Sangamon County Averages. This was taken from the massive Rural Life Survey data carried out by Sangamon State University students under Professor Edward Hawes. In this, all Sangamon County Agricultural Census data was extracted on standard forms for a comparison of farmers with Northern and Southern origins. The data for people of each region of origin was summarized and averaged on two separate sheets. These two averages were combined to arrive at the Sangamon County Averages. Also included are tables for Probate Inventory Averages from a 42-Probate Inventory Study of Sangamon and Menard County, also done by seminar students under Hawes. See Appendix C.

Appendix E: Notes on Sources:

Farmers' Letters and Account Books in the Manuscripts Department of the Illinois State Historical Library

E. Currier (South Grove, DeKalb County, Ill.). Letters, 1853-57.

Four of the letters of 1853 and 1854 contained some valuable farming data. Currier wrote of the 10 horses he kept for farming and how much of his land was cultivated. The cattle he raised, breed name and best age to sell them were detailed. The crops and yields were itemized. He described his wheat harvest utilizing a McCormick's reaper and related its capacity in acres per day. Other implements were also mentioned, as well as some of his farming methods. This collection is useful since this kind of detailed farming information in primary sources is rare and difficult to locate.

Harry Riggin (Athens, Menard County, Ill.). Account Book (microfilm).

This is a single bound volume containing 105 double pages unpaginated on microfilm. It appears to be a farming ledger since the entries are made with different persons' names at the top of each page with their chronological credits and debits listed below. It contains a different type of data than a daybook and was especially valuable in the study of farm hands. Their tasks and payment were recorded, yielding valuable primary, local evidence of this forgotten aspect of farm operations. Other details like farm prices, the amount of pork sold and the names of seventeen kinds of apples are also included. The volume is difficult to use because the entries are not chronological and there are no page

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numbers. However, a complete analysis of this source would be extremely useful for many kinds of farming questions.

James McConnell, et. al. (Sangamon County, Ill.). Letters, 1838-(S. C. 2313).

This collection begins with letters of James McConnell in 1838 and ends in 1874 with those of his son, E. F. McConnell. James was a Merino sheep raiser in Sangamon County and many of his letters mention this operation. He also gave a continuing account of current prices for the crops and stock raised at the time. In an 1847 letter he told of his flock which then had 1,500 or 1,600 head of Merino sheep. He also wrote of the Springfield to Alton railroad which was opened in the summer of 1852. In 1866 James' daughter, Sarah McHoppin, took over the correspondence and wrote of James' declining health. She lived in the Chatham area. Then her brother E. F. took over the writing. There was about one letter a year to James Smith in Liverpool, England, who was the brother of James' wife. The younger generation sent him small sums of money. The letters represent a good two-generation study for a successful Sangamon County farming family.

W. A. Tunnel (Green County, Ill.). Daybook, 1847-52 (SC 1564).

This is composed of one bound volume with about 113 pages. The source was extremely useful in providing specific farming data on livestock, farm hands, implements, crops and seasonal farming practices. The entries made every day during the year 1850 were extracted and studied for relevance to the history of Illinois farming. The fact that this type of daybook with daily recordings for several years in Illinois is very rare makes this source extremely valuable. It contains the kind of localized and personal information which is not recorded elsewhere, and gives the past living quality. Getting inside this one farmer's life in the form of his daily activities is a fascinating and useful experience.

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### Chapter I

- 1. Paton Yoder, <u>Taverns and Travelers</u>: <u>Inns of the Early Midwest</u> (Bloomington, 1969), p. 4.
- Patrick Shirreff, <u>A Tour Through North America</u> (New York, 1971), p. 196.
- 3. Christiana Holmes Tillson, <u>Reminiscences of Early Life in Illinois</u>. <u>A Women's Story of Pioneer Illinois</u> (Chicago, 1919), p. 58. William Cobbett, <u>A Years Residence in the United States of</u> <u>America</u> (Carbondale, 1964), p. 269. W. Faux, <u>Memorable Days in</u> <u>America</u> (New York, 1969), pp. 188, 211, 235, 306, 204, 205, 340 & 341.
- 4. Shirreff, p. 239.
- 5. See Frankfort Ohio Daybook (1836-1839).
- 6. Yoder, p. 62.

### Chapter II

- 7. <u>Illinois Daily Journal</u> (Jan. 3, 1849), p. 1, col. 4.; (Jan. 9, 1849); p. 2, col. 4; (Jan. 10, 1849), p. 1, col. 4; (May 12, 1849), p. 3, col. 1; (Apr. 13, 1850), p. 2, col. 3.
- 8. W. A. Tunnel, Daybook (1847-1852), pp. 31, 32, 36 & 35.
- 9. E. Currier, Letters, July 25, 1853 letter. Clarence H. Danhof, <u>Change in Agriculture: The Northern United States, 1820-1870</u> (Cambridge, 1969), p. 229. <u>Illinois Journal</u> (Apr. 13, 1850), p. 1, col. 3 and 4, col. 6. Danhof, p. 227.
- 10. Ill. Journal (Jan. 4, 1849), p. 1, col. 3.
- 11. Transactions of the Illinois State Agricultural Society, vol. 2 (1855/56), p. 573.
- 12. <u>Transactions I. S. A. S.</u>, vol. 4 (1859/60), p. 301. Charles W. Marsh, Recollections 1837-1910 (Chicago, 1910), p. 44.

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- 14. See Tunnel; C. J. F. Clarke, Diary (1838-1839); Harry Riggin, Account Book (1831-1855); Ledger (1813-1849) from store/farm/ tavern/stage stop, Amesville, Boone Co. Ill. H. L. Ellsworth, <u>Illinois in 1837, A Sketch Descriptive of the Situation, Boundaries</u> (Philadelphia, 1837), p. 44.
- 15. Tunnel, p. 30.
- 16. Transactions, I. S. A. S., vol. 1(1853-54), p. 432.
- 17. The Prairie Farmer and Union Agriculturalist, vol. 15 (1855), pp. 394-6. Ellsworth, p. 44.
- 18. Moses Broadwell Probated Estate #40, Circuit Court Clerks Office, County Building, Springfield, Ill., 1845 Deposition.
- 19. Transactions, I. S. A. S., vol. 1 (1853-54), p. 429; vol. 3, p. 61.

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- 20. Melinda F. Kwedar; Edward L. Hawes, <u>Inns and Taverns in the Midwest</u> to 1860 (Springfield, Ill., 1981), pp. 28-33.
- 21. Paul W. Gates, <u>The Farmer's Age: Agriculture</u>, 1815-1860 (New York, 1960).
- 22. Charles W. Towne and Edward N. Wentworth, Pigs From Cave to Corn Belt (Oklahoma, 1950), pp. 98 & 99.
- 23. Transactions, I. S. A. S., vol. I (1853/54), p. 114.
- 24. Allan G. Bogue, From Prairie to Cornbelt (Chicago, 1963), p. 110.
- 25. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 86.
- Bogue, p. 88. Helen M. Cavanagh, <u>Funk of Funks' Grove</u> (Bloomington, 1952), p. 61. Whitaker, p. 133.
- Bogue, p. 113. James McConnell, Letters, 1847 letter. See Appendix C-4 for the 1827-42 probate study averages.
- 28. Kay MacLean, The Roots in Ohio and New Jersey, Part III of the Broadwells of Clayville and Their Roots (4 pts., Springfield, Ill., 1981), p. 15.
- 29. Bogue, p. 115.

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30. 1843 and 1845 Depositions, Papers in Clayville Papers, Sangamon State University Archives, photocopies.

- 32. Ibid., p. 2, p. 3. 1843 Deposition, p. 1.
- 33. 1843 Deposition, p. 1. 1845 Deposition, pp. 8, 1, 3. 1843 Deposition, p. 1.
- 34. 1845 Deposition, pp. 8, 5, 6, 4.
- 35. Ibid., pp. 1, 2, 4, 6, 3.

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- 37. Tunnel, pp. 28, 29, 40 & 41.
- 38. Riggin, unpaginated, dates in text.
- 39. Cobbett, p. 180.
- 40. 1845 Deposition, p. 10.
- 41. As quoted in Schob, p. 250 from Williams, Abraham Lincoln: <u>Selected</u> Speeches (New York, 1962), p. 173.
- 42. Cobbett, pp. 180 & 181.

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- 43. Faux, pp. 340, 210.
- 44. Frankfort Daybook.
- 45. Tunnel, p. 39.
- 46. Danhof, p. 28. Melinda F. Kwedar, et. al., "Interpreting 1830s Storekeeping in New Salem, Illinois " (Springfield, 1980), p. 335. <u>Ill. Journal</u> (Jan. 2, 1849), p. 4, col. 4, p. 4, col. 1.
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- 49. Sam B. Hilliard, "Antebellum Interregional Trade. The Mississippi River as an Example," <u>Pattern and Process: Research in Historical</u> <u>Geography</u> (Washington, 1975), p. 203. Boone Co. Ledger, May 3, 1843. Franklin Green Garfield, "Stagecoach Welcome, A Story of the Garfield Family," p. 63.

- 50. Robert P. Howard, <u>Illinois: A History of the Prairie State</u> (Michigan, 1972), p. 238.
- 51. Cavanagh, p. 68, p. 62. Danhof, p. 35 & 36. Lloyd Weir and Mary Goff Interview by Emmett Pearson, 1963 (typescript), Clayville Papers.
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- 55. Melinda F. Kwedar, <u>The Family and Its Activities in Illinois</u>, Part I, <u>The Broadwells of Clayville and Their Roots</u> (4 pts; Springfield, 1981), pp. 23-26.
- 56. <u>Sangamo Journal</u> (Dec. 1, 1832), p. 3, col. 4; (Apr. 24, 1835), p. 1, col. 2. Anon., <u>History of Sangamon County</u>, Illinois (Chicago, 1881), p. 578. <u>Sangamo Journal</u> (Dec. 3, 1836), p. 1, col. 3.
- 57. Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, History of Agriculture in the Northern United States (New York, 1941), p. 110. The Prairie Farmer and Union Agriculturalist, vol. 4 (1844), p. 55.

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- Estate inventories of one-time innkeeper/farmers in Sangamon County are located in the Circuit Court Clerk's Office, Sangamon County Building. Photocopies in the Clayville Papers, Sangamon State University Archives.