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ELSPETH BROWN

GENDER AND IDENTITY IN RURAL MAINE
WOMEN AND
THE *MAINE FARMER*, 1870-1875

In December 1870 the editors of the agricultural weekly *Maine Farmer* announced a front-page column entitled Woman's Department: "In this column, each week, we propose to place whatever in our opinion will interest our lady readers....we invite contributions of original or selected recipes, hints in domestic economy, etc. Let us hear often from our wives and daughters."¹ Over the next twenty years, women wrote into the column from all over the state to exchange information and to debate a range of issues. The Woman's Department established a community of readers and contributors who used the column to formulate issues of concern to farm women and to construct a set of narratives concerning the meaning of rural womanhood in the nineteenth-century Northeast.²

The *Maine Farmer*, published from 1833 to 1924, was begun by physician and agricultural professor Ezekiel Holmes for "the mutual improvement of the Farmer and the Mechanic."³ The paper served as a statewide clearinghouse of agricultural information and innovations while carrying local and national news of general interest.⁴ Articles on homemade and manufactured fertilizers or reports from local and statewide agricultural fairs successfully linked the individual farmer to a wider network of progressive agriculturists.

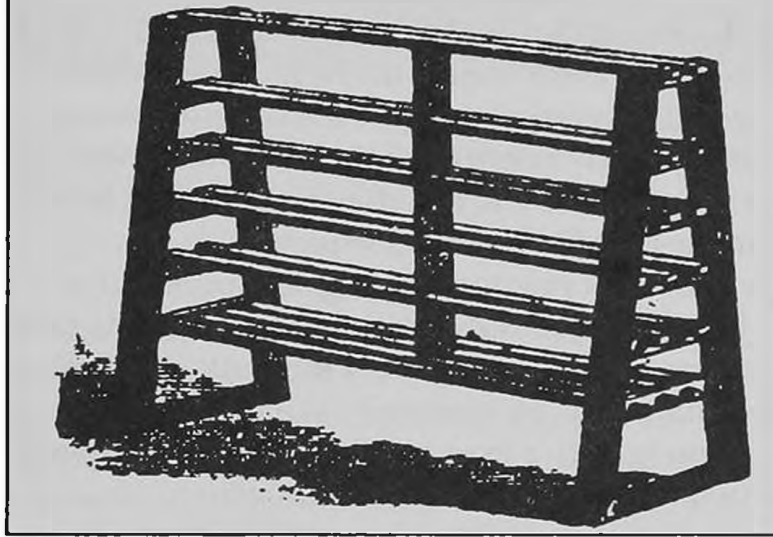
Women greeted the appearance of the Woman's Department with enthusiasm. Although it is difficult to know whether the introduction of the column increased the paper's circulation, its arrival clearly changed the meaning of the paper for those many women who were already readers.⁵ As Lulu wrote in, "I think that this department is a great improvement in your paper. Before it was inserted it seemed to be published exclusively for the men; now we have a part in it to communicate with each

Household Economy.

To our Lady Readers.

In this column, each week, we propose to place whatever in our opinion will interest our lady readers, in regard to their various household duties, and to it we invite contributions of original or selected receipts, hints in domestic economy, &c., &c. Let us hear often from our farmers' wives and daughters.

Milk and Provision Rack.



Announcement in the *Maine Farmer*, December 10, 1870.

other.”⁶ For some women, the column presented a first opportunity to discuss ideas or exchange information outside the intimate family and neighborhood network. The weekly ritual of reading the column and, occasionally, submitting letters of one’s own established an imagined community of similarly situated female readers.

The publication of rural women’s everyday concerns challenged the common-sense associations between printed expression, the public, and masculinity. The entrenched ideology of female domesticity identified white,

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middle-class women within the private sphere, and despite the public (front-page) appearance of these letters, the gentle yoke of the ladies' corner strove to return female discourse to the private. Yet some correspondents saw their entry into the public world of print culture as interventions into an ongoing political struggle. "One Contributor," worried about the recent appearance of "filler" excerpts from other journals, was stirred to exclaim: "Dear Sisters:...I don't think the Woman's Column of the *Farmer* equal to the men's department, and it worries me. True, the odds are against us, as the editors are men...but as it belongs to us I feel an interest in making it a power...Let us tell each other what we saw, heard, learned, experienced and rejected, and we will be astonished at the quantity, and before long astonish the public with the quality of our contributions – see if we do not."⁷ For these contributors, the success of the column represented the industry and acumen of rural women, while its failure would both confirm their husbands' cynicism about woman's proper place and dissolve the fictive ties between farm women made possible by the newspaper.⁸

The activity of reading, writing, and publication is embedded in the social and historical context – actual, rather than implied, communities.⁹ What were the contours of everyday life for this community of readers? What was the relationship between farm women's lives and the role of this public forum in reconstructing the identity of rural women?

A majority of the column's contributions were concerned with the day-to-day activities of work in the rural home, "skimming, churning, beating, and all the other 'ings' of housework."¹⁰ Just as the men used the paper to exchange results of a new mower trial or to report triumphantly the weight of a new calf, women used the column to exchange recipes, household hints, and suggestions for ornamental work. At a time when women's work on the farm was still characterized both by household labor and by a tradition of shared activities with other women, the use of the Woman's Department as a clearinghouse for domestic technologies represents the adaptation of a long-standing pattern into a new forum. The column's initial focus on recipes,



The Stuart family of Harrison, Maine in 1897. Aware of the centrality of their work in the patriarchal domestic structure of the northern farm, women reformulated republican themes to register their identity as members of the "laboring class."

Courtesy Harrison Historical Society

however, was soon expanded as correspondents began to request contributions on a wider range of topics.

A recurring theme for those correspondents seeking to expand the column's coverage was the often contentious debate over the meaning of rural womanhood. Although this ongoing controversy focused on a number of different issues, including suffrage, motherhood, and education, the focus of this article, on women's role in the farm economy, best reveals the social and cultural tensions working to destabilize rural women's identity in the 1870s Maine. The debate and the observations in the Women's Department represent the correspondents' strategies in negotiating understandings of gender, work, and identity. Using the language of city/country dichotomies, correspondents redefined the meaning of rural womanhood. By expressing their own work and family experiences, they rewrote the ideology of middle-class domesticity, and in the process appropriated key elements of agrarian republicanism.

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The Woman's Department correspondents were self-consciously, even proudly aware of their membership in the "laboring class" as farm women. Their identity as *productive* members of the family economy was offered within the context of a domesticity which, increasingly in the 1870s, reconstructed womanhood in terms of consumption, leisure, fashion, and furnishings. The urban-based ideal of the middle-class "lady of leisure," promulgated through in popular women's magazines such as *Peterson's* and *Godey's Lady's Book*, offered a version of American womanhood which remained persuasive in popular culture.¹¹ As one scholar describes the ideal, "She 'toils not neither does she spin,' we are told; rather, she carefully dedicates her life to ladylike consumption of luxury goods and practices devotions at the shrine of fashion and beauty."¹² In distinguishing between the urban "lady" and the rural "woman," correspondents drew on a longstanding suspicion of leisure as antithetical to republican virtue in order to valorize rural women's competence and utility without discarding the set of particularly feminine virtues also central to the urban ideal. The contributors to the column joined other groups, including their southern counterparts and urban reformers, in redefining womanhood without fundamentally challenging the patriarchal assumptions underlying ideas of woman's "nature."¹³

Contributors formulated an alternative understanding of rural womanhood through discussions of fashion, education, work, and the woman's role on the farm. They criticized popular magazine fashions and urged readers not to waste their time in pursuing the latest trends. Fashion cost farm women money, which they were not likely to have, and represented the moral bankruptcy of late nineteenth-century urban culture. Dress reform should begin among the "laboring-class," a reader argued, "for nothing is so ridiculous as to see country girls who chance to see a rich lady pass in her finery, then to try to imitate her in stylish dress."¹⁴ For some contributors, fashion represented idleness, luxury, uselessness, and greed; its pursuit introduced dissension into the farm community as women, particularly daughters, declared their social status and independence

through dress.¹⁵ Other writers defined independence as the freedom *from* the imperatives of urban fashion. As Mrs. W.D.R. wrote, "Let our worthy sisters of the village, and the city, call us 'drudges,' 'slaves,' or whatever they have in mind, I do not care; I only pity their ignorance, poor things. I believe we are the most *independent* class of women in the world... We are not the slaves of dress and fashion, that they, poor creatures, are."¹⁶

Most correspondents challenged some aspects of the urban ideal of middle-class domesticity while retaining others.¹⁷ While rural women ridiculed the vacuous pastimes of learning French and following the latest fashions, column correspondents generally agreed that farm women should be devoted wives, mothers and/or daughters. The virulence of rural women's attack on urban fashions stemmed in part from the challenge the leisure ideal offered to a critical element of the correspondents' identity as farm women: their economic centrality to the farm household and economy. The cardinal virtue of the correspondents' definition of rural women was *usefulness*. Rural women's worth was measured in large part by skill and competence on the farm: could they make the meals, care for the poultry, make butter, keep house, care for the children, and help in the outdoor work when their husbands were short-handed?

The enthusiasm with which correspondents articulated a competing definition of nineteenth-century womanhood based on rural virtues suggests a more complex process at work in the lives of these farm women. The very centrality of campaigns against fashion and other middle-class indulgences belies the influence of an urban ideology of female domesticity on at least some rural households. While one writer might find the piano in the parlor to be the epitome of middle-class frivolity, another rural woman reflected in her diary, "my heifer Bossy is dead. The piano fund is so much reduced by the loss."¹⁸ The comparisons between rural and urban notions of womanhood were compelling for these women precisely because the meaning of rural womanhood was itself in flux during this period: while some developments seemed to blur the distinctions between city and country, others sparked a heightened

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self-consciousness among rural women of their status as producers. These larger social and cultural developments include the ascendancy of urban aesthetic and recreational ideals in the countryside, the changing meaning of women's work as mechanization and the growth of the dairy and poultry industries redefined the farm economy, the acceleration of agrarian unrest during the depression of the 1870s, and the debate over women's suffrage. These shifts provide the larger context in which discussions concerning rural womanhood took place.

Women's work on the farm, indispensable to agricultural life, included unpaid labor in the home and on the farm, wage labor outside the home, and work done in the household for both the market and home use. All women, regardless of other labor they might perform, were responsible for the endless work of maintaining the rural household. As one entry enumerated,

[The farm woman] must rise early and prepare breakfast or oversee it. Perhaps there are children to wash, dress, and feed.... There is baking, sweeping, dusting, making beds, lunch for the men – dinner, supper to be made ready at the proper time – the washing, starching, folding and ironing of clothes – the care of milk, including the making of butter and cheese – and the inevitable washing of dishes.... Then there is haying, harvesting, sheep-shearing...mending, too.¹⁹

Family farms could not function for long without women, and because of limited opportunities for economic independence, few rural women could function outside the family farm. Marriage was an economic relationship where both partners were expected to fulfill gender-specific work roles.²⁰ The dark underside of an honorable routine of hard work, especially for women whose physical and economic mobility was circumscribed by patriarchal authority, was drudgery and isolation.²¹

Women's assessment of housework as drudgery – even slavery – was thrown into relief at those moments when they felt



One option available to young women seeking autonomy was factory work. The Pepperell Mill in Biddeford, like others across New England, employed hundreds of Yankee farm women.

Courtesy Dyer Library

physically isolated or economically trapped. Under these circumstances, columnists were vocal in describing the monotony and isolation of household labor, as well as the heartlessness of menfolk who failed to disrupt it. “Weary Woman” asked her readers, “what shall she do when looking for Edward she finds that his work has been finished before hers, and he has gone out to find rest in other scenes and with other companions, perhaps not to return until a late hour, when she, weary with waiting for his return, has retired?”²²

Women who were able to work and visit regularly with neighbors and family were less likely to complain of their isolation. Extensive social and family networks were characteristic of the settled agricultural communities of the Northeast, where one scholar has found that those men who “stayed behind” on the farm, rather than emigrate West or to the city,

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were likely to be those whose family and community ties ensured their long-term economic and social stability.²³ Those rural women whose own families remained close by were able to make use of an extensive community and family network to disrupt the monotony of housekeeping and break down their isolation on the farm.

A few contributors to the Woman's Department linked their isolation to women's financial dependence on men at marriage. As one contributor asked, "Husbands, think how you would feel if for every cent of money, for every ride in the free, pure air, for every escape from the close confines of four square walls, you were dependent on your wife?" But the opportunities for these correspondents to "earn their own living" off the farm were rare. Some, particularly young and unmarried women, did succeed for a time, but their economic self-sufficiency was most often a transition to establishing their own farm families (unless, of course, these young women left the farm for the city altogether, the frequency of which provides the sub text for the correspondents' castigation of fashion). Despite the persistence of a dual economy where men were responsible for the income generated by livestock and crops and women gained a small income for household expenditures from the home manufacture of butter, cheese, and eggs, husbands continued to control the bulk of the farm's finances.²⁴ As one scholar summarized, "a farmer's wife (or a farmer's daughter – a future farmer's wife) was the only possible kind of farm woman."²⁵ Sustained economic independence outside the family was a difficult proposition for a nineteenth-century rural woman.

One of the few ways young women gained some measure of economic self-sufficiency was through "hiring out" as household help to a more prosperous family. But as the contributors to the Woman's Department indicated, housework was not only exhausting, but it also paid poorly in comparison to other types of work. Poor rural women resented the ability of their more prosperous sisters to appropriate household labor for their own families; some correspondents argued that paid housework was better suited for the Irish, than

for the Yankee worker. For most Yankee girls such work was a temporary strategy until they began their own households.²⁶

Housework was often contrasted with one of the other independent wage options open to Maine women: factory work. As G.U.S. of Hampden asked, who could fault girls for choosing factory work over housework? Housework paid only one-two dollars weekly; in the factory they can clear from five to ten dollars.²⁷ Still other rural Maine women took in boarders or outwork from Massachusetts factories to earn part or all of their income. By the 1870s, however, the spread of factory-produced goods undermined the outwork system, and the growing availability of immigrant labor closed off options for both factory and domestic work. The majority of Yankee rural women remained committed to an agrarian ethos organized around both the family and the family farm.

A Vermont correspondent's defiant declaration that access to the farm's cash income was her "right" stemmed in part from the perception that maintaining the farm economy was a shared responsibility of husbands and wives, as well as children. A significant portion of women's work on the farm entailed the production of goods for use in the home and for sale on the market. Women dried apples, grew flowers and vegetables, kept bees, made butter, cream and cheese, and raised poultry for eggs, meat, and breeding. In most cases, women exchanged products with village merchants for household necessities they did not make themselves, such as cloth and flour, or received cash for the goods which they saved for household expenses. MEJ described the "dual economy" of the family farm in a letter to the Woman's Department: "It is useless for any woman who has earned her own living for years, and been the sole executor of her earnings, to affirm that she is just as happy to merge herself wholly within the husbands'," she argued. "A woman may plan and execute with direct reference to her husband's interest and approbation, but mixed up with this is a remote desire that 'I like to keep a parallel interest my own way, something upon which I can expend my ingenuity and reap the benefit, of knowledge, pleasure, or money' "²⁸ Market activities were a source of income

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and of identity for many farm women; the success of their “parallel interests” bespoke the independence, competence, and ability which formed a cornerstone of their definition of rural womanhood.

Dairying and poultry raising, traditionally considered women’s work, generated products both for home use and for the market. In dairying, men were usually responsible for the barn chores and often for the milking; women finished the production by churning or making cheese, although on some farms, men also performed the physically demanding work of churning. The correspondents to the Woman’s Department used the column to exchange methods and ideas concerning both dairy and poultry production. As Mrs. Gilbert boasted, “A year ago, I started with eleven [hens and one] crower. Have sold from my flock one hundred and three dollars worth, exclusive of eggs, and now have on hand twenty hens and two crowers....I flatter myself that I have as nice a flock of thoroughbred Light Brahmas as can be found in the state.”²⁹ Poultry and dairy work were more substantial than the diminutive term “egg money” implies; by 1860, Maine women were making as much butter as was being consumed in the state, and about half of all the cheese.

As these letters suggest, women usually kept the money they earned from those household production activities considered “women’s work.” When husbands exchanged these goods, they were careful to note the distinction in their year’s-end accounting. David Stewart, at age eighty-four still a tireless worker and meticulous accountant, noted each expenditure and every cent of his income in his diary. Although his ultimate fiscal control is clear from his power to dispense cash to his wife (“I let Wife have 1 dollar”), his wife’s financial authority over poultry income was unquestioned: “of Roky White for hens (and gave to Wife) 6.64.”³⁰

Women’s central involvement in both poultry and dairy work was increasingly challenged as men began to consider chicken and egg farming, and especially dairying, as cash-crop possibilities. The success of New York cheese factories, as well as encouraging signs from Maine’s



Women shared in all aspects of work on the farm, as this Bethel photo of a late-century hop harvest suggests. They found a somewhat independent source of cash income in poultry and dairy work.

Courtesy Bethel Historical Society

first cheese factory (established in 1871), fueled the hopes of farmers seeking new sources of farm profit. One correspondent to the general paper recognized that men's increased involvement would have an effect on farm women. "We all hope to see the cheese and butter factories moving to Maine. The farm matrons have tested their strength and capacity in this department. Bad luck has sometimes made them common scolds in spite of their unselfish amiability. They are tired. They have got the sewing machine, now let them have the cheese factory."

Men's increased participation in dairying affected working relationships between husbands and wives, but according to Nancy Grey Osterud's work on New York's Nanticoke Valley, the expansion of commodity production did not fundamentally transform gender relationships within the family. Men, for example, continued to own property and to make most of the major decisions on the farm.³¹ But, as dairying became more commercialized with the transition to cheese factories and creameries, women nonetheless continued to seek ways of maintaining "a parallel interest" in market production. Independent production for market worked to conserve a definition of

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womanhood which correspondents contrasted to the leisured ideal of middle-class femininity and domestic consumption. Although some women did work at the new dairy factories, Joan Jenson has suggested that “many also increased their poultry production as a substitute for dairying.”³² Indeed, the proliferation of poultry-related letters to the Woman’s Department suggest that such a transition may have been underway on the farms of the column’s correspondents.³³

The gradual shift from subsistence production to commercial agriculture corresponded, in Maine, to a shift in what farmers considered to be their main business. As late as 1860, according to the leading historian of Maine agriculture, “Maine farmers were farming for a living rather than for a profit;” even “progressive” farmers, who advocated scientific advances in agricultural knowledge, continued to argue the merits of subsistence as opposed to cash-crop farming.³¹ During the same period that central Maine farmers solidified their commitment to commercializing agricultural production, they also committed themselves to the commercialization of what had been traditionally considered women’s work: dairying and, later in the century, poultry farming. These larger shifts in relationships among men, women, work, and the market forced women to reevaluate their relationship to the farm economy and, as a result, their understanding of what it meant to be a woman on the family farm. Contributors valorized woman’s competence, independence, and usefulness as well as her domestic virtues of charity, morality, and modesty at a point when the expansion of commodity production threatened to displace women’s traditional tasks in the family economy.

The language which these women drew upon to articulate their precarious position was a curious combination of middle-class domesticity and agrarian republicanism – ideologies whose meanings, especially for women, were often in conflict.

The recurrent rhetoric in much of the correspondence of independence, productivity, usefulness, and self-sufficiency echoes the republican ideology

of the postbellum agrarian protest movements and the working-class militancy of the antebellum era. The fluid meanings of republicanism encompass a range of understandings contingent upon the class, gender, race, and historical context of those who borrow from its status as preferred cultural narrative in order to further political ends. As Sean Wilentz has argued, urban antebellum artisans reformulated republicanism in order to stabilize a craft-based identity threatened by the entrepreneurial advances of an emerging capitalist economy. Artisans joined together key concepts of eighteenth-century republicanism – independence, virtue, citizenship, and the common good – with a producer’s ethic’ based upon the use-value of artisanal labor.³⁵ In a rural context, Gregory Nobles and Robert McMath have linked the habits of mutuality of postbellum farm communities to a set of rural values loosely termed “agrarian republicanism.”³⁶ But how can a masculine rhetoric exalting a manly independence based upon a political relationship to the commonwealth work to legitimize rural women’s role in the farm economy? Women’s status as dependents, as well as the frivolity and luxury with which they were consistently associated, seemed to place women outside the virtuous independence required of the republican citizen.

Despite the seemingly masculine association of “production,” “independence,” and “citizenship,” rural women turned to the language of republicanism to shore up their identity as productive members of the family economy at a time when the ideology of domesticity increasingly rescripted women as middle-class consumers. By rewriting republicanism’s key words with the gendered meanings of female domesticity – with manly virtue recast as female morality, or republican independence as farm women’s freedom from urban fashions – rural women worked to construct a definition of womanhood still at the center of the farm economy, while at the same time embracing key aspects of postbellum domestic ideology.

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NOTES

¹*Maine Farmer* December 10, 1870.

²Many thanks to Nancy F. Cott and to my fellow graduate seminar students, especially Elizabeth Barnes, for their comments on this paper.

³Clarence Day, *Farming in Maine 1860-1940*, (Orono, Me: University of Maine Press, 1963), p. 14.

⁴Clarence H. Danhof, *Change in Agriculture: The Northern United States, 1820-1870*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

⁵The arrival of "the paper," *Maine Farmer* or no, was an event worth noting in many rural households. In even the most laconic of diaries and account books, women record the arrival of "my paper." See, for example, anonymous diary, February 24, 1880-December 31, 1880, Special Collections Department, University of Maine. See also, William J. Gillmore, "Elementary Literacy on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution: Trends in Rural New England, 1760-1830," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 92 (no. 1, 1982), pp. 87-178.

⁶*Maine Farmer* April 18, 1874.

⁷*Ibid.*, October 17, 1874.

⁸Almost all contributions were printed under the woman's initials or a pseudonym. Most were printed with a town name as well.

⁹Richard H. Brodhead, *Culture of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 8; Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

¹⁰"One Contributor," *Maine Farmer* October 17, 1874.

¹¹*Maine Farmer* regularly carried advertisements for these magazines.

¹²Frances P. Cogan *All-American Girl: The Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989), p. 3. For a fuller discussion of this ideal and the ideology of separate spheres, see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860" *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-74 and Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976). See also Gerda Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson," *Mid-Continent American Studies Journal* 5 (Spring 1969): 5-15; and Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

¹³See D. Harland Haglar, "The Ideal Woman in the Antebellum South: Lady or Farmwife?" *Journal of Southern History* 46 (August 1980) 405-418.

¹⁴*Maine Farmer* January 24, 1874.

¹⁵Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982).

¹⁶"Farmers' Wives," *Maine Farmer* February 24, 1874.

¹⁷"Education in Domestic Economy," *Maine Farmer* September 30, 1871. For a discussion of the ideology of domesticity, see Kathryn Kish Sklar *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (NY: Norton, 1973).

¹⁸Elizabeth Hartwell Diary, April 2, 1886, University of Maine.

¹⁹"Farmers' Wives," *Maine Farmer* June 24, 1871. See also "System in Housekeeping," *Maine Farmer* May 6, 1871.

²⁰Deborah Fink *Agrarian Women* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), p. 67.

²¹Carolyn E. Sachs *The Invisible Farmers: Women in Agricultural Production* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Allenheld, 1983), p. 22.

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²²"From a Weary Woman," *Maine Farmer* July 5, 1873. See also Lulu's observation of April 18, 1874: "I think she [the farm wife] is not sufficiently helped by the men. While some are kind, considerate, and thoughtful, by far the majority of them are careless and think it nothing that she has to work all day, and perhaps have a crying baby at night."

²³Hal S. Barron *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth Century New England* (NY: Cambridge, 1987), p. 99.

²⁴Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 67. See also Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on her Diary 1785-1812* (NY: Knopf, 1990), pp. 75-79.

²⁵Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 65.

²⁶See Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1983).

²⁷"House and Factory Work" *Maine Farmer* November 23, 1872.

²⁸"Facts About Woman's Work," *Maine Farmer* June 5, 1875.

²⁹"Crow Again," *Maine Farmer* March 8, 1873. See also "A Lady Recruit," *Maine Farmer* March 23, 1872; "A Woman's Experience in Poultry Keeping," *Maine Farmer* September 21, 1872.

³⁰David Stewart Diary, September 3, August 27, 1881, University of Maine.

³¹Osterud, "Valuation of Women's Work," p. 18.

³²Joan Jenson, "Butter Making and Economic Development," in Jenson, *Promise to the Land: Essays on Rural Women* (Albuquerque, NM, 1991), p. 181.

³³I am focussing here on central Maine farming practices; northern Maine farmers were developing potato production as a specialty crop in the end of the nineteenth century.

³⁴Day, *Farming in Maine*, p. 11.

³⁵Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 61-101.

³⁶See Gregory Nobles, "Capitalism in the Countryside: The Transformation of Rural Society in the United States," *Radical History Review* 41 (1988): 166-7. On rural "mentalite," see James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms in Pre-Industrial America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (3rd Series: 1978): 3-32; Jonathan Prude, "Town-Factory Conflicts in Antebellum Rural Massachusetts," in Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Hal S. Barron, "Rediscovering the Majority: The New Rural History of the Nineteenth Century North," *Historical Methods* 19 (Fall 1986): 141-152; and Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 3-17. For "agrarian republicanism," see Thomas A. Woods, *Oliver Hudson Kelley and the Origins of the Grange in Republican Ideology* (Ames: Iowa University Press, 1991); Robert C. McMath, Jr., "Sandy Land and Hogs in the Timber: (Agri)cultural Origins of the Farmer's Alliance in Texas," in *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation*, especially pp. 206-7; Donald B. Marti, *Women of the Grange: Mutuality and Sisterhood in Rural America, 1866-1920* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991).

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