

Staying Clean, Close to Home, and Rural in Late Nineteenth-Century Southeastern Vermont

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Abstract

Recent excavations at a series of farmsteads in Vermont indicate that consumption and discard may have been more nuanced than the general explanations sometimes made about agricultural households during the nineteenth century. The “Agrarian Myth” portrays rural farm life during the nineteenth century as classless and undifferentiated, defining rural and urban society as separate as opposed to linked by social and economic ties. However, the investigation of the farms discussed in this paper indicates that critiques of the Agrarian Myth, which state that rural farm life in the nineteenth century was thoroughly connected to the urban world and rural people took an active part in the same markets as urban people, may also be problematic.

Introduction

The Louis Berger Group, Inc., recently investigated a group of five nineteenth-century farmsteads along the foothills of the Green Mountains in southeastern Vermont (Berger 2009a, 2009b). Berger identified the sites while conducting a survey for the Vermont Electric Power Company (VELCO) along the Southern Loop 345-kv line running for 83 kilometers from Vernon to Cavendish through Windham and Windsor counties. The farms lay in what were once rural communities during a period of great transition in the agricultural economy of Vermont. The earliest, the Huntley Site, may date to the first quarter of the nineteenth century and was likely inhabited for less than a generation. The Salisbury Site appears to date to the second quarter of the nineteenth century and was abandoned around the time of the Civil War. The Jaquith and Bemis sites were occupied at least during the second half of nineteenth century, if not earlier, before being

abandoned probably before the beginning of the twentieth century. The Whitney Site may date to the first half of the nineteenth century and was not demolished until the middle of the twentieth century.

Although only subject to a Phase I investigation, Berger (2009a, 2009b) tested substantial portions of the sites, recovering relatively large samples. No additional work is planned at these sites since no construction impacts are expected. Despite the preliminary nature of the investigation, the results present an opportunity to interpret differences and commonalities found among the assemblages. In particular, this discussion focuses on how the assemblages might illustrate choices the different families made in their consumption of ceramics and what those choices might say about their relationships to both local and wider markets.

The Agrarian Myth defines the world of nineteenth-century agriculture as classless and undifferentiated, creating a dichotomy between rural and urban. As a result these two settings are typically understood as socially and economically separate rather than interdependent and linked (O’Donovan and Wurst 2002:74; Rafferty 2000: 128). The Agrarian Myth has been criticized, however, and the rural-urban dichotomy itself may be mythological, as both the rural and the urban are thought to have exhibited class differentiation and to have become thoroughly connected throughout the nineteenth century as rural farmers began to consume products from a wide market, not just local goods (O’Donovan and Wurst 2002; Rafferty 2000). Berger’s investigations in southeastern Vermont may indicate that the application of the Agrarian Myth and its critiques may be more nuanced since people in some communities appear to have chosen not to participate as fully in these expanding connections and instead continued to use their local

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markets, resisting changes taking place in the wider world.

Rural vs. Urban Markets

The lack of dependable transportation initially prohibited the development of connections between urban and rural markets, and therefore rural communities in the early Republic were relatively self-sufficient (Clark 1979; 2006; Spencer-Wood 1987:25). Improvements to transportation began with the expanded construction of turnpikes by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, followed by the development of canals and then railroads, and therefore opportunities for rural-urban connections grew. Farmers were able to get their goods to urban markets more quickly and “the entire United States tended to become one vast market” (Russell 1982:189). As contacts grew, merchants in urban centers along the East Coast began to shift the emphasis of their trade inland from their traditional sea-ward focus by the first quarter of the nineteenth century (Clark 2006:156). With these changes, farmers became less self-sufficient and more dependent on the market (Huey 2000; Pena 2000:38); and as rural communities demanded more goods and services, inland towns grew and diversified to meet the growing market (Clark 2006:152). These changes made rural residents active participants in the American consumer revolution, and goods once considered luxuries became necessities (Huey 2000; Rafferty 2000).

Christopher Clark (1979, 2006) has researched these changes in the American economy during the period following the Revolution to the Civil War, with a particular focus on towns in Massachusetts along the Connecticut River only a few dozen kilometers south of Berger’s area of investigation. Clark (1979, 2006) describes the highly localized economies based around household production that characterized these small communities after the Revolution. The citizens of the young Republic were relatively self-sufficient and rather than using cash, exchanged skills and goods with their neighbors. According to Clark (1979), the wider

market held no allure because they understood success and profit not in terms of personal financial gain but rather in terms of continuing the family and passing on their property, values, and beliefs. However, within the first few decades of the nineteenth century, farmers and people living in small-town communities began to outgrow their household-based economy and developed the need for goods and services that only the wider market could provide. The control of the means of production therefore began to change from the household to the market and those that ran the market (Clark 1979:169).

The archaeology of nineteenth-century farmsteads allows us the opportunity to see how these broad trends may have played out at the spatial and temporal scale of one or two generations within specific families. This research may therefore allow us to see whether or not these changes were more complex and nuanced than what the Agrarian Myth and its critique might account for.

The Sites

The Huntley Site (VT-WD-277) is in Newfane about 850 meters east of the West River on top of a very steep slope. The farm does not appear on the earliest available map of the area (McClellan 1856), so the farm was probably abandoned by that time and its residents remain unknown. After identifying a cellar hole and what was likely a livestock pen, Berger (2009a) excavated 84 shovel tests at intervals of 5 meters, recovering 86 artifacts. Although the *terminus post quem* (TPQ) from the small assemblage is 1800, placing the site at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the occupation probably dates to a couple of decades later. Archaeologists determine the earliest date a site could have been occupied by the earliest date, or TPQ, a particular artifact is thought to have been produced. The TPQ of 1800 for the Huntley Site resulted from the recovery of a single piece of blue shell-edged pearlware, a form of pearlware first produced in 1800. Given the site’s relative inaccessibility and its location on steep, rocky, and poorly drained land,

the people who built the Huntley farmstead probably came there because earlier settlers had already taken the more arable and accessible land in the valleys by the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Also, although it may be problematic to interpret such a small collection, the ceramic assemblage appears to be rather mixed, with different types of creamware tableware and teaware. This mixture may indicate that the people who lived at the site were using older, second-hand items (O'Donovan and Wurst 2002). Given the inhospitable location of the farmstead and the apparently mixed assemblage, it is likely that the Huntley Site residents were poor, and they do not appear to have stayed at the farm for long.

The Salisbury Site (VT-WD-276) lies in Dummerston roughly 200 meters north and west of Kelly and Butterfield roads. A historical map (McClellan 1856) attributes a residence to H. Salisbury in the vicinity of where a local landowner identified the site (McDermet 2007). Both historical maps (Beers 1869a; McClellan 1856) and McDermet (2007) indicate a road known as the "Old Country Road" or "West Country Road" that likely once connected to what is today Butterfield Road, bringing the road directly past the Salisbury Site. Census research revealed that Benjamin Salisbury lived at the farm in 1860 with his wife, Elisa, and their three children, James, Jane, and Clarissa. The Salisbury property was valued at \$1,500 and their annual income at \$800. It is possible that the H. Salisbury cited by the McClellan (1856) map was Benjamin's father, who may have died by the time of the 1860 census. There were no census records available for the Salisbury family after 1860, and the house is absent from both the Beers (1869a) map and the USGS (1893) map. It therefore appears that the Salisburys left the farm around the time of the Civil War. There are several structural remains across the site, including the possible cellar hole from the main house in addition to at least three barn ramps and some possible pens. Berger (2009a) excavated 118 shovel tests around the cellar hole within the portion of the site that lay within the project area, uncovering 1,015 artifacts

dating to the middle of the nineteenth century. Although architectural-related artifacts dominate the assemblage, including an assortment of nails and window glass fragments, excavations also produced a large number of kitchen-related materials and ceramics.

The Bemis Site (VT-WN-279) is in Townshend along Deer Valley Road (Berger 2009b). Both the McClellan (1856) and Beers (1869a) maps illustrate a residence in the general vicinity of the house along a road that is today Deer Valley Road. The earlier map attributes a structure to Bertha Bemis, the latter to D. Bemis. The site includes a cellar hole of dry-laid stone with slopes bounding the foundation to the north and east. Additional structural remains include retaining walls to the west and north as well as what were probably animal pens. Berger (2009b) was able to identify census records from 1860, 1870, and 1880 for the Bemis family. Records from 1860 do not list Bertha Bemis, as indicated on the McClellan (1856) map, so she had likely died by that time, but the 1860 census indicates that David and Margaret Bemis lived at the location with their son, David L. Bemis, and his wife, Jane. Both David Bemises are listed as farmers. Although the acreage of the farm is not provided, the value of the land and house is listed at \$3,000 with an additional \$1,726 of personal estate attributed to the elder David Bemis and \$500 attributed to his son. The financial fortunes of the Bemis family markedly improved during the 1860s: the real estate value rose to \$3,800 and the personal estate value rose to \$3,000 by 1870. Judging from the lack of information available from the censuses and the USGS map of 1933, the Bemis farm had probably been abandoned by the turn of the twentieth century. It is not clear when people first settled the Bemis Site and built the house, or if the Bemises were the only family to live there, but the structure identified along Deer Valley Road would appear to date to at least the mid-nineteenth century. Berger excavated 58 shovel tests across the Bemis Site at intervals of 5 meters and recovered 220 artifacts, with the largest concentration located on the slope behind the house and away from Deer Valley Road.

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The Jaquith Site (VT-WN-455) sits along Simonsville Road in Andover, on the south bank of the Williams River. Historical maps (Beers 1869b; Chace 1856) indicate the location of a house relatively near the location of the site belonging to Mrs. Jaquith in 1856 and Mr. Alden Jaquith in 1869. According to the 1860 census, the Jaquith property was worth \$1,800 and the family's personal assets totaled \$425. In 1870 Alden Jaquith lived on Simonsville Road with his wife, Hannah, and their daughter, Caroline. Within the next 14 years, Alden Jaquith had become a Justice of the Peace, a town grand juror, and was the owner of both a sugar orchard with 600 trees and 180 acres of farmland that he worked with his brother, Lucius (Child 1884). Although a cellar hole identified by Berger lay outside the area of investigation, Berger excavated 110 shovel tests and a 1x1-meter test unit adjacent to the cellar hole, recovering 522 artifacts. Berger located a depression along the Williams River, which may have also been from a cellar hole that produced 453 artifacts dating to the middle of the nineteenth century. Although additional excavations are required to fully interpret the history of the site, the Jaquiths may have filled in the second cellar hole by the time Alden Jaquith and his family lived at the property and moved to a house located over the cellar hole east of Berger's area of investigation. Testing along the edge of the Williams River also produced large quantities of artifacts where people may have dumped materials into the river.

The Whitney Site (VT-WN-456) lies in Cavendish along Barker Road and was identified from a review of historical maps, discussions with the landowner (Moore 2008), and the identification of lilac bushes along the road. Historical maps place H. Whitney at the property in 1856 (Chace 1856) and J.H. Whitney in 1869 (Beers 1869b). The 1860 census lists Whitney, with his wife, Sarah, and daughter, Isabelle, as the owner of a farm worth \$1,900 with personal property assessed at \$900. Hamilton Child (1884) writes that the Whitney farm covered 117 acres in the 1880s. A USGS (1929) map illustrates a structure in a approximately the

same location, although it is unknown if Whitney descendants were living there at that time. According to the present landowner (Moore 2008), the house was destroyed in the 1950s. Berger excavated 116 shovel tests at the Whitney Site in a 5-meter grid, as well as two 1x1-meter test units. The first 1x1-meter test unit was placed adjacent to a shovel test that encountered structural remains, including burned timbers, slate shingles, and a possible postmold. Berger recovered 1,724 artifacts from the Whitney Site, most of which were thinly distributed across the site with only a few artifacts found per shovel test. Exceptions include a large number of architectural remains recovered in relation to the structural remains discussed above. There was no evidence of a vertical or horizontal distribution of artifacts anywhere within the site. After analyzing the results, Berger believes that the structural remains investigated by Test Unit 1 and adjacent shovel tests were not from the main house, but rather from an outbuilding. Artifact dates from the Whitney Site are later than any of the other sites Berger investigated as part of this project, including materials dating to the 1930s.

Discussion

The five farmstead sites Berger investigated in southeastern Vermont span the nineteenth century. Although the assemblage from the Huntley Site is small, the dates are fairly consistent, with creamware producing the majority of TPQs at 1762. The TPQs for the different types of pearlware date to between 1775 and 1800. The Huntley Site, however, may date to at least the first quarter of the nineteenth century, as discussed above, and was likely abandoned well before the publication of the McClellan (1856) map of Newfane. TPQs for artifacts from the other sites cluster between 1820 and 1840, based on sizeable collections of whiteware. Temporally diagnostic artifacts with later TPQs include five pieces of ironstone from the Salisbury and Whitney sites dated to after 1840, and three pieces of stoneware and whiteware dating to 1880, also from the Whitney Site. The Whitney Site

Table 1. Personal and Property Values from the 1860 Census for the Salisbury, Jaquith, Whitney, and Bemis Families.

Site	Family	Property	Personal	Total
VT-WN-455	Jaquith	\$1,800	\$425	\$2,225
VT-WD-276	Salisbury	\$1,500	\$800	\$2,300
VT-WN-456	Whitney	\$1,900	\$900	\$2,800
VT-WN-279	Bemis	\$3,000	\$2,226	\$5,226

also produced non-ceramic materials dating to the early twentieth century. The Salisburys may have occupied their home in Dummerston during the mid-nineteenth century, apparently abandoning it around the time of the Civil War. The Jaquiths and Bemises were living in Andover and Townshend by the middle of the century and appear to have left by the beginning of the twentieth century if not before. The Whitney Site was apparently occupied for much longer, with the farm possibly constructed in the early nineteenth century and destroyed by the middle of the twentieth century.

Although Berger's review of census data was preliminary, records from 1860 indicate that the property values of the Salisburys, Jaquiths, and Whitneys varied between \$1,200 and \$1,900 and personal property values varied from \$300 to \$900 (Table 1). The Bemis family, however, was worth almost twice as much. It would appear therefore that at least in 1860, the Jaquiths, Salisburys, and Whitneys were in relatively similar financial positions, although the Salisbury property was worth less and the Jaquiths' personal estate was assessed lower than the other two families. Although census data from after 1860 are not discussed for the Jaquiths, Salisburys, and Whitneys, the Jaquiths appear to have been relatively prominent citizens in Andover, with Alden Jaquith becoming a Justice of the Peace and a town grand juror by the 1880s. Census data for the Bemises indicate that their fortunes rose considerably.

Given the limited nature of Berger's Phase I

investigations of the five sites, the assemblages are uneven and relatively small, and any comparisons drawn between the assemblages are therefore preliminary. However, Berger did recover a combined total 3,567 artifacts from the five sites and investigated each with a grid of shovel tests placed at intervals of 5 meters. In addition, the similarities found between the ceramic assemblages may indicate a commonality among the Salisbury, Jaquith, Bemis, and Whitney sites.

The similarities among these four sites include roughly similar distributions of ware types between the Whitney and Bemis sites, and between the Jaquith and Salisbury sites (Figure 1). The absence of whiteware from the Huntley Site is attributable to the assumed earlier date for that site. All five sites lack ironstone and porcelain, this despite the occupation of four of the five sites during the second half of the nineteenth century. Ironstone first appeared during the 1840s, and although initially expensive, it is commonly found at sites from the middle of nineteenth century on. The distribution of ceramic decoration types is almost identical, with plain ceramics dominating (Figure 2). Transfer-printed and hand-painted ceramics were priced higher than plain ceramics or those with minimal decoration (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller 1980, 1991). These decorative techniques fell out of favor for several years during the Victorian period, replaced by plain and molded ironstone. Transfer printing then returned in the final decades of the nineteenth century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987). The slightly higher percentage of hand-painted

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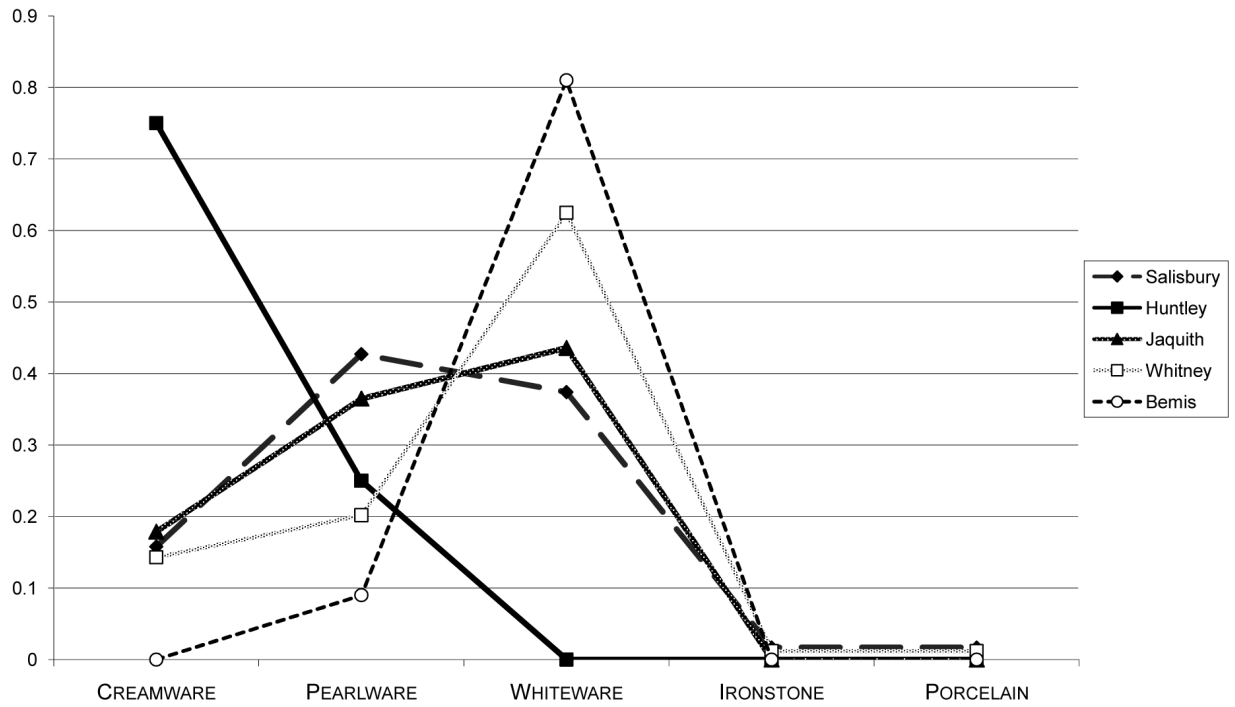


Figure 1. Distribution of Wares by Percentage.

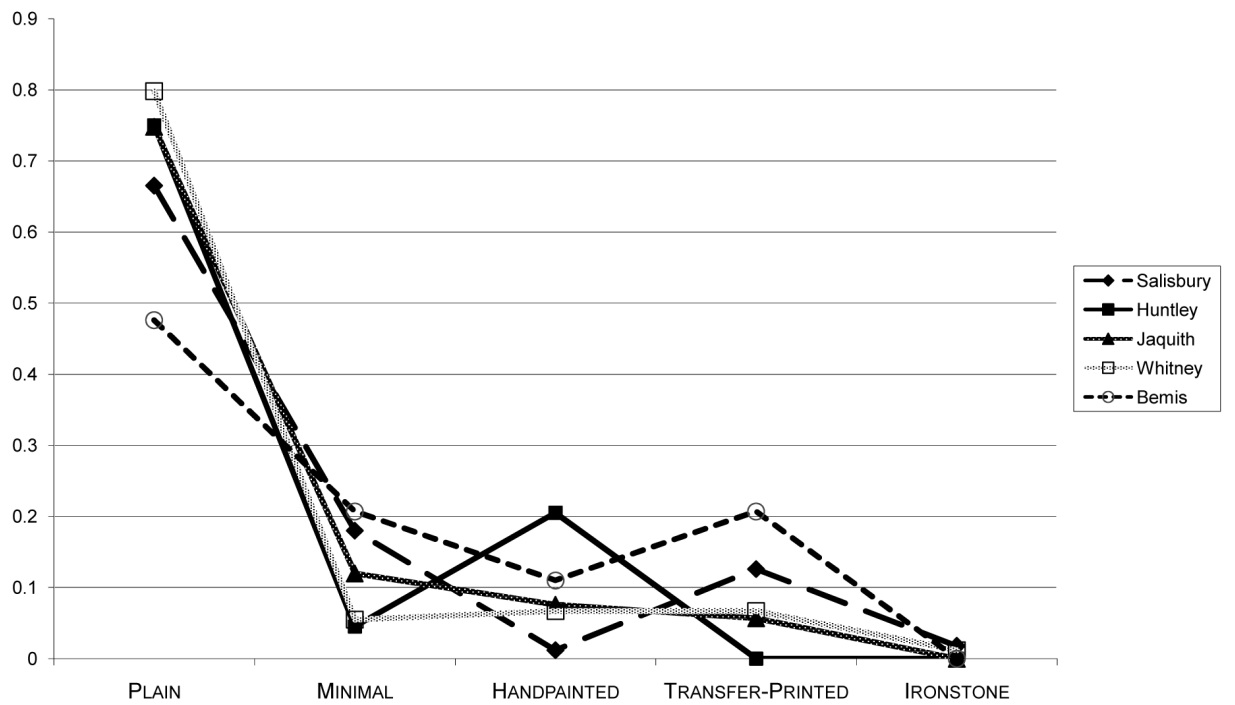


Figure 2. Distribution of Decoration by Percentage.

ceramics from the Huntley Site may be the result of finding seven pieces of underglaze hand-painted pearlware from the same level in a single shovel test, indicating they may have come from the same vessel. Another similarity is the lack of teaware. Archaeologists typically interpret the use and discard of teaware as indicating attention paid to entertaining and, in particular, entertaining with more expensive and display-worthy ceramics; however, the assemblages recovered by Berger indicate that these families in southeastern Vermont discarded small percentages of teaware. The higher percentage of teaware recovered from the Huntley Site is likely explained by the small ceramic assemblage (N=44) and the probable recovery of teaware from a single vessel found in the same stratum of the same shovel test.

Possible connections to local ceramic markets in Vermont may also be indicated at the five sites by the use and discard of what were likely locally produced redwares. Potters continued to manufacture creamware for plain utilitarian vessels long into the nineteenth century, and creamware is frequently found at sites dating throughout the nineteenth century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller 1980; 1991). At these Vermont sites, however, Berger recovered creamware tableware and even teaware but none of the sites produced the remains of any creamware utilitarian vessels. Instead the farmers used vessels made from redware and stoneware that were likely produced locally (Majewski and O'Brien 1987).

Pearlware and whiteware dominate the ceramic assemblages from each site (except for the Huntleys), dating the collections to the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, and only a few fragments of ironstone were recovered. Yet the dates from maps and censuses indicate that people were living at these sites during the second half of the nineteenth century. One possible explanation relates to changes during the nineteenth century in the disposal of garbage. Mary Beaudry (2002) writes that it is important to interpret farmsteads as landscapes and to remember that these sites were once farms and

therefore different from sites excavated in urban settings. Concepts of farm landscapes were changing during the mid-nineteenth century as new ideas of cleanliness were introduced and parallels were drawn between "success/cleanliness and failure/slovenliness, both personal and around the farmstead" (Wurst 1993:193). As a result of these changing ideas, a clean farm became an indicator of a successful farm (Versaggi 2000:49). Agricultural schools, societies, and publications sprang up during the nineteenth century to further new ideas and technologies. These new ideas portrayed the lazy (and therefore unsuccessful) farmer as the dirty "Farmer Slack," versus the clean and therefore successful and industrious "Farmer Thrifty" (also known as "Farmer Snug") (Manning-Sterling 2000; Starbuck 2008). Many farmers resented outsiders offering what they perceived as impractical advice, advice often insensitive to the economic risk that change involved (Russell 1982:197). The stubbornness of many farmers to change is understandable when reading some of this literature such as a book on constructing the perfect farmstead from the middle of the nineteenth century in which the author accuses some farmers of "an absolute barbarism" (Allen 1852:15) for constructing farms that were "offensive to the eye of any lover of rural harmony" (Allen 1852:14). Attitudes changed by the Civil War, however, as farmers became more willing to adopt new technologies (Manning-Sterling 2000:1888; Russell 1982:242).

Archaeologists have recovered evidence of these changes at farmstead sites from the nineteenth century. Older sites exhibit garbage strewn about the farm yards, a practice that became less and less common over the course of the nineteenth century (Versaggi 2000:49). At the Porter Site in Coventry, Chenango County, New York, the Porter family discarded their waste more widely until the middle of the nineteenth century. In the later decades, however, their disposal of waste became more centralized and concentrated in the backyard, away from the view of the main road (Lewandowski and Loren 1995; Lewandowski and Versaggi 1995; Rafferty 1997; 2000).

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Given these changing patterns in disposal, it is possible that the lack of ceramics from the later nineteenth century at the farmstead sites investigated by Berger is a reflection of these changing patterns of trash disposal. Perhaps the Salisburys used and discarded more up-to-date ceramics before they left in the 1860s, but they had become more careful in the disposal of their trash, throwing materials into repositories that were away from the main house and out of view of the road that once ran next to their home. As a result Berger's excavations at the Salisbury Site did not recover these materials. The Jaquiths apparently used an abandoned cellar hole as well as the edge of the Williams River to dispose of materials dating to the middle of the nineteenth century. It is possible that additional excavations might encounter materials from later decades elsewhere at the site in locations completely out of view of Simonsville Road. Similarly, the Whitneys may have become more careful in disposing of their refuse after the mid-nineteenth century, placing it far from view of those coming along Barker Road. The disposal of trash at the Bemis Site indicates a decision to place trash down a slope, behind the house, and out of view of Deer Valley Road.

Another possible explanation for the apparent incongruity between the census and map data with the ceramic assemblages, although not necessarily exclusive of the explanation provided above, may relate to the relationship between the families and the purchasing choices they made within the wider market. As discussed above, scholars have explored the extent to which the traditional self-sufficient farmer of New England from the eighteenth century became increasingly tied to regional and national markets throughout the course of the nineteenth century (Clark 1979, 2006; Schwartz 1995). While admitting that the sample size of each assemblage is small and that it is potentially problematic to derive conclusions about general patterns of behavior from a single artifact type such as ceramics, it is possible that the families who deposited the assemblages did not seek to keep up with what was available. This does not mean that they were not aware of what was

available to them in the wider world, but that they chose not to purchase new and more up-to-date ceramics. In addition, they do not appear to have bought more expensive and display-worthy ceramics such as transfer-printed tableware and teaware. The apparent lack of teaware at each site might indicate a lack of concern with socializing, particularly the type of socializing that required expensive tea sets. What is particularly interesting is that despite the great difference in wealth between the Bemises and the other families, they do not appear to have purchased and discarded significantly higher quantities of more expensive ceramics.

By way of comparison, the Porter family in rural Chenango County, New York, lived at the Porter Site from the middle to the end of the nineteenth century (Lewandowski and Loren 1995; Lewandowski and Versaggi 1995; Rafferty 1997; 2000). Census data from 1850 and 1855 estimate the Porters' assets at \$2,000. This value then jumped to \$3,800 by 1860. From these numbers it would appear that the wealth of the Porters was initially roughly comparable to the five farms Berger investigated, at least until 1860, when it became higher than the Salisburys, Jaquiths, and Whitneys, but still less than the Bemises. Approximately 11 percent of the ceramic tableware/teaware assemblage from the Porter Site dating to the mid-nineteenth century was ironstone, versus 49 percent whiteware, and the assemblage dating to the mid-to-late nineteenth century increased to 30 percent ironstone and only 32 percent whiteware. In addition, the Porters purchased and discarded far higher quantities of expensive decorated ceramics during the mid-nineteenth century and discarded far more teaware.

Conclusions

Berger's preliminary investigations permit only a snapshot of each site. With the exception of the Huntley Site, this snapshot shows four families, three of which appear to have had similar holdings and one of which was far wealthier, but each of the four families discarded assemblages that were relatively similar. The distribution of wares was

similar between the Salisburys and Jaquiths, and the Bemises and Whitneys. The distribution of decoration types was similar among all four sites, exhibiting an apparent lack of concern with decorated ceramics in addition to a lack of concern with teaware. The apparent lack of tea ware and decorated ceramics may indicate a corresponding lack of concern for the sort of socializing that would require the display and use of more expensive objects.

The sites also share an apparent incongruity between the age of each assemblage and the available census and map data for each site. The artifacts from each site date to the first half of the nineteenth century, yet background research indicates that people were living at the sites during the second half of the nineteenth century. The map and census data do not exclude the possibility that people lived at these farms before the middle of the nineteenth century, but the question must be raised of why no artifacts were recovered dating to the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The Agrarian Myth presents a picture of a classless rural society that was removed and distinct from the urban world. Many archaeologists and historians have criticized this image, calling it mythological. Accepting that Berger's investigations were limited and the assemblages small, it is possible that the trends identified in the ceramic assemblages were the result of disposal patterns in accordance with new ideas spreading throughout the country during the middle and later portions of the nineteenth century. This would suggest a closer connection between the rural sphere and the wider world. And, while the criticisms of the Agrarian Myth are undoubtedly sound, it is also possible that these rural families simply chose to stay outside the mainstream, separate from the wider market, and not purchase more expensive and current ceramics. Perhaps these families were relatively disinterested in the sort of socializing and the more ostentatious display of wealth that would have required the consumption of large quantities of teaware and up-to-date ironstone and decorated tableware. Perhaps these families chose to buy locally available

utilitarian ware and continued to use older (possibly heirloom) and relatively plain wares. In particular, the similarities identified between the assemblages and the apparent lack of attention paid to highly decorated ceramics and tea ware may indicate a common perception of consumption for these families. The communities Clark (1979, 2006) describes from the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries were less divided by class, although they were not the egalitarian models that others have defined. With the introduction of the wider market, however, greater disparities arose. Perhaps these Vermont families, and in particular the Bemises, may have shared a lack of need to display their wealth in contrast to these changes that were occurring elsewhere.

This discussion may indicate that nineteenth-century rural life may not have been as simple as either the Agrarian Myth or its critics might portray, but rather something more varied and nuanced.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank the many people who made the Southern Loop project possible, including the Vermont Electric Power Company, Inc. (VELCO), the United States Army Corps of Engineers, and the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation. The author is also grateful to the archaeologists assisting on the project, in particular Patrick S. Sabol, as well as Chris Andrade, Frank Carvino, Brian Cavanaugh, Ryan Clark, Shawn Dennis, David van Dusen, Ashley Holland, Bart Hunter, Chrus Kuclo, Kate Martin, Xavier Massot, Peter Matranga, Kevin Pintz, Arthur Ramcharan, and Paul Stansfield. Dr. Robert Paynter also provided the author with advice and assistance. Berger conducted this project under the direction of Dr. Hope Luhman. Graphics were created by Rebecca Brodeur and Jacqueline Horsford, and editing was performed by Anne Moiseev and Carol Halitsky. Susan Butler, Todd Butler, and Todd Hejlik conducted the analysis of the artifact assemblages.

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