symbolic expression to a vision of the American nation," describing "a whole society: family life, the arts, education, labor, politics, social hierarchy, recreation, gender roles, religion and more." In their writings is to be found "the first fully articulated vision of American nationality."[43]

If this set of convictions was at least part of the reason that Hartford became the venue for the Americanizing projects of the 1780s, then it may also have had something to do with the appearance of *American Cookery* in the same place and from the same publisher in the 1790s. By bringing forward a cookbook written by a woman, and an orphan to boot, a collection of recipes claiming to be "adapted to this country and all grades of life," the elite that had moved swiftly and energetically to assert cultural leadership was, we believe, endeavoring to make its projection of American identity more socially comprehensive and more heedful of everyday life.

To present as fully as possible the world from which *American Cookery* emerged, we have striven to make accessible to our readers the social and cultural developments that lay behind the creation of this *particular* book at this *particular* time in this *particular* place. In *American Cookery* we find a convergence of culinary tradition, print culture, a Connecticut poised between an agrarian past and a commercial and capitalist future, the popular assertiveness unleashed by the Revolution that would allow an orphan to claim the status of an author, and a national identity in the making. In the pages that follow, we describe this world, tracing its contours and recreating as far as possible what it felt like to live in it.

We believe, along with anthropologist Clifford Geertz, that it is only within its context, in this case that of 1790s Connecticut and its offshoots, that a particular artifact, in this case *American Cookery,* "can be intelligibly—that is, thickly—described." The result of our investigations, we trust, will be to reveal for the first time the full significance of the first American cookbook.[44]

CHAPTER 2

Culinary Tradition

When *American Cookery*'s first two editions appeared in 1796, most American cooks who relied on recipes at all were accustomed to using handwritten ones they or their kitchen predecessors had copied into the pages of manuscript recipe collections. This was an old custom. Often, a housewife inherited a collection from a relation then added her own favorite dishes to the volume. Recipes were collected from cookbooks that circulated informally among friends and relations. Some were original to the cook. Just such an album combining original recipes and copies of printed ones—and including notes and amendments added by the cook—was kept by Anne Gibbons Gardiner, a wealthy Boston merchant's wife, in the 1760s and 1770s. Her choice of dishes from print sources reveals a great deal about the culinary inclinations of the New England colonial elite. Many are taken from Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1747) and Elizabeth Raffald's *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (1769), two of the British cookbooks best known in the colonies. The intertwining of manuscripts and printed books was so close that women sometimes ordered blank leaves to be bound into the cookbooks they purchased to allow room for handwritten recipes. Neither printed nor written sources took precedence.[1]

In America after the Revolution, when British goods were once again sold in American markets and the public commenced buying books again, booksellers began to increase their inventories of cookery titles. The demand was such that both British imports and American reprints of British cookbooks sold well. Yet the practice of copying recipes into manuscript collections continued among literate American women.

Keeping manuscript recipe collections began as a favorite pastime among the English upper classes. The fashion took hold in the middle of the sixteenth century, with collected recipes falling into three general categories: cookery, confectionery, and remedies. The cossetted women of the aristocratic and gentry classes took particular interest in copying into their private

collections recipes for fancy confections and homemade cures. These, rather than cookery, were the areas of domestic life in which they were apt to become involved. The kitchen was not a place where the women who led large estates or substantial households were likely to be found. The heavy, hot, and dangerous work that took place there to roast massive joints of meat and produce baked goods of gargantuan proportions was better left to servants and cooks. When highborn women did copy out cookery recipes, it was often because a new culinary fashion had caught their attention, as when herbs began to replace spices to flavor sauces.[2]

Confectionery recipes made up the majority of entries in the early modern English manuscript collections. The more elaborate and expensive the sweetmeat the better. Sugar molded in the shapes of animals, ships, bridges, and other novelties, an art much loved by the Tudors, adorned festive tables. These sculpted forms, along with sugar-coated fruits, seeds, and nuts, called comfits; jams, jellies, compotes, and marmalades made of exotic fruits and sugar; hard sugar candies known as suckets; and sweetened biscuits and creams—all became known collectively as "banquetting stuffe." They were the delights set out during the "banquett" course of a feast. This initial incarnation of the dessert course often took place in a separate room; small buildings set in garden enclosures were sometimes designed for the purpose. The banquet course provided an opportunity to display wealth and entertain guests in an atmosphere more relaxed than that of the formal part of the meal. When produced by ladies' soft hands, the value of this sweet "stuffe" was further enhanced.[3]

Sugar also played a significant part in the remedies collected by those who kept handwritten recipes. English food historian C. Anne Wilson notes that sugar's "medical reputation" was especially high in the early modern world. It was offered to the sick in many forms. It might be combined with powdered licorice, aniseed, or coriander to make cough cures, or melted into a syrup and mixed with violets and rose petals to reduce "burning agues" and "purge choler and melancholy."[4]

Despite the delights and benefits that sugarwork provided to wealthy households, by the end of the seventeenth century working directly with it, or indeed with any kind of food or medicine, was no longer considered a fashionable pursuit for English women of high social standing. Those who set the trends abandoned all culinary pursuits. They retreated to their drawing rooms, and instead of making fanciful "stuffe" became themselves the centerpieces on display.[5]

The upper classes may have tired of recipe collecting and the making of confectioneries and curatives, but women of somewhat lesser means took up where aristocrats left off. Gentry women began to master a modified version of the high art of sugarwork and to learn other recipes and remedies, both to furnish their own tables and to teach their servants. Women at this level of society, who wished to produce elegant sweets and stock their cellars and storerooms with cordials, salves, and syrups, found that developing their domestic skills and increasing their culinary knowledge helped them to advance socially. It wasn't until the nineteenth century that English women who aspired to gentility completely relinquished their domestic roles and adopted the aristocratic model of the lady of leisure.[6]

Recipe collecting and direct management of household activities held their allure even longer in colonial society, where the wealthiest lived in a manner far below that of English lords and ladies, and the example they set was more restrained. Prosperous American women could be found working side by side with their kitchen maids and other servants, or at the very least providing them with guidance and instruction in their domestic duties. The manuscript recipe collection was a means of preserving and disseminating the culinary tips and fashions these women gathered, often over the course of a lifetime. Historian Kevin J. Hayes writes of colonial women that they "took advantage of both folk and literary traditions to create their own personal works." This pattern continued for American women of all classes after independence. They were unashamed to keep house, to keep handwritten collections of their favorite dishes, and to be known to keep both.[7]

Along with their role in spreading domestic knowledge and stylish practices such as sugarwork both laterally and down the social scale, manuscript recipe collections contributed to the development of the genre of the cookbook. British food historian Gilly Lehmann considers them "the principal source of English cookery books." Before the seventeenth century, as another British historian, Elizabeth Spiller, notes, there was "no distinct or fully established category of cookbooks." But as influential as the manuscript recipe collection was in the making of the cookbook, other factors also came into play.[8]

Printed books containing cooking instruction emerged as a part of the culture of print that transformed early modern Europe. Like all instructional writing, these works were considered examples of new "knowledge practices," on a par with topics like surgery and chemistry. The distinction we tend to maintain in print today between practical and theoretical

approaches was not then so clear. Recipes, formulas, directions, advice, and ethical guidance were intermixed in early printed treatises. Printing had altered the medieval equation in which "philosophical sciences" had been "written knowledge," while mechanical and technical arts were part of the oral culture of "guild practices." All types of knowledge were now committed to print. So "improving" discourses might be interspersed with useful recipes, and health advice offered in the midst of a moral exhortation.[9]

Many literary genres, some still with us today, originated in the imaginative and technological renaissance that accompanied the rise of printing. For our purposes, three in the English tradition are most important as they most influenced the form of the modern cookbook. These are books of "secrets," which combined alchemical experimentation with recipes and other domestic tutelage; books on health and nutrition known as dietaries; and books on husbandry and the management of estates in both farm and household aspects.[10]

Like the manuscript recipe collections upon which they often drew, secrets books included directions for making confectioneries and remedies. Besides that will-o'-the-wisp, alchemy, the earliest works in the genre focused on the "mechanical arts" of printing, dyeing, mining, optics, and even husbandry. But in time cookery, especially the making of sweet foods, became the secrets books' main topic. Although "hidden behind the men who presented the books," as Lehmann notes, the authors of these domestic secrets books were often women. Even more extraordinarily, the audience for them was primarily women.[11]

The logic of combining in one printed source recipes for fancy sweet dishes and potions for ailments may seem elusive. But to early moderns these subjects were united in an important respect: they involved new insights into the properties of matter and its manipulation. The practices that created this often startling new knowledge were compelling enough to be classified as the "secrets" of the social and scientific elites. An example of the kind of secrets these books contained is the chemical changes that occur when heat or cold is applied to certain foodstuffs. The ices or syrups that result could be viewed in either culinary or medicinal terms. The making of confections and the making of "medeson" were thus both thought to be within the domain of the secrets book.[12]

Many secrets books also purported to reveal the inner workings of the English court and the concoctions for health and pleasure favored by the nobility. One such work was *The Queens Closet Opened,* published in 1655.

Its compiler, known only by the initials W.M., may have been Walter Montagu, formerly private secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I. The book was first published six years after the trial and execution of the king, when the queen was in exile. The look back it offered on a vanished royal court may have been its most appealing "secret." Whatever the reason, it was a great success, going into multiple editions and spawning imitations such as Hannah Woolley's *The Queen-Like Closet* (1670). By the 1680s, *The Queens Closet Opened* was for sale in the colonies.[13]

The recipes found in the secrets books are often vague and imprecise. Spiller argues that the books are "neither fully medieval nor fully modern in their assumptions about the relationships among art, nature and knowledge." Permeating them is the "residual medieval sense" that knowledge is most valuable when "curious," that exceptional "jewels" and "delightes" are to be most highly prized. While the modern perspective to see knowledge as most useful when replicable is present in these books, arcane information that is unprovable and not illustrative of general processes is equally valued. The proof of a recipe's effectiveness, whether as a food, a medicine, a cleaner, or for some other use, often relies on nothing more than the name of the reputable person for whom it is said to have "worked." For example, in later editions of *The Queens Closet Opened,* "The Prescribers, and Approvers of most of these rare Receipts" are named; recipes are tagged simply "prooved" or "*probatum est.*"[14]

Hugh Plat, who wrote *Jewel House of Art and Nature* (1594) and *Delightes for Ladies* (1600), was perhaps the most famous author of books in the secrets vein. Yet he was renowned, too, as a scholar of natural science. One admirer deemed him "the most curious man of his time." But curious is a curious word—it can be taken to mean inquisitiveness as well as something or someone singular. As both a collector of marvels and an early scientist, Plat straddled the medieval and modern worlds that the secrets books themselves exemplify.[15]

The next precursor of the cookbook, the dietary, reveals "a sophisticated awareness of the interconnection between food and health," according to British historian Lynette Hunter. Some dietaries, such as Andrew Boorde's *The Breviary of Healthe* (1552), offer cures based on plant and food remedies. These forerunners of more specialized books on medicine and pharmaceuticals provide dietary regimens and cooking techniques that promote health or offer therapies that address illness and injury. They were particularly useful to those for whom the services of a physician, surgeon, or apothecary, all guild members since the sixteenth century, were out of reach.[16]

The Galenic theory of the "humors," in which, put simply, sickness was seen as an imbalance of bodily fluids, is often associated with the dietaries. For instance, in *The Haven of Health* (1584), Thomas Cogan explains that eating cold, moist foods such as melons produces different effects depending on the constitution of the person eating them: "If they do finde flewme in the stomacke, they be turned into flewme, if they finde choler, they be turned into choler." Along with culinary and medical wisdom, dietaries provided their early modern readers with guidance in matters of conduct and morality. The connection between moral rectitude and physical well-being, as between health and diet, was considered self-evident. Hannah Woolley's *The Gentlewomans Companion* (1673) is a late example of the dietary. In it, Woolley gives advice on conduct to women in all stages and walks of life, while offering medicines and foods to counter various physical ailments. "Diet as preventive" is the overarching theme of the dietaries.[17]

Books of husbandry combining cooking with estate management can also be considered antecedents of the cookbook, and like the secrets books, their cooking sections were sometimes based on women's recipe collections. The husbandry books are extensive, often multivolume works, with sections or separate volumes devoted to the preparation of food and drink. Lehmann argues that books combining cookery and household management tended to be "less ambitious about their readers" than the secrets books, which emphasized confectionery. In the most famous work in this style, Gervase Markham's *The English Hus-wife,* first published in 1615 (with subsequent editions using various spellings of "Housewife"), a housewife is advised to serve food that is "rather esteemed for the familiar acquaintance she hath with it, then for the strangenesse and raritie it bringeth from other Countries." These estate management manuals were aimed primarily at a gentry audience, those whom Lehmann characterizes as "running a country household living off its own production."[18]

The directions for baking bread given in *The English Hus-wife* provide an illustration of the kinds of practical instruction readers might encounter in works of this nature. It is one of the earliest printed recipes for baking bread. In the brown bread section of the recipe, a rustic bread to be made for the estate's farmhands calls for two bushels of barley, two pecks of peas, and a peck of wheat or rye, to be mixed with a peck of malt. The recipe illustrates the scale on which country estate kitchens and bake houses ran. Yet even such works as Markham's did not eschew sumptuous dishes. His advice to the housewife to serve food with which she had a "familiar acquaintance" is belied by his inclusion of foreign recipes such as "olla podrida," an elegant Spanish spiced meat dish, along with a section devoted to "Banquetting stuffe and conceited dishes."[19]

All of the types of printed works we have been surveying influenced the formation of the modern English cookbook. For American colonists, the secrets books and the husbandry books, rather than the dietaries, held the most interest. *The Queens Closet Opened,* Woolley's *The Queen-Like Closet,* and *The English Hus-wife* appeared on seventeenth-century colonial booksellers' lists and were found in probate inventories. The first and second are in the secrets tradition, the third an example of a husbandry manual. Both of these approaches to cuisine came to the fore in the eighteenth century, although in slightly different forms than they had taken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[20]

The first and more refined of the two styles was favored by English royalty and the nobility. It was a cuisine based on innovations originating in France. The earliest practitioners were the French court cooks, led by François Pierre de La Varenne, author of the bestselling *Le cuisinier françois* (1651; translated into English in 1653 as *The French Cook).* La Varenne developed entirely new methods of cooking that relied on concentrated meat stocks and reductions known as *bouillons* and *jus,* and used *liaisons,* cooked mixtures of flour and fat, to thicken and enrich sauces. One *liaison,* the *roux,* continues to serve as the basis of such classic French sauces as *béchamel* and *velouté.* La Varenne also introduced the *ragoût,* a seasoned stew of meat, fowl, or vegetables. His novel methods inaugurated a new gastronomic era that finally dethroned the sweet and sour flavor combinations and generous use of spices that had dominated high cuisine during the Middle Ages.[21]

Other French cookbook authors built on the groundwork laid by La Varenne, among them Nicolas de Bonnefons, with his *Les delices de la campagne* ("The Pleasures of the Countryside," 1654); Pierre de Lune, author of *Le cuisinier* (1656) and *Le nouveau cuisinier* (1659); and the anonymous author of *Le pastissier françois* (1653). The bestselling and most influential French court cook, however, came to the fore at century's end. François Massialot's best-known work was *Le cuisinier roïal et bourgeois* (1691), translated into English in 1702 as *The Court and Country Cook.* Like La Varenne, Massialot wrote primarily for other cooks, the cadre of professionals who served the nobility and wealthy patrons wishing, as historian of the French table Barbara Ketcham Wheaton observes, to "advance their social

ambitions by offering meals that were too good to refuse." Also like La Varenne, Massialot's contributions to the art of cooking had a profound impact on continental and English gastronomy. He seems to have been a peripatetic, freelance cook, "operating independently of a specialized food guild or of a great household," and, along with other master cooks, catering wedding feasts and banquets for the likes of the duc d'Orléans, brother to Louis XIV, and others of high rank. He developed two versatile preparations in particular upon which he based his exquisite dishes. These are the *coulis* (cullis in English), a strained and thickened meat, fruit, or vegetable broth, and ham essence, a highly flavored meat juice. He was also a great innovator in the realm of desserts. The meringue is one of his sweet creations.[22]

French cooks of the eighteenth century published books that amplified and in some instances modified the classic French approach. Vincent La Chapelle's *The Modern Cook*, first published in English in 1733, and in French in 1735, was a massive compendium of 1,500 complete recipes. Food historian and chef Anne Willan describes it as "a treasury of eighteenth-century French cooking." But La Chapelle's work succumbs to what Wheaton laments as "a permanent and disagreeable feature of the craft of cooking"—plagiarism. Many of La Chapelle's recipes were taken from Massialot and other predecessors. The French method, at least one hundred years old by the middle of the eighteenth century, was modernized by the foremost eighteenth-century French cookbook author, François Menon. His works include the highly successful *Nouveau traité de la cuisine* (1739; translated as *New Treatise on Cooking*, 1742) and the midcentury *Les soupers de la cour* (1755; translated as *The Professed Cook*, 1767). Although he promoted a simplified style, Menon did not neglect classic French kitchen disciplines, such as knife skills, and the sauces, reductions, and blanching and braising techniques upon which French haute cuisine had been built.[23]

While they served the upper echelons and wrote for other professionals, the French court cooks and authors had an effect on broader culinary developments. For example, a standard of bourgeois English cooking, the "made dish," a preparation of various ingredients cooked together, which was considered "a more elaborate mode of cookery than plain *frying, broiling,* or *roasting,*" can be said to descend, if rather distantly, from the tradition of the court cooks.[24]

In Britain through the first decades of the eighteenth century, the foods served at the tables of the great were invariably in the French mode. English lords, who presided over the greatest houses in Britain, preferred, whenever possible, to staff their kitchens with French cooks. Vincent La Chapelle, for example, worked in London for Philip Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, from about 1728 to 1735, when he left to serve William IV, Prince of Orange.[25]

But French chefs (the term *chef de cuisine* was first used by Menon) were rather thin on the English ground. A crop of English proponents of the continental high style took up the French court cooks' mantle. Many of them published cookbooks to promote themselves and their cooking style. The cuisine portrayed in Henry Howard's *England's Newest Way* (1703), Patrick Lamb's *Royal Cookery* (1710), John Nott's *Cook's and Confectioner's Dictionary* (1723), Richard Smith's *Court Cookery* (1723), and Charles Carter's *Complete Practical Cook* (1730) follows the French model.[26]

Despite the enduring influence of these French and English high-style cooks, the gastronomic excesses they championed (for instance, requiring "six Pounds of Butter to fry twelve Eggs," as Hannah Glasse complained) began to lose their appeal at the pinnacle of British society after about 1730. English royalty had begun to head in the direction of *primus inter pares*, and the food found at court, as well as on the tables of the aristocracy and the rising professional classes, began to shift toward plainer English fare. A new wave of cookbooks celebrated this turn toward what historian Stephen Mennell calls "English country notions in food." These were written by English women who learned and practiced their craft as cooks, often as cooks and housekeepers both, in less exalted households. As Gilly Lehmann explains, these housewife-style cooks were well received in the expanding market for cookbooks, where buyers "preferred the traditional mix of culinary receipts and remedies to the grandiose dishes of the ambitious court-cooks." The French chefs and their lavish menus did not completely disappear. They continued to be "the particular prerogative of the grandest of the Whig grandees." But English society had begun to associate patriotism with the consumption of simpler, native foods and preparations, such as roast beef. The combination of two ideas—that food choices were a matter of national identity and that foreignness and urbanity (especially of the French variety) were marks of dissipation—led to the broad acceptance of "country notions" in dining.[27]

The imperial rivalry between Britain and France, and one political event in particular, the Hanoverian accession, played a part in giving food a patriotic significance. When George I, the solidly Protestant first monarch of

the House of Hanover, ascended the throne on the death of Queen Anne in 1714, the English nation was in turmoil. Factions more and less hostile to Catholicism contended for control. For those fighting to purge Britain of Catholic belief and culture, anything associated with France and its Catholic, absolutist monarchy was tainted.[28]

Antipathy toward French food and ambivalence about French sophistication in general are attitudes that have persisted into our own day. Nevertheless, it has proved impossible to rid English cuisine of all traces of French gastronomy. French modes of cooking became so ingrained in British foodways that French recipes graced British cookbooks even during fervently anti-French periods, and even in those books most in the patriotic and democratizing vein. Food historians have noted (indeed we ourselves have noted in an earlier work) that an English cookbook author's condemnation of expensive ingredients and rarified cooking styles, especially those associated with France, often went hand in hand with rampant plagiarism from the same disparaged sources. Despite this disingenuousness, a distinctly simpler English mode did emerge that was in conflict with French extravagance.[29]

It can reasonably be argued that the history of British cookbook publishing in the eighteenth century followed a downward social trajectory, from the court cooks' high style that spared no expense and celebrated the arcane skills of kitchen cognoscenti to an approach advanced by mistresses of more moderate means and their cooks. This latter approach, while producing a less lavish and complex cuisine, was the more modern one. It adapted fashionable dishes in a manner that pared away excessive expense and it emphasized the virtues of traditional country cooking. In purely commercial terms, as Lehmann writes, "the woman's product was much better adapted to the requirements of the cookery-book-buying public than the chef's magnum opus." As far as sales went, "the women win hands down." Refocusing culinary artistry to the lesser gentry increased the distance between English and continental norms. English cookbook authors such as Elizabeth Raffald believed that they could "join Oeconomy with Neatness and Elegance," and that their cutting of culinary corners would not affect the taste of a dish, a notion French epicures found laughable. For the English, the desire to rise in status, which prompted many a cookbook purchase, was ever at war with the desire to run the household economically. These competing goals not only formed the new English cuisine but also set up one of the most enduring dynamics within the bourgeois ethos.[30]

Of particular interest to us as we trace the influence of English cuisine on American cooking is that this innovative mode of cooking, developed primarily by women, was disseminated mainly through the modern means of print and its marketplace forces. For the court cooks, cookbooks were far less important than kitchen practice. The professional French cooks believed that knowledge of haute cuisine was best transmitted through networks of skilled practitioners, in a manner that dated back to the medieval guilds. The women cookbook authors, on the other hand, turned their outsider status (women were not permitted to apprentice in the all-male professional kitchens) to their benefit. It turned out that they, rather than the French chefs and their English acolytes, were more in tune with the rising middle classes. The women cooks were aligned with a public ever more influenced by print.[31]

Although they met with publishing success, many of the women culinary writers did not receive credit on their title pages. Often their works were signed simply, "By a Lady," a convention that continued to be used by women writers into the nineteenth century. (Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* first appeared as "By a Lady" and *Pride and Prejudice* as "By the Author of 'Sense and Sensibility.' ") This tactic concealed the writer's identity while establishing her gender and vaguely claiming a high social position. Women writers of cookbooks may have chosen anonymity in order to be shielded from the inevitable criticism their works received from their male counterparts. Gilly Lehmann tells us that women "were not easily accepted, either professionally or socially" as experts on cooking, and "men were quick to criticize women's lack of training or 'profession.' " Samuel Johnson thought that "women can spin very well; but they cannot make a good book of Cookery." His pronouncement coincided with the beginning of a two-hundred-year period during which women writers dominated the English cookbook market.[32]

Even Hannah Glasse's remarkably enduring *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, first published in 1747, entered the world as "By a Lady," although Glasse formally registered her work with Stationers' Hall on August 16, 1746. Nonetheless, Dr. Johnson and other pundits of the day disputed her authorship and created the impression that a man had written the defining British culinary work of the eighteenth century. As late as 1929, *The Art of Cookery* was being misattributed. In 1938, an antiquarian named Madeleine Hope Dodds finally put the matter to rest with research that proved Glasse was the author. Yet as early as the fourth edition of 1751, Glasse's signature

had been included on the title page, and her trade card had been inserted in the book.[33]

For other women cookbook writers of the eighteenth century, initials served to disguise identity. The first four editions of E. Smith's *The Compleat Housewife* (1727), the bestselling cookbook of the early part of the century, are attributed to E— S—. The author's surname appears for the first time only in posthumous editions; her first name remains unknown.[34]

In some cases, the female cookbook author's identity was revealed, and even played up. The gender and relatively modest circumstances of Elizabeth Raffald, author of *The Experienced English Housekeeper,* certainly didn't hurt sales of her book, which Anne Willan calls "the ultimate English manual for domestics." Raffald cleverly exploited her experience as housekeeper at Arley Hall, Cheshire, and later as owner of a successful fine food and confectionery shop. Female servants who wished to advance as cooks or housekeepers, or women who simply wanted to keep their homes with some grace, were eager to purchase works such as Raffald's.[35]

The eighteenth-century English bourgeois desire to enjoy fashionable but unostentatious dining and a new propensity to elevate the more rustic aspects of English cooking were not without precedent. There was a country inflection to the interests and preferences of the English aristocracy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digbie Kt. Opened* (1669) is an exemplar of the uniquely English aristocratic predilection for the foods of its own countryside. Although "larded with French terms" in the manner of all secrets books, Kenelm Digby's work is, as Stephen Mennell asserts, a reflection of the concerns "arising directly out of practical housekeeping on modest country estates."[36]

The basis of this preference for the rural lay in the structure of English life, in which landed classes, comprising peers, gentry, and freehold farmers, dominated the social order. Distinctions among various levels of these closely associated groups were minimized by the anomaly of what has been described as overlapping incomes, whereby some prosperous non-nobles were wealthier than some peers, as well as by the fact that primogeniture required many younger sons of the peerage, those not in line to inherit titles or estates, to become in essence part of the gentry. In short, English landowners, from great to small, constituted a large, influential, and fairly close-knit segment of society, one that lived both on and by their estates, and took pride in the quality of nourishment obtained from their holdings. And just as the courtly influence on social norms was more subdued in

England than in France, so too the country influence exerted by this class on the English court was more acutely felt. Country life, then, held high prestige in England, much higher than it held in France.

The point is nicely illustrated in an offhand remark of Digby's: "My Lady of Portland told me since, that she finds Neats-tongues to be the best flesh for Pies." In other words, the high-born "My Lady of Portland" concerned herself with such mundane matters as the type of meat in her household's pies, pies that we can assume were made under her guidance, if not by her hand, and in which "Neats-tongues" (beef tongues) came from her own herds. Mennell concludes that "urban and rural life interlocked far more in England than in France, and this was valued." As we alluded to earlier, even the royal diet (grand occasions excepted) varied little from the substantial country fare enjoyed by minor gentry.[37]

In the eighteenth century, the Lady of Portland's great-granddaughters turned their noses up at making neat's tongues and mince pies with their own hands, but her descendants' tenants and servants certainly did not. The expanding English market for cookbooks included many whose rising status required them to learn not only more and better modes of cooking but also etiquette, the finer points of morality, and instruction in handwriting. The servants, who once were expected only to be able to read, were increasingly expected to master writing as well.[38]

From the 1740s, adding to these liberalizing social trends, London lost its place at the center of cookbook publishing, as provincial printers began to develop their own notable lists. *The Young Woman's Companion; or, The Servant-Maid's Assistant* (1753), by former York housekeeper Mary Johnson, provides an example. The work sold well enough to be reissued the year after publication. But this time its publisher, and perhaps its author, found the original title lacking. For a cookbook and confectionery guide that also instructed in grammar, spelling, arithmetic, and the moral duties of a servant, the title *Madam Johnson's Present; or, The Best Instructions for Young Women in Useful and Universal Knowledge* seemed a better fit. With this change, the work openly acknowledges that the mistress of the household is not the book's intended reader. Rather, she is expected to purchase it for her servant.[39]

Several other provincial British titles were published under circumstances that seem to presage those of *American Cookery.* Elizabeth Moxon's 1741 *English Housewifry* was printed by John Lister, publisher of the local

newspaper the *Leeds Mercury*. (Under similar arrangements, the first and second editions of *American Cookery* would in 1796 be printed by newspaper publishers in Hartford and Albany.) Upon Lister's death in 1753, his successor, Griffith Wright, continued to issue Moxon's domestic manual, thirteen editions in all, into the 1790s. The influence of Moxon's work was such that Sarah Jackson's 1754 *The Director; or, Young Woman's Best Companion* is, with the exception of two recipes, a copy of the fourth edition. Jackson's *Director* was made accessible to a wider audience by being brought out in affordable weekly installments. This goal of attracting readers of limited means is echoed in the pricing of *American Cookery*, a topic we return to in chapter 9.[40]

Provincial newspaper publishers saw the expanding cookbook market as a commercial opportunity. And provincial would-be cookbook authors found with their local newspaper publishers an opportunity to promote themselves despite their cultural and geographic distance from London. Along with Moxon's successful work, Wright brought out Ann Peckham's *The Complete English Cook* (1767). Thomas Slack, who published a newspaper in Newcastle, entered the cookery field with Ann Cook's *Professed Cookery* (1754) and continued in it with Mary Smith's *Complete Housekeeper* (1772). The market for such works was not limited to the middle classes. Even aristocratic women who had long relied on their trove of hand-copied recipes as the basis of their households' diets occasionally bought one of the new printed cookbooks by women authors, if only to give them as gifts to their cooks and servants.[41]

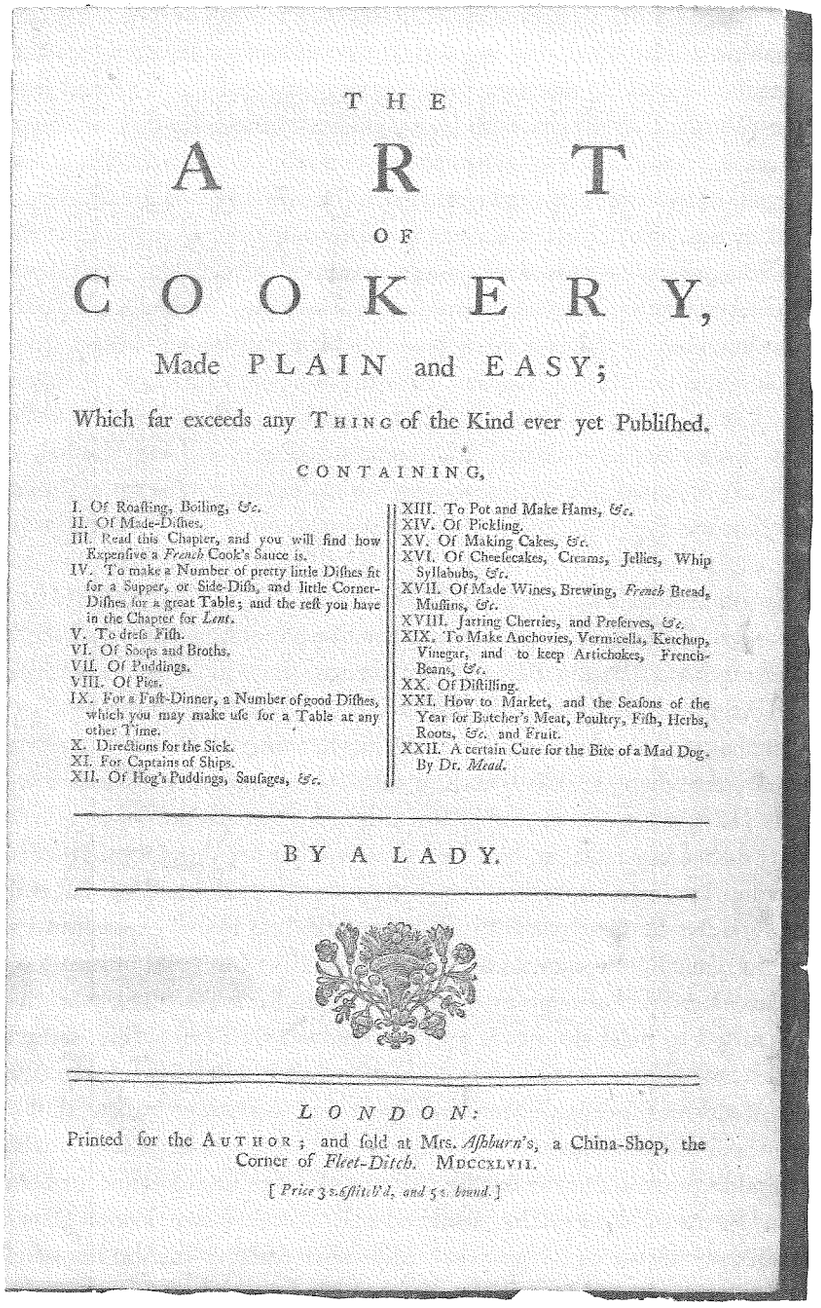
By the last third of the century, native English foods, paired for special occasions with vaguely French prestige dishes, were those favored by British society. The two women authors who played the greatest role in shaping this emerging cuisine, Hannah Glasse and Elizabeth Raffald, also had deep personal ties to the provinces.[42]

Although her works were published in London, where she lived as an adult, Glasse spent much of her youth far from the capital city in Northumberland. Her roots in a provincial family of professionals and clerics on her father's side may have contributed to a cooking style with a stated bias toward "good *English*" food. She was the illegitimate daughter of Isaac Allgood of Hexham and an Irish widow named Hannah Reynolds, with whom Allgood also had two other children. When Allgood's relationship with Reynolds ended, daughter Hannah, calling her mother a "wicked wretch," chose to remain with her father and was accepted into the Allgood household. At

sixteen, on the death of her stepmother and with her father in poor health, Hannah moved to London to live with her grandmother. Shortly afterward, she made a disastrous marriage with a poorly paid subaltern named John Glasse. Within several years, with young children in tow, both Hannah and her husband found employment in service to Arthur Chichester, 4th Earl of Donegall, in Essex. Other employers and business schemes followed, though it is likely that John Glasse was never gainfully employed after his time with Lord Donegall. As circumstances changed (and not for the better), the Glasses moved several times. They left Broomfield in Essex and lived in various parts of London, ending up in the very house in which Hannah had been born in Greville Street near Hatton Garden. Here the family remained for nine years, from 1738 to 1747, and here Hannah struggled to support herself and her family. She worked as a servant, sold patent medicines, and with the help of a daughter operated a "habit warehouse," or clothes shop. *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* was her one great success, with more than twenty editions in the eighteenth century. Two less successful books followed—*The Servant's Directory* in 1760 and *The Compleat Confectioner* in 1760 or 1761.[43]

Elizabeth Raffald, second only to Glasse in popularity, spent her life in and around Manchester. Before her marriage, she had been housekeeper to Sir Peter and Lady Elizabeth Warburton of Arley Hall, Cheshire. Based on original recipes, some developed during her time in service and others created later when she ran her shop in Manchester, Raffald's *Experienced English Housekeeper* was an immediate and immense success. Its section on dessert dishes in particular, based on those sold at her shop, found an avid following. The woman cook's focus on sweets, first exhibited by sixteenth-century ladies in their partiality to sugarwork, had found expression two centuries later in a woman of lower social standing but great industry and business acumen. Although provincial in origin, Raffald's cuisine was carefully crafted to meet the needs and aspirations of an expanding national middle class. She collected over eight hundred prepublication subscriptions but perhaps need not have been so diligent: her work went into more than thirty-three editions.[44]

Raffald's book is another example of a work by an untested author being printed by the publisher of her local paper. In Raffald's case, Joseph Harrop was not only the owner of the weekly *Manchester Mercury* but also her neighbor. The connection between the two deepened when Raffald "assisted in the continuance" of Harrop's paper. She was also involved with the startup of another local newspaper, *Prescott's Journal*.[45]



THE

ART

OF

COOKERY,

Made PLAIN and EASY;

Which far exceeds any THING of the Kind ever yet Publiſhed.

CONTAINING,

I. Of Roaſting, Boiling, &c.
II. Of Made-Diſhes.
III. Read this Chapter, and you will find how Expenſive a *French* Cook's Sauce is.
IV. To make a Number of pretty little Diſhes fit for a Supper, or Side-Diſh, and little Corner-Diſhes for a great Table; and the reſt you have in the Chapter for *Lent*.
V. To dreſs Fiſh.
VI. Of Soops and Broths.
VII. Of Puddings.
VIII. Of Pies.
IX. For a Faſt-Dinner, a Number of good Diſhes, which you may make uſe for a Table at any other Time.
X. Directions for the Sick.
XI. For Captains of Ships.
XII. Of Hog's Puddings, Sauſages, &c.
XIII. To Pot and Make Hams, &c.
XIV. Of Pickling.
XV. Of Making Cakes, &c.
XVI. Of Cheeſecakes, Creams, Jellies, Whip Syllabubs, &c.
XVII. Of Made Wines, Brewing, *French* Bread, Muffins, &c.
XVIII. Jarring Cherries, and Preſerves, &c.
XIX. To Make Anchovies, Vermicella, Ketchup, Vinegar, and to keep Artichokes, French-Beans, &c.
XX. Of Diſtilling.
XXI. How to Market, and the Seaſons of the Year for Butcher's Meat, Poultry, Fiſh, Herbs, Roots, &c. and Fruit.
XXII. A certain Cure for the Bite of a Mad Dog. By Dr. *Mead*.

BY A LADY.

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR; and ſold at Mrs. *Aſhburn*'s, a China-Shop, the Corner of *Fleet-Ditch*. MDCCXLVII.

[*Price* 3*s.* *ſtitch'd, and* 5*s. bound.*]

FIGURE 2.1. Title page from *The Art of Cookery* (London, 1747).
—Lowell 4334.5. Houghton Library, Harvard University

The elevated tastes of the earlier eighteenth-century elites had now been either completely "assimilated into the English repertoire," as Lehmann tells us was the case with "raggoos" and "fricassees," or had been eclipsed by the new English style presented by Glasse, Raffald, and other, mainly women writers of domestic cookbooks. But this "more socially homogeneous style of cookery" could also be found outside the home, in the foods prepared by a new class of British male chefs, the tavern cooks. Tavern dining was on the rise in a society ever more socially and physically mobile, and the public had begun to demand better fare in these embryonic restaurants. The tavern cooks specialized in roast meats, and it was in their establishments that notions of the "copiously carnivorous diet of the English" and its link to "self-proclaimed manliness, courage, fierceness of character, and freedom of spirit" were perhaps best expressed. This "ideology of food chauvinism," as food historian Aaron Landau calls it, distinguished English cuisine yet further from the urbanity of the French. English food, and the democratic setting of the tavern in which to partake of it, thus played a part in the construction of the British national identity that had begun to assert itself in the new consumer society. To make it palatable politically, this new cuisine was marketed as traditional; to make it palatable to the pocketbooks of the emerging entrepreneurial and professional middle classes, it drew its inspiration from the economizing elegance of the housewifely cookbooks.[46]

From newspaper advertisements, booksellers' lists, and the catalogues of subscription and circulating libraries, we can identify the British cookery titles that were imported into the American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some early Virginia colonists wrote their associates in London to request books on husbandry and housewifery, and in 1620 they received in answer Gervase Markham's *The English Hus-wife*, the farm and household management treatise discussed earlier. It is likely that *The English Hus-wife* also found its way to Plymouth Colony. It is certain that multiple copies of Markham's work arrived in Boston in 1684.[47]

Additionally, in the 1680s in Boston, a book buyer could obtain a copy of W.M.'s *The Queens Closet Opened* and Hannah Woolley's *The Queen-Like Closet*. In at least one private library in Virginia, Robert May's *The Accomplisht Cook* (1660) and John Evelyn's *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets* (1699) could be found on the shelves. A copy of William Rabisha's *The Whole Body of Cookery* (1661) appears in the 1701 estate inventory of a Virginia planter

who had a reputation for keeping a particularly good table and well-stocked wine cellar.[48]

Benjamin Franklin owned "a well-thumbed copy" of François Menon's *La cuisinière bourgeoise,* which is an early instance of a French work that, uncharacteristically, emphasizes country or regional cooking. In a 1748 reprint of this Menon title, a recipe for "Turkey Wings Many Ways," which could be taken from any of the English housewifely cookbooks, is on offer. Throughout Europe by this time, the New World bird had become commonplace. In France its culinary versatility was especially appreciated.[49]

Franklin's possession of this bourgeois-style cookbook (an anomaly for Menon, a chef known for his sophistication) reveals something about the kinds of cookery works likely to find a colonial audience. Those that drew the most attention in eighteenth-century America, both before and after the Revolution, were the same economical ones, usually written by women, that were most popular in Britain: Richard Bradley's *Country Housewife and Lady's Director* (1727; though written by a male chef, it is considered "closer in style to the women's books than to the court-cooks' "), E. Smith's *The Compleat Housewife,* Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* and *The Compleat Confectioner,* and Raffald's *The Experienced English Housekeeper.*[50]

Bradley and Smith were known throughout the colonies. Glasse's *Art of Cookery* fared as well with colonial cookbook readers as it did with those in Britain. In the words of historian Kevin J. Hayes, it was "the most popular cookery book during the last three decades of the colonial period." Glasse's work on confectionery was somewhat less well known, though still widely used. Raffald's work appears in colonial recipe collections such as the one kept by Bostonian Anne Gibbons Gardiner, even though, as Anne Willan points out, "there is no record for advertisements of its sale by [American] booksellers." Its reputation may have spread by word of mouth among colonial gentry, some of whom might have encountered it on trips to Britain.[51]

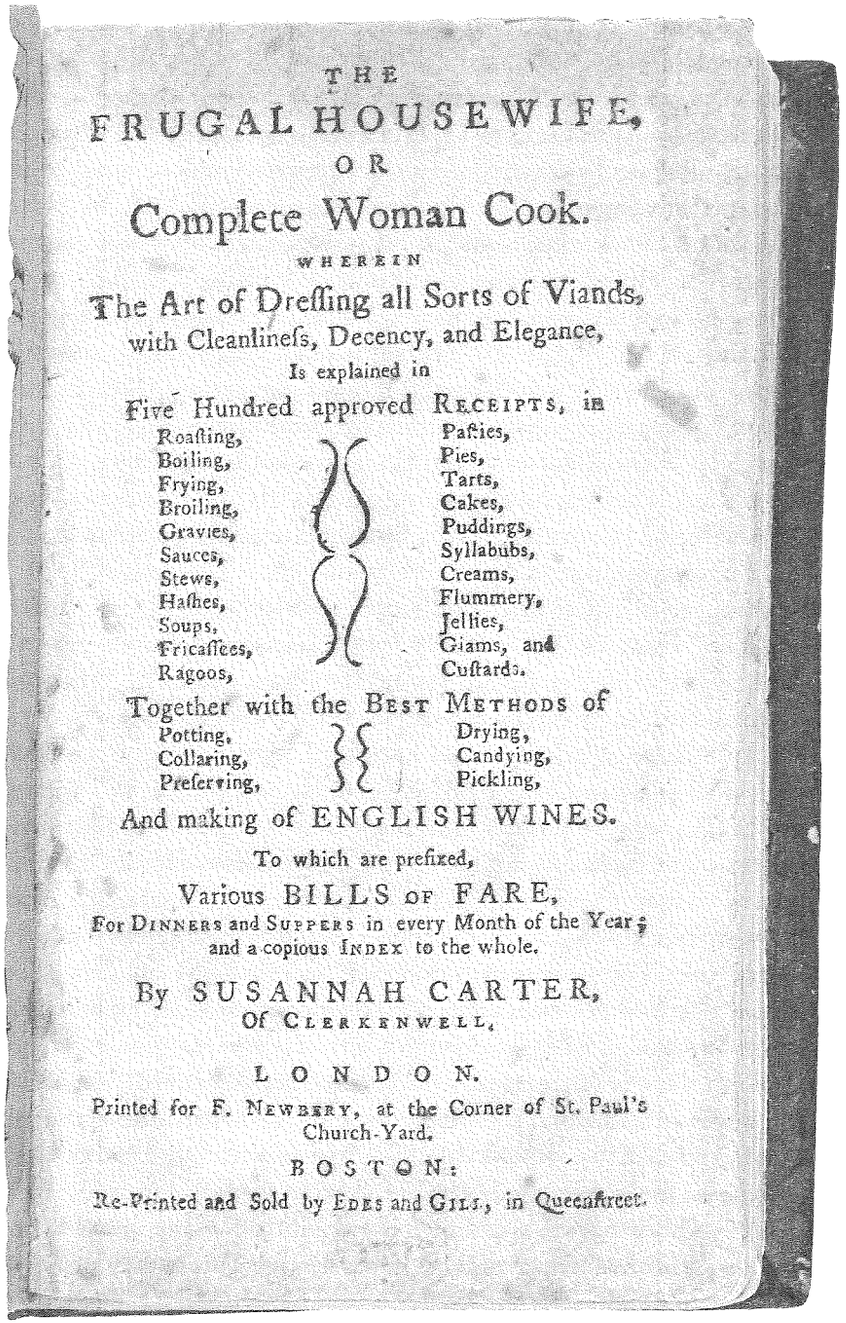
Also in circulation, especially in more cosmopolitan places like Williamsburg and Boston, were Sarah Harrison's *The House-Keeper's Pocket-Book* (1733), aimed at thrifty yet upwardly mobile households; Mary Johnson's *Madam Johnson's Present;* Martha Bradley's *The British Housewife* (1756), a monumental and highly useful work directed at all levels of the household from the master and mistress to the lowliest servant, written by a former cook; and Richard Briggs's *The English Art of Cookery* (1788), published in Philadelphia in 1791 as *The New Art of Cookery,* a title perhaps considered more apt to appeal to Americans. This was another work aimed at women cooks of modest means.[52]

Susannah Carter's *The Frugal Housewife* (1765) was first printed on this side of the Atlantic in Boston in 1772. Its engraved copper plates illustrate such practical matters as the proper way to truss fowl and were etched by none other than soon-to-be Revolutionary War patriot Paul Revere. Much of *American Cookery* is taken from *The Frugal Housewife,* as we explore later in our story. For now, it is enough to note that Carter's was clearly an important work for the American market. Willan lists it among the "English cookbooks [that] had become spectacularly popular New World imports."[53]

Boston booksellers Edward Cox and Edward Berry featured the Boston edition of *The Frugal Housewife* in a full-page advertisement in their 1772 catalogue. Their sales pitch emphasized that the book was directed to the untrained cook. They also noted that it contained lots of recipes at a bargain price: "Any Person by attending to the Instructions given in this Book, may soon attain to a competent Knowledge in the Art of Cookery, &c.—And it likewise contains more in Quantity than most other Books of a much higher Price." However, *The Frugal Housewife*'s large number of recipes was achieved by plagiarizing earlier works, such as Glasse, Smith, and the massive compendium known as *The Whole Duty of a Woman* (1737).[54]

Before we judge Susannah Carter harshly, though, we might note that Hannah Glasse plagiarized extensively from the same source, as well as from Smith, La Chapelle, and others. The first edition of *The Whole Duty* itself took recipes from Smith, Richard Bradley, Charles Carter, and La Chapelle. And many recipes in *American Cookery* were taken from Susannah Carter. In the world of early cookbooks, the rights of authors and publishers were far from secure. But sometimes recipe theft had a positive outcome. The practice allowed recipes from expensive volumes to circulate more widely than they might otherwise have done.[55]

Although there is no conclusive evidence, it is possible that *The Whole Duty of a Woman* (its second edition got the more up-to-date title *The Lady's Companion*) reached the colonies directly as well as when other authors copied its recipes. In the manuscript recipe collection she began in 1763, Anne Gibbons Gardiner included some recipes from it that are not found in her other sources, Hannah Glasse and Elizabeth Raffald. This implies that they came either from an unknown secondary source or from *The Whole Duty* itself. So while we have evidence from import lists and probate records



THE
FRUGAL HOUSEWIFE,
OR
Complete Woman Cook.
WHEREIN
The Art of Dreſſing all Sorts of Viands,
with Cleanlineſs, Decency, and Elegance,
Is explained in
Five Hundred approved RECEIPTS, in
Roaſting, Boiling, Frying, Broiling, Gravies, Sauces, Stews, Haſhes, Soups, Fricaſſees, Ragoos,
Paſties, Pies, Tarts, Cakes, Puddings, Syllabubs, Creams, Flummery, Jellies, Glams, and Cuſtards.
Together with the BEST METHODS of
Potting, Collaring, Preſerving,
Drying, Candying, Pickling,
And making of ENGLISH WINES.
To which are prefixed,
Various BILLS OF FARE,
For DINNERS and SUPPERS in every Month of the Year;
and a copious INDEX to the whole.
By SUSANNAH CARTER,
Of CLERKENWELL.
LONDON.
Printed for F. NEWBERY, at the Corner of St. Paul's Church-Yard.
BOSTON:
Re-Printed and Sold by EDES and GILL, in Queenſtreet.

FIGURE 2.2. Title page from *The Frugal Housewife* (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1772).
—Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society

about some imported cookbook titles, others might have made their way into wealthy colonial homes like Gardiner's.[56]

In 1742, printer William Parks of Williamsburg, Virginia, set into type the first colonial imprint of a British cookbook. He chose Smith's *The Compleat Housewife* for the purpose. It had taken a long time for a colonial printer to find it profitable to print a cookbook. To set the context for Parks's decision, we should recall that well into the eighteenth century, books of all sorts were luxury goods, reserved for those with ample financial and educational resources. Bibles and other religious texts continued to dominate the book market. It was only gradually that books on a range of subjects began to interest the reading public sufficiently to encourage printers and booksellers to expand their lists.[57]

But by the middle of the eighteenth century, the American gentry's attention had turned to cookery, just as it had to other secular pleasures such as singing, dancing, and fashion. Even before Parks presented *The Compleat Housewife* to the American book-buying public, recipes had begun to find their way into print in a colonial world hungry for the latest British fashions and entertainments. In 1737, the Philadelphia edition of William Bradford's *Young Secretary's Guide* included recipes. These were probably the first recipes to be printed in the colonies, although they did not constitute an entire work of cookery.[58]

As promised, lastly we turn our attention to the kinds of cookbooks that were *not* imported into the American colonies. The main types of work in this category are, not surprisingly, the English and French high-style works, those by Patrick Lamb, John Nott, Henry Howard, Charles Carter, François Pierre de La Varenne, François Massialot, Vincent La Chapelle, and François Menon. Although they had set the British gastronomic agenda in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they had been superseded by the bourgeois manuals and their colonial audience was slim.

Of course, as we have mentioned, at least one work by Menon, *La cuisinière bourgeoise,* did make its way into at least one American library: Benjamin Franklin owned a "well-thumbed" copy of it. But this anomaly may be explained by Franklin's particular circumstances. During his years in France he might have developed an interest in French high cuisine. Then too, from among all of Menon's works, Franklin chose the book that the great chef wrote atypically in a country style. This was Menon's one flirtation with a rusticating fad, an attempt to join what Willan describes as

"a countermovement against refinement . . . linked to the *cuisine bourgeoise* of towns . . . and to the countryside." It was a minor theme, a footnote, in French food history and in Menon's oeuvre. Yet it is the Menon Franklin owned. In all, the number of high-style French and French-inspired English cookbooks imported into America was exceedingly low. Only the ghosts of the French gastronomic legacy, found in modified techniques for à la mode, fricassee, ragout, and roux, made their way into American kitchens.[59]

Still, some books by male cooks did find an American audience. Willan reports that Richard Briggs's *English Art of Cookery* "brought him success in recently independent America, where his book was printed in three cities. His was the only cookbook by a male author to achieve such distinction at this time." Before independence, Richard Bradley's book also made the passage. He had written his work to show the lesser gentry and moderately wealthy farmers of Britain how to eat better but with little additional expense. According to Hayes, Bradley was known in Virginia and popular elsewhere in the colonies. But neither of these male cooks was in the court-cook tradition. Rather, they directed their instructions to women readers, and their culinary style was more in the housewifely tradition.[60]

A middle-class cuisine containing, in Gilly Lehmann's phrase, "adapted versions of grand court dishes" was to be found in colonial America, but the emphasis is on "adapted." Aspirations to culinary grandiosity were not completely absent from those in command of large colonial estates. But excess was tempered by the exigencies of colonial life. On the other side of the water, as the eighteenth century advanced, even highly successful court cook authors like Henry Harrison found it necessary to scale back their creations. They too were responding to necessity, but from a different source—the marketplace itself, where the power of the purse more and more in the hands of the middle class was shaping their gastronomy.[61]

Aristocratic sugarwork may have devolved into the pastry arts, practiced by servants or purchased from professional confectioners, but the English devotion to sweet foods persisted. And the English reputation for baking only grew. Cakes, biscuits or small cakes (cookies), pies, puddings, and creams were viewed as their specialties. The love of sweets found expression at all levels of society, giving dessert a prominence on the English table that it did not hold in France, where the fine art of French pastry-making was more circumscribed. For the French, dessert was important, but neither as exclusively sweet nor as dominant a part of the cuisine as it was for their British counterparts. The British sweet tooth influenced American tastes, as

we see when we consider the number of confections to be found in *American Cookery*.

Until the eve of open hostilities between mother country and colonies, English cookbooks like Susannah Carter's *Frugal Housewife* continued to be imported for sale on the American market. They did well. The Boston printing of Carter's work in 1772 seems to have occurred within a brief window of opportunity for the sale of British goods that opened between the repeal of the Townsend duties in May 1770 and the beginning of the full-blown revolutionary crisis in the spring of 1773. The appeal of cookbooks that explained British practices and fashions to Americans was great, barely less so during these times of crisis. As soon as the dust of the Revolutionary War settled, British cookbooks were again imported into the new and independent nation. Independence notwithstanding, America's gastronomic agenda continued to be set by Britain.