

Also by Elizabeth Abbott

*A History of Celibacy
A History of Mistresses*

SUGAR

A BITTERSWEET HISTORY

Elizabeth Abbott



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*For my beloved son, Ivan Gibbs:
Sugar is especially for you.*

In it you'll glimpse your Antiguan and Grenadian ancestors.

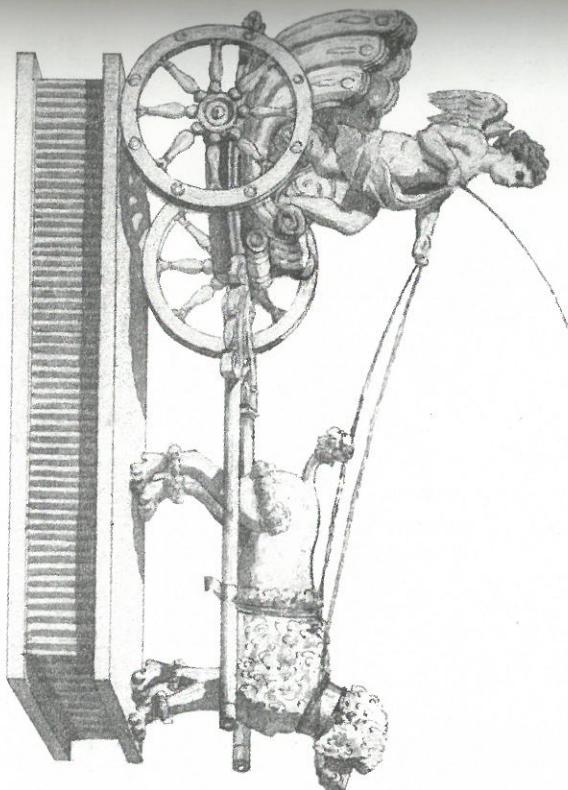
Chapter 2

The Proletarianization of Sugar

THE NOBLE DELICACY

Sugar began life in Europe as an aristocrat, a luxury reserved for nobles who outdid each other with sugar-sculpted virtuosity. It was so highly valued that sycophantic officials curried favor with kings by offering them gifts of sugar loaves. Sugar symbolized wealth, and delighted those fortunate enough to have it available.

Let's peep in at a feast given by Mary of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, in honor of Philip II, son and heir of Charles V. It's 1549, and Charles is under intense pressure to act decisively on the issue of New World Indian human rights. The highlight of the evening is the "sugar collation," a gastronomic orgy offered after both banquet and ball. Charles and Mary's other guests watch as each course is lowered to the ground on tables attached to massive pillars, followed by an outburst of thunder and lightning, with tiny pieces of candy simulating rain and hail. The tables are laden with sweets, including a hundred varieties of white conserves. The most impressive boasts sugar sculptures of a deer, boat, birds, fish, a rock and a sugar-fruit laurel tree. Does Charles feel the slightest twinge of conscience at the human cost of so much squandered sweetness? Does the spectacle remind him of the Valladolid debate, for which Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda are even now preparing?



Design for a sugar ornament of a muscular French poodle pulling a chariot driven by a triumphant winged figure holding a whip. Early 19th century.

Whatever Charles might have thought that night, Mary of Hungary's party did not set the standard for sugary spectacles. In 1566, when Maria de Aviz married Alessandro Farnese, the Duke of Parma, the sugar platters at their wedding feast held a stunning array of sweets that guests devoured in sugar dishes and glasses, cutting larger *bombons* with sugar knives and forks, mopping up syrupy ones with sugar bread. Even the candlesticks were sugar. But all that seemed quite modest when the city of Antwerp's wedding gift was revealed: more than three thousand sugar sculptures commemorating Maria's voyage from Lisbon to her new home in the Netherlands. Whales and sea serpents, storms and ships, then the cities that welcomed her en route, even Alessandro himself was replicated in stately sugar. As a parting token, each wedding guest took home a piece of the royal action.

Even this was modest compared to a "sugar banquet" thrown in 1591 for England's sweet-toothed Virgin Queen, an event so spectacular that it likely inspired Shakespeare's *A Midsummer's Night Dream*. We'll peep in on it, too. This midsummer's night dream takes place in Elvetham, Hampshire, and will last four days. Edward, Earl of Hertford, who was once imprisoned in the Tower of London for bigamy, is its very motivated host. Edward is in perpetual political disgrace and needs royal favor to legitimize his children and generally feel secure. So he has built several pavilions to provide suitable accommodations for Elizabeth and her five hundred courtiers, and there's already a crescent-moon-shaped artificial lake lit with exploding fireworks. Elizabeth is now sitting in a hillside gallery, looking down as the evening begins.

The entertainment is centered on sugary representations of everything Hertford has thought will impress his scary royal guest, she of the passionate, unconsummated love affairs, who will never risk sharing her immense power with a husband. And so the parade of two hundred gentlemen and their hundred torchbearers are laden with confessions of castles, soldiers and weaponry, followed by marzipan "beastes" and "all that can fly," "all kind of wormes" and "all sorts of fishes" and, because too modest a display might offend Her Majesty, a smorgasbord of candied delicacies including jellies and marmalades, fruits, nuts and seeds, sweetmeats, even—how daring in this fruit-fearing era—fresh fruit!

Elizabeth will nibble long and hard, for she has an insatiable sweet tooth. No wonder portraitists flatter her with closed-mouth images. Elizabeth is nearly sixty years old, attractive still and majestic. But, yes, her teeth *are* black, as at least one foreign courtier has reported, and yes, it likely *is* because she overindulges in sugar.

Sweet-toothed Elizabeth ruled over a sweet-toothed nation. Fittingly sugar collations, as they were called, originated in England, famed for the awfulness of its cuisine, and they represent "one instance in dining history where something new and unique was devised in England for the first time," writes food historian Roy Strong.⁵⁶ By the seventeenth century, sugar collations led to the "void" that in turn evolved into dessert.



This wood engraving portrays sweets-loving Queen Elizabeth I smiling carefully, likely to conceal the blackened teeth that marred her appearance.

The “void” was the brief stretch between courses, or after a meal, when servants cleared, or “voided,” the table, and enterprising hosts filled up that void with ornate sugar molds and flower, nut, spice and fruit confections, washed down by sweet wine. At first the void was taken standing up so the servants could do their work. Later it was moved into a separate area. The void was an entertainment centered on sugar rather than nutrition, and its originality and expense largely defined the host’s status. Sugar courses were, writes Renaissance scholar Kim F. Hall, forms of “conspicuous consumption that trickled down from the courtly elite” to the merely very rich.⁵⁷

By the mid-sixteenth century, sugar was trickling down to the middle classes, who were assisted by domestic manuals or cookbooks that promised culinary tips and the recipes of the envied upper classes. These cookbooks, a new phenomenon, were printed in large quantities and in vernacular languages and, Hall writes, they rivaled the Bible in popularity. In France between 1651 and 1789, for instance, 230 cookbook editions appeared. Continental cookbooks targeted male cooks, but England’s male authors dedicated theirs to women. *The Queen-Like Closet, or Rich Cabinet* (1684), or *Rare and Excellent Receipts* (1690), for example, allowed a literate English woman to serve her family the same treats as any aristocrat, and favorite recipes revealed how to create sugar confections.

Lovely sugary desserts were also appearing on European tables. In France, two Italian-born Medici queens had a deep influence on French cooking. Queen Catherine, who in 1533 married the future Henri II when she was a tubby fourteen-year-old, imported Italian “virtuosi” to supervise the court’s kitchens, and these men were especially adept at creating sugared desserts and treats. Catherine was both glutinous and sugar-loving, and should be credited with popularizing the notion of climaxing meals with delightfully sweet confections. In 1600, Marie de’ Medici was married off to France’s Henri IV, who hated his homely blond wife and presided over a court whose courtiers mocked her as “the fat banker.” Marie escaped the tribulations of her hostile marriage and surroundings by comforting herself with food, especially sweets. She brought Giovanni Pastilla, the Medici clan’s

confecctioner, to the French court, where his concoctions delighted the French as much as their queen. The term *bombon*—good good—originated from the royal children’s nickname for his wares, as did the word *pastille*, the small, sugared fruit tablets *Pastilla* specialized in.

As desserts spread, so did knowledge about varieties of sugar. Sugar usually came in loaf form and could be refined into the whitest granules. As Hall writes, “The categorization of the relative purity of sugars, combined with an emphasis on the site of production, existed to a degree rarely seen today—muscovado, clayed, refined, double refined, Madeiras, Barbados.”⁵⁸ Brazilian sugar, for instance, was considered inferior to the whiter Barbadian and Jamaican imports. The housewife’s treasured cookbook educated her and raised her standards by introducing her to aristocratic secrets.

The Accomplish Cook, or the Art and Mystery of Cookery, published in 1678, is an extreme case in point. It gave complicated instructions for creating a sugar world of castles complete with turrets and moats, warships with cannons and flags, and forest animals roaming in parkland. This extravaganza was to be accompanied by pies with live frogs and birds sealed inside, so that when guests lifted off the crusts, “out skip some Frogs, which make the Ladies to skip and shriek; next ... out come the Birds, who by a natural instinct flying in the light, will put out the Candles; so that with the flying Birds and skipping Frogs, the one above, the other beneath, will cause much delight and pleasure to the whole company.”⁵⁹ Too messy, unsanitary and inhumane for modern taste, but what an inspiration for the ambitious seventeenth-century matron stumped for unique dessert ideas!

Sugar was becoming a basic component of the English middle-class regimen. It sweetened rather than just spiced their food, and it was the raison d’être for their dessert. Unlike the French, who confined sugar to dessert and used it sparingly in main courses, the English loved sugar immoderately. In 1603, an Englishman reported, a delegation of Spaniards was astonished at “this fondness of our countrymen and countrywomen for sweets,” and concluded that “they eat nothing but

what is sweetened with sugar, drinking it commonly with their wine and mixing it with their meat.”⁶⁰ Common sayings in many European languages held that “sugar never spoils a soup” and “no meat is ruined by sugar.” Meat-loving England took this seriously.

Pudding was a major vehicle for sugar. “Blessed be he that invented pudding, for it is a Manna that hits the Palates of all Sortes of People,” exclaimed M. Misson, surely one of the few French visitors to rave about English cooking.⁶¹ Pudding was a direct response to sugar’s new affordability, which sweetened the new century—the eighteenth—at about sixpence per pound, the price of a postage stamp. People accustomed to eking out their meager supplies by grating precious granules from a sugar loaf or from bits chopped from a loaf at the grocer’s now dished it out with what seemed profligacy. They no longer reserved it as a delicacy to sprinkle on pie crusts but used it as an ingredient, and this was the origin of pudding.

Puddings did not begin life as dessert—they might be part of a

second or third course that included fish, meat and vegetables, even pies, tarts or fruit. In the early eighteenth century, puddings combined flour and suet, the hard fatty tissue around sheep and cattle kidneys and loins; this heavy mixture was then sweetened with dried fruit and sugar and leavened and bound with eggs, small (weak) beer or yeast. This was the base for hundreds of pudding variations and writes food historian Elisabeth Ayrton, “even the plainest dinner served above the poverty line was not complete without its pudding. Hot puddings, cold puddings, steamed puddings, baked puddings, pies, tarts, creams, moulds, charlottes and bettys, trifles and fools, syllabubs and tansys, junkets and ices, milk puddings, suet puddings: ‘pudding’ used as a generic term covers so many dishes traditional in English cookery that the mind reels.”⁶² Pudding also became a dessert dish, and was usually served at least once daily.

In 1747, housewife Hannah Glasse published what became her bestselling classic, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*. Mrs. Glasse viewed her book as a money-making endeavor designed for “the lower sort,” domestics whose employers would otherwise waste valuable time instructing them. She presented her 972 recipes,

342 copied wholesale from other books, clearly, even amusingly. One of her most interesting desserts is the very English Hedgehog, a little marzipan creature sculpted from a sugary, buttery dough, then stuck with sliced almonds to replicate hedgehog bristles. With more elaborate ingredients, Mrs. Glasse advised, Hedgehog could also be served as the first course.

In 1760, in *The Compleat Confectioner*, Mrs. Glasse responded to demand for dessert recipes. She even included instructions about the placement of dishes: “Every young lady ought to know both how to make all kind of confectionery and dress out a dessert.... But for country ladies it is a pretty amusement both to make the sweetmeats and dress out a dessert, as it depends wholly on fancy and but little expense.”⁶³ She suggests an assortment of sweet goodies, including different-colored ice cream, “a thing us’d in all desserts.”⁶⁴ As they instructed housewives in the confectionery arts, Mrs. Glasse and other cookbook writers taught and even proselytized the joys of sugar.

Ice cream was yet another way to deliver sugar—usually 12 to 16 percent of the total ingredients—and was gaining fans. Its European origins were likely seventeenth-century Italy and later France, from where it crossed over to England by 1671, when Charles II enjoyed ice cream on the Feast of St. George. In 1718, a recipe for ice cream was published, but it took Mrs. Glasse’s immense readership (seventeen editions by the end of the century) to propel ice cream into the popular consciousness.

Ice cream had reached North America by the mid-eighteenth century. Thomas Bladen, governor of Maryland between 1742 and 1747, served “some fine Ice Cream which, with the Strawberries and Milk, eat most deliciously,” reported an appreciative guest.⁶⁵ Ice cream was popular in New York City, where, in 1774, Philip Lenzi advised his customers that it was available at his confectionery shop almost every day. The Founding Fathers ate ice cream at George Washington’s table; in the summer of 1790, his household and guests consumed \$200 worth of the cold treat. The Washington variety, a frozen mixture of cream, eggs and sugar, may have been adapted from Mrs. Glasse’s

cookbook, which Martha Washington owned. Thomas Jefferson, on the other hand, learned his very complicated version of ice cream in France, and he liked to eat it wrapped in pastry.

Ice cream became much more widely known after President James Madison's wife, Dolley, served it at her husband's 1813 Inaugural Ball. Legend has it that Dolley first tasted ice cream in Wilmington, Delaware, at a tea room operated by Betty Jackson, a black woman whose daughter-in-law, Aunt Sallie Shadd, had purportedly invented it. In the late 1820s, African-American cook Augustus Jackson left his job at the White House and took up catering in Philadelphia, where he sold his ice cream to street vendors. In the late eighteenth century, a Frenchman who had fled Revolutionary France sold ice cream on the streets of New York, and a French traveler reported, "Nothing was more amusing than to watch [the ladies] smirk and simper as they tasted it. They could not understand how it could be kept so cold."⁶⁶ By 1837, reported English naval captain and novelist Frederick Marryat, "one great luxury in America ... even in the hottest seasons ... ice creams are universal and even cheap."⁶⁷ England warmed more slowly to ice cream that street vendors began to carry in the 1850s. In colder Canada, Thomas Webb first sold it in the mid-nineteenth century, in Toronto. In 1893, William Neilson began commercial production.⁶⁸

SUGAR'S BITTER MATES: TEA, COFFEE AND CHOCOLATE

Despite the enormous surge in desserts hot and cold, and in sweetening food generally, the true revolution in sugar consumption came after Europeans were introduced to three bitter but stimulating foreigners—tea, coffee and chocolate—and discovered that sugar transformed them into heavenly brews.

Europeans first encountered (mostly green) tea from China in the mid-seventeenth century. At first they drank it as the Chinese did, without sugar. Within decades, even before black tea had become popular, they began to add sugar, likely influenced by British sailors, who introduced their countrymen to Indian-style sugared tea, which

prompted legions of others to take up tea drinking. In 1662, Charles II married Catherine of Braganza, who brought her Portuguese tea-drinking habit to England where she served tea at court instead of the alcohol that "heated or stupefied their brains morning, noon and night."⁶⁹ Tea drinking became popular among court ladies, and some courtiers took it up as well. Catherine became a well-loved queen whose subjects always identified her with her favorite beverage. Enthused poet-politician Edmund Waller,

*Venus her Myrtle, Phœbus has his bays;
Tea both excels, which she vouchsafes to praise.
The best of Queens, the best of herbs, we owe
To that bold nation which the way did show.*

We do not know exactly when people began to sweeten their tea, but tea expert Roy Moxham believes that in England they always did. By the end of the seventeenth century, adding sugar to tea was the fashion. Tea drinking quickly spread down through the social ranks. The advent of coffeehouses, which served both tea and coffee, popularized these beverages as nothing else had. (Teahouses came only in the late nineteenth century.) As with tea, clients sweetened their coffee with sugar. Diluting tea and coffee with milk took longer to catch on. Seventeenth-century France's trend-setting Marquise de Sévigné put milk in hers, but a century passed before the association of milk with tea and coffee became general.

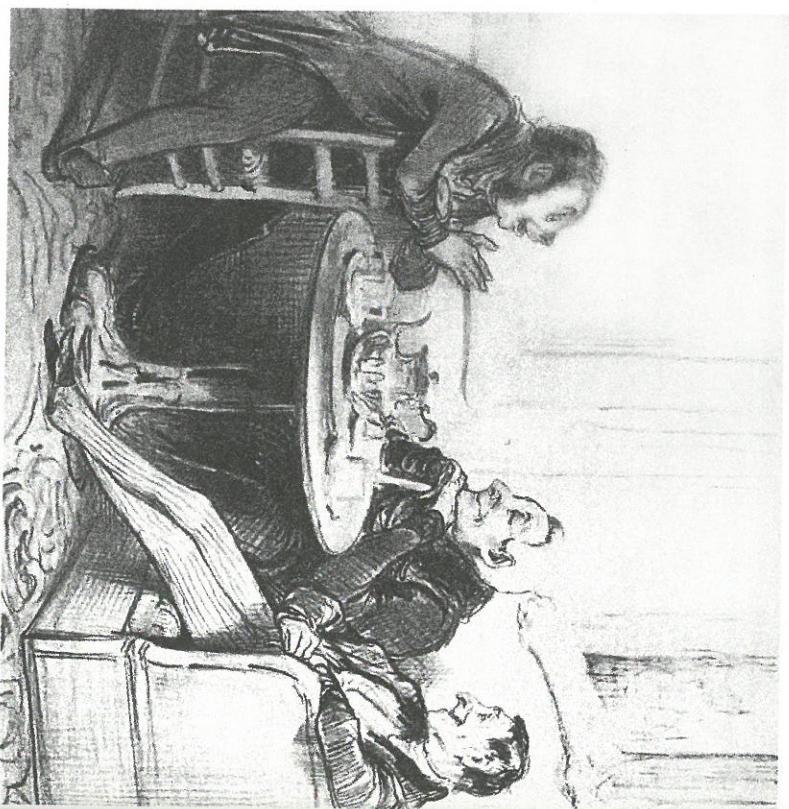
The first coffeehouse opened in London in 1652, and by the end of the century there was one per thousand Londoners. Coffeehouses proliferated throughout England, and also on the Continent. A French visitor to London wrote approvingly, "You have all Manner of News there: You have a good Fire, which you may sit by as long as you please: You have a Dish of Coffee; you meet your Friends for the Transaction of Business, and all for a Penny, if you don't care to spend more."⁷⁰

The coffeehouses became venues to conduct business and to debate political issues; Samuel Butler considered them "a kind of Athenian

commented, "As you have a hodge-podge of drinks, such too, is your company, for each man seems a leveler and ranks and files himself ... without regard to degrees or order, so that often you may see a silly fop and a worshipful justice, a gripping rook and a grave citizen, a worthy lawyer and an errant pickpocket, a reverend non-conformist and a canting mountebank, all blended together to compose a medley of impertinence."⁷¹

The beverages themselves also evoked strong reactions. Tea had the most vociferous detractors. Tea stripped away women's beauty, one critic warned, so that "your very chambermaids have lost their bloom by sipping tea." Tea drinking was also unsuitable for the warlike English, who risked becoming like "the most effeminate people on the face of the Earth—the Chinese, who are at the same time the greatest sippers of tea."⁷²

On the other hand, those who promoted temperance lauded tea as "the cup that cheers but not inebriates." Tea and coffee created vital new overseas commercial ventures and increased joy and energy, argued their advocates; tea and coffee competed with existing agricultural and brewing concerns, rotted teeth and caused disease, charged their critics.



Over tea in a coffeehouse, a swindler describes his latest stock market scam. "The other day, I pulled off another smart trick," he begins. The text alludes in part to LaFontaine's fable "The Fox and the Raven."

school." Politicians and the politically inclined flocked to them for the latest news, views and gossip. In eighteenth-century Paris, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Condorcet and other enlightened thinkers favored the Café Procope, which served Voltaire his favorite blend of coffee and chocolate.

Because tea and coffee were relatively cheap, modestly employed tradesmen could afford to frequent coffeehouses. This new inclusiveness displeased many of the elite clientele. One disgruntled observer

SUGAR AND SCIENCE

Until its metamorphosis as a sweetener and even a foodstuff, sugar had been used as a spice and as a medicine. Medical writers described how sugar could alter the body's humoral balance by generating choler, thereby heating it up, and how it could interact with other drugs, increasing their effectiveness. Many physicians believed that tea was healthful even when one sluiced oneself with it, and therefore sugar's role in making tea more palatable was equally positive.

By the late seventeenth century, professionals were more negative about sugar. Scaremongers claimed that sugar-loving West Indians and the grocery clerks who chopped off lumps of sugar from imported loaves seemed especially prone to scurvy. Physicians Thomas Tryon and Thomas Willis expressed other serious reservations. Tryon, a vegetarian

whose popular how-to books urged moderate and compassionate consumption in general, argued that sugar was beneficial in small quantities and that people's delight in its was evidence of "the basically healthy and necessary character of sweetness." But Tryon cautioned that in excessive quantities, fermented or mixed with such fats as butter, sugar was dangerous. Tryon's most disturbing arguments against consuming sugar dealt with its production. He had visited a Barbadian sugar plantation and had seen for himself how sugar production affected the slaves there. Sugar slaves were brutalized and oppressed, he wrote, and that in itself was good enough reason to abstain from slave-produced sugar.

Dr. Thomas Willis, one of his century's great medical minds, articulated what we now know to be incontrovertible arguments against excessive sugar consumption—sugar's connection with diabetes. In 1674, in *Pharmacopoeia rationalis*, Willis identified the sweetish flavor in the urine of those with diabetes mellitus, and his nickname for the disease, "the Pissing Evil," entered popular parlance in the English-speaking world. Though the illness had been known for centuries in the Middle East and Asia, it would be another century understood, but Willis intuited enough to sound the alarm against too much sugar.

Another physician, Dr. Frederick Slare, challenged Willis's views and likely swayed many people. A *Vindication of Sugars Against the Charge of Dr. Willis, Other Physicians, and Common Prejudices: Dedicated to the Ladies*, published in 1715, was an encomium to sugar as a tooth-cleaning powder, a hand lotion, a healing powder for minor wounds and, above all, an essential treat for babies and "the ladies" to whom his treatise was dedicated. Because their palates were more delicate than men's, being free of tobacco and other coarse substances, Willis applauded their growing use of sugar. He was particularly enthusiastic about breakfasts of sweetened tea, coffee or chocolate, each of them endowed with uncommon virtues.⁷³

As the debate over sugar raged, more Europeans consumed more sugar and tea, sugar and coffee, sugar and chocolate. In beer-loving Germany,

Johann Sebastian Bach's Coffee Cantata, performed at Leipzig's Zimmerman's Café, pitted a frustrated father against his coffee-addicted daughter Lieschen. "If I can't drink my bowl of coffee three times daily, then in my torment I will shrivel up like a piece of roast goat," Lieschen trilled. As Bach well knew, legions of people shared Lieschen's passion for coffee. The coffeehouses flourished, and ambitious merchants sought contracts for Caribbean sugar, Chinese and later Indian tea, African coffee and South American chocolate.

By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, chocolate, too, was a staple of coffeehouse offerings across Europe. The conquistador Cortés had introduced it to his Spanish homeland. *Chocolatl* was a bitter Aztec drink that the soon-to-be-defeated emperor Montezuma served in golden goblets; it was, after all, food for the gods. Until Cortés sweetened the acid drink with sugar, the Spanish disliked it. But chocolate spiked with sugar and later vanilla, nutmeg, cinnamon and other spices, and served heated, became a much-loved beverage, reputed to have aphrodisiac and medicinal properties. Cortés could not be without a full chocolate pot on his desk.

Spaniards treasured their chocolate pots, in which they brewed an enchanting nectar of water with cocoa pods crushed into powder and flavored with sugar, cinnamon and vanilla. When Spanish women refused to sit through Sunday mass without a cup of chocolate, clerics had to pronounce on the nature of chocolate. Was it a food that Catholics had to abstain from during fasts, or was it a flavored liquid they could continue to enjoy because *liquidum non frangit jejum*—liquid does not break the fast? Many priests declared that chocolate was mere liquid, and conveniently kept their churches full. This chocolate question echoed the sugar question of the thirteenth century, which Thomas Aquinas had resolved by pronouncing sugar a medicine, even if spiced: "Though nutritious in themselves, sugared spices are nonetheless not eaten with the end in mind of nourishment, but rather for ease in digestion; accordingly, they do not break the fast any more than the taking of any other medicine."⁷⁴

The Spanish kept their delicious secret from the rest of the world. It got out a century later, after two Spanish infants, Anne of Austria,

married to Louis XIII, and Maria Theresa of Spain, married to Louis XIV, introduced it to France. (Courtiers who knew too much about the latter royal marriage snickered that chocolate was Maria Theresa's *only* passion.) Chocolate seduced the French as it had the Spanish. Like coffee and tea, it spread quickly into the coffeehouses, though it was much more expensive, in the late seventeenth century more than double the price of tea and coffee, eight sous a cup in the Left Bank.

Chocolate was a delight that could also terrify. A Jesuit insisted that in Mexico, chocolate caused "a number of homicides by the Spanish ladies taught by Indian women, who, by the use of chocolate had corresponded with the devil."⁷⁵ In France, Madame de Sévigné warned her pregnant daughter that "the Marquise de Coëtlogon drank so much chocolate when she was expecting last year that she was brought to bed of a little boy as black as the devil, who died." (Others suspected that the child's dark skin color had more to do with the attractive young African slave who served the marquise her chocolate as she lay abed.) Scaremongers failed to frighten people away from chocolate, which steadily increased in popularity. As it did, sugar consumption rose proportionately.

"THE TEA" COMES HOME

After coffeehouses, home was becoming the second home of tea and, to a lesser extent, coffee and chocolate, all three being vehicles for sugar. Some commentators worried that the bitter beverages were an excuse to indulge in sugar, while others worried about the excessive amounts of the sweet stuff consumed. England was the worst offender, importing 10,000 tons in 1700 and, one century later, 150,000 tons, a staggering increase.

Sugar figured prominently in "the tea" taken now at home, as Catherine of Braganza's tea rituals were replicated first by the upper classes, then by middle-class families. By the eighteenth century, tea—which might offer coffee, chocolate or both as well—was becoming well established. The tea gardens truly popularized it. London's Ranelagh Rotunda and Gardens,

opened in 1742, charged half a crown admittance and provided tea, coffee and bread and butter, period. (The notion of tipping allegedly originated in the Tea Gardens, where a locked wooden TIPS—To Insure Prompt Service—box on each table encouraged or perhaps bullied guests into donating a few coins.) Women gathered at these gardens and chatted over cups of tea. Before long, they began to do the same thing at home.

Before it evolved into "afternoon tea" and "low tea" in the nineteenth century, "the tea" was first likely served to women after an early dinner, when men and women separated into different rooms, freeing the men to partake of wine or brandy. P. Morton Shand, a British food historian, writes that "this purely feminine development of a dish of tea into a 'light refraction' may be considered as an imitation of the old French 'gouter,' at which sweet wines ... biscuits and petits-fours were served to both sexes."⁷⁶ Over time, the sexes remained together in the drawing room (actually the withdrawing room, because women withdrew to it) and took their post-prandial tea and wine there.

In the first three decades of the seventeenth century, "the tea," replete with sugar, often milk or cream, and accompanied by anything from buttered bread to dainty pastries, had become a ritual in English and Dutch upper- and middle-class homes. The increase in the amount of tea and sugar imported was correspondingly immense. In 1660, Britain consumed one-third of the 3,000 hogsheads (1 hogshead = 63 gallons) it imported from its sugar island. In 1730, consumption was up to 104,000 of 110,000 hogsheads imported.⁷⁷

The tea developed its own trappings, with the very wealthy acquiring elaborate sterling silver tea services including a teapot, hot water pot and often a matching coffee pot, along with a sugar pot and a small milk jug. Until the late eighteenth century, before which the guests of even very rich hosts were expected to bring their own cutlery and traveled with *necessaires*, elegant boxes designed to hold a knife and fork, such tea services were considered a great luxury. Tea services were produced in less fancy and expensive versions as well, in earthenware and, after French king Louis XVI's mistresses, Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de Pompadour, began to design them for the royal factory at Sèvres, in ornate rococo porcelain. Before long, Sèvres tea services were prized

all over Europe, and French ambassadors routinely offered them as state gifts.

Tea sipped in Sèvres, or as a cuppa slurped in a coffeehouse bowl, had taken hold of England, Holland and, later, other European nations. (Germany's Meissen Royal Manufactory, opened in 1710, also produced highly desirable porcelain tea services.) As a status symbol, tea conveyed respectability, legitimizing the family circle and guests who partook of it. The tea-and-sugar ritual—knowing how to make and serve it, and having the proper accoutrements to do so—showed good taste and refinement. Manners mattered; the ritual became “to some extent a training process of adolescents and ... a reminder to adults about how to behave in the world at large,” explains historian Woodruff D. Smith.⁷⁸ Significantly, women were as central to the tea ritual as they were to its preparation.

The tea was also evidence of restraint, providing sugar in healthy (as opposed to glutinous) amounts, and of temperance, replacing alcohol or wine. And it was a patriotic act, for sugar and tea (but not coffee and chocolate) now came, in monopoly form, from British colonies. “Sugared tea and coffee ... constituted one of the most important dynamic ensembles of consumer goods in eighteenth-century Europe,” concludes Smith, and “thus became the preferred ‘soft drugs’ of Western Europe because they afforded access to respectability and bourgeois standing.”⁷⁹

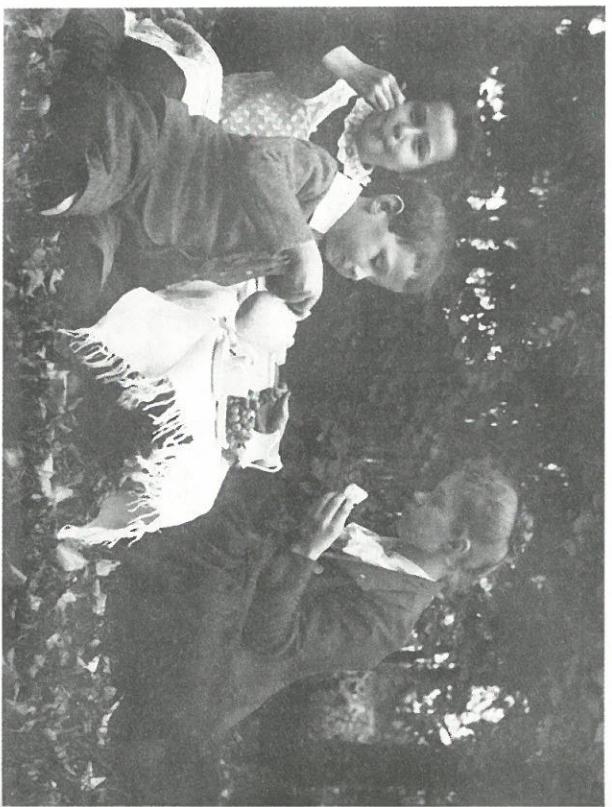
The institution of afternoon tea, as opposed to post-supper tea, evolved only in the early nineteenth century. The story is that Anna, the seventh Duchess of Bedford, confessed to a “sinking feeling” as, surely, millions of others did in the long hours between their heavy noon-time dinner and their late, light supper. To assuage it, the duchess ordered a repast brought to her Woburn Abbey boudoir: tea and a few sweets. She felt so restored that she began to invite a few friends to join her. They came at about five o'clock, and enjoyed the little meal in the parlor. The duchess served them tea in the European tea service mode, accompanied by bread-and-butter sandwiches, dainty little cakes and other sweets. The duchess's tea party was such a happy event that she often repeated it. Soon other hostesses held

teas of their own, and—so the story goes—the afternoon, or low, tea was born.

Low tea was so called because it was served from a low table in the parlor, at the height of the modern coffee table. Low tea took on the character of a quasi-meal, with “little cakes ... the real lure, the *pièce d'abandon*... Tea is an excuse for eating something ... a break, a challenge to the crawling hours, it ‘makes a hole in the day.’ ... Another advantage is the extreme elasticity of its hour, so that one can order it at any time from 4 P.M., till half-past six.”⁸⁰ The hostess would serve from one pot of tea, which she replenished from an accompanying pot of boiling water. (Far away in Russia, the tea ritual revolved around the samovar, a spigoted metal tea urn, often large enough to dispense scores of cups of hot tea sweetened with sugar or honey. Some Russians developed the habit of clamping a sugar lump between their

Seven little girls in party finery waiting to enjoy their tea and birthday cake glare in mock annoyance at their photographer. Third from the left is Eleanor (Dudy) Ball (Mansur), sister of Lady Henrietta Baring whose husband, Frederick, discovered penicillin with Charles Best.

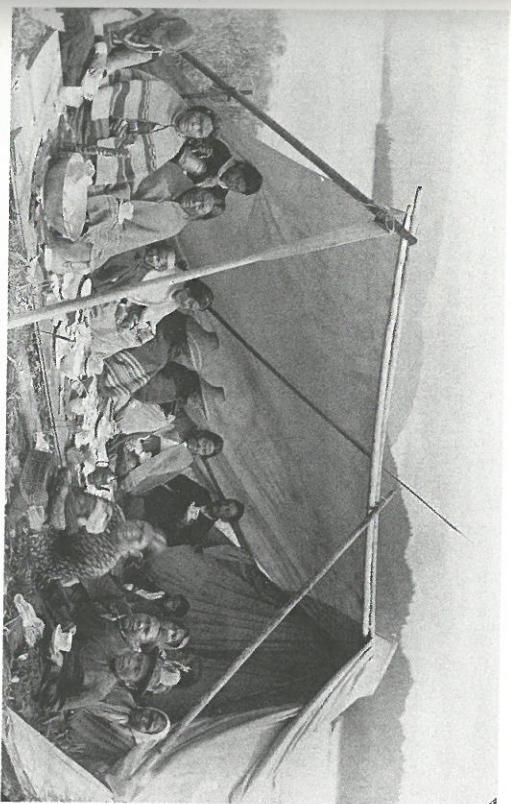




With Lillie Ballantyne, Babs and Joe O'Gara enjoy an outdoor tea party near Ottawa, October 10, 1892. Sadly, Lillie died of tuberculosis a few years later.

teeth and sipping tea through the dissolving granules.) Until 1870, when tea merchants began to offer standardized varieties, tea blends were carefully guarded secrets, as ambitious hostesses blended their own. Along with the repast, card games and gossip, hostesses often entertained with short harpsichord or piano-forte concerts.

Most crucially, tea drinking was relatively cheap compared with coffee, and so flexible in how it could be prepared and served that throughout the seventeenth century it was adopted by more and more members of the lower-middle classes, then by the working classes and finally by even the lowest, most miserable classes, indeed by anyone able to scabble together something approximating its ingredients. In an era of revolutions, this apparently innocuous domestic activity proved to be unwittingly revolutionary.



Everyone loves afternoon tea. Fourteen Tsimshian women, four children and one man enjoy theirs under a lean-to at Metlakatla near Fort Simpson, B.C., on July 1, 1889, perhaps celebrating Dominion Day.

HIGH TEA AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The second half of the eighteenth century spawned two fundamental social and economic transformations: the Industrial Revolution and the Sugared Tea Revolution that sloshed into being within it. Led by England, the Industrial Revolution recast primarily agricultural Europe into ever-urbanizing industrial societies fueled by capitalism, overseas trade, growing consumption and changing mores. Technological innovations, most notably the cotton gin, the spinning jenny and the steam engine, transformed how English cotton was produced. Historian David Landes provides this eloquent summary: "The abundance and variety of these innovations almost defy compilation, but they may be subsumed under three principles: the substitution of machines—rapid, regular, precise, tireless—for human skill and effort; the substitution of inanimate for animate sources of power, in particular, the introduction of engines for converting heat into work, thereby opening to man a new and almost unlimited supply of energy; the use of new and far more

abundant raw materials, in particular, the substitution of mineral for vegetable or animal substances. These improvements constitute the Industrial Revolution.⁸¹

The nature of work changed. Cottage industry, in which family members produced goods at home, declined. Factories, where workers toiled for wages beside strangers, sprang up. Standardization became the norm: hours of labor, productivity, wages and working conditions were all controlled. Social life changed drastically. Rural workers forced off the land by the Enclosure Acts of 1760 to 1830 crammed into cities scarcely able to accommodate them, and poverty forced women and children into the factories. Family life disintegrated and re-formed in the pulsating, filthy and merciless but exciting cities where miracles sometimes happened.

The English population nearly doubled. Millions of men, women and children toiled from 6 A.M. to 7 P.M. or later, with few breaks. Dust and filth polluted work spaces. Machines without safety features mutilated workers who were then fired without compensation; many also died of their injuries. Workers performed repetitive and onerous procedures, risking their health and suffering exhaustion and physical deformities. Supervisors were often brutal men who beat underlings and fined and punished them for infractions such as unpunctuality, talking or making mistakes. Most factories were fearful and violent places.

Domestic life was seldom a refuge for exhausted parents and their sickly, rickety and malnourished children. Child mortality skyrocketed, to nearly 50 percent before the age of five. Survivors often entered factories at five or six years old, and some employers sought them out. "The fingers of children at an early age are very supple, and they are more easily led into habits of performing the duties of their station," a nineteenth-century reformer explained.⁸² Laws reforming the lot of child laborers were enacted in 1833, but decades passed before they covered all workplaces and were effectively enforced.

Darkest London, the greatest and also the worst of England's cities, was populated by what one historian styles "vast, miserable,

unmanageable masses of sunken people."⁸³ In all industrial cities, rented hovels were expensive, crowded and unsanitary, icy in winter and broiling in summer. Water and toilet facilities were deficient, with a single tap serving several streets. Disease and depression ran rampant. Streets were dangerous and thick with pickpockets. Prostitutes, often seamstresses or shop girls supplementing their meager wages, stalked most corners.

In their former agrarian life, most laborers had had access to gardens where they could grow vegetables and fruit and perhaps raise poultry or even a cow. In the cities, and even in rural areas affected by the enclosure laws, workers had to purchase their food and they often changed their diets in response to cost and availability. For the first time, they had access to non-European foodstuffs previously restricted to the privileged, and soon potatoes, rice, maize, tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar and tobacco were staples of the English diet. The combination of these developments suggests "a time of great change in consumption levels and eating habits," writes economic historian Carole Shammas.⁸⁴

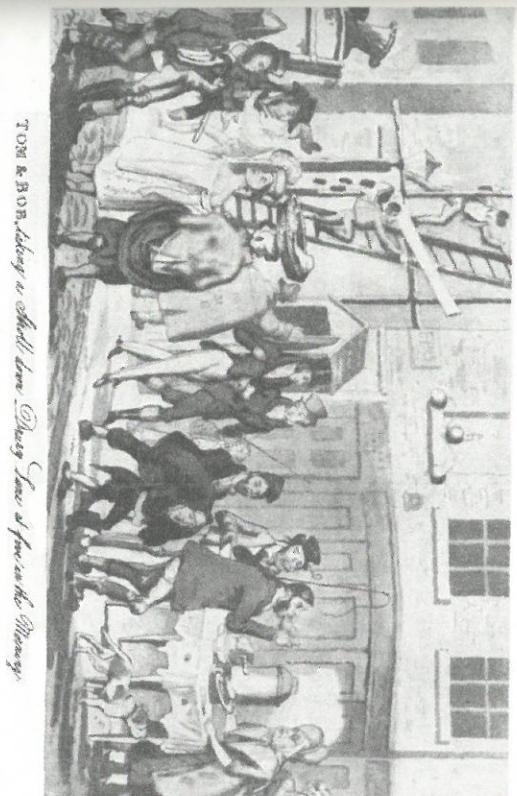
Sugar, cheaper and more plentiful than it had been, had the greatest impact on the working-class diet. By 1680, sugar cost only half what it had in 1630. By 1700, the percentage of imported foodstuffs, notably tea, coffee and sugar, had more than doubled from 16.9 percent to 34.9 percent, with brown sugar and molasses the most popular. These imports translated into sugar consumption that likely quadrupled between 1700 and 1740, and more than doubled again in the period 1741 to 1775. In roughly the same period, from 1663 to 1775, England and Wales consumed sixty times more sugar though their populations did not even quite double, so that over the years, people consumed vastly more sugar and related products (molasses, syrup and rum) than before, and in a ratio that greatly outstripped those of bread, meat and dairy products.⁸⁵ Sugar historian Noel Deerr estimates that per capita sugar consumption was four pounds in 1700, eight pounds by 1729, twelve by 1789, the year of the French Revolution, and eighteen pounds by 1809.⁸⁶

Let's take a look at sugar in the context of the working-class diet that would commonly include bread, peas, beans and perhaps turnips and

cabbages, beer and (inferior) tea, supplemented by small portions of much-loved but expensive meat (bacon and salted or pickled fish), butter and cheese. Fruit, considered dangerous for children and generally unhealthy, was widely avoided. Thanks to lower prices and easier access to water, beer and tea were beverages of choice, and by the eighteenth century, tea outstripped beer. Sugar was used to sweeten everything, especially tea. "The unprecedented heavy use of sugar was by far the most important of the developments," Shammash writes, "because it made puddings of wheat, oats, or rice much more palatable.... Tea was another byproduct of the sugar revolution, and together the two changed the composition of breakfasts and suppers. Brown bread, cheese, and beer gave way to the new drink, its sweetener, and white wheat bread with butter."⁸⁷

When wages were low, or a worker was unemployed, bread and tea became the staple meal. Indeed, "bread makes the principal part of the food of all poor families and almost the whole of the food of ... large families," reported Rev. David Davies in 1795.⁸⁸ Bread was dry and dense and, when yeast was unavailable, unleavened. Unsurprisingly, workers gladly abandoned it for lighter, moister white bread made from heavily refined flour. The rising cost of fuel often made it cheaper to buy white bread from a baker rather than bake brown bread at home, and saved precious time. Workers saw white bread as a status symbol, and associated its whiteness with the privileged upper classes. Similarly, they preferred refined white sugar to brown sugar or molasses, and bought it whenever they could afford to.

Dr. James Phillips Kay, a concerned contemporary physician, described a typical cotton worker's day: he rose at five, gobbled a breakfast of tea and oatmeal porridge or bread, then rushed off to the factory. Lunch was potatoes flavored with lard or butter and perhaps bacon fat. Back home late in the evening, supper was more potatoes, bread or oatmeal, washed down with weak, sugared tea.⁸⁹ Sometimes the tea leaves had been used once already, purchased from enterprising domestic servants who sold the dregs of an employer's teapot. "Tea leaves" might also be bits of charred toast brewed in hot water, a sad approximation. But the sugar was real, and it made the tea potable and even delicious.



Tom & Bob, taking a Walk down Drury Lane, London's notorious slum, see a Genuine Tea stall serving its "wholesome beverage" to both "industrious" and ragged passersby. They learn that poor people's tea was often adulterated and that "moist sugar was made from the best red sand."

By the eighteenth century, the medieval habit of two meals a day had been replaced by three, even in boarding schools, hospitals and work-houses for the indigent. At the same time, fewer of those meals were now cooked at home. Women worked and had less time; they lacked ingredients and fuel, and eventually they lost the knowledge of how to make the broths and stews that had simmered on medieval hearths. It became unusual for a woman to cook every day. Instead, she made do with baker's bread served, if she could afford it, with cold meat or cheese, and washed down with beer or sweetened tea, sometimes with milk added.

During the Industrial Revolution, urban water supplies were erratic and often tainted, so boiling water for tea purified as well as heated it. (Milk, however, was notoriously impure and often adulterated with unclean water.) Beer was safe to drink and nutritious, but a growing temperance movement attacked its ubiquitousness in the working-class

diet. Tea, on the other hand, stimulated, refreshed and, heavily sugared, delivered much-needed calories to the undernourished working class. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, improved water supplies and falling prices made tea Britain's most popular beverage. Sugar had much to do with propelling it there. As British historian D. J. Oddy notes, "The principal change from the late eighteenth century was the growing use of sugar. By the mid-nineteenth century sugar consumption had reached half a pound (0.2 kg) per head per week."⁹⁰ That's a fair amount of sugar, and over the decades it would increase until, by the end of the century, weekly per capita consumption exceeded one pound.⁹¹

But those figures are misleading, because they imply equal consumption among family members. What actually happened, because there was not enough nourishing food for everyone, was that women and children ate more of the family's sugar, while men ate far more meat, milk and potatoes. Nineteenth-century medical officer Dr. Edward Smith was continually told "that the husband wins the bread and must have the best food." The labourer eats meat and bacon almost daily, whilst his wife and children may eat it but once a week, and... both himself and his household believe that course to be necessary, to enable him to perform his labour.⁹²

Even this does not tell the whole tale, because Dr. Smith's sources implied that only men worked. Yet other surveys found that even factory women survived on bread, sugar and fat supplemented by portions of meat (anything from chops to cow-heel, sheep's trotters, pig's ear or red herring) and potatoes equal to one-quarter the amount served their husbands.⁹³ In 1895, "The Diet of Toil," published in the medical journal *The Lancet*, confirmed that factory women ate mostly bread with jam or treacle, and tea with sugar; every week the women surveyed consumed 21 ounces of sugar ($68\frac{1}{4}$ pounds annually) to their men's 15 ($48\frac{3}{4}$ pounds annually).⁹⁴ This meager but tasty diet was typical of lower-income families. "We see," wrote B. Seeholm Rowntree in his 1901 *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, "that many a labourer, who has a wife and three or four children is healthy and a good worker, although he earns only a pound a week. What we *do not* see is that in

order to give him enough food, mother and children habitually go short, for the mother knows that all depends upon the wages of her husband."⁹⁵

Astonishingly, these skimpy, badly balanced and sugar-saturated meals fueled not only the working classes but also the Industrial Revolution that their labor made possible. As the decades passed and England grew less hungry, its standard of living rose, its caloric intake grew and its choices increased. As workers consumed more, they also "bettered" themselves, addressing and sometimes satisfying other hungers such as self-esteem and respectability.

Sugar scholar Sidney Mintz has shown how sugar was integral to these developments. Sugar was much more than a mere sweetener. Like tobacco, for centuries a luxury of the rich, sugar became "the general solace of all classes," especially "the emerging proletarian classes, who found sugar and kindred drug foods profound consolations in the mines and in the factories."⁹⁶ A case in point is an eighteenth-century washerwoman, "a queasy and ragged creature who came into a shop with two children... asked for a pennyworth of tea and a half-pennyworth of sugar, and said she could not live without drinking it every day."⁹⁷ By 1750, "Sugar, the inseparable Companion of Tea, came to be in the possession of the very poorest Housewife"⁹⁸—remember Gladys? Sugar as consolation—the ultimate comfort food—gave it a psychological dimension that transcended taste and caloric force. The wage-earning worker's ability to buy this previously unattainable luxury connected the "will to work and the will to consume." The working poor could now aspire to pamper themselves as the rich had long done.

One way working-class families did this was through the ritual of high tea, a modest new meal that was rather different from low tea. High tea was served on the high table in the dining room, *not* on low tables next to sofas and chairs in the drawing room. And high tea became the family supper, prepared after working parents arrived home. High tea was easy for an overtired and overworked woman to assemble. It saved money and fuel, and avoided the need for refrigeration. In the short run, it was satisfying enough to substitute for real

food. High tea required tea with sugar, and bread heaped with butter, jam, preserves, cold meat, cheese or an egg. Whatever was served tasted better and more substantial when washed down by even the wateriest cups of sugared tea. "Tea, coffee and sugar were essential to the display, and even more to the self-perception, of respectability, which was in turn a very important, possibly definitive, element of bourgeois consciousness," writes Woodruff D. Smith, which is why sugared tea and to a lesser extent coffee became "the preferred 'soft drugs' of Western Europe ... they afforded access to respectability and bourgeois standing."⁹⁹

Sugar also sustained these high tea workers during their dull and difficult days, during brief breaks when they snatched time to gulp down a sugary cuppa. Mintz stresses the significance of sugared tea being "the first substance to become part of a work break."¹⁰⁰ Sugared tea breaks proved to be a key element in how factories managed and motivated their workforces. These tea breaks served many functions, Mintz explains. They came about because new industrialized production methods changed proletarian work schedules, incorporating tea breaks into them that gave the working classes "new tasting opportunities and new occasions for eating and drinking."¹⁰¹

In this context, sugared tea promoted self-respect and the illusion of upward mobility. It also provided a welcome jolt of energy as it delivered calories to workers who, after their break, resumed work with renewed vigor. The sugared tea break inspired workers to work harder so they could earn more and thereby afford more sugared tea and other delights, a dynamic that transformed them into consumers intent on consuming more and more. Mintz sees this as doubly significant in that it represented a "crucial feature of the evolution of modern patterns of eating"—*what* was eaten, and *how* it was eaten. Tea and sugar were initially new, exotic and previously unobtainable foods that quickly became essential, as did the work break they represented. Tea and sugar were also the main components of breakfast and, for workers' wives and children, the principal ingredients of lunch and supper.

The acceptance of, and soon the reliance on, these foods extended to the occasions on which they were consumed, so that workers easily

integrated the new habit of eating at work rather than at home. This helped them adapt to other major changes: new work schedules, new kinds of labor and, inevitably, the new way of life shaped by all these other transformations.

Sugar played the nefarious role of opiate of the people. It was a psychologically addictive substance that energized and delighted; it deadened appetite and satisfied hunger pangs; and it opened up new possibilities of consumption and social respectability previously untenable to all but the privileged classes.

Candy was one of these possibilities, boiled hard, distinctively flavored and shaped, and delicious. By the 1840s, new technology allowed mass production of hard candies that were, confectionery historian Tim Richardson writes, "good-quality, uniform, dependable and affordable... packaged and branded with the name of the manufacturer rather than sold loose on the street or from the market barrow."¹⁰² The working classes, no longer excluded from the delights of confectionery, happily satisfied their growing sweet tooth from among hundreds of different kinds of candies.

These possibilities extended to sailors in Her Majesty's navy, who by the mid-nineteenth century were allotted two ounces of sugar daily or forty-five pounds annually. Even paupers confined in forbidding poorhouses were each allotted twenty-three pounds annually. The inmates of the Nacton poorhouse were so fond of sugar that they petitioned to forgo their usual dinners of peas porridge and instead to use their food money to buy the flimsier bread and butter washed down by tea and sugar. Thanks to the sugared tea, noted a concerned observer, this meager fare had become "their favourite dinner."¹⁰³ In the latter half of the nineteenth century, England's poorest people, paupers as well as workers, ate even more sugar than the rich, and made England the world's largest sugar consumer.

Across Europe, as other nations also urbanized and industrialized, the same pattern of transformations ensued. Factories swallowed up workers, changing their meals and mealtimes to suit the new working schedules. Workers who had once eaten at home grew accustomed to eating at work, or at commercial establishments close to work. Their

menus changed to include more prepared food—bread, cold cuts, jams, preserves—and they consumed more sugar.

Reflecting on the deeper meanings of sugar as it was transformed by capitalism and the Industrial Revolution from an unobtainable luxury into a daily necessity, Mintz summarizes what made it such an ideal substance: "Sugar ... served to make a busy life seem less so; in the pause that refreshes, it eased, or seemed to ease, the changes back and forth from work to rest; it provided swifter sensations of fullness or satisfaction than complex carbohydrates did; it combined easily with many other foods, in some of which it was also used (tea and biscuit, coffee and bun, chocolate and jam-smearred bread)... No wonder the rich and powerful liked it so much, and no wonder the poor learned to love it."¹⁰⁴

A RUM STORY

There was another dimension to sugar's enormous power, collectively known as the Sugar Interest and, in these pages, as "the Interest." It included the West Indian planters; the slavers who traded in its sugar slaves; the shipowners who transported sugarcane; the bankers who underwrote its production; the insurers who insured it; the importers, wholesalers and grocers who sold it; even the factors, longshoremen, bakers and confectioners who dealt in it. The Interest was so influential that its reach extended into policy-making, which is how rum, made from molasses, a by-product of sugar, came to be included in English naval rations.

Until the mid-seventeenth century, the English navy's beverage rations consisted of beer that was sometimes supplemented by brandy. After the 1655 British conquest of Jamaica, many ships replaced the brandy with Jamaican rum distilled from Jamaican molasses. (The word *rum* was coined in Barbados in the seventeenth century. Also known as Kill-Devil, it was "a hot, hellish and terrible liquor," a visitor reported.)¹⁰⁵ In 1731, this hellish drink became part of the "Regulations and Instructions Relating to His Majesty's Service at Sea."

Sailors who requested it were served daily rations of rum ranging from one-half pint in the seventeenth century to one-eighth of a pint in the nineteenth. Officers took measures to avoid drunkenness and the binge drinking that undermined discipline and caused sailors to fall out of masts. They had the rum barrel hauled out twice a day, at noon and again at four-thirty, and the rum doled out in the metal cups that were part of each man's kit. Because "Spirituous Liquors" had to be diluted with water, the rum was doled out with water and, often, lime juice. Officers, however, got theirs neat. To ensure the perception of fairness, three officers supervised the grog mixing and distribution, to the peppy tune of "Nancy Dawson," aka "Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush" or "I Saw Three Ships Go Sailing By." Thrifty, temperate men could sign up on the T (Temperance) List and, in return for forgoing their rum ration, earn three pence more per day. In the cause of sobriety, the rum ration was reduced over time, and served only once a day.¹⁰⁶ It was eliminated in 1970, on Black Tot Day, after temperance supporters won Parliament's Great Rum Debate.

Ever since 1805, when naval captain Horatio Nelson was pickled in (rather than by) the amber liquid, naval rum rations have had a curious nickname. The story is that after Nelson was fatally shot during the Battle of Trafalgar in which he crushed Napoleon's fleet and saved England from a French invasion, quick-thinking officers preserved his body in his ship *Victory*'s rum barrel. Quicker-thinking sailors prised open the barrel and drank the embalming rum; since then, naval rum has been known as Nelson's Blood.

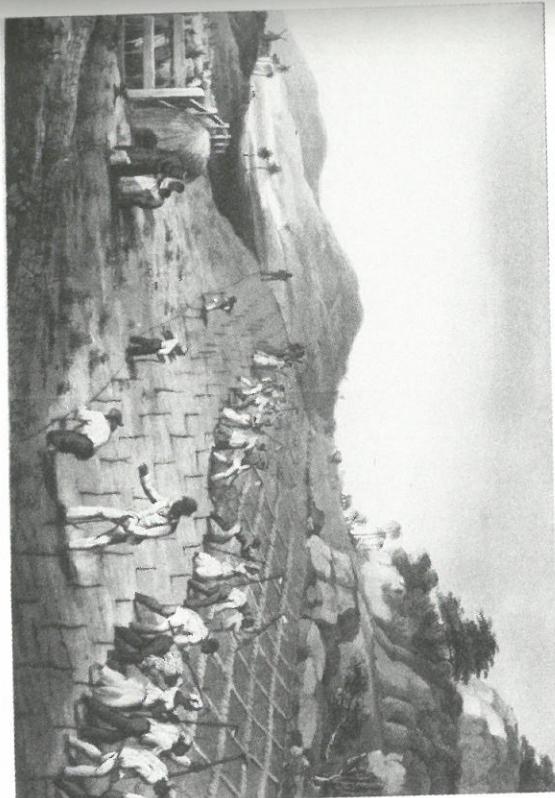
Naval rum served several useful purposes. It killed bacteria in the water, which usually turned rancid after a few weeks in the ship's storage barrels. It compensated for inadequate food supplies by providing calories. It was believed to have nutritional value. Although it addicted, maddened and enraged many sailors, it calmed and, at least temporarily, cheered others. (Of course, any alcohol would have done these things.) In the final analysis, the main beneficiaries of the naval rum ration were the West Indian sugar planters. The rum ration guaranteed steady sales of their difficult-to-sell molasses; it represented an important commercial opportunity; and it was a victory over brandy, which

grape-growing France promoted as assiduously as the West Indians did their sugar-based rum.

The imperializing sugar interests encouraged the spread of their addictive product. They also made sure that across the Atlantic, millions of enslaved Africans toiled in the cane fields, chained for life to the English zest for sugar. Food historian Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat celebrates the culinary genius brought to bear on sweetness but laments its costs: "So many tears were shed for sugar that by rights it ought to have lost its sweetness."¹⁰⁷

Part 2

Black Sugar



SEATTLE UNIV. LEMIEUX LIBRARY

24. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 122.
25. Sale, "What Columbus Discovered," pp. 444–46.
26. James Hamilton, "New Report Slams Sugar Industry for Environmental Destruction," *Sunday Herald*, Nov. 14, 2004.
27. Quoted in Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, pp. 96, 197.
28. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 313–14.
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30. E. Williams, *From Columbus to Castro*, p. 37.
31. Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery*, p. 15.
32. Quoted in Kolbert, "The Lost Mariner," *The New Yorker*, Oct. 14, 2002.
33. "The Legend of Hatuey," written and compiled by J. A. Sierra, www.historyfcuba.com/history/oriente/hatuey.htm. See also Allahar, *Class, Politics, and Sugar in Colonial Cuba*, p. 48: "Once again, let me remind you that the god that these tyrants adore is the gold which is hidden in the entrails of our land. This is their lord. That is what they serve."
34. Clifford Krauss, "A Historic Figure Is Still Hated by Many in Mexico," *The New York Times*, March 26, 1997.
35. *Ibid.*
36. Sanderlin, *Bartolomé de Las Casas*, pp. 80–81.
37. Bonar Ludwig Hernandez, "The Las Casas-Sepúlveda Controversy, 1550–1551," www.sfsu.edu/~epf/2001/hernandez.html.
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40. Quoted in Sanderlin, *Bartolomé de Las Casas*, pp. 183–85.
41. Davidson, *Black Mother*, p. 66.
42. Sanderlin, *Bartolomé de Las Casas*, p. 102.
43. E. Williams, *From Columbus to Castro*, p. 43.
44. Las Casas, *Obras Escogidas*, vol. II, 487–88, quoted in Sanderlin, *Bartolomé de Las Casas*, pp. 100–102.
45. E. Williams, *From Columbus to Castro*, p. 43.
46. Herrera, *History of the Indies*, quoted in Williams, *From Columbus to Castro*, p. 43.
47. Beckles, *White Servitude and Slavery in Barbados*, p. 5.
48. E. Williams, *From Columbus to Castro*, p. 96.
49. William Dickson, LL.D., *Mitigation of Slavery, In Two Parts, Part I: Letters and Papers of The Late Hon. Joshua Steele*, www.yale.edu/glc/archive/1162.htm.
50. E. Williams, *From Columbus to Castro*, p. 103.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
54. David Watts, *The West Indies*, p. 119.
55. E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 24.
- CHAPTER 2**
56. Strong, *Feast*, p. 199. The descriptions of sugar collations are taken from Roy, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 135.
57. K. Hall, "Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces," p. 173.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
59. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 175.
60. Nineteenth-century British historian William B. Rye, quoted in Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 135.
61. Aytron, *The Cookery of England*, p. 429.
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63. *Ibid.*, pp. 463–64.
64. Quoted in Powell, *Cool*, p. xiii.
65. Root and de Rochemont, *Eating in America*, p. 425.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*, p. 426.
68. A good source on Canadian ice cream is Prof. Douglas Goff's project, the Dairy Technology Education Series. See in particular "Ice Cream History and Folklore," at www.foodsci.uoguelph.ca/dairyedu/icecream.html.
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73. Quoted in Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 106.
74. Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom*, p. 71.
75. Wolson, *Refined Tastes*, p. 113.
76. P. Morton Shand, *A Book of Food*, 1927, quoted in Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 141.
77. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 30.
78. Smith, "From Coffeeshouse to Parlour," p. 159.
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81. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus*, p. 41.
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83. Quoted in Edward Royle, *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750–1997*, p. 169.
84. Shammas, "Food Expenditures and Economic Well-Being in Early Modern England," p. 90.
85. These statistics are taken from Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 67.

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87. Shammas, "Food Expenditures and Economic Well-Being in Early Modern England," p. 99.
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89. Shuttleworth, "The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes of Manchester."
90. Oddy, "Food, Drink and Nutrition," pp. 269–70.
91. Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, pp. 14–15, features a chart of sugar consumption from 1801 to 1850, showing how per capita annual consumption "fluctuated in direct relation to price"; the lower the price, the higher the consumption.
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94. Quoted in Oddy, "Food, Drink and Nutrition," p. 271.
95. Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, p. 135, n. 1, quoted in Oddy, "Food, Drink and Nutrition," pp. 272–73.
96. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, pp. 64, 61.
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100. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 141.
101. Ibid., p. 165.
102. Richardson, *Sweets*, p. 316.
103. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*, p. 172.
104. Ibid., p. 186.
105. The Nepal Distilleries, www.khukhirum.com/history.htm.
106. Rurz, "Salt Horse and Ship's Biscuit."
107. Toussaint-Samat, *A History of Food*, p. 560.
- CHAPTER 3
108. Chapter 10 deals with indentured labor, a form of bondage planters returned to after slavery was abolished. In the early years of settlement, indentured whites worked alongside the black slaves; in Brazil, so did natives.
109. These figures have been the subject of intense research and debate, summed up in Hugh Thomas's *The Slave Trade*, pp. 861–62. The statistics I have used are widely though not universally accepted; a few historians argue that a few million more, or less, would be more accurate.
110. Thistlewood's journal, Aug. 12, 1776, quoted in Hall, *In Miserable Slavery*, p. 178.
111. Quoted in Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, pp. 395, 396.
112. Equiano, *The Life of Olaudah Equiano*, p. 33.
113. Ferguson, *Empire*, p. 82, calculates that from 1662 until 1807, one out of seven Africans died on British slavers, and before that, the mortality rate was one out of four.
114. Quoted in Augier et al., *The Making of the West Indies*, p. 73.
115. Quoted in Richardson, "Shipboard Revolts," p. 3.
116. Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery*, p. 151.
117. A statement made in the Antigua Legislature, 1788, quoted in Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands*, p. 121.
118. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, p. 188, citing Edwin Lascelles, *Instructions for the Management of a Plantation in Barbados, and for the Treatment of Negroes &c*, 1786.
119. "The Professional Planter" advised that a working five-year-old could earn his keep. Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery*, p. 156.
120. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, p. 192.
121. Beckles, *Natural Rebels*, p. 31.
122. Quoted in Braithwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica*, p. 155.
123. D. Hall, *In Miserable Slavery*, p. 234.
124. Scottish visitor Janet Schaw, quoted in Goveia, *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands*, p. 131.
125. Tomlitch, *Slavery in the Circuit of Sugar*, p. 146, notes that in the nineteenth century in the French islands, spoiled codfish, dried cattle blood and the entrails discarded by the North Atlantic fishery made excellent though often expensive fertilizer.
126. Ibid.
127. Klein, *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*, p. 55.
128. Quoted in Dyde *A History of Antigua*, p. 112.
129. Both taken from Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery*, pp. 255–57.
130. William Henry Hurlbert, *Gom-Eder; or, Picture of Cuba*, quoted in Perez, *Slaves, Sugar, and Colonial Society*, p. 111.
131. Richard Henry Dana Jr., *To Cuba and Back: A Vacation Voyage*, quoted in Perez, *Slaves, Sugar, and Colonial Society*, p. 62.
132. Quoted in Fick, *The Making of Haiti*, p. 28.
133. Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor*, pp. 65–66.
134. Quoted in Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica*, p. 124.
135. C. Williams, *Tour Through Jamaica*, 1826, pp. 13–14, quoted in Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery*, p. 155.
136. Beckles, *Natural Rebels*, p. 37.
137. Seventeenth-century account by Richard Ligon, quoted in Beckles, *Afro-Caribbean Women and Resistance to Slavery*, p. 23.
138. Julia M. Woodruff (writing as W. M. L. Jay), *My Winter in Cuba*, 1871, quoted in Perez, *Slaves, Sugar, and Colonial Society*, p. 73, 72.