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Colonial Virginia's Cooking Dynasty: Women's Spheres and Culinary Arts

Katharine E. Harbury

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COLONIAL VIRGINIA'S COOKING DYNASTY:

Women's Spheres and Culinary Arts

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Katharine E. Harbury

April 1994

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Dr. Virginia Kerns

Cookery means the knowledge of Medea, and of
Circe, and of Calypso, and of Helen, and of Rebekah,
and of the Queen of Sheba...of all herbs, and fruits,
and balms and spices; and all that is healing and
sweet in the fields and groves, and savoury in meats...

[Wolf 1991:130]

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ABSTRACT

More than six years ago, while examining various historical documents, I came across the Unidentified Cookbook, c. 1700 by Anonymous (1700) and Jane Randolph her Cookery Book, 1743, by Jane (Bolling) Randolph. It was immediately recognized that these two were related not only to each other but also to the 1824 classic, The Virginia Housewife by Mary Randolph. The discovery of such unusually early and historical collection of cookbooks is an exciting one for Chesapeake studies.

For centuries, men and women in complex societies have occupied what anthropologists call "public and private spheres." This thesis concerns a study of these spheres within colonial American society. Cookbooks, published or written mostly between 1654 and 1824, are utilized for research. These cookbooks reflect an influential seventeenth century English "prescription" for outlining women's private sphere. Men were aware of this prescription and enforced it.

It is concluded that distinctions between the two spheres shifted over time. The degree of separation diminished as a result of women's responsibilities in formal entertaining. A woman's sphere was linked to the status of her husband (public sphere) and, in turn, his social standing depended on her abilities as a cook and hostess. This last fact was not acknowledged by men.

Contrary to popular belief, women were not passive about their circumstances. They were ready to assume a broader role in society, and increasingly took advantage of opportunities which presented themselves to

begin to move beyond the boundaries assigned to them. By choosing to express themselves through cookery, they not only eventually cooked their way out of their homes but also improved their own status. These efforts mark an early period of change which ultimately led to the current position of American women today.

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**COLONIAL VIRGINIA'S COOKING DYNASTY:
WOMEN'S SPHERES THROUGH CULINARY ARTS**

INTRODUCTION

The consensus of most historians and anthropologists until recently states that men and women occupied separate spheres within their complex societies. During most of the three hundred years of Chesapeake history, the public dictum also considered male and female activities separate. Men functioned in the public world, while women were assigned to the private sector. Such a public perception persisted, even though women were often active in colonial and personal affairs.

Contrary to earlier historical and anthropological literature and to received historical opinion, I have come to a somewhat different conclusion, with significant theoretical implications. I believe that in colonial Virginia, (1) the private and public spheres for men and women, closely related to status, overlapped; (2) many upper-class women engaged in activities that helped to define and maintain the social status of their families in the public sphere; and (3) many women attempted to improve their own status at every opportunity.

The activities of women in the domestic niche were both extensive and demanding, and were vital to the well-being of their families. Most women recognized the importance of their role, and derived considerable satisfaction from it (Scott and Lebsack 1988:15-16). At the same time, however, there was a desire to be able to become involved in activities beyond those traditionally reserved from women. Many women, like Rachel Wells and Abigail Adams (pp. 51-52), wished that they could pursue interests in the public sphere on

at least a somewhat more equal footing with men than the prevailing customs allowed.

Among the responsibilities which women traditionally were expected to fulfill, there was one which brought them closer to the public sphere than any other in which they were engaged: the provision of hospitality. Most entertaining occurred around the dinner table, where the wife, as hostess, functioned in what was in effect a partly private and partly public sphere. Her performance in this capacity often set the tone for after-dinner discussion of public or political topics, and could over time, do much to enhance or detract from her husband's standing and effectiveness in the public sphere. Not surprisingly, women with an interest in the public world recognized that their role as hostess offered a possible foundation on which to build.

As a hostess, a woman was responsible for the selection, preparation and presentation of foods, as well as for table settings, seating arrangements and other aspects of a dinner. Collections of guidelines, recipes and other information in the form of cookbooks were useful to have, and a number of these were prepared over the years.

In researching this thesis, it was essential to examine the most direct information available concerning the activities and views of women living during the time period under study. Two cookbook manuscripts, the Unidentified Cookbook, c. 1700 and Jane Randolph her Cookery Book, 1743, are especially helpful in this regard by providing valuable information about women's roles, status and perspectives during the time period under discussion. The two "receipt books" are believed to be related, the one influencing the other. A third related cookbook that has been very useful is Mary Randolph's 1824 published classic, The Virginia Housewife.

Through careful analysis of these three cookbooks, the evolving perceptions of these women concerning their roles and family status can be revealed. It is through such analysis that anthropological and historical theories of women's status and role can be more fully evaluated.

"Food, like art, music, and literature, is an authentic expression of a people's culture" (Mendes 1971:11)

CHAPTER I. REVIEW OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Anthropologists have long been interested in the causes and effects of sexual asymmetry, and the "universal monopoly men are said to hold over formal political office, the exclusion of women from prestige spheres, and the seemingly universal ideologies of sex differences favoring men" (Quinn 1977:222). Feminist anthropology has taken a special interest, not in women per se, but in relationships between men and women. Although field work often concentrated on "kinship, ritual, economics and gender" (Moore 1988:9), feminist anthropologists have found many of the conclusions to be of questionable validity as a result of male bias, flawed approaches, and ethnocentrism. It has been argued that, rather than viewing "how gender is experienced and structured through culture", "kinship, ritual, economics and gender" should be viewed through gender (Moore 1988:9). This has prompted a close examination of the role of gender within "human societies, their histories, ideologies, economic systems, and political structures" (Moore 1988:6).

Anthropologists Michelle Rosaldo and Sherry Ortner initially argued for the universality of sexual asymmetry and separation of male and female spheres (Rosaldo 1974:22; Ortner 1974:69-88), a tenet no longer wholly

accepted. Rosaldo stated that, regardless of "cultural elaborations" in "family forms and gender roles", the common denominator in any and all societies is the fact that mothers give birth to children (Moore 1988:23). This biological fact placed women in a separate category of "nature", which became synonymous with the domestic/private category (Rosaldo 1974:30; Quinn 1977:182). Without any explanation, Rosaldo also believed that the non-biological activities of males were activities deemed by culture as more valuable (Rosaldo 1974:19).

In spite of these limitations, Rosaldo contributed some valid points. In order to further explain the separation of male and female spheres, she believed other factors had to be considered, especially authority, and achieved or ascribed status (Rosaldo 1974:26, 30). In order to bring about an equitable balance and equality between the sexes, Rosaldo concluded, men would have to participate more fully in the domestic (private) sphere (Quinn 1977:182).

While believing in the universality of "female subordination", Ortner disagreed that biological roots were the primary factor (Moore 1988:14). According to Ortner's view, men are associated with culture, and culture "seeks to control and transcend nature." Men seek not only outdoor activities but also to control their women (nature) by confining them to the domestic/private sphere (Moore 1988:14). Women's activities were perceived as "of less worth" due to their link to the female reproductive role (Rosaldo 1974:30; Rosaldo 1980:397), and as a result, Ortner claimed, women "belonged" to the domestic sphere simply because they were not in the public domain (Moore, 1988:21). Only by eliminating an "overemphasis on men, and on male-defined units and

strategies" will male bias and general distortion be erased. Women then would become more visible and better represented (Moore 1988:56).

Critics disagreed with Rosaldo's views (Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:480), pointing to a poor selection of ethnographic data (Quinn 1977:182) and arguing that her analysis did not apply to non-Western or nonstate societies (Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:480). Why were spheres considered separate, and not viewed as an interactive process of a sociocultural system? (Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:462, 480).

Mukhopadhyay and Higgins proposed their own set of determinants differing from those advanced by Rosaldo: aggression, strength, and reproductive and economic roles (Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:468, 475). Another critic, historian Linda Kerber, while feeling that the concept of separate spheres was useful as an "organizing device," argued that it left unclear whether it was an "ideology *imposed* on women, a culture *created by* women, a set of boundaries *expected to be observed by* women" (Kerber 1988:17).

Other critics pointed out that the concept of domestic versus public spheres is a Western and ethnocentric nineteenth century social belief applied to other cultures (Moore 1988:22). Anthropologist Karen Sacks has argued that it was the "emergence of states" and "the rise of class societies" that confined women to domestic and child-caring tasks (Quinn 1977:200). These tasks were not "rewarded by power and prestige." In contrast, a male activity such as hunting (public sphere), yielding meat that is "highly valued", leads to "honor and prestige" (Quinn 1977:200, 202). Marxist anthropologist Eleanor Leacock has criticized the assumption of a "universal subordination of women," stating it to be "ahistorical" (Moore 1988:31). As shown by Diane Bell's study on the Australian Aborigines, there are societies where duties of

men and women are indeed separate and independent of each other, but equal in terms of power (Moore 1988:32). Leacock has argued that the concept of domestic/public and culture/nature domains made no sense in "small-scale communities" such as those of the Iroquois, where daily household activities by both men and women were "simultaneously 'public,' economic and political" (Moore 1988:32). She concluded that the position of women should be judged on three points: (1) their access to, and control of, available resources, (2) working conditions, and (3) the distribution patterns of the fruits of their labor (Leacock 1978:253).

A partial consensus emerged that "biological differences do not provide a universal basis for social definitions" (Moore 1988:7), and that "the productive and reproductive roles of women cannot be separated out and analyzed in isolation from each other" (Moore 1988:49). It was agreed that "the cultural valuations given to women and men in society arise from something more than just their respective niches in the relations of production" (Moore 1988:35). It is the relationship between women's reproductive roles and work, feminist anthropologists stressed, that determine women's position in society (Moore 1988:53).

Anthropologists now adopt the "interactive view of social processes", in which women's spheres were "affected by what men did..." (Kerber 1988:17). Kerber suggests that women's "sphere" was "socially constructed for and by women" (Kerber 1988:17). Other researchers add that women may have used deliberate strategies to "manipulate and work within the prevailing 'reality' of their lives and societies" (Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:465). Women as well as men are perceived as "actors" on the stage of life within their cultural context.

The circumstances and strategies of women as social actors are of interest because women's "actual experience" constitutes the "central role" (Moore 1988:38, 56). Erving Goffman, writing from the perspective of symbolic interactionism, has noted that the "setting" of the social stage is important, right down to the furniture, interior decor, spatial arrangement and "other background items" (Goffman 1973:22). These serve both as background props for the actors and as a source of information for the audience; this is known as the "front", which defines the actual situation (Goffman 1973:23-24). Each act expresses and confirms a desired role the actor wishes to convey to the public, an activity which Goffman identifies as "dramatic realization" (Goffman 1973:30). Furthermore, the public performance of the actor "will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, more so, in fact, than does his behavior as a whole" (Goffman 1973:35). In other words, his or her performance would emphasize a commonly held value system of his or her society, and therefore is often closely tied to status.

Discussions of actors and their spheres are closely related to the issue of status. Although activities carried out within the domestic sector are not given as high a status as those in the public sphere, there nevertheless are gradations of value and standing. A woman's status is "multi-dimensional" (Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:466). Furthermore, each aspect "is a function of contextual factors...such as class and social identity..." (Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:466).

Many anthropologists now assess women's status in terms of "female political participation, economic control, personal autonomy, interpersonal

equality, legal adulthood, ideological position, or other specific indices..." (Quinn 1977:182). Quinn advocates treatment of "women's status as a composite of many different variables, often causally independent one from another"; "Thus in any given society, this status may be very 'low' in some domains or behavior, approach equality in others, achieve equality with men's status in others, and even, in some domains, surpass the status of men" (Quinn 1977:183).

Today, it is recognized that women of all cultures fulfill multifaceted roles in the course of their lives (Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988:465). The term "separate spheres" therefore has become a "metaphor for complex power relations in social and economic contexts" (Kerber 1988:28). The women's sphere was limited to a narrow area of her domestic activities, namely the home plantation, relatives and the church. In contrast, the men's sphere was less restricted and more fluid in nature, encompassing a wide range of activities including political involvement and civic duties. It also permitted change. Their sphere contained the essential ingredient of being away from, separate from and lying outside 'the domestic sphere' assigned to women. Granted, the reproductive roles of women have played a strong factor concerning the placement of women in society but this ancient separation had long since been subsumed by other cultural aspects in complex western societies, be it a tradition or a social norm. This was especially true for women in England and colonial Virginia since their spheres were dictated by and hidden behind the "prescriptions" carefully described by Gervase Markham in his 1615 publication, The English Housewife. Men were aware of these prescriptions and enforced them, carefully spelling out to their women their duties and what was expected of them.

While Moore and Ortner's views concerning women being relegated to the domestic setting are generally valid, I disagree with Ortner's claim that women were in the private domain because they were not in the public sphere. Colonial Virginia presented an entirely different set of circumstances which eventually 'broke the rules' given by Markham. Due to a combination of demographic accidents and Revolutionary War opportunities, Chesapeake women were much more active in the public sphere than formerly believed. They took up deliberate strategies to manipulate the 'reality' around them.

I also agree with Mukhopadhyay and Higgins that it is not necessary for male and female spheres to be separate. As my thesis will show, the male (public) and female (private) spheres were not separate at all. Their spheres actually overlapped as an integral part of their interactive processes. The men's economic base (wealth, furnishings, etc.) provided a springboard from which women were to conduct their supportive roles (elevation of status through cuisine). Although the ideology was indeed forced upon women (who usually and carefully observed its boundaries), the women made their contribution to their culture by cooking and hospitality. This gave them access to visitors and travelers which broadened their horizons.

Some of these concepts and conclusions can be clarified and refined through an analysis of particular historical settings. The case of gentry women in Tidewater Virginia in the seventeenth and eighteenth century is particularly promising because of the many available comments by men regarding women, and because some gentry women had begun to write

informatively about their roles and activities. Some used cookbooks as a medium of expression.

The men and women of Tidewater Virginia lived their lives in classic grooves: the men involved with the outside world (civic and political duties), while women were confined to the home (including connecting structures such as the dairy, the hen house, and the weaving shed [Scott and Lebsack 1988:21]). Women did not venture out alone except to sell surplus produce or visit kin (Norton 1984:600, 605; Kulikoff 1986:604-605). When a woman married, the "...opinion of the public carefully circumscribes [her] within the narrow circle of domestic interests and duties and forbids her to step beyond it" (Kerber 1988:10).

While striving to uphold the status of their husbands and the family name through their efforts in their prescribed domestic circle, women quietly looked for opportunities to improve their own status as well. The latter, as distinguished from their familial and marital status, was tied to their sense of self-identity. While documentary proof is largely lacking for such intangible (and usually unspoken) consciousness and attitudes, it is believed that they, like Amelia Simmons, recognized that their role in cooking and entertaining potentially offered a way forward in their personal quest. Gradually, they succeeded in 'cooking their way out of their homes.'

Anonymous (1700) typified women of English heritage, who largely adhered to Gervase Markham's prescriptions, which will be discussed later. Her recipes, for the most part traditional (i.e., not innovative), reveal that she was personally conservative. She made sure that she was correct in all domestic matters, including the preparation and presentation of foods commensurate with the social status of her guests. Although she conveyed her

sense of importance through cooking and hospitality, she accepted the tight confines of her domestic domain. The implication is that she did not venture much out of her domestic arena. (However, acceptance of a role does not necessarily mean acceptance in the true sense of the word. It could be that her case was of practical resignation.) Through her faithful imitation of Kidder's recipes, among others, Anonymous (1700) revealed that she was very careful to stay within the bounds of her defined social niche, and that she was well aware of being her husband's 'representative.' His status was considered first.

Jane (Bolling) Randolph began to move beyond the scope of her society's prescription by becoming more active than Anonymous (1700). She functioned as an accountant not only for her family during her husband's absence, but also served in this capacity for her kin and acquaintances as well. This was unusual because most spouses in absentia gave their wives careful and explicit directions about running the plantation. Although widows or truly skilled wives were known to take care of accounts, it was not at all common in Virginia (Markham 1986 [1615]:li; Norton 1984:597; Kulikoff 1986:178). At the same time, Jane (Bolling) Randolph entered the public sector in dealing with the local labor force (Appendix V). In this respect, she transformed her home base into a quasi-public one. It was not fully a public sphere, since her social circle encompassed only local acquaintances and relatives. She was a transitional figure in the sense that she was both exploring new possibilities and stretching her boundaries as well as upholding old traditions. At the same time, she saw to it that she upheld her spouse's status in the eyes of the community.

It was Mary Randolph who truly expanded the transformation of her domestic activities into the public sphere, i.e. 'the men's world.' Her cooking

skills had provided her an acceptable outlet through public entertaining. Through this channel, she went on to other achievements including inventions of the bathtub and refrigerator. The wheeled bathtub included a spigot and heated brazier. The refrigerator, a tubular frame filled with ice, was set upon a tub and placed inside a box with an inner lining of charcoal. This box was set within a larger box (Randolph 1824:246-250). The latter fascinated her 1815 guest, Harriot Pinckney Horry (Horry 1990 [1815]:10). After sketching this wonder, Mrs. Horry noted that Mrs. Randolph paid fifty cents daily for five pecks of ice to put inside it. Mrs. Randolph's "excellent fare" such as "pans of butter, meats, and other foods" could be kept chilled for twenty four hours. "The use of ice for the preservation of food was just beginning to reveal its revolutionary potential" (Horry 1990 [1815]:11).

It is perhaps significant that Mary Randolph's abode was not in the usual plantation setting, but in an urban environment, the city of Richmond. She was able to be in the public sphere physically as well as figuratively.

For a full appreciation of the significance of these three women in their respective historical periods, an overview of colonial Virginia, men's public roles, women's roles modeled after Markham's 'prescription,' and their emic perspectives will be helpful.

CHAPTER II.
TIDEWATER SOCIETY IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

Since the founding of Jamestown, most of colonial Virginian society consisted of hard-working yeomen and middle-class inhabitants who sought to improve their lives through new opportunities in the New World (Menard 1988:106, 114, 116, 120, 131). Others included scions of gentry and aristocratic stock (Isaac 1982:117, 120; Norton 1984:31, 39, 167; Scott and Lebsack 1988:9; Walsh 1985:1; Wright 1970:4). Some, like Adam Thoroughgood of Lynnhaven, Norfolk County (Seiwell 1939:4), arrived as indentured servants, while others were remittance men (Menard 1988:106-108; Norton 1984:601-602; Scott and Lebsack 1988:5; Wright 1940:41). Cavaliers like William Randolph found themselves in Virginia as political exiles (Durand 1934 [1686-7]:110).

Although the settlers did bring a degree of class consciousness with them to Virginia, it was less marked than it was in England. The harsh realities of the frontier quickly made a mockery of any pretensions regarding social background. It mattered not if a planter's father was "a cloth merchant of London" or a local "knight" back in England (Wright 1940:48); what mattered was the settler's ability to achieve his goals in the New World. This was defined as success and prosperity. Unlike their British peers, citizens did not look "down on trade" but seized all opportunities to improve their status (Wright 1940:47-48; Isaac 1982:20, 111). As in England, prosperous small

planters could marry daughters of more socially prominent planters who fell on hard times (Wright 1940:48). The frontier was a great social leveler.

All settlers had opportunities to achieve wealth with great tracts of land, either through hard labor or with capital. However, capital was essential for the employment of servants needed to help the planter convert the wilderness into cultivated tobacco fields. Tobacco fields were perceived by many as a "potential source of enrichment" (Scott and Lebsack 1988:19; Wright 1940:43-44). The more acreage an owner possessed, the greater his prestige and power (Wright 1940:39). Henry and William Randolph were among the newcomers who took advantage of Virginia's resources and quickly became leaders in their community. Although Henry Randolph (1623-1673) was a planter, he also served as a county clerk and clerk of the Virginia General Assembly (Cowden 1980:47). His nephew William Randolph (1650-1711), owner of some 16,095 acres during his lifetime, became the founder of one of Virginia's most distinguished families. Such families became dominant in "politics and society" (Cowden 1980:47, 51). Among William's descendants were Richard Randolph of Curles Plantation, Mary Randolph (author of The Virginia Housewife), Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall and Robert E. Lee (Wright 1940:41).

By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the descendants of these settlers had been forged into a new breed: a very powerful but relatively small band of Virginia "aristocrats". In contrast to English tradition, it did not matter that some of them had no genteel blood while others were descended from noble stock. William Byrd I, Robert Bolling and Miles Cary obtained their financial assets through trade (Wright 1940:47), and joined the Randolphs as "planter-aristocrats" (Wright 1940:2, 38-9).

There emerged a new hierarchical social order with a few great planters at the top (Wright 1940:39; Isaac 1982:34-38, 40-42), in which the planters monopolized trade and ultimately prevented the formation of towns in Virginia because of their vast land holdings. In spite of the limited size of this group, the "political and social control" it exerted would determine the course of Virginia culture and history (Wright 1940:44, 47) .

The group both imitated and differed from its British peers, culturally and politically. The main ambition of the successful planters was to live the life of a country squire "in the English manner" in the midst of the Virginia wilderness (Wright 1940:2, 37). A French visitor to Virginia in 1686-7 made the comment that "There are no lords, but each is a sovereign on his own plantation" (Durand 1934 [1686-7]:110).

This ambition was not confined to now-comfortable immigrants, but extended to the native-born. The Virginia-born planters were sensitive to England's perception of them as country yokels or inferiors in terms of cultural refinement (Shammas 1979:285). By the 1680s, most of the population was native-born or "creole" (Walsh 1985:3).

Creole, as a term, is confusing because during this time, it meant American-born settlers (Wright 1940:284). Only later did the term come to include an ethnic connotation, referring to those of Native American or black heritage (Shammas 1979:284). Jane (Bolling) Randolph, being native-born and a descendant of Pocahontas, fit both definitions.

These native-born Virginians were determined to be just as civilized as their British counterparts. Robert Beverley commented in 1705 that the "...Gentry pretend to have their Victuals drest, and serv'd up as Nicely, as at the best Tables in London..." (Beverley 1947 [1705] (IV):291). This

sensitivity about their public image continued into the nineteenth century. First Lady Elizabeth (Kortright) Monroe served French cuisine and had a thirteen-foot-long mirrored bronze d'ore centerpiece that impressed her British and French guests, who expected "gawky colonials" (Ervin 1964:330).

Wealth alone did not qualify the planters as gentlemen. An awareness of social obligations and "social graces and polish" had to be part of one's training. These Virginians sought and kept various offices not only for personal advancement and status but because of their sense of noblesse oblige. Conscious of "the gentleman's code to attend to the welfare of his social inferiors" (Cowden 1980:434), they made certain they were active in some form in the public eye, even if it was not more than being a vestryman in the local church (Isaac 1982:133-135). To prevent their sons and grandsons from being guilty of "boorishness", and to help them make judicious use of their "prerogatives," these colonial fathers took pains to have their sons well educated (Smith 1980:62, 105, 107; Walsh 1985:7-8). William Byrd I sent his son William Byrd II to English schools while William Randolph hired a French refugee living at Manakintown as a tutor to one of his sons (Cowden 1980:65). Richard Randolph made clear in his 1742 will that his sons "not be Useless members of their Country, or...become Burthensome to it by taking Such courses as are Generally the Companions of Idleness" (Anonymous 1748-1750:#112). Others resorted to importing books from overseas to further their sons' instruction (Wright 1940:37). Even daughters understood the importance of their brothers' education. Little Sally Cary Fairfax wistfully wrote to her father that she hoped her brother "will acquire the polite assurance & affable cheerfulness of a gentleman, yet not forget the incidents of Fairfax Co." (Fairfax 1968 [1772]:215).

Daughters of these planters were also educated, but to varying degrees. Most received only a year's worth of schooling, just enough to be able to read the Bible. Writing skills were usually omitted (Smith 1980:62-65; Walsh 1985:6-7). A fortunate few (usually wealthy [Walsh 1985:9]) women, such as Jane (Bolling) Randolph, were well educated; but in most instances daughters were given preparation intended to allow them to become 'social graces' to their families and to function as capable managers of the home place (Smith 1980:62-65; Walsh 1985:8). The contributions of these women to the development of Tidewater Virginia society, and their fascinating insights into that society, are well illustrated in the two manuscripts, dated ca. 1700 and 1743, which contain not only recipes from the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but also the domestic 'prescription' which determined the role of these women in society.

The significance of these manuscripts is enhanced by their historical provenance and the social prominence of the cooks. While the identity of the original compiler of the first work is not yet known, she probably was a member of one of the foremost families of her era (see pp. 135-136). It seems likely that she was related, either by kinship or marriage, to the Randolphs. The second author, Jane (Bolling) Randolph, was the wife of Richard Randolph of Curles Neck Plantation. Her father-in-law was William Randolph, the founder of the Randolph dynasty. The third author, Mary "Molly" Randolph, was the creator of a timeless classic, The Virginia Housewife. She was a great-granddaughter of Jane (Bolling) Randolph no less.

As leaders of their society, Virginia's "planter-aristocrats" played a major role in the development of "American ideas and social concepts" in the

course of Virginia history (Wright 1940:37). This was possible only with the participation of their women.

CHAPTER III.
MEN'S PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE CHESAPEAKE

Englishmen brought with them from England their traditional definitions of their roles in society, roles which not only took place on their plantations but also in the public sphere. Their roles were further outlined by evidence of success or power, be it in material goods or political office. These elements were crucial to the maintenance of their status in society.

In the Chesapeake, men earned their fortunes in the tobacco economy, built fine homes along the riverways and, through "the control of credit," secured "extensive power" (Isaac 1982:32-33). Their wealth and position enabled them to build "the great house" which was society's "elaborate, overt expression of social values" (Isaac 1982:34). They took "pleasure from their estates" and held an "air of great satisfaction", at least in part because the "acquisition of acreage and luxury items" (Shammas 1979:283) served as "declarations of the owner's status" (Isaac 1982:36). "They compared their current circumstances with what they had in the beginning" (Shammas 1979: 283.) The achievement of this position then opened the way to other 'high-status' opportunities in the public sphere, such as an appointment or election to political office. William Byrd, for example, became the clerk for Henrico County. Clerks wrote and recorded documents, served as witnesses and notaries, and performed other legal tasks.

The successful colonists, imbued with an "extraordinary ambition to be well thought of " in the manner of their landed English peers, established a

cultural tradition modeled after that in England (Isaac 1982:37; Shamma 1979:283-4). While goods could "be cherished or judged inappropriate, discarded and replaced" over time (Douglas and Isherwood 1979:5), the attributes of high status items remained constant. Good breeding and family pedigree were seen as enhancing a man's position as the "head of the household" (Carson 1985:12). Deferential treatment by peers was carefully noticed and measured, not out of snobbery, but as an indication of respect for one's niche in society. Samuel Pepys of London, the well-known diarist, spoke for many Virginians when he wrote: "...it was a great pleasure all the time I stayed here, to see how I am respected and honoured by all the people..." (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (II):68).

Like the English diarist Samuel Pepys, William Byrd was sensitive to any negative reflections on his status. Both of them, not uncommonly, were excessively critical of the manner in which their wives carried out their duties in the private sphere. Often closely involved with domestic matters, the 'head of the household' took pains to ensure that his notions of what was proper or correct were adhered to. Pepys wrote that:

...got most things ready against tomorrow, as fires and laying the cloth, and my wife was the making of her tarts and larding her pullets till 11 o'clock (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (I):29).
 ...hanging up pictures and seeing how my pewter Sconces that I have bought will become my stayres and entry... ..settled my accounts my wife for housekeeping...[sic] (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (III):3, 132).

Very merry before, at, and after dinner, and the more for that my dinner was great and most neatly dressed by our only mayde. We had a Fricasse of rabbits and chickens- a leg of mutton boiled-three carps in a dish- a great dish of a side of lamb- a dish roasted pigeons- a dish of four lobsters- three tarts- a Lamprey pie, a most rare pie- a dish of anchovies- good wine of several sorts; and all things mighty noble and to my great content (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (IV):95).

The men as well as their wives knew that the house, goods, plentiful food and family relationships stood as 'public and social status codes' for neighbors to read. The achievement of high status was a source of pride, as can be seen from the following writing of Virginia's William Byrd:

I have a large Family of my own, and my Doors are open to every Body, yet I have no Bills to pay, and half-a-Crown will rest undisturbed in my Pocket for many Moons together. Like one of the Patriarchs, I have my flocks and my Herds, my Bond-men and Bond-women, and every Soart of trade amongst my own Servants, so that I live in a kind of Independence on every one by Providence. However this Soart of Life is without expence, yet it is attended with a great deal of trouble. I must take care to keep all my people to their Duty, to set all the Springs in motion and to make every one draw his equal Share to carry the Machine forward (Byrd 1968 [1726-1758]:27).

Each planter was indeed king of his turf, while his wife provided essential services behind the scenes. In the Goffmanian sense, they were a team of actors and actresses acting out their requisite roles in the eyes of the public.

CHAPTER IV.
WOMEN'S PRIVATE SPHERE: THE ENGLISH AND COLONIAL VIRGINIA
PRESCRIPTION

According to Karen Sacks, the "emergence of states" and "the rise of class societies" confined women to domestic and child-caring tasks (Quinn 1977:200, 202). Such a separation of domestic (private) and public spheres are typical of complex societies, although they are not a cultural universal (Quinn 1977:188, 199, 219).

In England in the seventeenth century, two published cookbooks ('prescriptions') appeared that provided important information about the duties of women in their homesteads. Sir Hugh Platt's Delightes for Ladies (1609) focused on utilizing produce grown at the home. Not only were there recipes, there were rather sanctimonious lectures directed towards noblewomen about their duties:

...our English housewife, who is the mother and mistress of the family, an hath her most general employment within the house - where from the general examples of her virtues, and the most approved skill of her knowledge, those of her family may both learn to serve God, and sustain men in that goodly and profitable sort which is required of every true Christian...(Platt 1948 [1609]:li-lii).

The second cookbook was Gervase Markham's classic, The English Hus-Wife, which appeared in 1615. Unlike previous publications used solely by nobility or professional cooks in aristocratic households, Gervase Markham's cookbook was directed towards gentlewomen and housewives and had a

considerable impact. His concept of the duties of women are reflected in the following prescription:

...inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleat women: As, her skill in Physicke, Cookery, Banquetting-stuffe, Distillation, Perfumes, Wool, Hemp, Flax, Daries, Brewing, Baking, and other things belonging to an Household (Mennell 1985:84).

Even before Markham, Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603), was well trained in domestic arts; at one point, she personally came to the aid of a wounded ambassador (Platt 1948 [1609]:xliv).

Wives played an important role in subsistence, since they were expected to know all about herbs, planting vegetables and conserving seed for future planting. Gardens were an essential part of the household plan (Mennell 1985:85):

This little Treatise of Kitchen-Gardening is chiefly design'd for the Instruction and Benefit of Country People, who most of them have a little Garden Spot belonging to their House... (Anonymous 1744:A3).

Ladies everywhere were busy "preserving, conserving, candying, making syrup, jellies, beautifying washes, mouthwashes, pomatum essences, vinegar and pickles..." (Platt 1948 [1609]:xlvi). Lady Gardner sent a brief note to Sir Ralph Verney, excusing herself for not writing a proper epistle, since she was "almost melted with the double heat of the weather and her hotter employment, because the fruit is suddenly ripe and she is so busy preserving" (Platt 1948 [1609]:xlvii-xlix).

Markham's last admonition to women was his emphasis on cleanliness:

...well ordered...is the housewife's cleanliness in the sweet and neat keeping of the dairy house; where not the least mote of any filth may by any means appear; but all the things either to the eye or nose so void of sourness or sluttishness, that a prince's bed chamber must not exceed it. (Markham 1986 [1615]:xlv).

His confident advice and influence lasted through successive cookbooks up to the early nineteenth century. Even Hannah Woolley, the first female cookbook publisher, clarified and redefined women's roles along the same lines as Markham: "...responsibilities for cleanliness in the dairy, brew-house, bake-house, and kitchen. ...[don't let] the smallness of your Beer become a disparagement to your Family" (Woolley 1675b:111). Small beer was a weak beer, with low or non-existent alcohol content (Hasbrouck 1976:205). The practice of all these domestic duties was carried over to the colonies (Walsh 1985:6-7; Smith 1980:59; Scott and Lebsack 1988:1).

The refrain about women's place was repeated throughout the eighteenth century by other cookbook writers who offered no original thoughts or challenges to such established precepts. One woman did complain, however, that men undervalued their work:

...nor know I wherein our sex can be more useful in their generation than having a competent skill in Physick and Chirurgery, a competent Estate to distribute it, and a Heart willing thereto (Woolley 1675b:A5).

...it is chiefly designed for the Use of you British Housewives, who would distinguish yourselves by your well ordering the Provisions of your own Families...(Nott 1724:A2).

How lightly forever Men esteem those Feminine Arts of Government which are practified in the Regulation of an Household...what can be really of greater Use, than by Prudence and good Management, to supply a Family with all things that are convenient, from a Fortune, which without such Care, would scarce afford Necessaries? (Harrison 1733: ix-x).

It must not be forgotten that, on top of all of the household responsibilities, the mistress had to handle continual pregnancies, threats of disease and the possible specter of poverty (Markham 1986 [1615]:li).

The definition of a woman's duties in the domestic sphere was extended to include her personal conduct as a wife, a hostess and a friend to her neighbors (Walsh 1983:33-34; Walsh 1985:6,8; Kulikoff 1982:177). Religion played an extensive part in the lives of the population, to a degree that is difficult for the modern reader to grasp (Norton 1984:609). All cookbooks held the common 'double view' of women. A woman was, above all, an emblem of divinity through moral instruction, even though women, ever since Adam and Eve, were viewed simultaneously as emblems of sin (Shapiro 1986:12). It was imperative for a woman to be truly pious (Spruill 1966:214), otherwise she would be in danger from the "Perills of the sowle" and not know "the law of God" (Spruill 1966:208-209); without her Bible and small prayer book, she would not be an exemplary role model for her family and community. It was highly desirable that women:

...be fervent in their Devotions; with many other real Advantages, to render them graceful, and worthy of a very high Esteem...gain to themselves a good Name and emblem it, that it may remain grateful to Posterity (R.G. 1704:2).

This outlook continued into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as indicated by the following excerpts:

To what End did he give us intellectual Faculties? Surely not to amuse but improve us, by enabling us thoroughly to understand each Part of our hold. Religion, which directly tends to this end, that is to say, our Moral Improvement...walk in sincerity, uprightness, submit to his Will with Patience... true to our promises, charitable to the poor and sincere in our Devotions.... (Anonymous 1743:3, 7).

...stedfast faith in Jesus Christ only crown them with glory & hereafter...(Woolley 1675b:12).

...woman never looks lovelier than in her reverence for religion... female irreligion is the most revolting feature in human character (Welter 1973:227).

Not surprisingly, certain recipes and serving habits reflected a religious influence. Elizabeth Pepys saw to it that appropriate foods, however unpopular, were served during Lent: "Dined at home on a poor Lenten dinner of Coleworts and bacon" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (II):52). Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph included recipes for unleavened Jews bread, Jews almond cake, wafers, wigs (a doughnut-like dough cut into wedges [Wilson 1974:266]), and peas soup for Lent in their material (Anonymous 1700:5,43, 43a; Randolph 1743:87, 90-91, 100.) See Appendix VII. Mary (Isham) Randolph also respected religious custom when she stipulated that metheglin had to be made before the first of October, the time of year for Michaelmas (Appendix IX).

A well-brought up woman, in addition to being pious, was expected to show compassion, meekness, humility and patience (Spruill 1966:214; Anonymous 1743:32; Benson 1935:58; Woolley 1675b:33, 43, 47). Acts of charity consistent with these virtues often were stressed in cookery books:

...Religion...how necessary it is to be practised &c.; an Invitation to charity; compassion and forgiveness of Injuries; Devotion and Prayer...(R.G. 1704:3).

...also those generously dispos'd Gentlewomen that are charitably dispos'd to be serviceble to their poor and afflicted Neighbours, will by the Perusal of this book, be instructed how to exert their Beneficence, without greatly burdening their Purses, or fatiquing their Persons. (Carter 1732:viii).

William Byrd, well aware of the requirement for good deeds, noted that he was angry with his wife Lucy when he perceived her to be negligent in this regard: "In the evening I quarreled with my wife for not taking care of the sick women, which she took very ill of me and was out of humor over it " (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:208).

It was considered important as well that a woman be an excellent wife and mother (Spruill 1966:232), an "active and indispensable partner in the domestic economy" (Markham 1986 [1615]:xxvii), and a truly thrifty planner.

Hannah Woolley pointed out how carefully children, especially daughters, should be raised in any respectable home: "As you are a kind Mother to them be a careful Monitor about them; and if your business will permit, teach them your self, with their letters, good manners" (Woolley 1675b:B2). William Byrd, who may have been unduly critical, apparently did not feel that his wife Lucy was following this prescription. He made clear his dissatisfaction: "...this morning I quarreld with her about her neglect of the family" (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:118).

Daughters and other female kin were to know reading, writing, arithmetic, and all kinds of needlework such as "Point de Venia" (a type of lace) as part of their wifely skills. They were also to be familiar with "curious devices of Waxwork, Moss work, cabinet work..." (Woolley 1675b:9, 11). Samuel Pepys was highly pleased with his wife Elizabeth for embroidering bed hangings diligently for two weeks: "...my poor wife, who works all day at home like a horse ...but pleased with my wife's minding her work so well and busying herself about her house" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (VII):14, 22). She was following an aspect of Gervase Markham's prescription. Similarly, Jane (Bolling) Randolph was following the prescription when she ordered sampler

material for the instruction of her daughters in the intricacies of needlework (Appendix V). Her daughters were indeed well trained. Her daughter Jane ('Jenny') later made embroidered curtains during her marriage (Anonymous 1780-1782:75), while her other daughter Mary loaned to her sister-in-law four pairs of knitting needles (Cary 1775:n.p.).

At an appropriate age, daughters were to be schooled in the art of cookery: "...in due time let them know how to Preserve, Conserve, Distil; with all those laudable Sciences which adorn a compleat Gentlewoman" (Woolley 1675b:9). These skills were either passed from mother to daughter, or daughters were sent to fashionable cooking schools like Mrs. Bathseba Makin's at Tottenham High Cross (Price 1974 [1681]:13). Women like Elizabeth Pepys had been trained in this manner, much to the pleasure of their spouses: "...my wife hath been busy all the day making of pies..." (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (II):170) and "...some spirits of her making (in which she hath great judgement), very good" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (IV):21). In Virginia, Jane (Bolling) Randolph followed the same pattern, teaching her ten-year-old daughter Jane ('Jenny') the fine art of cookery, as shown by a childish script interspersed among the pages of her cookery book. In fact, she bequeathed the book to Jenny.

Females were also expected to be skilled in "physick": how to diagnose medical disorders, select appropriate remedies, and concoct salves, ointments, potions and plasters (Woolley 1675b:11). Jane (Bolling) Randolph had followed the custom of incorporating into her cookery book a large collection of medical remedies. She was fully aware that she would be expected to care not only for her family but also her friends, indigent neighbors and the labor force. Some recipes, like "Lady Allen's Water", "Plague Water" and Dr. Mead's

"For the Bite of a Mad Dog", were timeless classics copied from various publications. Others, like tobacco ointment and Lady Arundel's recipe for cancer, were probably original concoctions (Appendix X). The latter recipe was also unusual in other respects. Since Jane (Bolling) Randolph was careful to note the place of origin and price of the ingredients of Lady Arundel's recipe, she revealed her consciousness of her family's social prestige and financial means to obtain this costly recipe.

Jane (Bolling) Randolph also included in her cookbook a prescription for 'Kipsacuanna,' a purging agent. This appears to be a variant of the Native Americans' 'Ipecacuanna' (Rountree 1993, personal communication), which was used by Landon Carter as part of his medical regimen when treating ill slaves (Carter 1965 [1752-1778] (II):216). Besides caring for their own families these women often nursed friends and indigents beyond the boundaries of their plantations (Smith 1980:76). These women had taken skills learned as part of their training, and had moved beyond the physical boundaries of their own plantations to give nursing aid to the indigent. By offering their privately learned skills they provided a public service, and, in that respect, transformed their sphere into a public one.

Great emphasis was placed in the cookbooks on the importance of frugality, industriousness and thriftiness, not to mention the sins of idleness. Markham pointed out to the gentry and the general audience alike the vital partnership of the housewife: "...[spouses] to keep their accounts carefully... sometimes [housewives] took over the arrangement of the whole estate, either because of her skill or because her husband was absent or dead..." (Markham 1986 [1615]:li). Concerning the kitchen, there were to be "no necessaries wanting, nor waste or spoil made, but that the Meat be salted, and spent in due

time". The wife was not to "squander away without credit the Wine, Ale and Beer in the buttry or cellars". She was to check "once a month an account of all the expenses of the whole House" (Woolley1675b:111-112). The theme of frugality remained strong in 1796 when an unidentified author wrote: "...the Art of laying out Money wisely is not attained without a great deal of thought" (Anonymous 1743:71).

In contrast to English women, most women in Virginia did not keep accounts, since these were largely taken care of by husbands, overseers or accountants. Such accounts survived well, either in account books or inventories. The work was almost exclusively done by males, both because it was part of their civic duty, i.e. public sphere; and because women in general did not have the requisite educational skills. Even if one exceptional woman knew how, society's sharp definition of male vs. female roles usually would not have permitted her to do so. Furthermore, if accounts written by women were mostly lost, more records kept by men should be lost as well. Climate, disasters, time and other natural factors would not show such exclusivity toward one or the other.

Jane (Bolling) Randolph was one of the few exceptions. She took over the family accounting during her husband's absences and made very careful notes of how much was spent on each ordered item (Appendix V). Having encountered precisely the opposite problem, William Byrd noted crossly in his diary that he had received: "...letters for me from England, with an invoice of things sent [for] by my wife which are enough to make a man mad" (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:48).

One of the major responsibilities of women was the preparation of food. They were expected to be able to prepare delicious and yet thrifty courses

which would elevate their husband's social status. Markham rather blithely informed his readers that they could strike a balance between "the royal feast" and "the shearer's festival" (Markham 1986 [1615]:xxxix). For the creation of a truly respectable banquet, he suggested that sixteen "full dishes" were sufficient, with the addition of "sixteen more fanciful concoctions" (Markham 1986 [1615]:xxix), totaling thirty-two dishes in all. This constituted a meal "which will be both frugal in the spender, contentment to the guest, and much pleasure and delight to the beholders" (Markham 1986[1615]:xxxix). In Markham's view, the housewife who was ignorant of the "pretty and curious secrets" of preparing food for a banquet was "but the half part of a complete housewife" (Markham 1986 [1615]:xxxv). Similar sentiments prevailed with respect to more ordinary meals. As Samuel Johnson remarked: "A man is in general better pleased when he has a good dinner upon the table, than when his wife talks Greek" (Aresty 1980:23).

Not least among the charms a woman should possess were chastity (R.G. 1704:3), civility, modesty, humility, affability, courtesy (Spruill 1966:214; Anonymous 1743:32), and "silence" (Woolley 1675a:33, 43-44). "Handsome decorum" and proper carriage, preferably with "a bonne grace and a neat becoming air", were highly desirable (Woolley 1675a:33, 43-44). These desirable characteristics were also emphasized and practiced in Virginia (Smith 1980:65). In fact, "R.G." and Woolley devoted an entire chapter in their cookbooks to the necessity of correct deportment and untarnished reputations:

How a Lady ought to behave and guide herself, rules for good breeding [sic]; of affability, courtesy, humility; with the winning Graces and Vertues that attend them, to render womankind accomplished and acceptable, &c. (R.G. 1675:3).

As for what concerns Gentlewoman's Behavior, I have the concurrent advice and direction of the most able Professors and Teachers, both here and beyond the seas;...like I may say for Habits and Gesture;...(Woolley 1675a:A6).

Acceptable recreation meant the arts, music, dance and lady-like literature such as poetry or history. Romances were strongly discouraged since they might "corrupt" unsuspecting females to "amorous passions" (Spruill 1966:214) or "interfere with piety" (Welter 1973:236). It was unthinkable for a properly-brought-up lady to be informed about or meddle in politics, jurisprudence, war and other masculine matters (Benson 1935:20). Women were modeled after an ancient classical figure, Antiope, who excelled in both the domestic arts and "feminine accomplishments" (Benson 1935:19).

While a woman was responsible for everything that had to do with the home (Smith 1980:59), her husband was in control of everything "without doors": i.e., the cultivated fields, the workmen, profitable opportunities, and official positions. Above all, he was an upholder of the social hierarchy. Not excluded were other activities that "befit his sex" (Markham 1986 [1615]:xxvii, liii). While male vices such as drunkenness or infidelity were generally overlooked, a woman was not permitted to possess any such flaws; the wife was to rise above her spouse's indiscretions and be the 'perfect woman' running a 'perfect household.' Jane (Bolling) Randolph seems to have followed this dictum implicitly but perhaps with tongue-in-cheek, since she included in her cookery book a recipe for "the stone [gallstones] and drunkenness" (Randolph 1743:54). A gentlewoman was constantly reminded of her fragile position and what was expected of her: "She must be obedient to God and to her husband,...keep her eye on her maids, be first up and last to bed" (Platt 1948 [1609]:xliii).

A woman's domestic niche in Virginia was basically the same as in England. Besides the never-ending tasks of running the household and laborers, managing poultry and livestock, gardening, food preparation and preservation, distilling, making family clothing and nursing the ill, women had to contend with regular childbearing and the care of a growing brood (Lebsock 1984:21; Smith 1980:59; Walsh 1983:7). It was a woman's duty to produce children, and surviving children meant productive adults who in turn made "direct and essential contributions to Virginia's economic development" (Lebsock 1984:21). The latter fact made women important to the public sphere but this generally remained unacknowledged. Men continued to focus on women's duties within their domestic circle, with women's lives still centered upon the motif of 'the home and family name.' Someone who exemplified what men wished for was Frances, wife of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall. Judged a prizewinner by an admirer, she was the perfect embodiment of a woman in her private sphere:

I am daily more charmed & astonished with Mrs. Carter, I think indeed she is to be placed in the place with Ladies of the first Degree. ...prudent, always cheerful, never without Something pleasant, a remarkable Economist, perfectly acquainted (in my Opinion) with the good-management of Children, intirely free from all foolish and unnecessary fondness...also well acquainted (for She has always been used) with the formality and Ceremony which we find commonly in high Life (Fithian 1900 [1767-1774]: 64).

Socially prominent men often took the trouble of double-checking their wives, and were not always pleased with their domestic performance. Byrd's wife was invariably found wanting as a manager, while his cook Moll was not applying herself. Pepys likewise found fault with his wife and servants:

I ate roast beef for dinner which I ate little of because it was not enough done (Byrd 1942 [1739-1741]:174). ...was out of humor with my wife about stewed cherries.... ...my wife walked with Mrs. Dunn and forgot dinner, for which I had a little quarrel with her...(Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:137, 461).

I ate nothing but beef hash for dinner and [vented] my passion against Moll for doing everything wrong . Moll spoiled a good plum puding, for which I chastised her. ...out of humor with Moll because she had not made good sauce (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:16, 315, 500).

Home to dinner, and there I took occasion, from the blackness of the meat as it came out of the pot, to fall out with my wife and the maids for their sluttery; and so left the table...(Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (II):237). .
..So to dinner late and not very good; only a rabbit not half-roasted, which made me angry with my wife (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (IV):29).

So home, and find my wife's new gowne come home and she mightily pleased with it But I appeared very angry that there was no more things got ready against tomorrow's feast, and in that passion sat up long and went discontented to bed (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (IV):13).

...I was very angry and began to find fault with my wife for not commanding her servants she ought (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667](V):349).
...angry with my maids for letting in watermen and I know not who, anybody that they are acquainted with, into the kitchen to talk and prate with them, which I will not endure (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (VIII):202). ... [wife] could not get her maid Jane by no means at any time to kill anything. This day my wife killed her turkey that came out of Zeeland...(Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (I):41).

Samuel Pepys further berated his wife for "neglecting the keeping of the house clean" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (IV):121). Landon Carter of Nomini Hall and William Byrd also took umbrage with their cooks: "My cook wench cannot dress a dish of beans or Peas but they come in quite raw" (Carter 1965 [1752-1778]:574)... "I ate nothing at dinner but pork and peas which were salty and made me dry all the afternoon" (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:22). Praises were few and far between: "...we having a good dish of stewed beef of Jane's own dressing, which was well done" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (III):81) and "...home to bed, and find, to my infinite joy, many rooms clean..." (Pepys, 1970 [1660-1667] (VII):287).

With such demanding husbands, countless wives must have found it difficult to please them. While some women must have rebelled, their viewpoints unfortunately are largely lost to history. The following statements, however, probably indicate the feelings of many:

...she is confirmed in it that all that I do is by design, and that my very keeping of the house in dirt, and the doing of this and anything else in the house, is but to find her employment to keep her within and from minding her own pleasure. In which, though I am sorry to see she minds it, is true enough in a great degree (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (IV):289).

Apparently the Custis marital squabbles stemmed from disagreements about the living arrangements and finances. He wanted to live at Arlington and thought her extravagant; she preferred Queen's Creek and thought him stingy. Their famous marriage agreement of 1714 supports this view. In it he promised to allow her adequate household supplies from the produce of the estate; wheat, corn, meat, cider, and brandy were specifically mentioned. She in turn promised not to exceed her allowance or to interfere in his business if he would not intermeddle in her domestic affairs (Carson 1985:xix).

Men also frequently involved themselves in the proper instruction of their daughters in the domestic arts. For example, William Byrd and Thomas Jefferson took pains to supervise the education of their daughters in these arts. Such training was viewed as crucially important to the success of the girls in the private sphere once they married. An unidentified "Mr. W.T. Barry" wrote a letter full of well-meaning advice to his daughter:

I like the idea of your keeping house; the sentiment of limiting your expenses until Mr. Taylor and you are in a way to make money, I approve; not that I would anything in my power to give you...it is a sentiment of pride and independence that I like to see cherished. ...Learn to limit your expenses to your income; it is the sure foundation of domestic happiness and enjoyment. You will have to study housekeeping,-you are too young to have learnt much of it; but you have been an apt scholar in other branches, and I hope will prove so in this. It is a fault in female

education that house-keeping is not made more a part of it; book learning is not sufficient; the kitchen and dairy must be attended to as well as the drawing room. The perfection of female character unites the domestic virtues of Penelope and Andromache, with the intellect of Madame De Staeil [sic] and Lady Morgan. Women should made fit companions for their husbands, and not their slaves or idols. But I must cease lecturing...(Barry 1824: #2569).

Obviously it was not just mothers who instructed their daughters regarding their place in the domestic arena. Many men saw to it that the prescription was strictly adhered to. Women who resisted the confinement of the home place often paid the price. As Dolley Madison wistfully wrote: "...Our sex are ever losers, when they stem the torrent of public opinion" (Clinton 1982:190). Nevertheless, there were several Chesapeake women who did not hesitate to break out of their circumscribed circle when opportunities to do so presented themselves.

It is not that women are silent;
it is just that they cannot be heard
(Moore 1988:4).

You are so saucy. ...Depend on it, we know
better than to repeal our masculine systems...
They are little more than theory...In practice you
know we are the subjects...we only have name of
masters (Donovan, et al. 1975:21. John Adams'
response to wife Abigail's "remember the ladies").

CHAPTER V.

WOMEN'S PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE CHESAPEAKE

Virginia's early settlers brought from England the traditional concepts of men and women's separate spheres. Included was the persistent taboo against the involvement of women in political or public affairs. Women were to remain at home; the public sector was allocated to men while the private sector (still under men's control) was relegated to women (Kerber 1988:17; Smith 1980:59; Kulikoff 1986:166), a separation that both denigrated and subordinated women. This reflected "long standing Western assumptions about the women's separate world" (Kerber 1988:19). Under the British model of patriarchal authority which the settlers brought with them, (Kerber 1988:19; Isaac 1982:135), the male head of the household was responsible for his family's conduct and welfare; his word was "unquestioned law" (Lebsack 1984:21; Norton 1984:596; Kulikoff 1982:166). William Byrd reflected such patriarchal attitudes when he quarreled with and prevented his wife from plucking her eyebrows. He "got the better of her and maintained my authority" (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:296).

Different circumstances in colonial Virginia, however, provided a check to long held tenets. The roles and opportunities for women were greater in Virginia in the seventeenth century than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. High mortality rates, marriage patterns, economic opportunities and increased lifespans for the lucky few (Kulikoff 1982:33) determined "new life courses for women" (Walsh 1983:1). Most seventeenth century women immigrants were young, were willing to take risks in the new world, and were seeking opportunities to improve life through marriage: "...marriage still offered almost the only way for a woman to enhance her status and make her future secure" (Walsh 1983:4; Walsh 1985:3-5). This belief remained in force up to the nineteenth century (Scott and Lebsack 1988:28). Once married, a woman was a mistress with authority in her own household (Walsh 1983:4; Norton 1984:597; Kulikoff 1986:177), even though it meant she was busy fulfilling the requisites of her private sphere as outlined by Gervase Markham. It should be noted, however, that she was part of a system, not a truly autonomous person in her own right (Norton 1984:597). Her social standing depended on her husband's social position in society (Norton 1984:600). December-May romances were commonplace but led to more brief marriages and numerous remarriages (Norton 1984:597; Scott and Lebsack 1988:8). New husbands often were financially better-off and provided a further 'step up' in status and income for widows with or without young children. The combination of all these factors resulted in family dynamics normally not seen in England. During the frontier years in the Tidewater, new wives working to hold their families together recognized that they had better "bargaining power" than would ordinarily have achieved elsewhere (Scott and Lebsack

1988:15-16; Walsh 1983:1; Walsh 1985:2, 6; Norton 1984:597-598; Smith 1980:79). Although the husband's word was theoretically to be "taken as law", the wife's wishes (unless the family was wealthy) were taken into account since she "was of critical importance to the household economy" (Walsh 1983:4).

The frontier life made it essential that women be capable of picking up muskets or knives to defend their families during their spouses' absences or in times of danger. Women were faced with dangers of childbirth, and both men and women had to deal with numerous other dangers: accidents, epidemics and Indian warfare. All took their toll. The practice of the ideal of "domestic patriarchy" proved difficult (Kulikoff 1986:167; Scott and Lebsack 1988:23). Aware of their mortality and the economic participation of their wives, men quickly learned to be more generous and respectful to their families when they drew up wills (Lebsack 1984:21; Walsh 1985:4). Wives usually received more than the requisite widow's one-third of the estate (Walsh 1983:12; Scott and Lebsack 1988:12) and were often made executrices, even if they were illiterate. Many widows even negotiated premarital contracts in cases of remarriage to ensure that their possessions or property remained under their control (Walsh 1985:6). With the exception of arrangements for education, daughters often received bequests equal in value to those received by their brothers. The environment and circumstances of harsh frontier life made men more aware of their women's abilities and resilience. Collectively, these "demographic accidents" (Walsh 1983:15) challenged the English concept of an exclusively male authority and led to a "major step forward for women" (Lebsack 1984:21-22).

In the eighteenth century, life became less precarious. Lifespans increased and women no longer were fewer in number than the men (Walsh

1985:1, 15; Smith 1980:151, 177). The power and authority of males "expanded and stabilized" (Norton 1984:613) while increasing scarcity of land resulted in reduced legacies for daughters (Walsh 1985:10; Norton 1984:603). However, more daughters learned about cookery and other household management skills directly from their own mothers, and families could afford servants or slaves to perform the arduous household tasks (Walsh 1983:2-3, 6). This greater life security nevertheless led to the loss of women's unusual powers (Walsh 1983:15; Walsh 1985:6). By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, there were increasingly patriarchal attitudes on the part of fathers and husbands in Virginia society (Walsh 1983:1, 3; Kulikoff 1982:603). The "increasingly sharp differentiation of male and female roles permitted only a very limited sphere in which girls could exercise their new skills and learning" (Walsh 1983:8). Passive qualities in females were emphasized before marriage, while it was expected that wives be "submissive and accommodating to their spouses" (Walsh 1983:8). Furthermore, daughters were taught that they were intellectually inferior to men (Walsh 1983:8). Their goal in life was to be "notable women", which "almost universally meant no more than that they intended to become exemplary household managers" (Walsh 1983:10; Walsh 1985:10) and excellent mothers (Norton 1984:609). Their world was confined to domestic activities. They, as well as their husbands, were responsible for the molding of their families since the family was "the primary mainstay of social order, and ...a critical microcosm of society" (Norton 1984: 602).

Women were not permitted to engage in matters politic; they could not vote, sell land, argue personally in court except through a male representative, hold a public office or write a will without their spouse's consent (Walsh

1985:4; Kulikoff 1986:177; Scott and Lebsack 1988:1). Jane (Bolling) Randolph drew up her own will after her husband's death, which may be significant. Thomas Jefferson firmly stated that the only political role women possessed was "to soothe and calm the minds of their husbands returning ruffled from political debate" (Norton 1980:190). One physician stated that "Woman has a head almost too small for intellect but just big enough for love" (Welter 1973:231). If women were permitted to participate more fully in the public sphere, then it was more likely that they would be less willing to remain in their allotted private spheres. Unacknowledged were men's fears of further political or civil competition, since public office in the seventeenth century was one of the best means for males to gain public esteem and social influence. Instead, women were "relegated to a more clearly articulated subordinate status" (Walsh 1983:15). This purpose may have been twofold: an unacknowledged emphasis on male status support, and control any moves against male authority.

Women did what they could to rise above these restrictions by expressing their political views in a more subtle manner. Widow Mary (Isham) Randolph personally saw to the protection of her property by asking William Byrd II to utilize his official capacities in a lawsuit involving her husband's debts and a creditor (Cowden 1980:50-1). At Henrico Court House, she personally petitioned a number of times to be classified levy-free in the matter of her slaves (Cowden 1980:51). Other women expressed their political views through their involvement in activities such as quilting and cookery. "Charter Oak", "Whig's Defeat", "Burgoyne Surrounded" and "Dolley Madison's Star" (Lane 1963:82, 98; Wilkens 1991:8-9) were some of the quilts so named, while cakes were christened "Election Cake", "Independence Cake", and "Federal Pan

Cake" (Simmons 1800:43-44). Election cakes, richly studded with raisins and sweet spices, were served on election days throughout the nineteenth century (Woolfolk 1992:37). Other cakes were named after certain events or figures. There were "Ratification", "Inauguration", and "Columbia" cakes as well as "Lady Baltimore", Dolley Madison's "Layer Cake", "Washington Cake", "Lafayette Cake" and "Robert E. Lee Cake" (Woolfolk 1992:37; Farmer 1896:510; Ervin 1964:323). Other desserts were christened the same way; for example, there was a "Jeff Davis Pie" (Woolfolk 1992:37). Even Mary Randolph reflected the new democratic and patriotic feeling with her "Plebeian Ginger Bread" (Randolph 1824:159).

The socio-political restrictions left the women with the ubiquitous church and church-related activities, the county court, village trips and visits to friends as the only means of alleviating the tedium of their private lives (Lebsock 1984:22; Walsh 1983:11). The church, however, was an important focus of their lives because, in addition to religious support, it provided them social contact and a sense of community. In contrast to England, women were isolated on their far-flung plantations (Lebsock 1984:22; Walsh 1983:1; Norton 1984:601; Kulikoff 1982:30-31). Church-related activities were acceptable for women because men believed that such activities would not make them "less domestic or submissive" (Welter 1973:226).

Lucy, wife of William Byrd, obviously found this particular leniency a strain. As a socially prominent hostess, she was expected to entertain various church members after services every Sunday. It is said that it was Lucy who determined the location of the new Westover church two miles away, thereby greatly reducing the number of her guests (Byrd 1942 [1739-1741]:119n).

As William Byrd noted, "Nobody came from church to dinner. I ate roast beef" (Byrd 1942 [1739-1741]:169).

Widows and indigent women were permitted to function in the public sphere in gainful occupations required for survival . This was in order to keep them from being on the "public relief" (Norton 1984:605). Service as a seamstress, cook or governess, work as a milliner, and other domestic-related activities were acceptable, but these women were not considered genteel. A Williamsburg actress and dancer, Mary Stagg, supplemented her income by selling hart's horn and calf jellies, Savoy biscuits and macaroons (Benson 1935:242). As members of the working class, such women were exempt from society's higher expectations. In contrast, poor but genteel women who operated needlework (Scott and Lebsack 1988:25) or art schools retained their family status, because they were well versed in the social niceties and good breeding required of elite women. However, housewifery remained the main arena in which women were allowed to make their 'mark'.

It should be noted that, although widows operated taverns or boarding houses for the last few hundred years (Bowen 1993, personal communication), they were not perceived in the same light as Mary Randolph. While both were technically making ends meet, Mary Randolph elevated her format to an elite form. Her meals were classy, tastefully presented, and reflective of her social status and training. Most widows behind tavern operations focused on strictly economical menus which ranged from plainly cooked to nondescript. Status was not exactly on their list of priorities (see Mary Ambler's comments about her experience in this regard on p. 72).

In spite of these limitations, Chesapeake women managed to enter the public sphere without consulting their men. This was especially true in the

seventeenth century with its frontier conditions. From the illiterate to the elite, women took advantage of opportunities that presented themselves, took matters into their own hands, or circumvented restrictive laws (see Hannah Corbin on p. 49). Although their public activities became somewhat more restricted in scope during the eighteenth century, the constraints were not as severe as those of the nineteenth century.

There was "nothing in English law or thought" in the seventeenth century that encouraged women's participation in public or political affairs (Lebsock 1984:22). An 'ancient planter' (who arrived in Virginia before 1619) could patent land in his or her own right. One such settler was Mary Bouldin, who patented one hundred acres at "Strawberry Banke" under her own name in 1624 (Nugent 1979:6). In 1650, Virginia Ferrar, recollecting her namesake, and well aware that an educated or elite woman could influence the destiny of a colony (public sphere), encouraged her friend Lady Berkeley to take advantage of her position:

Nay Madame h[appy] Virginias good Genious Calls upon you and you designed to be a happy promoter of this Heroyicke Interprize....a woman to have a Share of Honor in this Incomparable happiness to the Collony if not as a Leader then as a Cheife promoter of the bussines....me to pray and wish Virginias prosperity;.... (Ferrar 1650:no. 692).

A gentlewoman could think about politics if she came from a wealthy background, but this was a rare occurrence. One exceptional woman, Margaret Brent of Maryland, served as an executrix for Maryland's Governor, prevented a serious mutiny of ill-fed soldiers, and asked for the vote at the Maryland Assembly. On June 21, 1647, she requested two votes, one as an executrix, and one in her own right. Denied the vote, she petitioned against the

"assembly's further actions" before moving to Virginia in 1651 (Carr 1971: 236-237).

Other women became involved in politics during the time of Bacon's Rebellion. In 1676, Anthony Haviland's wife acted as "Bacon's emissary," carrying his "declaration papers" (Spruill 1966:232). Sarah Drummond, a Berkeley foe, informed soldiers that "they need not fear the King, nor any force out of England, nor more than a broken straw for the King was dead..." (Anonymous 1983:356). Subsequently she was described as "a notorious & wicked rebel, in inciting & incouraging the people to the last rebellion..." (Anonymous 1983:356). Sarah Grendon gained a similar reputation for being a "great encourager and assister in the late horrid Rebellion..." She was the only woman refused a pardon in an act of indemnity and free pardon during an assembly in February 1677 (Anonymous 1966 [15]:41).

Even poorer or illiterate women did not hesitate to express their opinions about current political troubles. Not long after Bacon's Rebellion, Mrs. Allman and Mrs. Longest were among many taken to court for destroying tobacco as a protest against the increased tax hike on the depressed tobacco market:

...that some ill disposed women in Gloucester County, doe persist in ye evil and notorious riots, spoiles and great abuses and damages of cutting up Tobacco plants, in direct opposition to Lawes and Statutes in the like case made and provided and in high contempt to ye Governors Proclamation and positive orders for preventing and suppressing all riots and outrages of yt nature, & whereas It is signified that ye wife of Thomas Allman and ye wife of Richard Longest are most notoriously active in ye aforementioned wickedness and yt ye sd Thomas Allman & Richard doe refuse to find good security for ye good behaviour of ye wives of them...(Anonymous 1925: 23-24).

Others resorted to "name calling" as their means of drawing attention to unsatisfactorily solved problems, and to show that they could not be "pushed around" (Lebsock 1966:24). Under certain circumstances, women acted as a unit when the need arose. During Grace Sherwood's famous witchcraft trial at Virginia Beach in 1698, two successive panels of women refused to obey the court's order to "give evidence" and, by doing so, made their own "political statement" (Davis 1957:147; Lebsock 1984:25).

These women participated in the public sphere without consulting their men. They believed in their own personal capabilities to achieve desired results.

Some women acted for personal reasons. Sarah Harrison became famous in Virginia history for her refusal to say 'obey' during her marriage ceremony in 1687 to James Blair (Anonymous 1900:278). Other women made their mark through different activities. Ann Cotton of Queen's Creek became the first female historian in Virginia, writing an account of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676: "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia" (Cotton 1947 [1676]:10).

The perceptions of women about themselves, their families and their role in life were shaped and determined by "their daily experiences and by society's expectations" (Norton 1980:xx). Some were strong-willed, and made themselves heard by assuming "positions of power" and "authority or trust" (Lebsock 1984:26). Their influence not only affected their families but also their local communities and, ultimately, the colony as well (Lebsock 1984:22).

Women who still participated in the public sphere during the eighteenth century were usually elite or well educated. Illiterate women, held back by the demands of everyday tasks, had faded from the scene. Society's

more stringent expectations of true ladies confined the majority of elite women to the domestic arena. Only traditional activities remained acceptable: the church, the nursing of the sick, hostessing, and needlework.

Some women continued to assert themselves. Hannah Lee Corbin, having been informed that her inheritance would be greatly diminished if she remarried, circumvented her deceased husband's wish by cohabiting with another man and producing two children. She also asked for the vote and wondered why widows should pay taxes if they had no representation (Dawe and Treadway 1979:70-77). Lady Jean Skipwith, daughter of Hugh Miller, a "free thinker," and his wife Jane Bolling (a cousin of Jane [Bolling] Randolph), was sent to Edinburgh, Scotland for her education. After her return and subsequent marriage to Peyton Skipwith, she surrounded herself with more than 800 books, compiling one of the largest libraries in colonial Virginia. Not one single book denigrated women by emphasizing society's belief that women were inferior or should be house-bound (Abraham 1983:297-8, 303, 323).

It took extraordinary conditions, however, for women to be able to engage themselves in the public sphere on a large scale. The Revolutionary War not only provided such circumstances, it also led to a fundamental shift in ideas about women (Norton 1984:614). Having previously "experienced" politics only through "their husbands, fathers, sons" (Kerber 1980:35), women quickly became more active. The only requirements were literacy, a willingness to think and act, and the possession of problem-solving skills. According to Abigail Adams, a group of women in Boston, Massachusetts took matters into their own hands when certain supplies ran low during the war:

You must know that there is a great scarcity of sugar and coffee, articles which the female part of the State is very loath to give up, especially whilst they consider the scarcity occasioned by the merchants having secreted a large quantity...It was rumored that an eminent, wealthy, stingy merchant (who is a bachelor) had a hogshead of coffee in his store, which he refused to sell to the committee under six shillings per pound. A number of females, some say a hundred, some say more, assembled with a cart and trucks, marched down to the warehouse, and demanded the keys, which he refused to deliver. Upon which one of them seized him by his neck, and tossed him into the cart. Upon his finding no quarter, he delivered the keys, when they tipped up the cart and discharged him; then opened the warehouse, hoisted out the coffee themselves, put into the trucks, and drove off. It was reported that he had personal chastisement among them; but this, I believe, was not true. A large concourse of men stood amazed, silent spectators of the whole transaction (Adams 1875:286-287).

In keeping with their more traditional upbringing, Southern women chose a different approach. Lucy (Bolling) Randolph not only provided much needed supplies for the Revolutionary War army (Claghorn 1991:420), she also joined four other prominent Virginian women to sign a non-importation agreement against England in 1769:

...widow Ladies who have acceded to the Association: Mrs. Lucy Randolph...Mrs. Anne Randolph... Mrs. Mary Starke...Mrs. Christian Burwell, & Mrs. Rebecca Watson of Richmond City...(Anonymous 1769:2).

In North Carolina, fifty-one educated women signed an edict in 1774 in what subsequently became the famous "Edenton Tea Party":

As we cannot be indifferent on any Occasion that appears nearly to affect the Peace and Happiness of our Country, and as it has been thought necessary, for the publick Good, to enter into several Resolves, ...not only to our near and dear Connections, ...but to ourselves, who are essentially interested in their Welfare, to do every Thing as far as lies in our Power to testify our sincere Adherence to the same...(Anonymous 1774:1)

Women indicated that they would refuse to "receive" young men who were derelict in signing up for their "military duties" (Anonymous 1774: postscript) and did "everything as far as lies in our power" to share the public burdens of a forming nation (Norton 1980:161; Anonymous 1966(8):36). As Rachel Wells put it, " I have Don as much to Carrey on the warr as maney that Sett Now at the healm of government" (Kerber 1980:33). Women possessed a sense of autonomy and were determined to help shape the future of the government. A new (and republican) ideology was born. The Revolutionary War had broken the long held "traditional molds" of politics, religion and family, even if the theme of domesticity was still emphasized. It enabled the war generation of women to determine their public role (Norton 1984:616, 619).

Men's definition of the public and private spheres for women nevertheless remained largely the same. The efforts of the women in the public sphere were ridiculed and men refused to "recognize the ways in which their concept of their role was changing...did not approve ...signs of feminine autonomy" (Norton 1980:161). An indignant Abigail Adams spoke for all women when she wrote that:

Patriotism in the female Sex is the most disinterested of all virtues Excluded from honours and from offices we cannot attach ourselves to the State of Government from having held a place of Eminence. Even in freest countrys our property is subject to the controul and disposal of our partners, to whom the laws have given a sovereign Authority. Deprived of a voice in Legislation, oblige to submit to those Laws which are imposed on us, it is not suficient to make us indifferent to the publick Welfare? Yet all history and every age exhibit Instances of patriotic virtue in the female Sex; which considering our situation equals the most Herrioick (Kerber 1980:35)

'Outspoken' women were seen as exceptions, not the norm. Men had:

...very clear ideas of which tasks were properly "feminine" and which were not; of what behavior was appropriate for females, especially white females; and of what functions "the sex" was expected to perform. Moreover, both men and women continually indicated in subtle ways that they believed women to be inferior to men (Norton 1980:xiii).

If literacy had been more widespread, more women would have participated in political activities, and the impact on Virginia would have been greater.

Education for women was a key issue, and depended on the views or inclinations of the male head of the household. Learning Greek or Latin continued to be unacceptable for women (Hoyt 1953:93-94). In 1785, Judith Randolph expressed the wish that she could receive an education similar to that of her cousin Martha Jefferson:

I wish I was as fortunate as you are, for at present I am deprived of a tutor, consequently, my prospect for a tolerable education, is but a bad one, which in my opinion is one of the greatest disadvantages which the Virginia Girls are attended with: unless some few, who are more lucky than others (Randolph 1785:#2104).

Since women were mainly viewed as their spouses' helpmates and managers of domestic matters, men felt that women needed little education (Smith 1980:62). William Byrd reprimanded his wife Lucy for having the temerity to take a book out of his sacred library (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:167).

The diminution in the participation of women in the public sphere became more pronounced in the nineteenth century. Several factors contributed to this change. Soil exhaustion caused the more ambitious inhabitants to migrate west for newer opportunities, and as a consequence, the state no longer maintained its position of national leadership (Lebsock

1984:59). Slave unrest such as Gabriel's Rebellion and related new laws caused Virginian society, especially the aristocracy, to become more rigid:

...the institutions of slavery made the domestic work of the plantation mistress difficult and forced upon them a way of life and set of duties quite different from those of other ante-bellum housewives, especially their northern counterparts. Ironically, while New England and the Middle Atlantic States moved to a new industrializing age, the South self-consciously looked to the ancient world for role models (Clinton 1982: 19).

Lastly, a greater emphasis on religion kept women in the home place (Norton 1984:616). Women who dared to venture into the public sphere were "damned immediately as an enemy of God, of civilization and of the Republic" (Welter 1973:225). Those who were unhappy with the "sphere to which God had appointed them" often were led to believe that it was due to their serious personal defects, and they should make a greater effort to achieve personal happiness in their domestic field (Scott 1970:11).

Although Yankee women were not as circumscribed as their Southern sisters, their activities, orchestrated by Susan B. Anthony at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1834, drew scorn from their male peers, especially in the South. Due to the waxing sentimentalism of the times, John Hartwell Cocke's statement and George FitzHugh's reply typified the southern males' rather rabid response to such unsolicited and 'public' female activities:

If you have seen a true account of the matter you will see that we gained a perfect triumph, and I believe have given a rebuke to this most impudent clique of unsexed females and rampant abolitionists which must be put down the petticoats-at least as far as their claim to take the platforms of public debate and enter into all the rough and tumble of the war of words (Scott 1970:20).

I most heartily rejoice with you in the defeat of those shameless amazons (Scott 1970:20).

The independent spirit of seventeenth and eighteenth century women was not forgotten however. There were still exceptional women who ventured against the social grain, among them two Randolph women. The first, Ann Randolph (Meade) Page took an exceptional interest in the health and well-being of her family slaves. She wished to set them free, but her husband, Matthew Page, a relatively tolerant man, would not agree. A deeply religious woman, she followed the dictates of her conscience in widowhood, freeing her slaves and arranging for their return to Liberia (Africa) in 1822. Three voyages were required, each paid for at her personal expense (Andrews 1844:57).

The second woman was Mary Randolph, wife of David Meade Randolph (cousin). Mary Randolph received her first taste of involvement in the public sphere when she was active as one of the "Immortal Eleven" who risked a charge of treason for the sake of liberty (Hill 1978: #25269). A Mr. Blennerhasset in 1807 referred to Mrs. Randolph's decided political views as follows: "...[she]...uttered more treason than my wife ever dreamed of...she ridiculed the experiment of a Republic in this country...talked much of Thomas Moore, with whom she was highly pleased..." (Safford 1864:457-458).

Mary and David Randolph became famed for their hospitality at their Richmond home, 'Moldavia': "there were few more festive boards ... Wit, humor and good fellowship prevailed, but excess rarely" (Mordecai 1946:130). However, after David Randolph lost his position as Marshall of Virginia in an 1800 political election fiasco, financial problems arose. Like her predecessors, Mary Randolph understood the importance of upholding her husband's status; the solution was to sell 'Moldavia' and set up a boarding house on Cary Street with genteel accommodations (Anderson 1971:33). Mary continued her

famed cooking and entertaining to help make ends meet (Carson 1985:ix-xx), and enjoyed immediate success. According to Henry Heth, a wealthy resident, her "enviable board" plus her wit and charm attracted customers "who treat her more like a Queen than a keeper of a Boarding House" (Anderson 1971:34). Striving to be the perfect hostess, she paid close attention to every detail. All aspects of cookery were examined. She wrote that a "... puddle of greasy water in the bottom of every vegetable dish is a disgusting sight...it is a certain indication of a bad cook or an inefficient mistress, or both" (Crump 1986:177), and "Be careful not to let a particle of dry flour be seen on the meat - it has a very ill appearance" (Randolph 1824:24). She was carrying out Markham's prescriptions in what was defined as a domestic area, but in reality, was a public one. Her cooking became so famed that the slave Gabriel, leader of Gabriel's Insurrection in 1800, had planned to have her serve as his personal cook if his rebellion was successful (Carson 1985:xxxii; Anderson 1971:30).

Mary Randolph's life included other achievements as well. She invented two household items, the tub and refrigerator. Mary made no move to patent her refrigerator. It was a working model but she realized that to patent it would be to enter the business world. This would have been unacceptable and she was wise enough to know it. Her invention was patented by a Yankee guest (November n.d.:clipping). She authored The Virginia Housewife, which was published in 1824. In doing so, she became even more public in the eyes of the world. Society found her activities appropriate however, because her 'career' was based on cooking, an activity considered to be in the domestic category.

When mighty roast beef was the Englishman's food,
 It ennobled our hearts and enriched our blood,
 Our soldiers were brave and our courtiers were good.
 Oh! the roast beef of old England (Leveridge 1955:298).

And those who came were resolved to be Englishmen,
 Gone to the world's end, but English every one,
 And they ate the white corn kernels, parched in the sun,
 And they knew it not, but they'd not be English again
 (Rozin 1992:3-attributed to Stephen Vincent Benet).

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF FOODS AND STATUS

England

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in England, only privileged families could afford luxurious meals, a fact which remains true today in many societies. Luxury was not confined to rare or expensive food items per se, but could also be found in other items associated with dining: tablecloths, plates, silver, candles and furnishings. Leftovers were passed on to the servants, who let any remaining scraps be finished up by "food-dealers" (Braudel 1967:136-137).

Meat was the "central element of the traditional British diet" and carried a "high cultural value" (Miller 1988:177). A family's standard of living was largely judged "by the amount of meat eaten" (Miller 1988:177; Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:101). A wide variety of meat dishes was the most prominent feature of the dinner table (Mennell 1985:40, 56). Venison, "a prerogative of the crown," was held in special esteem, even in umble pies [sic] (Hess 1981:14; Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:98-99). Umble pies are not to be confused with humble pies. They were made out of deer innards which were mixed with other ingredients. Meat became scarce only after 1550

as a result of continuous warfare in Europe. Furthermore, having fodder to last through the winter for livestock was not yet possible. It was not until the eighteenth century that the practice of keeping animals alive with enough food was fully developed (Wheaton 1983:10). This scarcity of fresh meats led to an upsurge in salting, smoking and pickling of meats which both preserved and tenderized the tough meat fibers. For those unable to afford fresh meat, salted beef became the norm in the winters (Braudel 1967:130, 132; Driver 1984:23; Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:97, 117), and poultry, once considered "a poor man's food", became prohibitively expensive. Those who could afford poultry proved that they had "risen in the world" (Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:108). Samuel Pepys heartily approved of the variety of meats his wife had provided on the dinner table for their guests:

...a very fine dinner: viz. a dish of marrow-bones. A leg of mutton.
A loin of veal. A dish of fowl, three pullets, and two dozen of larks,
all in a dish. A great tart. A neat's tongue. A dish of anchovies.
A dish of prawns; and cheese (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667](1):29).

The emphasis upon the social status of meat lasted through the late nineteenth century, and remains true today. This social value was carried to America by immigrants.

Fish and seafood were not only considered an important supplement on the table (Mennell 1985:40, 45, 56; Wheaton 1983:10-11), they were required by the rulings of the Church of England. There were 166 fast days, including Lent, in the course of the year (Braudel 1967:145). Seafood therefore was prepared and preserved in every manner conceivable. Landon Carter observed that oysters were done in "every shape, raw, stewed, caked in fritters and pickled," and that he had six bushels of pickled oysters and two bushels of oyster dressing (Carter 1965 [1752-1778] (II):1062). Wigs,

fritters, "pease soup" and unleavened Jews bread were other religious accompaniments (Carson 1985:74; Anonymous 1700:5, 43). Commenting that it was recently Shrove Tuesday, Samuel Pepys noted that he had just received a "barrel of pickled oysters" from a sea captain, which was "a very great favour" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (I):113). Another time, Pepys mentioned that he had "all fish-dinner, it being Goodfriday" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (II):73). On other social occasions, certain seafoods, such as sturgeon, had great social cachet. Even today, England's monarch has the right to all sturgeon caught in English rivers (Wheaton 1983:12). A Captain Cocke gave Pepys a barrel of sturgeon, and William Byrd in Virginia received a present of sturgeon from Mr. Randolph (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:73).

Vegetables, in contrast, were accepted only very slowly. For a long time, they were perceived as "unfashionable" by various classes (Sass 1977:13; Mennell 1985:303), and fit only for the poor (Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:125). Even though the "medieval suspicion of raw vegetables and fruit "as toxic agents was disappearing (Brears 1985a:6; Brears 1985b:9; Wilson 1974:348), vegetables were served in limited amounts since they were suspected of causing flatulence and melancholy (Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:125; Driver 1984:10). They were used primarily as garnishes or in soups in seventeenth and eighteenth century recipes (Spencer 1982:87). Though to a lesser degree, this ambivalence also prevailed in America. John Randolph commented that Jerusalem artichokes tended to create "commotions in the belly" (Brown 1968:40). Anonymous (1700)'s listings of party foods reflected the prevailing perception of vegetables functioning as hors d'oeuvres or as side dishes (Kalm 1972: 19; see Appendix

XI). The written records of Jane (Bolling) Randolph (Appendix VII), William Byrd and Landon Carter also revealed a very limited use of vegetables. However, it is known that broccoli, asparagus and similar vegetables were cultivated in the early eighteenth century (Bowen 1993, personal communication). Only a few individuals, including Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, realized the true worth of vegetables:

Nowhere in the world do people have such a variety of good garden things to grow and eat as in these colonies. Still our daily fare can be monotonous. How beneficial it would be if more of our countrymen thought as freely as does Mr. Thomas Jefferson about fruits and vegetables.... (Belote 1974:85)

Vegetables gained widespread acceptance, however, in the nineteenth century, although documentary sources do not explain this new trend. According to Hess, Mary Randolph mentioned the names of at least forty vegetables, native and foreign, the very vegetables familiar to us today in her publication, The Virginia Housewife (Hess 1981:xxxiii). A big jump in interest in vegetables is reflected in a letter written by William McKean in the early nineteenth century (Appendix XII).

A list of other weighty accoutrements gracing the table would include casseroles, pasties, puddings, tarts and sugar-laden deserts known as 'conceits.' No course was complete without some condiments such as pickled walnuts. The medieval practice of mixing meats with fruits and other flavorings persisted, as illustrated by the "vestigial mince pie" (Hess 1981:8). It is interesting that Anonymous (1700), Jane (Bolling) Randolph and Mary Randolph all had recipes for pickled walnuts which still retained a medieval character (see their recipes beside the medieval French recipe [ca. 1390] in Appendix IV). Landon Carter also prized these pickled walnuts: "I had a jugg

of Vinegar yesterday from Dr. Mortimer, so that my Walnuts may be immediately pickled" (Carter 1965 [1752-1778]:608).

"White meats" referred to cheeses and other protein-rich dairy foods which were available to all social classes (Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:99; Mennell 1985:43; Wilson 1974:256). No table was complete without the ever-present boiled puddings with a milk base. Surprisingly, butter in Europe was in the exclusive domain of the truly wealthy, even in Holland. It did not come into common use until the latter part of the eighteenth century (Braudel 1967:144; Wilson 1974:256), perhaps because of the extensive labor involved. Although butter and cream combinations characterized Tudor cooking, they never replaced the preferred beef suet and marrow puddings (Hess 1981:9).

While the use of coarse and refined white breads was confined to specific social classes (Mennell 1985:303), these were readily available during times of plenty. Coarse bread meant rough rye or wheat loaves, which were consumed by both the lower-middle and poorer classes. More refined white breads, such as manchet, were either made by the housewife of the manor or purchased in London shops (Hess 1981:4; Wilson 1974:255-256; Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:106).

Beverages also differed among the social classes. The wealthy could afford imported wines, while beer and ale were acceptable for all as everyday drinks. Water was seldom used due to society's poor standards of sanitation. The pattern of consumption changed somewhat after the Navigation Act of 1651 and the Wine Act of 1688; the wealthy turned to relatively expensive Portuguese and Levant wines, while beer and ale consumption increased among the masses (Driver 1984:21; Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:112-113). The Navigation Act forbade the admission of non-English ships to

England's ports as an attempt to ruin the Dutch trade. The Wine Act imposed heavy taxes (Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:113). Although the preparation of home-brewed beverages was still prevalent, the practice was beginning to disappear with the advent of other commercially available drinks (Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:114). Later in the seventeenth century, the wine restrictions were eased to meet the public demand for Canary, Sack, Madeira and Rhenish wines. Sack from the Canary Islands was so highly favored that it has been immortalized in Shakespeare's "Sir John Sack and Sugar" in Henry IV (Markham 1986:xxxix). It was also during this time that tea, coffee and chocolate first arrived on the British scene. The first coffee shop was opened by a Turkish merchant in London in 1652, and Queen's Head Alley provided an "excellent West Indian drink called Chocolate" (Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:116). However, it was the imported Chinese teas that conquered England, and became a national beverage. Until the mid-eighteenth century when prices fell because of a flooded market, only the wealthy could afford the three new drinks (Driver 1984:19-21; Drummond and Wilbraham 1969:116, 203).

Fruit, though not extensively used on the table until the mid-eighteenth century, was consumed not only by itself, but also in cordials and ratafias. Many an English orchard boasted not only of apple, apricot, pear, and medlar trees, but also pomegranates, figs, and quinces. Gooseberries, strawberries and other berries were cultivated along with cherries and plums (Platt 1948 [1609]: xlix-1).

Sugar and perfumes (musk and ambergris) also appeared in almost every dish imaginable in the latter part of the seventeenth century: salads, omelettes, fritters, meats, puddings, tarts and 'conceited dishes.' Even

scrambled eggs held "scented waters" in one recipe (Braudel 1967:156). Pepys mentioned "perfumed comfits" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (III):114).

Since perfumes were tokens of luxury, only well-to-do families could purchase them. As a result of changing tastes, their use as flavorings diminished by the mid-eighteenth century and they were replaced by rosewater (Wilson 1974:297, 356). The practice of utilizing perfumes was not long cultivated in Virginia and soon vanished from the scene. Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph utilized musk or ambergris as flavoring agents, but only sparingly (Anonymous 1700:15, 43a; Randolph 1743:86).

Sugar cane, after its discovery by Christopher Columbus in 1493, flourished as a valuable cash crop in the lower central Caribbean (Carnahan 1992:3). By 1643 large amounts of refined sugar were being produced in Barbados, and the colonies along the North American seaboard were among the major purchasers. Prices varied, depending on the type and grade of sugar purchased; processed or white double-refined sugars were the most expensive. In "Time, Sugar and Sweetness," Sidney W. Mintz discussed the expense of sugar and strong demand for it among the wealthy. Since sugar is a created need, he carefully analyzed the pertinent factors which contributed to Europe's great consumption of sugar. The critical factors turned out to be "political and economic forces behind the availability of sugar" as well as "slavery, indentured labour and the production of primary commodities in the Third World." There was a direct relationship between human behavior and economy with "the growth of industrialization and slavery." This led to change in dietary habits, where sugar served as a quick and cheap energy substitute for factory workers (Mintz 1979:55-72; Goody 1982:37).

When Princess Catharine of Braganza arrived in England for her marriage to King Charles II, part of her dowry was "in Sugars and other Comoditys" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (III):91). In the colonies, a "keg of brown sugar was worth a set of chairs, and four loaves of white sugar had the same value as a walnut chest" (Elverson and McLanahan 1975:28). Many a housewife carefully hoarded a conical sugar loaf for special occasions. During January 1772, Sally Cary Fairfax noted in her diary that "I craked a loaf of sugar..." (Fairfax, 1772:214).

Other less expensive sugars were muscovado sugar, molasses, blackstrap and treacle, each representing a step down in extent of refinement (Booth 1971:53-54). By 1676, the price of sugar had fallen considerably, enabling the middle class to have this sweetening agent (Markham 1986: xxxv). Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph used copious amounts and various types of sugar in their recipes, especially for preserving fruits and making jellies. The amount of sugar had to at least equal the weight of the fruit (Wilson 1974:302). Hostesses placed an endless array of sweet desserts, preserves, marmalades, jellies, candied fruits, and sugar-cured hams on their tables. Sugar reflected their social status and determination to serve only the best to their guests; its use was in accordance with Markham's prescription.

Also characteristic of English cookery before Jamestown was the extensive use of spices, a holdover from medieval times. Heavily utilized at first as a food preservative or to hide the flavor of tainted meat, they were subsequently widely used in dishes regardless of need (Wilson 1974:296). One of the ubiquitous spices was nutmeg, which no housewife was without. In contrast, other spices were very expensive. Saffron was an exotic

spice used only among the moneyed classes (Hess 1981:10), and Jane (Bolling) Randolph had a recipe containing saffron (Randolph 1743:45, 59). Once sugar became accessible to the general population and was found to be another natural preservative, the use of spices and flavorings was reduced. As a result "food became simplified" (Stead 1985:19; Wilson 1974:296, 300).

In the years following the reign of Cromwell, the rising literate middle class in England preferred simple fares, hearty and substantial (Pullar 1970: 253). Soups, broths, stews, pasties, and pies were popular along with the usual proliferation of meat dishes. Anything 'foreign' was suspect and disapproved of, as indicated by a comment made by John Evelyn concerning a dinner given by the Portuguese Embassy: "...besides a good olio the dishes were trifling, hash'd and condited after their way, not at all fit for an English stomach which is for solid meats" (Pullar 1970:129-130).

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, the great political and cultural influence of the French court spread over Europe (Mennell 1985:89), and French cuisine and table customs became an "international culinary language" (Aresty 1980: xi-xii). Contests were held among the French nobility to create elegant dishes or to locate "a find". At one point, peas caused great excitement as a "sweetmeat"; they were first eaten as bon-bons (Aresty 1980: 16, 30). Even King Louis XIII participated in picking peas (Aresty 1980:16), and French women made themselves ill on this vegetable: "...after having supped with the king, and supped well, find peas at home to eat before going to bed, at the risk of indigestion. It is a fashion, a furor" (Wheaton 1983:137). It was a time of "excessive protocol and etiquette" and "exquisite manners" (Aresty 1980:23).

A famous French cook, La Varenne, initiated the adoption of French fare in England by the publication of his book, The French Cook, in 1653. Sauces became based on meat juices or eggs, not on flour. The famous roux, however, was composed of flour, butter, onion, bouillon and vinegar. Other flavoring agents contained pureed ingredients such as mushrooms, truffles, anchovies, vinegar and bread crumbs (Aresty 1980:11-12). The popularity of French cuisine reached its peak when Prince Charles II returned from his exile in Paris (Driver 1984:12). English brawn and simple roast beef had to share the spotlight with Mutton á la Daube and Cutlets á la Maintenon (named after Madame de Maintenon), and ragouts, fricassees, haricots, and sauces were incorporated into the menu. Throughout Europe the elite embraced French foods and methods as a status symbol, and the English were no exception. Samuel Pepys, ever conscious of the latest fads, commented in his diary that he had sampled "a fine French dinner" (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (IV):341), which he approved of and obviously adopted:

...the table covered, and clean glasses, and all in the French manner, and a mess of potage first and then a couple of pigeons a l'esteuve, and then a piece of boeuf-a-la-mode, all exceedingly well seasoned and to our great liking;...(Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (VIII) 211).

A good dinner we had of boeuf a la mode, but not dressed so well as my wife used to do it (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (IV):400-1).
 ...Thence to dinner, where my wife got me a pleasant French Fricasse of veale for dinner (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (V):115).

This trend extended well into the years leading up to the Napoleonic Wars and found its way to America, as the recipes in Anonymous (1700)'s cookbook show. It should be noted, however, that many an Englishman took offense. Some refused to have anything to do with things French while others took an opportunity to poke fun at this craze :

I hate everything that Old England brings forth, except it be the temper of an English Husband, and the liberty of an English wife; I love the French Bread, French Wines, French Sauces, and a French cook; in short, I have all about me French or Foreign, from my Waiting Woman to my Parrot (Anonymous 1756:6).

...the French by their Insinuations, not without enough of Ignorance, have bewicht some of the Gallants of our Nation with Epigram Dishes, smoak'd rather than drest, so strangely to captivate the Gusto,...called a la mode...(May 1660: n.p.)

It give not Derections so much for Foreign Dishes, but those we have at home; and indeed we have no need of them, nor their Methods of Cookery (Carter 1732: vi).

...if a lump of soot falls in the soup, to stir it well in to give the soup a high *French* taste...(Stead 1985:18 - attributed to Jonathan Swift)

Even Prince Charles II preferred simple roast beef over fancy French foods. This disgusted a French noblewoman, who as a consequence refused to consider him as a possible suitor: "...he ate no ortolans and threw himself upon a piece of beef and shoulder of mutton as if there were absolutely nothing else to eat " (Aresty 1980:14).

It was this culinary heritage that the settlers brought with them to the colony of Virginia in the seventeenth century.

Virginia

Foodstuffs such as oats and wheat, and the culinary heritage which has been described, were not the only things that the earliest settlers carried with them when they came to Jamestown. They also brought along perceptions concerning the gathering of food resources that were based on the circumstances they had known on an island of well-tended gardens and tamed livestock. The conditions in Virginia, however, turned out to be enormously different: excessive heat and humidity, disease-bearing swamps, unfamiliar vegetation and wild species, and guerilla warfare with Native American tribes.

Unfamiliar with hunting and fishing techniques suitable for the wild, the majority of the settlers died during the "Starving Time" (Rountree 1990:34-35; Kulikoff 1986: 28; Scott and Lebsack 1988:4, 15-16).

Friendly Indians became role models, teachers and saviors to the struggling survivors (Kulikoff 1986:29; Scott and Lebsack 1988:3). Ralph Hamor described a breakfast course provided by his host, Chief Powhatan, in May, 1615 :

...was provided for our breakfast a great bole of Indian pease and beans boyled together, and as much bread as might have sufficed dosen hungry men, about an houer after boyled fresh fish, and not long after that roasted Oysters, Creuises, and Crabbes...(Hamor 1957 [1615]:43).

The natives taught the colonists skills in hunting, food preparation and preservation required for survival in the new land. Important new foods were introduced to the settlers, including the famous threesome mentioned by Captain John Smith: corn, squash and beans (Kavasch 1977:16). All three were quickly adopted by the settlers, but especially corn and hominy (Scott and Lebsack 1988:3). Although corn and hominy were not considered status foods, they became a vital part of the American diet. William Byrd commented on the importance of corn, and other observers expressed similar views:

This is the most useful grain in the whole world and which multiplies most...(Byrd 1940 [1737]: 20).

Most of the inhabitants of America live solely on tis corn because it is very healthful and nourishing. For this reason they use it for baking and cooking, indeed for all things (Byrd 1940 [1737]::20)

Had it not been for the fruitfulness of this species it would have proved very difficult to have settled some of the Plantations in America (Lawson 1937[1714]:76).

...So do they bake daily, bread or cakes, eating too much hot and new bread which cannot be wholsom, though it be pleasanter than has been baked a day or two...(Jones 1956 [1724]:86).

...poor...pone for bread...from oppone Indian word....don't sow wheat

& don't want to make fences for wheat field...Gentlemen had wheat bread but some did prefer pone too (Beverley 1947 [1705]:292).

Indian corn...is of great increase and most general use, for with this is made good bread, cakes, mush, and hommony for the Negroes, which with good pork and potatoes (red and white, very nice and different from ours) with other roots and pulse, are their general food (Jones 1956 [1724]:78).

The settlers also adopted other native American foods and methods that have become classics in American cuisine: barbecues and clambakes, clam and corn chowders, 'Brunswick' stews, steamed seafoods (Kavasch 1977:xvii) and pemmican (today's beef jerky) (Kidwell 1991a:12). Variations of the famed 'Brunswick' stews were favorites of the colonists, who used this term for the "game soup" created by women of the Powhatan, Cherokee and Chickahominy tribes (Kavasch 1977:89).

Like their Native American neighbors, the colonists conserved dried berries for winter use and for use as flavorings (Kavasch 1977:13). Fresh wood ashes served as a salt substitute, and as an agent for conversion of corn into hominy (Kidwell 1991b:16). They also served as a cover when baking corn cakes on the hearth. The combination of corn and ashes came into common use:

They take the corn and parch it in hot ashes, til it becomes brown, then clean it, pound it in a mortar and sift it, this powder is mixed with sugar. About 1 quarter of a pint, diluted in a pint of water, is a hearty traveling dinner (Bartram 1966[1751]:71).

The Native Americans made a number of other contributions to the colonists' diet as well. For example, the Choctaw tribe taught them how to grind sassafras leaves into file' powder to enhance and thicken stews. This became the base of Creole cooking for gumbos (Kavasch 1977:28).

Altogether, the Native Americans left a "permanent mark on American cooking habits" (Booth 1971:5).

Most of the meat in the settlers' diet was provided by swine, sheep, cattle and other livestock. Wild game, such as deer, squirrel, rabbit, polecat, beaver and anything else were other edibles (Bowen 1993:14; Miller 1988:182-183; Booth, 1971:69). Meats, such as beef, continued to be a status food, and a plentiful supply was highly valued. In 1656, John Hammond wrote: "Cattle and Hogs are everywhere, which yeeld beef, veal, milk, butter, cheese and other made dishes, porke, bacon and pigs, and that are as sweet and savoury meat as the world affords..." (Hammond 1947 [1656]:2). Pigs adapted especially well in the wild, and offered a unique flavor for which future Virginia hams would be justly famous (Crump 1986:117). Shoats were so highly prized that the early Virginia court records are full of cases citing 'hog stealing' crimes. William Byrd of Westover, on the other hand, was less enthusiastic about swine consumption. He offered the following commentary about the inhabitants in North Carolina:

The truth of it is , these people live so much upon the swine's flesh that it don't only incline them to the yaws and consequently to the downfall of their noses, but makes them likewise extremely hoggish in temper, and many of them seem to grunt rather than speak in their ordinary conversation (quoted in Booth 1971: 69).

In keeping with their English culinary heritage, the settlers continued to assign meat a central role in their diets.

Before 1700, sheep were used primarily as a source of wool and were not very plentiful:

The Country is exceedingly replenished with Neat cattle, Hoggs, Goats and Tame-fowle, but not many sheep; so that

mutton is somewhat scarce, but that defect is supplied with store of venison other flesh and fowle;...(Hammond 1947 [1656]:13).

Later, mutton and lamb began appearing more often on dinner tables as herds became larger. However, mutton and lamb never gained the popularity they enjoyed in England, and American recipes seldom mentioned these meats. Meats either were consumed immediately or had to be salted to prevent spoilage. A contemporary account concerning a local custom supports this view:

In summer, when fresh meat will not keep (seeing every man kils of his own, and quantities are inconvenient, they lend from one to another, such portions of flesh as they can spare, which is repaied again when the borrower kills his (Hammond 1947 [1656]:19).

Apparently this custom persisted through the eighteenth century. An officer in Rochambeau's army during the American Revolution noted that the Virginians consumed copious quantities of salted meat because "the summer heat here restricts them to this diet, for fresh-killed meat must be consumed within twenty-four hours or else it will spoil" (Rice and Brown 1972:66).

Hogs, source of a major staple, were not slaughtered during the summers, and were seldom eaten fresh. Instead, the inhabitants had:

... a special way of curing them that consists of salting and smoking them almost as we do in France; however, ours cannot touch theirs for flavor and quality. Little structur[sic] called smokehouses are used for this purpose...(Rice and Brown 1972:68).

According to Carson, the technique of using hickory ash instead of saltpeter in the first rubbing of meats derived from the Native Americans, who used hickory ash as a salt substitute. Mary Randolph used hickory ashes on her ham to prevent spoilage (Moss and Hoffman 1985:19). Other settlers fell back on the old European use of saltpeter and sugar (Carson 1985:114).

Writers stated that Virginians also ate a great deal of venison, which was available in abundance in the Colony's early years. Durand made the following observation in 1686-7: "As for wild animals, there are such great number of red and fallow deer that you cannot enter a house without being served venison. It is very good in pies, boiled or baked" (Durand 1934 [1686-7]:123). Another diarist wrote: "Deare all over Country, and in many places so many, that venison is accounted a tiresom meat..." (Hammond 1947 [1656]:13). Although the numbers were to decline by the turn of the eighteenth century, deer were not yet difficult to find. It is interesting to see that Jane (Bolling) Randolph possessed an umble pie recipe like her British predecessors; it was not viewed as a vernacular dish (Randolph 1743:85).

Not to be overlooked as sources of meat were wild fowl and domesticated poultry, such as chickens, ducks and geese. John Hammond noted that "wilde Turkeys are frequent, and so large that I have seen some weigh neer threescore pounds; other beasts that are whose flesh is whole and savourie, such are unknowne to us" (Hammond 1947 [1656]:13). Hugh Jones also penned in 1724 a vivid description of Virginian meat consumption (again equating plenty with status or social admiration):

They have the same tame fowl as in England,..exceed in wild geese and ducks, cohonicks, blew-wings, teal, swans, and mallard. ...Their beef and veal is small, sweet, and fat enough; their pork is famous, whole Virginia shoots being frequently barbecued in England; their bacons excellent, the ham being scarce to be distinguished from those of Westphalia, but their mutton and lamb, some folks don't like, though others extol it...Their venison in the lower parts of the country is not so plentiful as it has been, though there is enough...in the frontier countres they abound with venison, wild turkies, etc. (Jones 1956 [1724]: 79).

Durand took pains to note that "Pigeons are raised by people of quality, the common people scorning such small animals..." (Durand 1934 [1686-

7]:122). A Mr. Lawson commented in 1709 that pigeons were so numerous that they sometimes broke the sturdy oak branches of trees (Moss and Hoffman 1985:42). Anonymous (1700), Jane (Bolling) Randolph and Mary Randolph all possessed pigeon recipes (Appendix XIII).

William Byrd made note of "Turkey cocks & turkey hennes, stock doves, partridges & cranes, Herns [sic], swan, Geese..." along with "deer, otter, squirrel and bears." These and other meats were so plentiful that one could "get them for almost nothing." Furthermore, the beef, veal, mutton and pork were "as good as Europe" (Byrd 1940 [1737]:19-20, 88, 89).

Although it is said that "hog and hominy" fare along with johnny cake and pone became a colonial mainstay among all social classes (Dodderidge 1912:88), care must be taken concerning inherent bias in the written record since people usually presented 'ideal images' on paper. In spite of problems dealing with measurements and sampling bias, the archaeological record is more reliable than documentary sources. Miller and Bowen's studies prove that by 1640 beef was dominant over pork and other meats (Miller 1988: 176, 186, 188-191, 195; Bowen 1993:5-10, 13-14, 16-18, 20).

This emphasis on meat extended well into the late nineteenth century. It is no accident that the most important or expensive meat dishes (beef, seafood and poultry) are missing from Jane (Bolling) Randolph's cookbook. In contrast, during her temporary stay at a Baltimore lodging in 1770, Mary (Cary) Ambler noted in her diary that they ate almost exclusively veal, mutton and chicken prepared in different ways. Beef was mentioned only three times and pheasant once. The rest of the meal was accompanied by vegetables of the season, fruit, and often as not, pancakes (Ambler 1937 [1770]:155-162).

The settlers supplemented their meat dishes with seafood from nearby waterways. Fish and shellfish were relatively cheap and plentiful, as the following commentaries from 1656 to 1730 show:

...the rivers afford innumerable sortes of choyce fish, (if they will take the paines to make wyers or hier the Natives, who for a small matter will undertake it)...Huge Oysters and store in all parts where the salt-water comes..." (Hammond 1947[1656]:13).

...As for Fish, both of Fresh and Salt-Water, of Shell-Fish, and others, no Country can boast of more Variety, greater Plenty or of better in their several Kinds among them surgeon [sic], trout, conger-eels and lampreys, crabs..." (Beverley 1947 [1705]:147).

...sturgeon, herring, mullets, sea-crabs, mussels, scallops, tortoises and oysters" (Byrd 1940[1737]: 20-21).

Landon Carter mentioned in his diary that he and his family were "blessed" by the local river with "fish crabs every day all the Summer," "the finest Prawn I ever saw," and "very good oysters for Sauces of all kinds" (Carter 1965 [1752-1778]:861). One visitor was especially impressed, when, during his boat ride to Jamestown, "an eight-foot sturgeon leaped into his sloop" (Booth 1971: 108). As in England, sturgeon was one of the most highly prized seafoods in terms of status. However, sturgeon was much more commonplace in the colonial diet since most settlers lived near the waterways and the Chesapeake Bay (Miller 1988:182, 184; Bowen 1993, personal communication). Jane (Bolling) Randolph's manuscript contained three sturgeon recipes (Randolph 1743:80, 87, 92). See Appendix XIII.

Abundant amounts of meat and seafood were not the only culinary symbols of status. Other edibles were also taken into account, provided they were either plentiful in number or could be combined with expensive sugar as preserves. The connection between plentifulness and status differed from the emphasis in England on the rarity of an item. In Virginia, the loaded dinner table became a symbol of a family's wealth and status.

Fruit of high quality was available in great variety, as noted by John Hammond in 1656:

...with the help of Orchards and Gardens,...certainly cannot but be sufficient for a good diet and wholesom accomodation [sic], considering how plentifully they are, and how easier with industry to be had...(Hammond 1947 [1656]: 2).

The County is full of gallant Orchards, and the fruit generally more luscious and delightfull then here, witnesse the Peach and Quince...the best relished apple we have doth the crabb...Grapes in infinite manners grow wilde..abundance of excellent fruits, Plums and Berries, not growing or known in England...(Hammond 1947 [1656]:13).

William Byrd made mention of "...different types of pears and cherries, grapes, strawberries and mulberries" (Byrd 1940 [1737]:33). Not to be overlooked were "persimmons, cranberries, huckleberries, raspberries and chinkquapins", along with native melons like "watermelons, muskmelons and macocks" (Beverley 1947 [1705]:129-134). Robert Beverley observed: "I don't know any *English* Plant, Grain or Fruit, that miscarries in *Virginia*... apples, nectarines, apricots, peaches, European grapevines, almonds, pomegranates, figs, wheat, barley...(Beverley 1947 [1705]:293, 314).

In addition to the crucial life-saving corn, the settlers made the most of the following vegetables not only to complement their dishes but also as much-needed cash crops exported back to Britain (Crump 1986:33): assorted squash and beans, pumpkins, gourds, and dwarf beans (Indian beans), cymplings, potatoes, peas, French beans, red cabbage, carrots, turnips and spinach (Byrd 1940 [1737]:14, 22; Beverley 1947 [1705]:141-145). William Byrd has preserved for posterity other native Indian vegetables which were used at the time: shumake, chapacow, puccoons, musquaspen, tockawaigh, and burmillions: "all these are Indian vegetables or pot herbs...therefore ...not at all or imperfectly known...others too long to mention...." (Byrd 1940 [1737]:

22-23). The shipping of these vegetables yielded profits which were used by the planters to achieve and compete with their neighbors through the purchase of precious commodities or other high status items. Landon Carter wrote that "pease ...are of some use in buying necessary Molasses, Sugar and Chocolate" (Carter 1965 [1752-1778]:626).

Cultural customs and unsanitary water sources caused beverages to be home-brewed or imported (Booth 1971:204-205; Spencer 1982:87-88). There appears to have been only one licensed brewer in seventeenth-century Virginia. On 25 November, 1652, the Assembly ordered that Mr. George Fletcher "shall have liberty to distill and brew in wooden vessels which none have experience in but himself for fourteen years" (Hening 1848:374). A Capt. John Moon of the Isle of Wight Co. referred in his 1655 will to a brewhouse at Jamestown which was to be sold to pay debts (Hening 1848:374). In 1688, William Byrd placed an order for malts: "I fear I shall want also some of it w'ch you or I forgott" (Baron 1962:32). Landon Carter, on the other hand, had his malt recipe in Virginia, containing molasses, donated to him years before by a brewer in Weymouth, England (Carter 1965 [1752-1778]:1118). During a beer brewing session, Thomas Jefferson requested Richard Randolph to "send me two gross of your beer jugs; the one gross be quart jugs, and the other pottle (half-gallon) do." (Baron 1962:143).

Drinks of the day included simple fruit juices such as cider, beer, homemade and imported wines, elegant shrubs, and metheglin (Crump 1986:77; Spruill 1966: 67; Baron 1962:31). It is interesting to note that Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph did not include a recipe for cider, while Mary Randolph mentioned cider only once, as an ingredient for a mince meat pie (Randolph 1824:142). Perhaps cider was viewed as a common

beverage, since a traveler saw cider presses "at every farm," and noted that "the common people...mix ground ginger with it..." (Moss and Hoffman 1985:77).

Beverley commented that the poorer classes drank beer made from molasses and bran, or malted Indian corn, persimmon (cakes) or potatoes, while the better sort drank imported beer from England or wines such as Madeira or Champagne from Europe, or rum from the Caribbean (Beverley, 1947:293). Byrd described the persimmon beverage as "pleasant" and "healthful." 'Small beer' was similar to metheglin, but with a base of molasses instead of honey (Moss and Hoffman 1985:77). Jane (Bolling) Randolph included a recipe for persimmon and small beers in her cookbook:

(J. Randolph)

Small Beer

Have your Water ready boil'd agst your
Ale is run off then putt it on your Grains
By Degrees till it os of the same hight as
it was before, Let it stand 2 hours then
draw it off slow then boil it with the hops
that came out off the Ale Boil it an hour
or more then work it as before if you
think these hops won't doe put in more
(Randolph 1743:75)

(J. Randolph)

Persimmon Beer

Take a tub with a fals bottom, and fill it up,
with pircimmons, and warm water, mas'd
together Just thin enough to drop like m
Molasses, it will be two or three days a
dropping, then put some of it into water, mix?
: with hops according to the strength you
woud have it, and boile it well, then
verfeit? it with Yest (Randolph 1743:87).

Home-brewed wines were made from cherries, blackberries, elderberries, mulberries and currants.

Even these wines were unavailable to the poorer classes who could not afford the requisite and moderate amounts of sugar. It was not until the latter part of the seventeenth century that homemade and imported wines became more accessible to them (Booth 1971:208). Until then, these beverages served as a status symbol for the well-to-do.

Not until the mid-eighteenth century did coffee, tea and chocolate become the popular beverages of the day (Kalm 1982 [1748]:189). These drinks were expensive and became status symbols similar to the imported wines of the previous century. Hugh Jones commented that they "likewise used a great deal of chocolate, tea and coffee...commodities brought from the West Indies, and the Continent, which cannot be brought to England without spoiling..." (Jones 1956 [1724]:86). Tea sets were visible extensions of this social-class consciousness (Crump 1986:77).

The early inhabitants of Virginia, while often poor, had new opportunities, a patch of land and independence. They were relatively self-sufficient and had a sense of accomplishment, as can be seen from the following comments (1635 and 1656, respectively):

This Country aboundeth with very great plentie insomuch as in ordinary planters houses of the better sort we found tables furnished with Porke, kidd, chickens, turkeys, young geese, Caponetts and such other foules as the season of the year affords, besides plentie of milk, cheese, butter and corne, with a latter almost every planter in the country hath (Yong 1910 [1635]:60).

Pleasant in observing their stocks and flocks of Cattle, Hoggs, and Poultry, grazing, whisking and skipping in their sights, pleasant in having all things of their own, growing and breeding without drawing the peny to send for this and that, without which, in England they cannot be supplied (Hammond 1947[1656] 18).

A greater diversity in foods began to appear after 1650. The beginnings of a landed gentry emerged as a consequence of the tobacco trade. Resources became available for the purchase of expensive ingredients such as sugar and exotic spices such as sassafras. Trade also brought other food items from other countries such as peppers from the Caribbean. All of these could be utilized by the mistress to bring elegant dishes and beverages to the table. Hostesses

in a position to do so began to present increasingly sophisticated menus to demonstrate, uphold, and enhance their family's standing.

Good husband and huswife, now chiefly be glad,
 things handsome to have, as they ought to be had:
 They both provide, against Christmas do come
 to wellcome good neighbor good cheer to have some
 Good bread and good drink, a good fire in the hall,
 brawn, pudding, and souse, and good mustard withal:
 Beef, Mutton, and Pork, shread-pies of the best, of meat
 pig, veal, goose, and capon, and turkey well drest,
 Cheese, apple, and nuts, jolly carols to hear,
 as then in the countrey is counted good cheer.
 What cost to good husband is any of this?
 good household provision onely it is,
 of other the like, I leave out a many,
 that costeth the husbandman never a peny (Tusser 1663:55).

CHAPTER VII.

MEAT CUISINE AND CHANGES IN VIRGINIA COOKERY THROUGH TIME

One of the problematic aspects concerning the historiography of cookbooks concerns the dating of recipes. Some food historians argue that recipes should be dated to the time they are first found in print, while others stipulate that recipes were long memorized and used before being published (Bowen 1993, personal communication). The latter view is further supported by Edith Hörandner, Jane Carson and Mary Tolford Wilson. Concerning recipes, Hörandner spoke of "orally transmitted basic knowledge" (Hörandner 1981 [1977]:124) while Jane Carson referred to the fact that travelers often wrote about what they consumed but not in detail (Carson 1985:ix). Two other examples showing that cookbooks are not the best source of validation are johnny cakes and corn pone. Historical documents prove that these were part of the settlers' menu since very early times in Virginia history. Similarly, some of the 1796 terms used by Amelia Simmons, such as "Emptins" and "Squash", did not appear in dictionaries until 1823 and 1839 (Wilson 1957:20, 25-26).

Another problematic aspect involves specific categories of foods. Vegetables, for example, prove to be an unreliable source for study due to the prevailing argument regarding their common or infrequent use (Bowen 1993, personal communication). It is for this reason that meats have been chosen as the focus of this study. Not only are they picked for their obvious status symbolism, but also because they are consistently eaten throughout the three centuries, regardless of class.

It may be found helpful to define the terms 'traditional', 'transitional', and 'modern', which are used to describe the three cookbook authors. Anonymous (1700) was traditional. 'Traditional' refers to an old world outlook, largely influenced by Markham's prescriptions. Meat is not only emphasized but mixed with traditional fruits, heavy spices, sugars, and French sauces such as 'ragoos' (ragouts). Marrow, suet, white wine and vinegar are other traditional ingredients that had not yet faded out of public use. Recipes are usually elite and time-honored: no additional or new ingredients, improvements, or innovations are included. 'Transitional' refers to a phase marked by the adoption of new ingredients or innovations, such as Native American persimmons or potato custard, in addition to old or elite recipes. Jane (Bolling) Randolph's recipes were 'transitional', with her continuation of the old bran-sour drink mixture and use of blood or cochineal. 'Modern' refers to much more streamlined use of spices, use of vegetables such as parsley and asparagus with meat instead of fruits, and further exploration with new innovative recipes such as escalloped tomatoes and lemon ice. Recipes were less 'elitist'. Measurements are more precise. Mary Randolph reflected this progressive outlook and self-respect which was further extended to other activities such as her inventions, the bathtub and refrigerator.

The Virginia hostess' dinner table, like that of her English predecessors, provided a status-laden "riot of meat" (Braudel 1967:127), accompanied by fish. It could range from a very large side of basted beef for a barbecue to thirty dishes of meat served on the table for twenty guests (Butler 1932 [1784]:266-267; Carson 1990:108). The greater the number of meat creations in a menu, the better (Sass 1977:18). The items might include roast beef and mutton, veal cutlets, bacon, chicken fricassee, roast turkey, sugar-cured ham, "bisk" (bisque) of pigeons, boiled fowl, pickled pork, potted tongue, smoked joints, savory balls, and "ragoos" (ragouts) with sweetbreads. Not to be excluded were meat pasties and pies. Gervase Markham would have approved.

Anonymous (1700), Jane (Bolling) Randolph and Mary Randolph sought to present only the best dishes for their families and friends, and the majority of their meat recipes reflected high cuisine and their position in society. Anonymous (1700) gave meat dishes very heavy emphasis, and the index of such dishes in her manuscript is long compared to that found in Jane (Bolling) Randolph's manuscript. Her special interest in elaborate meat dishes is evident from the fact that she copied many recipes from Kidder's book. She also included a recipe for a new-fangled dish called "Bisk of Pigeons", even though it was frowned upon by her English peers because of its French origins (Rabisha 1661:45). Other copied recipes included ones for Scotch Collops, Mutton á la Daube, Mutton á la Royale, Cutlets Alamaintenoy, Pigeons in Surtout, Pigeon Pairs and Pullets á la Cream.

Jane (Bolling) Randolph presented more elegant meat dishes for the table, including potted meat dishes to tide her family over the winter. Some of

Mary Randolph's recipes resembled Jane (Bolling) Randolph's recipes, and a few resembled some recipes belonging to Anonymous (1700). In spite of the different titles, the following two roughly identical recipes serve as an example:

(Anonymous 1700)

Cutlets Alamaintenoy

Season your cutlets of mutton wth savory spice & shred sweet herbs yn dip 2 scotcht Collops in ye batter of eggs & Clap on each side of each Cutlet & yn a rasher of bacon on each side broyle ym or bring ym off in ye oven wn they are drest take of ye bacon & send up yor Collops and Cutlets wrapt in Clean white paper as letters or you may leave ym out _s(end) ym up in a ragooe & garsh ym wth sliced orange or Lemon (Anonymous 1700:61).

Note: J. Randolph's recipe for "Cutlets Veal" is missing from her cookbook.

(M. Randolph)

Scotch Collops of Veal

They may be made of the nice part of the rack, or cut from the fillet, rub a little salt and pepper on them and fry them a light brown, have a rich gravy seasoned with wine and any kind of catsup you chuse, with a few cloves of garlic and some pounded mace, thicken it, put the collops in and stew them a short time, take them out strain the gravy over and garnish with bunches of parsley fried crisp, and thin slices of middling of bacon curled around a skewer and boiled (Randolph 1824:47-48).

Both of these recipes are similar in that both use slices of mutton or veal served with bacon slices and a sauce. However, the method of presentation and flavorings are different. Anonymous (1700)'s recipe calls for broiling egg-coated mutton with herbs such as "savory spice" and then served in a sauce called ragout. Bits of fruit completed the dish. These three items are classic characteristics of fashionable and French-influenced seventeenth century cooking. In this sense Anonymous (1700) was purely traditional. In contrast, Mary Randolph chose to fry and then stew her cutlets until tender and flavor them with a tart sauce containing vinegar, wine and garlic. Only one spice, mace, was used. Greens (parsley) replaced the fruit. Her taste was modern. Both cooks, however, shared an interest in serving this dish in the most visually attractive manner possible.

Mary Randolph did not restrict herself to high-status meats to the extent

that Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph did. She also published recipes for vernacular meat dishes enjoyed by all classes. They could be simply prepared with easily affordable local ingredients that any middle-class housewife could buy, and still be 'presentable':

A Nice Little Dish of Beef

Mince cold roast beef, fat and lean, very fine, add chopped onion, pepper, salt, and a little good gravy, fill scollop shells two parts full, and fill them up with potatoes mashed smooth with cream, put a bit of butter on the top, and set them in an oven to brown (Randolph 1824:43).

To Stuff a Ham

Take a well smoked ham, wash it very clean, make incisions all over the top two inches deep, stuff them quite full with parsley chopped small and some pepper, boil the ham sufficiently; do not take off the skin. It must be eaten cold (Randolph 1824:66).

To Roast Large Fowls

Take the fowls when they are ready dressed, put them down to a good fire, dredge and baste them well with lard; they will be near an hour in roasting; make a gravy of the necks and gizzards, strain it, put in a spoonful of brown flour; when you dish them, pour on the gravy, and serve them up with egg sauce in a boat (Randolph 1824:85).

Mary Randolph was not an isolated hostess who consorted only with guests of high standing. While she entertained genteel families who patronized her famous dinners, she also served travelers and others who stayed at her boarding house. In her transformed domestic to public sphere, she reached a wider range of American citizenry than her predecessors, and the recipes in her cookbook reflect this fact.

A striking feature of all three documents is that venison is barely acknowledged. As discussed in the previous chapter, venison was so plentiful in Virginia that it did not possess as much cachet as in England. A traditional English venison pasty appeared in the ca. 1700 manuscript, while a single recipe using venison, now unfortunately missing, was included in Jane (Bolling) Randolph's collection. For unknown reasons, Mary Randolph did not

include venison in her repertoire of vernacular foods. Perhaps venison was no longer as plentiful as it had been. Turkey also was seldom used. Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph each listed only one turkey dish. The former dressed up her turkey in a turkey pie, but the nature of Jane (Bolling) Randolph's turkey recipe is unknown since it is among the recipes lost from her manuscript (Anonymous 1700:53; Randolph 1743:10). Mary Randolph provided three elegant recipes for turkey, and included a sauce and jelly as suitable accompaniments (Randolph 1824:81-2, 82-3, 189). None of the turkeys in these recipes was plainly prepared. Perhaps turkey also was 'too common' unless prepared in a fashionable mode.

The meat recipes compiled by Anonymous (1700) are of interest in that they are older in content, and utilized parts of meat that were little used by the latter part of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. While many of her recipes are not for the squeamish, others were prepared in the French mode. Beef was the prime choice, followed by calf, veal, mutton, lamb, ham and fowl. This supports the archaeological evidence presented by Bowen and Miller. This pattern of preference continued to the nineteenth century.

The following recipe for beef sausages without skins, found in the ca. 1700 manuscript, has not yet been located in any of the published cookbooks. In the published recipes, beef is presented "with skins", or pork instead of beef for the filling. This implies that this was an original family recipe. Such beef sausages became popular on English breakfast tables shortly after the 1630s (Wilson 1974:313), and Anonymous (1700) was interested in them for her own table. The 'skinless' aspect may or may not be significant. Since sausage meats often were potted before they were rolled and fried, they saved time and were especially favored by farmers and country laborers. The gentry

preferred meat in the form of rolled balls or forcemeats for garnish (Wilson 1974:313-314). Therefore the skinless sausages may be a vernacular dish brought over to Virginia.

(Anonymous 1700)
 To make beef Sausages without Skins
 Unto Eight pound of Lean beef put 6 lbs beef Suett Shread ye beef &
 Mixt it together: Season it with peper & Salt wth: a Lettle Rosemary
 — them in a Morter till they be like paste then rowl them up L—
 Sausages as you use them but do not fry them too much
 (Anonymous 1700: 2)

Beef sausages are not found among Jane (Bolling) Randolph's and Mary Randolph's recipes. Like her British predecessors, Mary Randolph used pork with skins (Randolph 1824:66-67), which may have been a short term preservation method (Bowen 1993, personal communication). Her choice may also be due to personal preferences.

Other traditional (and stylish) meat delicacies from the ca. 1700 manuscript include vernacular brawn (Brears 1985a:6) and chaldron, dishes which date no later than the mid-seventeenth century. Brawn, according to Sass, was the flesh (muscle) of a boar, either collared and boiled or set aside for pickling and potting (Sass 1977:198; Gove 1968:269). However, it could and probably did include other fleshy and edible meats as well, as suggested by Karen Hess, who states that brawn was "the fleshy part, the muscle, of the leg" (Hess 1981:72). The Oxford English Dictionary added that brawn was especially good for roasting (Anonymous 1933:1064). These dishes were seldom mentioned by the 1690s and seem to have all but vanished by the mid-eighteenth century. One eighteenth century cookbook, referring to December, noted that "...this Month, Brawn is in season, and must always be serv'd either in the Collar or Slices, before the Dinner comes on the Table to be eat with

Mustard" (Harrison 1733:47). During the mid-seventeenth century, Samuel Pepys mentioned in his diary that he had "collar of brawn" for breakfast (Pullar 1970:136). Brawn, according to Mr. Roger Goodburn of Oxford, England, was still being consumed in Lincolnshire among the older citizenry in rural areas of England (Goodburn 1993, personal communication).

(Anonymous 1700)

To Make Brawn of a hogs head
 (Ta)ke the head & pull out all the Bones & Lay it in watter for a day or tw(o)
 (shi)fting ye watter till ye Blood is Clean out then take the thin End of Wa__?
 c?k to ye thick end of ye other & "Rowl it up as hard as you can then
 [boi] l it till it is tender then take it up & Sett it on end then? weigh __
 __till it is quit(e) Cold then __ it in(to?)____ (Anonymous 1700:2).

Chaldron (also spelled as chauldron, chaldren, and chawdron) is defined in the 1933 edition of The Oxford English Dictionary as the entrails of a beast (1933:305). It was used in dishes as early as 1604, if not earlier, and became popular by 1655 (Goodburn 1993, personal communication).

(Anonymous 1700)

To make a Fricassy of a Calfs Chaldron C__
 Calfs Chaldron, after it is little more than half
 and when it is cold, Cut it into little bits as big
 (as?) (wal) nuts, season ye whole with beaten Cloves, Salt,
 (Nutm)eg, Mace, a little pepper, an Onion, Parsley, & a
 Tarragon all Shred very Small, then put it into
 (war?)m?ing pan with a Ladle full of Strong broth, & a little
 __r made with ye mutton gravy, ye juce of a Lemon __
 (Ora)nge, ye yolks of three or four Eggs & a little grated
 (Nut)meg, put all to your Chaldron in ye pan, toss your
 p?aes?y two or three times, then Dish it, & so Serve it up.
 (Anonymous 1700:2).

This dish was still being served on English tables in Yorkshire about sixty years ago, according to Mrs. Ernest Goodburn of Winterton, England, who provided a modern version of the recipe (Goodburn 1993, personal communication):

Fricassy of a Calf's Chaldron

Stew until half cooked, strain. When it is cold, cut into pieces as big as a walnut. Season with beaten cloves, salt, nutmeg, mace, a little pepper, an onion, parsley and tarragon. Put into a warm pan with a ladle full of strong broth with a little Lemon & orange juice, the broth made from mutton gravy. Cook until tender. Add 3 or 4 yolks of eggs, stirred in, and add chopped parsley & nutmeg and serve.

By the time of Jane (Bolling) Randolph and Mary Randolph, brawn and chaldron had disappeared from the American table. Although Jane (Bolling) Randolph did create a "Black Pudding" (i.e., umble pie) along lines similar to the Calf's Chaldron recipe, her recipe was derived from William Salmon's 1696 cookbook.

(Anonymous 1700)

A Lumber Pye

Slice it in long pieces, and roll it in Seasoning of pepper Salt Nutmeg, & Sweet-herbs finely shred make holes through ye fillet & stick in these Seasond pieces of fat Udder as thick as you Can till ye whole is Stuffd in, then lay butter in ye pan, & put in the meat, Set it on a gentle fire turning and shaking it as you have occasion then scum off the fat, and put in one onion stuck with Cloves a lemon pared, and cut in half, & Squeezed in Continue to shake it, if your fire be as slow as as it ought to be, twill take five hours to make it ready, one hour before it is so, put in a large pint of Strong broth, when ye meat is just enough Set on a pint of Oysters, & a pint of mushrooms, with a little of ye broth, & two Spoon-fulls of Capers let ye meat be again Clean Scum'd from the fat, before you use ye liquor, thicken with flower & pour it into ye dish to ye meat
(Anonymous 1700:4)

(J.Randolph)

Black Pudding [sic]

To make these the best & fare exceeding way Boil the Umbles of a hog tender, take some of the Lights with the heart & al the flesh above them taking out the Sinews & mincing the rest very small doe the like by the Liver-add grated Li [sic] Nutmeg 4 or 5 Yolks of Eggs a pint of sweet Cream 1/4 of a pint of Canary, Sugar Cloves, Mace & Cinnamon finely beaten powder'd a few Carraway seeds & a little Rose Water a pretty Quantity of Hogs fat & some Salt Roul it up abt. two hours Before you put it into the Guts & then Put it into them after you have rinsed them in Rose Water.
(Randolph 1743:85).

*lights=lungs

It was not only the 'less attractive' dishes which declined in use in the colonies in the eighteenth century. Traditional high-cuisine dishes such as "Lumber Pye," "Stove of Veal," and "Made Dish" failed to retain their popularity as well. "Lumber" meant veal, "stove" meant a smothered dish, while a "Made Dish" was the cook's "specialty" (Moss and Hoffman 1985:30). Lumber pie consisted of veal mixed with fruits, spinach and a caudle (a mixed warm drink) (Mansur 1960:93). Utilizing both fillet of veal and udders, "Stove

of Veal" required many hours of preparation. A "Made Dish...was reserved for special occasions or for guests or for the table of persons of rank. Made dishes are typified by well seasoned sauces and interesting garnishes" (Moss and Hoffman 1985:30). The "To Make a Maids Dish" in the ca. 1700 manuscript may refer to this custom:

(Anonymous 1700)
To Make a Maids Dish
Take ye Curd of 1 qtt of milk t?ared with 6 Eggs & 1/4 lb of Allmonds past: Brak it into ye Curd & put in 1/4 ptt of Cream & 5 or 6 Eggs & 2 Nutmegs: & as much fine Sugar as will Sweeten it & 2 Greans of musk & Ambergrease dissoled into 6 Spoonfulls of Rose=watter & beak it in a Dish, you may make Cheascaks with the same ingredients only ad 1/4 lb of Currance & 2 or 3 oz. of Butter (Anonymous 1700:15).

These recipes were characterized by thrift and economy -- important objectives for a housekeeper (as dictated by Markham).

Anonymous (1700), Jane (Bolling) Randolph and Mary Randolph all had recipes for Beef á la Mode:

(Anonymous 1700)
Beef Alamode
Take a good Buttock of Beef interlarded with great lard rould in savory spice minced sage parsly & green onions put it in a great? sauce Saucepan & cover it close with course paste wn this halfe don turn it let it stand over ye fire or a stov? 12 hours or in an oven this is fitt to eat cold or if to be eaten hott you may slice it out thin wn this cold & toss it up in a fine ragoo.
(Anonymous 1700:62)

(M. Randolph)
Beef A-La-Mode
Take the bone from a round of beef, fill the space with a forcemeat made of the crumbs of a stale loaf, four ounces of marrow, two heads of garlic chopped with thyme and parsley, some nutmeg, cloves, pepper, and salt, mix it to a paste with the yolks of four eggs beaten, stuff the lean part of the round with it, and make balls of the remainder; sew a fillet of strong linen wide enough to keep it round and compact, put it in a vessel just sufficiently large to hold it, add a pint of red wine, cover it with sheets of tin or

(J. Randolph)
To make Alamode Beef
Take a Bullocks heart cut of ye Strings Skinns & Deaf ears & fat then Stick it with a Scewer in many Places, then take an Ounce of Salt petre with a little Salt & rub it well in, then Cast on two handful of Salt then lett it Stand 4 Days, then Bake it in a Slow oven, then take it out of the Liquor, then put it up with ye Same weight of butter & Sewett as the meat is with a Nutmeg & Little Cloves & mace & half an ounce of Pepper; then put it into a pot & put it into ye Oven for half an hour.
(Randolph 1743:23).

iron, set it in a brick oven properly heated, and bake it three hours; when done, skim the fat from the gravy, thicken it with brown flour, add some mushroom and walnut catsup,, and serve it up garnished with forcemeat balls fried. It is still better when eaten cold with sallad (Randolph 1824:38-39).

Although sharing the same name, these dishes differed not only in method of preparation but also in terms of ingredients. The ca. 1700 recipe featured beef cooked in a pan with savory spices (an old term for pepper, salt, cloves, mace and nutmeg) and sealed with pastry; in short, a larger and heavier version of the beloved dishes of England. Again Anonymous (1700) was traditional and conservative in her mental outlook. In contrast, Jane's recipe specifies that the meat be pickled with salts and then baked slowly in an oven with traditional spices. Jane's recipe was transitional, partly traditional and partly new, and more closely resembled Anonymous (1700)'s recipe for Portugal Beef than for Beef á la Mode; the Portugal Beef recipe does not include a pastry and the meat is browned in a pan.

(Anonymous 1700)

Portugall Beef

Brown ye thin of a rump of beef in a pan of brown butter & force
ye lean of it wth suet bacon boyld Chessnuts anchovys savory spice
& an onion stew it in a pan of strong broth till tis very tender yn
make for it a ragooe wth gravy pickled gerkins boyld Cheesnuts thicken
it wth brown butter & garnish it wth slicd Lemon (Anonymous 1700:62).

Mary Randolph's Beef Ala Mode [sic] is striking in that it preserves several seventeenth century elements which were declining in use: marrow, forcemeat balls, and walnut and mushroom catsups. The marrow served the function of the lard, butter and suet of the other two recipes, and also served as a moistening and flavoring agent. Wine helped flavor and tenderize her meat, and is much more reminiscent of our wine-flavored roasts today. Her baking technique was similar to that of Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling)

Randolph when it came to slow cooking. Mary Randolph used a metal lid instead of the pastry lid used by Anonymous (1700), while Jane (Bolling) Randolph used a pot in the final baking phase. In this particular example Mary Randolph was more traditional than usual but the use of the wine and precise directions pointed towards a more modern approach. Their three techniques had common roots, but differed in accordance with the authors' preferences and the changing times.

Hogs were plentiful in colonial Virginia, and both Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph offered recipes for "Collar Pig." It is not clear why Mary Randolph did not include a recipe for collaring pigs in her cookbook. It is possible that she may have felt it was either too time-consuming and messy or too old-fashioned.

cloves & mace well beaten
season it? with well to your
very tite with Course Tape
in Spring water till it is ten
Pickle, take Spring water &

(Anonymous 1700)

To Coller A Pigg

First take vor: Pigg Besh? hime? Cutt down ve back & Bellv but take no
(o)ff thome Cloves Mace Nutmegs Salt and peper Beat these small & Strow
his h on the sides of ye Pigg A good Large One will take a Qr of a Ounce
or Ve of white Peper one peeny worth of Cloves & Mace one Nutmegg & a
in 2 handfulls of salt & when he hath Lane So Longe take it out & tak(e)
Some Cloves Mace Nutmegs Salt and peper Beat these small & Strow y/m?
on the sides of ye Pigg A good Large One will take a Qr of a Ounce
of white Peper one peeny worth of Cloves & Mace one Nutmegg & a
Little Salt y/n take few Sweet hearbs Shread:t About half a Spoonfull
When they be Shread Very well then Strow them in ye inside of __
Pigg & So Roll it Up Close to ye head Roll ye insides of ye
Flitches Inward: Butt if you take of the head then Role the
One Flank Upon the Other Except ye Pigg be very Learge so th(at)
it will make a Collor then Lap a Strong Cloath abt: it & bind it
Tape as hard as ye Can then boyle ye Same Pickle it Lay a Season
in & put in half an Ounce of white peper & So Let Boyle un(til)
it is very tender wch will be in 2 hours or their about when it is boy__
__ as before the Coller is cold, & bind it againe a Strait__ (Anonymous
1700:1).

(J. Randolph)

Pigg Collar'd

Take a fat Pigg Cut of his Head chine*
it down the Back, Bone it and Gris=
=tle it, Lay it in Spring Water for
one Night the next Morning
Dry it in a Cloth cut each side asunder
season it with Sack, Bruised Pepper Nutmeg
Sliced a Little beaten Mace & some Small

(J. Randolph)

To Coller a Pigg

Take a Pig & chine it Down the middle &
Bone it then take pepper & Salt nuttmeg &
cloves & mace well beaten together &
season it? with well to your Pallett then roll it
very tite with Course Tape then boyle it well
in Spring water till it is tender, then make your
Pickle, take Spring water & Salt & Vinegar

Quantity of shred Sage Lemon peel & sweet herbs Rowl them up hard in a Cloth & boil it in Sower Drink wth. mint Water & Bran strain out the Brain Skim of all the Fat & when Cold put the Collars in again. (Randolph 1743:85).

some bay Leaves & boil them well together & Lett it stand till it's Cold then put in your Pigg & Lett it Stand 7 or 8 days or till it is fitt for use (Randolph 1743:34).

*chine=backbone of an animal

One is struck not only by the age-old methods of preparation in the ca. 1700 recipe ("chine down the back" and pickling in brine); but also the more old-fashioned language as well as the seventeenth century ingredients in comparison to that used in Jane (Bolling) Randolph's writing. Anonymous (1700)'s personal conservatism remains consistent.

Jane (Bolling) Randolph offered two recipes for pork. The first is quite traditional, right down to the pickling and collaring. Her sack-coated pork was boiled in mint water and bran after soaking overnight in plain water (bran was used traditionally in the boiling of meats in England). Besides the familiar mace, pepper and nutmeg, she used sage, lemon peel and sweet herbs instead of cloves. Even sack was used to enhance flavor. Sack was her substitute for Anonymous (1700)'s more astringent vinegar solution. However, she stipulated that the pork "stand 7 or 8 days..." (Randolph 1743:54). In her second recipe, which also involved an initial pickling process, she reduced the range of spices employed. She used a boiled vinegar solution to pickle her simply-boiled pork, and experimented with bay leaves.

Both cooks specified that, once cooked, pork was to be tightly rebound -- presumably using fresh woven material. The recipes reflect Anonymous (1700)'s traditional perceptions about her domestic role through cooking, and show that Jane (Bolling) Randolph was interested in combining customary methods with new approaches. One recipe was traditional, the other more

innovative. Apparently Jane (Bolling) Randolph was examining newer possibilities of preserving pork as well as continuing time-honored methods. These subtle changes indicate that she was mentally exploring all possibilities of preservation and willing to make her own contributions.

The following recipes involving hams offer further illustration of the similarities and differences between Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph.

(Anonymous 1700)
 To Salt Hams & Tongues
 Take 3 or 4 gallons of water & put to it 4 pd of white salt 4 pd of bay salt a pd of peter salt a quarter of a pd of salt peter & 2 ounces of prunela salt & a pd of brown sugar let it boyle a quarter of an hour wñ tis cold sever it from ye bottom into ye vessel you keep it in

Let ham ley in this pickle 4 or 5 weeks
 A Clood of dutch beef as long
 Tongues a fortnight
 Collard beef 8 or 10 days
 Dry ym in a ston or wood Chimney
 (Anonymous 1700:66-copied from Kidder.)

(J.R.)
 A Receipt to make hams
 take to 3 Hames 3 Ounces of Salt Petre and a good handfull of Salt mix'd with your Salt Petre, beat it fine and rubb your Ham all over and let them lye 24 Hours then make a Pickle with 1/2 a peck of bay Salt and 2 pound of Sixpenny Sugar, make your Pickle of Spring Water, and let it be Strong Enough to bear an Egg, then put you Hams in and let them Lye a fortnight or Three Weeks___ them every day, you must have Pickle Enough to Cover them, then hand them up in A Chimney a Good Height, and let them hang about a Fortnight Whett they keep of Wood flyes, you may do Tongues in the Same Pickle if you cant get bay salt, the great White Salt will do (Randolph 1743:42).

(J.R.)
 To Salt Hams
 Take 2 quarts of English Salt & 2 quarts of Bay salt & six pennyworth of Salt Petre put these together in a brass Skillet & sett Them over the fire & keep it stirring till it be very hott then take it off & put a Quarter of a pound of Sugar to ye salt & rubb it into your Hams very hard & sett them in a cold Place for a fortnight turning them once a week then take them from the Brine & rub them with a Little Blood Then put some brine upon them & hang them up to Dry (Randolph 1743:54).

In these recipes, both Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph are traditional in their methods and use of salts and sugars. Sugar had long been associated with hams, as in the much admired Westphalian hams in Germany. Sugar was eventually "purged" from meat recipes, including hams (Hess 1981:26). Not only was salt peter an essential ingredient to prevent spoilage,

other types of salts also had important functions. The coarse grained bay salt penetrated the tissues inwardly, in contrast with the more refined table salts which moved outward from the surface of the meat. Salt peter was not the only ingredient which colored the meat red. So did cochineal (Wilson 1974:314).

It may be noted that in one of her ham recipes, Jane (Bolling) Randolph began to pull away from the more traditional methods of preservation. Instead of boiling her hams in a saline solution, she used the curing method with sugar and salt. She even went so far as to use blood for coloring, something not found in any of the ham recipes I have examined to date. In another example of her willingness to innovate, she used cochineal in the preparation of pickled pork, which I have not seen done in other recipes, published or otherwise: "To Pickle Pork-Boyle a half peck of bay Salt in 3 Gallons of pump water for an hour, half a pound of salt petre with a Dram of Cochineal & lett it Stand till it be cold & then putt in your Pork" (Randolph 1743:32). Cochineal, derived mainly from an insect in Mexico (Hess 1984:267), was one of the most expensive coloring agents that could be purchased during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was later replaced by less expensive saunders which is red sandlewood (Wilson 1974:295; Hawkins 1991:1283). Mary Randolph mentioned this ingredient only once, in connection with blancmange rather than meat (Randolph 1824:185).

Mary Randolph realized her true worth as Richmond's leading hostess, and her confident attitude is evident in her recipes. Her emphasis on precise measurements and instructions which are "direct, down-to-earth and authoritative" (Moore 1989:24) reflect her more modern perspective concerning her role in the domestic field. She had a unique personality and a bent for innovation. She eliminated pickling and the use of sugar in the

curing of her hams, and made use of hickory ashes to prevent meat spoilage. The latter procedure contrasts greatly with Jane (Bolling) Randolph's use of blood to coat the meat. Although the Native Americans had taught the early settlers in seventeenth-century Virginia to use ashes as a salt substitute, the ashes also served as a preservative (Carson 1985:114).

(M. Randolph)

Hogs are in the highest perfection, from two and a half to four years old, and make the best bacon, when they do not weigh more than one hundred and fifty or sixty at farthest: They should be fed with corn, six weeks, at least, before they are killed, and the shorter distance they are driven to market, the better will their flesh be. To secure them against the possibility of spoiling, salt them before they get cold: take out the chine or back-bone from the neck to the tail, cut the hams, shoulders and middlings; take the ribs from the shoulders, and the leaf fat from the hams: have such tubs as are directed for beef, rub a large table - spoonful of salt petre on the inside of each ham, for some minutes, then rub both sides well with salt, sprinkle the bottom of the tub with salt, lay the hams with the skin downward, and put a good deal of salt between each layer; salt the shoulders and middlings in the same manner, but less salt-petre is necessary: cut the jowl or chop from the head, and rub it with salt and salt-petre. You should cut off the feet just above the knee-joint; take of the ears and noses, and lay them in a large tub of cold water for souse. When the jowls have been in salt two weeks, hang them up to smoke - do so with the shoulders and middlings at the end of three weeks, and the hams at the end of four. If they remain longer in salt they will be hard. Remember to hang the hams and shoulders with the hocks down to preserve the juices. Make a good smoke every morning, and be careful not to have a blaze; the smoke - house should stand alone, for any additional heat will spoil the meat. During the hot weather, beginning the first of April, it should be occasionally taken down, examined, rubbed with hickory ashes, and hung up again...(Randolph 1824:17-19)

For unknown reasons, chickens were not high on the list for the three cooks. Chickens were not prepared intact. They generally were either boiled or torn into pieces for dishes such as pies and fricassees. Jane (Bolling) Randolph used them only for fricassees, while Anonymous (1700) used them in pies and fricassees, and combined shredded chicken with squabs and pigeon in her fancy "Battalia Pye" (Anonymous 1700:53). In the fricassee recipes of the ca. 1700 manuscript, chicken pieces largely were fried in butter

and slathered with butter or claret. Anchovies and broth were used as substitutes for expensive salt (Sass 1977:4), and no eggs are mentioned. Anonymous (1700)'s approach smacks of the seventeenth century. Jane (Bolling) Randolph's fricassee, based mostly on 1659 and 1724 recipes, has a more modern flavor. She used spices, eggs and a cream base, lemon juice, fresh thyme and parsley. She skipped heavy spices such as anchovies and sweet herbs. Although the use of eggs point to an older technique, the use of lemon juice instead of the usual claret or verjuice (from sour grapes or crabapples) is more modern (Hawkins and Allen 1991:1606). The chicken was stewed rather than fried. Wine and cream are traditional elements but the salty ingredients have been replaced by more subtle flavorings which reflected a shift way from richly spiced dishes (Pullar 1970:253; Wilson 1974:296-297). Her recipe is a mixture of older and newer elements -- again transitional in nature.

(Anonymous 1700)

A Brown Frigassie of Chickens
& Rabbits

Cut ym in pieces & fry ym in brown butter yn having ready hott a pt of gravy a little Clarret white wine & strong broth anchovy 2 shiverd pallats a faggot of sweet harbs savory balls & spice thicken it wth brown butter & sqese on a lemon

A White Frigasee of ye Same

Cut ym in pieces wash ym from ye blood & fry ym on a soft fier & put ym in a tossing pan wth a little strong broth season ym and toss ym up when allmost anought put to them a pt of Cream thicken it with a bitt of butter rould up in flower (Anonymous 1700:61).

(J.R.andolph)

A Friggasie of Chickens

A Friggasie of Chick___

Take 2 or 3 Chickens picked dry them; cut 'em into Joints, put them into a stew pan with as much Water as will cover them, Stew them half an hour put in mace, pepper, and Salt Thyme & Parsley shred fine, Let 'em stew 1/2 an hour longer then put in 5 ps? 1/2 a pint of white Wine a little Lemon Juice half a pound of Butter so let it stew a little?ore Beat 3 Eggs with a little Vinegar wth. 1/4 of a Pa ___ Poun of Pint of thick Cream so stir them well with the Meat. (Randolph 1743:68).

(M. Randolph,)

Fricassee of Small Chickens

Take off the legs and wings of four chickens, separate the breasts from the backs, cut off the necks and divide the backs across, clean the gizzards nicely, put them with the livers and other parts of the chicken after being washed clean, into a sauce pan, add pepper, salt, and a little mace, cover them with water, and stew them 'till tender, then take them out, thicken half a pint of the water with two table spoonsful of flour rubbed into four ounces of butter, ad half a pint of new milk, boil all together a few minutes, then add a gill of white wine, stirring it in carefully

that it may not curdle, put the chicken in and continue to shake the pan until they are sufficiently hot and serve them up. (Randolph 1824:253).

Mary Randolph used a fricassee recipe similar to that given by Jane (Bolling) Randolph, but went on to list roasted, boiled, and fried chicken – preparations familiar to all of us today (Randolph 1824:85-6, 188). She offered a recipe for chicken *à la daube* as well (Randolph 1824: 253). All of her recipes were designed for women who wanted affordable but presentable meats on the dining table --both the middle-class housewife and society ladies. She apparently set her sights not only on high society patrons but also on the masses.

As previously mentioned, pigeon was considered a delicacy by the upper classes. Anonymous (1700) offered four recipes for pigeon dressed in the French fashion (Anonymous 1700:4, 58, 59b, 61, 66), and Jane (Bolling) Randolph presented a recipe for pigeon pie recipe (Randolph 1743:31).

(Anonymous 1700)

To Stew Pidgeons

Take six Pigeons with their GIBLETS Cut the Pigeons in quart ers)put ym in ye Stew-pan wth two blades of mace, a little pepper & salt, & just water enough to stew ym without burning, when they are tender f?atch the liquor wth ye yolk of two egg, three spoon-fulls of thick Sweet Cream, a bit of butter & a little shred thyme & parsly, shake ym all together and garnish it with lemon (Anonymous 1700:4)

(Anonymous 1700)

Pidgeon Pairs

Bone your pidgeons all but one leg & put that thro ye side out at ye vent Cut of ye toes & fill ym wth forcd meat made of ye hart & liver & Cover ym wth a tender forcd meat being washd over wth ye batter of eggs & shape ym like pares yn wash ym over & roul ym in scalded Chopt spinnage Cover ym wth thin slices of bacon & put ym in bladers boyle ym an hour & half yn take ym out of ye bladers lay ym before ye fier 1/2 an hour yn make for them a ragooe & garnish ym wth slicd lemon (Anonymous 1700:59b).

(Anonymous 1700)

Pidgeons in Surtout

Cleanse yor pidgeons yn make forcing for ym tye a large scotch collop on ye breast of each spitt & cover ym with paper & rost ym yn make for ym a fine ragooe & garnish ym with slicd Lemon (Anonymous 1700:61).

(Anonymous 1700)

A Pidgeon Pye

Truss and season your pidgeons with savory spice lard ym with bacon & stuff ym with forced meat lay on lamstons & Sweet breads butter & Close ye pye put in a Lear

A Chicken or a Capon pye is made ye same way (Anonymous 1700:52).

(J. Randolph)

To make a Pidgeon pye in puff paste

Take the pidgeons & quarter them & Lay them in a deep Dish with good paste under them lay them in Rows and as easy as may be round the Dish, Season them with Pepper, & Salt cloves & mace & quantity of Capers according to the number of pidgeons, take a good many of the the tops of winter Savoury, ye yolks of Two or three hard Eggs, & a good quantity of butter, put in the Pickle of Capers a Spoonfull in the Pye or Else a Spoonfull or two of wine then cover it with very fine paste in round things about the brim of the Dish & lett it stand in an Oven a little above an hour (Randolph 1743:31).

(M. Randolph)

To Boil Pigeons

Scald the pigeons, draw them, take the craw out, wash them in several waters, cut off the pinions, turn the legs under the wings, dredge them, and put them in soft cold water, boil them slowly a quarter of an hour, dish them up, pour over them good melted butter, lay round a little brocoli in bunches, and send butter and parsley in a boat (Randolph 1824: 87).

(M. Randolph)

To Roast Pigeons

When you have dressed your pigeons as before, roll a good lump of butter in chopped parsley, with pepper and salt, put it in your pigeons, spit, dust and baste them, if the fire be good, they will roast in twenty minutes; when they are enough, lay round them bunches of asparagus, with parsley and butter for sauce (Randolph 1743:88).

These recipes were high cuisine because of their elaborate nature, expensive ingredients and showy presentation. These recipes contrast greatly with Mary Randolph's simpler recipes for boiled and roasted pigeon (Randolph 1824:87-88). However, all three women shared the view that pigeons were suitable for entertaining.

Anonymous (1700), Mary Randolph and Elizabeth (Tucker) Coalter share the distinction of offering a recipe for the preparation of rennet, a procedure that was time-consuming, tedious and specialized (high cuisine)

(Booth 1971:186). According to Booth, a fresh calf's stomach was not easy to come by in the New World, but it was essential for rennin, an enzyme utilized in the conversion of milk into cheese and the creation of an extremely rich dessert called junket (Booth 1971:186). The latter was considered the absolute height of elegant dining. It should be noted here that Jane (Bolling) Randolph's cookbook did not list a recipe for rennet in her index.

(Anonymous 1700)

To order a Runnit Bagg for a Junket
Take a Calves bag clean it well with warm water & dry it well with a Cloath Then take a good handfull of Cloves half a handfull of Salt lay these thick on the bagg inside and out? be? ever let the inside of the bagg be turned out to dry the butter, put it to dry in an Oven or the Sun & when dry'd hang it up in a paper bagg for use and it will keep good 12 Month as often as it gives dry it again
(Anonymous 1700:12).

(M. Randolph)

To Prepare the Stomach of the Calf for Rennet
As soon as it is taken out cut it open length-way, empty it of its contents and wash it in several changes of warm water, rub it with salt and let it remain two or three days, then wash it, stretch it on slender sticks and dry it in the shade; when as dry as parchment, which it will resemble, put it paper bags and keep it in a dry place, it will remain good two years (Randolph 1824:55).

(Coalter)

Runnet bag to prepare for use-
Let the Veal suck a short time before it is killed - open the runnet bag and take out, on a clean dish the Curd you find therein - Pick it clean of motes and hairs - wash it quickly in strong salt and water press it dry, and sprinkle it well with salt wash the runnet bag in several waters and steep it in strong salt and water an hour or two - pick it quite white and rub the inside well with salt - put in the Curd and tie it close - have a Small stone pot lay salt at the bottom and put in ye runnet bag surrounding it closely with salt - The night before you wish to use it take out the rennet bag wash it clean of Of the salt (but do not untie it) in cold water - put it in a pint of cold to steep all night and in the morning put back the rennet bag into the Pot of salt as before - Bottle the water it was steeped in - it will keep in a cool place some days. If you wish to make Curd put a spoonful of this water to each quart of milk in the morning, while warm from the Cow - It will turn in a short time - (Coalter 1808:15-16).

Changes in meat cuisine through time reflected changes in attitudes towards food and family status. These changes were also reflected in dining etiquette, the subject of the next chapter.

After a good dinner, one can forgive anybody-
even one's own relations [Oscar Wilde].
(Hill and Starr 1989: n.p.)

I derived pleasure from my
indulgence [Dolley Madison].
(Ervin 1964:322).

A host is like a general: mishaps
often reveal his genius [Horace].
(Hill and Starr 1989:n.p.)

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DINNER TABLE

Since as early as medieval times, there has been a strong relationship between a family's social status and the food presented at its dinner table. Among the numerous symbols of status, including clothing, furnishings, house size and number of servants, none has been more central than the selection, preparation and presentation of food. This was very much the case among the colonists and their English peers, who gave food as a status symbol particular emphasis. In fact, as representatives "of a culture that says display is good, and more is better" (Belden 1975:1157), they "flaunted their wealth" at the dinner table (Crump 1986:35). In addition to the aforementioned meats, Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph made sure that lobster patties, pickled oysters/eels/lampreys, manchets, oyster rolls, sallets, pea soup, florendines, regalia of cucumbers, flummeries, and pickled barberries were placed on the groaning board. Jane (Bolling) Randolph liked to offer her potato custard (Appendix VII). Jumbals (Appendix VII), various creams and fools, puddings, assorted cakes and sugared fruits, and 'conceits' like candied angelica marked the grand finale.

By their ability to have such fare on their dinner tables, men demonstrated their "political power and economic supremacy" (Goody

1982:139), i.e., their achievement in the public sphere. William Byrd and others of his time entertained thoughts similar to those expressed by their contemporary, Samuel Pepys:

I did make them all gaze to see the results served so nobly in plate; and a neat dinner ended, though but of seven dishes. Mighty merry I was and made them all -and they mightily pleased. ...they full of admiration at my plate, particularly my flagons (which ended are noble)...with great mirth and satisfaction to them as I thought, and to myself to see all I have it do so much out -do, for neatness and plenty, anything done by any of them. They gone and I to bed much pleased (Pepys 1970 [1660-1667] (VIII):4).

Planters vied with one another under the guise of 'Southern hospitality.' In addition to hosting elaborate dinners, they often exchanged food during these visits with each other as a token of respect. "I gave him some sweetmeats for his lady" wrote William Byrd in 1709 (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:59). People expected to receive, and generally were accorded, treatment appropriate to their status, though there were times when 'ideal' reality collided with 'actual' reality (as shown by the last entry):

...after I had been courteously entertained with wine and cake I returned home...(Byrd 1941[1709-1712] :87).

We returned to Mrs. Randolph...I ate roast mutton for dinner and in the evening took leave of Mrs. Randolph and went to Will Randolph's where I drank more persico (Byrd, 1941:403). ...Mrs. Randolph received us very kindly and entertained us with the best she had. ...At night I ate some cold roast mutton for supper and drank beer, which I have not done since I came to Virginia (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:9).

Mr. Randolph sent us a sturgeon and Mr. Mumford sent us some peaches (Byrd, 1941:73). Colonel Hill sent his man with a basket of apricots, of which my wife ate twelve immediately and I ate eight...(Byrd 1941 [109-1712]:17).

[At brother-in-law John Custis:]: Everyday at dinner we had a bottle of good wine first and then a bottle of bad (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:110).

Although the abundance of local food determined many aspects of Virginian cuisine, hostesses closely followed 'prescriptions' in the most current cookbooks in order to be in step with the latest styles. Those prescriptions instructed wives to pay close attention to what was correct to place on their tables, a fact that resulted in a considerable emphasis on French cookery:

..here a Guide to all manner of cookery, both in the English and French Mode, with the preparing of all kind of Sallets and Sauces proper thereunto (Woolley 1675a :A2).

Of all cooks in the World, the French are esteem'd the best ...with several sauces of haut goust, with dainty ragouts, and sweet meats, as yet hardly known in this Land (La Varenne 1653:A3).

Menus such as the one below served as models:

Entertainment for the Month of April

The First Course

Pottages

Two sorts of Potages [sic], viz A *Bisk* of Pidgeons, and a *Potage de Sante*, with a young fat Hen.

The Side-dishes

A Quarter of a Mutton forced
A large fat Pullet in a Ragoo
A Breast of Veal farced

Pidgeons with sweet Basil in their Bodies, together with a small Farce; and a large Piece of Beef in the middle.

The Second Course

For the Roast

A great Dish of Roast-meat, consisting of several fowls according to their Season, and two Sallets

The Intermesses

A Dish or Pain au Jambon

Boil'd Cream

A Ragoo of Sweet-breads of Veal and Capons-livers
A Dish of Asparagus with Sauce of Jus lie, or thick Gravy
And so there may be seven Dishes for each Course

The Marquiss d'Arci, formerly the French Kings Ambassador...gave such an Entertainment at his House on the 10th Day of April 1690 (Massialot 1702:9)

The American elite adopted French cookery in part because it was expensive. Willingness to accept this expense served to inform the community of the family's affluence. Furthermore, a hostess would not wish to risk the family's standing by being seen as to fall behind with respect to the latest fashion; to do so would have been tantamount to an admission that the family had fallen on hard times or was unsophisticated. If that happened, the status of the husband, let alone the family, would suffer. Anonymous (1700), Jane (Bolling) Randolph, and Mary Randolph filled their tables with elegant meat and fish dishes, soups, pickled or fresh vegetables, warm breads, preserves, garnishes, condiments, 'conceits', expensive beverages or home brews, and night caps. Nothing was to be missed. Their tables indeed were to be as "well drest" as the best London had to offer.

Stressing the importance of being avante-garde in terms of fashion, one cookbook stipulated that:

At this Time a Table must be furnished with the most exquisite Dishes, and the whole dispos'd in such a manner as may please the Eye. There are Rules in all Arts; and such as desire to be Masters of them, must conform to those Rules For should the Table of a great Man be serv'd in the Table that prevail'd twenty Years ago, it would not please the Guests how strictly soever he might conform to the Rules laid down at that Time. This variation in cookery is the reason of my publishing the ensuing work (La Chapelle 1736:i).

Anonymous (1700) incorporated French cookery into her cookbook. She carefully copied the proper courses for the table, and presumably shared recipes for "Cutlets Alamaintenoy", "Chocolate Almonds", and "A Touert de Moy" with family and friends (Anonymous 1700:24, 53, 61). Mary Randolph considered fruits and tarts timeless favorites as desserts because they were "fit to set before the most discriminating guest" (Carson 1985:83).

Not only did a hostess need to be aware of the latest styles in cooking, she also had to be familiar with other requirements for the table. She had to be a composer, orchestrating the 'setting' of her table (Illustrations, pp.132-133). Every item on the table had to be carefully balanced and arranged like "a Handel sonata" (Sass 1977:42). The critical importance of correct placement was underscored by the inclusion of diagrams in many cookbooks (Sass 1977:9).

..united with, and perhaps crowning all virtues of the female character, is that well-directed ductility of mind, which occasionally bends its attention to the smaller objects of life, knowing them to be scarcely less essential than the greater Hence the direction of a table is no inconsiderable branch of a lady's concern...(Wolf 1991:126).

Furthermore, for all dishes that were set out, there were detailed instructions to be followed:

All sorts of Tarts, Custards, wet Sweetmeats and Cakes, being cut in the Dish wherein they were served up, must be layed likewise with the Point of a Knife handsomely on a Plate and presented (Shirley 1690:52).

A further demanding facet of the woman's role concerned table manners, one of the "most highly charged and deeply felt of intra-social differences, so that 'rustic' behavior is not merely quaint but barbarous. And it is obviously not only interclass but interethnic" (Goody 1982:140). Both as a hostess and as a guest at the table of another, a woman had to exhibit manners that would bring honor to the family name. Cookbook prescriptions warned her against unacceptable behavior:

Do not take upon you, especially in a strange Place, to call for....anything you like above another, more particularly, if it be a Dainty, nor is it better when you are offer'd your Choice of Vanities, to lay Hands upon

the best, but rather modestly Answer, which you please. It is not Manners so soon as you are set at Table, as some indiscreet ones do, to bowl out, I cannot eat of this or that, I care for nothing that tastes of Nutmeg, Pepper, Onions, &c. If your Appetite crave it, it is indecent to eat hastily (R. G. 1704:23).

.Do not..gnaw no bones with your Teeth, nor suck them to come at the Marrow...
...fill your mouth so full that your cheeks shall swell like a pair of Scotch bag pipes...nor fix your eyes too greedily on the meat before you, as if you would devour more that way than your throat can swallow, or your stomach digest (Woolley 1675B:65, 69-71).

A hostess not only had to be gracious in manner, but had to use 'correct' procedures for carving, serving and other activities entailed by the occasion. The serving of food at dinner generally began with the ladling of soup from a tureen for each guest. After the soup came platters of meat (Sass 1977:42-43) and other dishes.

Graciousness required the use of refined language in referring to food and culinary procedures. The simple "cow, calf, deer, sheep and pig" became "beef, veal, venison, mutton and pork" (Goody 1982:136). A hostess of standing knew not to disgrace herself and her husband by saying "I'll cut up the chicken"; instead, she would use terminology such as "unbrace the mallard," "chine that salmon" or "barb the lobster" (Spruill 1966:84). Carving had to be carried out in a particular fashion, and specific portions of meat or fowl were allotted to the guests in accordance with their status; the more prominent a guest, the more desirable were his or her servings:

The skillfull Carver knows how to proportion his several dividends of Services according to the number of Guests at the Table, and ...can dispose the best of Delicacies to the most eminent Persons (Several Best Masters 1693:A4-A5).

In carving at your own Table, distribute the best pieces first, and it will appear very comely and decent to use a fork; if so touch no piece of meat without it (Woolley 1675b:65)

Only after the meat was served could guests proceed to help themselves from arranged dishes (Sass 1977:43).

Carving sometimes was a difficult task, and cookbooks cited a number of horror stories:

I have been invited to Dinner, where I have seen the good Gentlewomen of the House sweat more in cutting up of a Fowl, than the Cook-maid in roasting it; and when she had soundly beliquor'd her joints, hath sucked her knuckles, and to work with them again in the Dish;...avoid clapping your fingers in your mouth and lick them although you have burnt them with carving...(Woolley 1675b:66-68).

Carving at the Table is an orderly and methodical Cutting and Dividing any Dish of Meat...and the doing this neatly and cleanly, is worthilly accounted a great Imbellishment to Man or Woman...when as the disorderly mangling a Joynt or Dish of good Meat, is not onely an unthrifty wasting of it, but sometimes the cause of loathing, to an anxious Observer, or a weak stomach (Several Best Masters 1693:A1).

In a Leg of Mutton, there is a little round Bone on the inside, above the Handle, that is fit with the meat upon it to be presented, and is in great esteem among the Curious: as it appeared by a Gentleman, who after a long coursing, being extream hungry, and finding that Bone untouched in a cut Leg of Mutton, refused to eat, by reason he fancied Boorish People had the first handling of it, or otherwise their discretion would have directed them to have taken that piece (Shirley 1690: 51).

Lord forbid that anything should go amiss as seriously as it did at a dinner given by William Byrd: "My wife endeavored to cut a bone of pork but Mr. Dunn took the dish and cut it for himself, which put my wife into great disorder..." (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:309). Mr. Dunn's poor table manners were an offence to his host and hostess.

Careful attention continued to be given to the art of carving in the nineteenth century. Mary Randolph instructed her readers to "be sure to joint every thing that is to be separated at table, or it will be impossible to carve neatly" (Randolph 1824:27).

All foods had to be presented in the best condition possible, free from discoloration and spoilage. Meats had to be cooked to perfection, vegetables crisp, breads hot, and syllabubs curdled just so. Oranges had to be spotless, jellies had to be clear, and preserved fruits had to be coated fully with expensive sugar. Characteristics such as color, shape, texture and transparency were taken seriously. When necessary, a conscientious cook would use hot vinegar mixtures to preserve the fresh-looking green color of various vegetables (Carson 1985:117). "Guided by taste and experience, she practiced an art -- not a science" (Carson 1985:122).

Even when all preparations for a dinner were conducted with the utmost care, there inevitably were times when something went wrong. When faced with such unforeseen events, the hostess was expected to remain poised and gracious. At one dinner, Martha Washington rose to the occasion in a manner that prompted admiration:

A trifle was served at the close of a recent state dinner which, as everybody soon discovered, had been made with rancid cream. All the ladies began to watch Mrs. Washington to see what she would do -- and, as was related all over town the next day, she was seen to taste and swallow her portion in self-martyrdom (Belote 1974:172).

At the hostess' option, certain dishes were sometimes offered an artistic form. Pies might be served in the shape of what they contained: for example, carp pies in the form of a carp (R. G. 1704:107). Artifice was the rage in the eighteenth century (Bradley 1727:20), and many an item was embellished to the point of being transformed. "It is candied, it is reshaped, it is disguised..." (Storace 1986:68). Chopped meats might be mixed with other ingredients and molded into a "hedgehog" by covering the meat with sliced

almonds for "quills" (Glasse 1983:288). Codlins might be pickled to imitate mangoes (Bradley 1727:20). Codlins are cooking apples (Hawkins 1991:283). However, except for Anonymous (1700)'s recipe for pickled codlins, the three cookbooks avoided the use of artful disguise.

Expensive imported wines and home-made cordials were essential to any bountiful table. Drinking was a form of ritual; it served as a marker of one's personal identity and set the mood at dinners and other social functions. It generally was not associated with drunkenness (Douglas 1987:8; Gusfield 1987:80-81).

The hostess had to select foods carefully to reflect not only her husband's status, but also that of her guests (Carson 1990: 25; Miller, 1988:189). In addition, she had to take care that the seating arrangements were worked out in accordance with the standing of each guest (Wheaton 1983:138). Even the placement of the food and manner of serving were crucial. The best possible furnishings, silverware and plates were used and, if possible, a mistress would use the most "elegant dishes...made of sterling silver" as a symbol of the standing of her family (Carson 1990:48).

According to Jane Carson, the eighteenth century practice at the dinner table was largely modeled after the French mode. The hostess carved the "top dish" while the host took responsibility for the "bottom dish." The guests had their plates passed around the table, where a person who was sitting near the desired dishes served them. Servants also could be present to ease the proceedings with their silver waiters (Carson 1974:58-60). Waiters were used to replace first-course dishes with those belonging to the second course. The dessert course had silver spoons and other items associated with sweets (Carson 1974:61-62). There are indications that Jane (Bolling) Randolph

may have used this mode of presentation. She too had silver waiters, a salver, a chased milk pot, teaspoons, sweetmeat spoons along with silver tankards (Appendix VI).

The emphasis on correct table presentation and foods commensurate with the status of the host family and its guests continued well into the nineteenth century. Jane Carson mentions that, in 1819, Mrs Forman of Washington, D.C. took pride in presenting her rose-decorated ice cream in one large silver goblet (Carson 1990:83). Guests still expected to find numerous dishes artistically arranged on the bountiful table, and the interstices filled with condiments. The first and second courses still consisted largely of meat dishes, some vegetables and an array of pickles. The dessert made up the third course (Carson 1985:48). It was not until Mary Randolph's time that this custom began to change:

A dinner looks very enticing, when the steam rises from each dish on removing the covers, and if it be judiciously ordered, will have a double relish. Profusion is not elegance- a dinner justly calculated for the company, and consisting for the greater part of small articles, correctly prepared, and neatly served up, will make a much more pleasing appearance to the sight, and give a far greater gratification to the appetite, than a table loaded with food, and from the multiplicity of dishes, unavoidably neglected in the preparation, and served up cold (Randolph 1824:27).

Fewer and simpler dishes meant more time out of the kitchen. Mary Randolph remembered only too well the past experiences of her youth and made it a priority to keep such work to a minimum. She wanted to prevent "the horrible drudgery of keeping house all day, when one hour devoted to it in the morning would release her from trouble until the next day" (Carson 1985:xxi).

For more than three hundred years, "power was embedded in meal -

taking...menus, table settings, guest lists, and polite behavior..." (Carson 1990:vi). The husband was fully aware of his wife's duties and expected her not to fail. His wife's 'success' was a reflection not only of her excellent training within the domestic circle, but also of her fine personal qualities, his status, and the family's standing in the community. This was not acknowledged as a rule however. One unusual exception was Bishop James Madison in 1811, kin of President James Madison. He voiced his awareness by couching it in the form of valuable and fatherly advice to his daughter, Susan Randolph Madison, who was soon to be married:

...What ever be your repast, how ever scanty it may be...receive [your husband and his unexpected guests] with a pleasing countenance....a hearty welcome; it will more than compensate for every other deficiency; it will more evince love for your husband, good sense in yourself, and that politeness of manners which acts as the most powerful charm, it will give to the plainest fare a zest superior to all that luxury can boast.In the next place, as your husband's success in his profession will depend upon his popularity, and as the manner of a wife have no little influences in extending or lessening the respect and esteem of others for her husband, you should take care to be affable and polite to the poorest as well as the richest...(Buckley 1983 (91):98-104).

Men like William Byrd cared very much how their contemporaries thought of them and took notice of their guests or relatives' responses. They were either pleased or upset because such responses were a reflection upon their status:

We had a very handsome dinner, and particularly a fine desert which the company admired (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:87).

The Governor was pleased with everything and very complaisant...About 3 o'clock we returned to the house...we had a good dinner, well served, with which the Governor seemed to be well pleased. I ate venison for dinner (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:232).

I never knew the like of my family for finding fault.
 ...Every [sic] speaks well of my table but they who constantly live at it.
 It the meat is very fine It is not done say one altho
 Perhaps nobo-dy eat hartier of it
 If the bread is white and li[ght] ____ musty; but yet

many _____.
 If the Sallad is fine, the melted butter it is mix'd with
 is rank altho every mouthful of sallad is devoured.
 The pickles are quite brass tho crisp and green, and
 so the good folks go on disparing and devouring
 The beer too bitter altho my brewg [sic] are the same
 My coffee too weak altho no body spends so much in their
 houses...(Carter 1770:n.p.)

It may be noted that by the very process of elevating her husband's (as well as her family's) status in a public setting, the hostess was no longer acting within her domicile but in the public sphere. This transformation, however, was not acknowledged by the majority of men. Yet men did not hesitate to take note of how well or poorly the wives of others fulfilled their role:

...so we went to Major Merriweather's ...The Major was a little surprised and was not prepared much for such guests; however he did well as he could and for fear of the worst I had brought two bottles of wine with me. ...I ate some boiled beef for dinner. The Major sat at the upper end of the table and helped himself first. His wife did not appear (Byrd 1941 [1709-1712]:320).

It was because of this particular expectation that wives did not feel free to act less than friendly towards their guests, desirable or undesirable. Hostesses like Alicia Middleton were well aware of their supportive roles in public, roles which had to be above reproach. Instead, she penned her feelings on paper:

...he is really a bore. He comes here just as if it were a tavern
 friday afternoon without any invitation & stays until monday it
 is too tiresome—Izard says Ma can't you tell him to go— (Middleton
 1828:#507).

Since guests noticed everything from appearances to manners, it must sometimes have made things difficult, if not actually unpleasant, for the mistress. Nevertheless, many women, like Martha (Jefferson) Randolph, were

able to perform impeccably regardless of circumstances. Martha (Jefferson) Randolph's overseer remarked years later that he had never seen her disconcerted by the demands of her role: "I have never see her at all disturbed by any amount of care or trouble" (Kimball 1938:24).

Dolley Madison is another example of a successful hostess. An excellent foil to her husband James Madison's more reserved personality, she achieved great influence through her entertaining. Her fine foods, faultless service, carefully selected guests, and skillful small talk made her "levees" famous:

With the help of her steward, French John she set a fine table. Waterfowl, deer, game birds, and oysters were plentiful in the vicinity. Ham, fish, and game appeared four times a day, accompanied by potatoes, beets, puddings, and pies and, later, by such "fancy" vegetables as celery, spinach, salsify, and cauliflower. Dolley had a household staff of thirty, which she often supplemented with extra slaves from neighboring plantations at thirty-five cents each for the evening, providing one waiter for each guest (Ervin 1964:323).

Her guests included diplomats, congressmen, members of the cabinet, and American and European travelers. In spite of being amidst a "period of bitter partisanship" between her husband's party and its political opponents, Dolley Madison kept relations smooth. A representative from Pennsylvania, Jonathan Roberts, observed that "by her deportment in her own house, you cannot discover who is [sic] her husband's friends or foes" (Brant 1961(VI): 27).

While few women had an opportunity to serve as First Lady, many performed with comparable skill and success at the local and regional level. Some, like Mary Randolph, achieved prominence in the public realm. Others were influential while maintaining a lower profile.

CHAPTER IX.

FINDINGS

Although reproductive roles played a major part in the placement of women in all cultures, it is my opinion that this factor has been over emphasized at the expense of other factors which are equally predominant and influential. The reproductive roles of women have long since been subsumed by other traditions or cultural norms (such as the separation of spheres), which in reality, were more pronounced in complex societies. While the separation of spheres was not universal in all cultures, it was characteristic of complex societies such as England and Virginia.

Some of the older anthropological literature which cite women as either passive or accepting of their roles proved to be open to question. Contrary to popular belief, the majority of Chesapeake women, although confined to the private sphere in accordance with Gervase Markham's cultural prescriptions, were neither passive or accepting concerning their roles. Their attitudes were shaped by the very different circumstances that Virginia provided: harsh frontier conditions, high mortality rates, numerous remarriages and the economy. Such "demographic accidents" demanded adaptability in terms of survival, and Markham's rigid gender roles could not survive intact. Men quickly realized the difficulties of practicing 'domestic patriarchy' or authority on the frontier. Women just as quickly recognized the value of their economic contributions and that these gave them a 'bargaining power.' By assuming positions of power or trust, they took advantage of any opportunities

to manipulate the 'reality' around them as much as possible, often without their spouses' consent. Their new attitudes were reinforced with the political turmoil of Bacon's Rebellion and the Revolutionary War. Although the very act of nursing family, friends and neighbors placed wives in the public sphere, it was intermittent and individualistic in nature. The Revolutionary War gave them unique opportunities to get actively involved in the public sphere (politics) on a large scale--politics from which they had previously been excluded. Another important factor was the slow but significant improvement in the level of education that was available to women. It is not by accident that many of Virginia's most outstanding women belonged to the Cary-Bolling-Randolph group, where the resources and outlook of the families resulted in the encouragement of women's education. Indeed, the perceptions of women about themselves, their families and their role in life were shaped and determined by "their daily experiences and by society's expectations" (Norton 1980:xx).

The return to more rigid confinement of women to their domestic arena began in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In spite of women's active and "public" participation during the Revolutionary War, men's perceptions and ideologies concerning women remained relatively unchanged. Many more families were now well off and desired to imitate the life of the English squire right down to the silver tea set on the dining room sideboard. The more financially stable the family, the more closely the family copied the English landlord model. Once these goals were achieved, social expectations changed and became more refined and demanding. The more elite the family, the higher the status. Women were expected to uphold and preserve this status by observing Markham's prescriptions to a more marked degree, ranging from

the elevation of their husbands' status to the preservation of fruits, needlework and correct deportment. Women's roles were now truly status producing for the family, especially through cooking and entertainment. Men were very conscious of women as partners in maintaining their status and public image by way of Goffmanian labor.

When the institution of slavery reached its peak in the nineteenth century, the hostess found herself no longer doing hard tasks but assuming greater time-consuming responsibilities for the supervision and management of plantation labor (duties and slaves). It was an era described by many sources as a period which lost its "Golden Age." (The 1920s "Golden Age" theory formulated by Elizabeth Dexter stipulated that seventeenth century and early eighteenth century women were better off than their English peers or descendants. This theory reached its peak of popularity during the 1940s but continued to be accepted as late as the 1970s. Historians Lorena Walsh and Lois Carr emphasize the Golden Age theory by stressing numerous remarriages and economic independence of women in their studies [Norton 1984:593, 599]. This approach is too simplistic and particularistic to explain the eighteenth and nineteenth century restrictions of women. It is my belief that the Golden Age theory neglects to take into account the above cited factors which are too important to be ignored. The restrictions had more to do with the evolution and practice of class-consciousness as well as increasingly elite responsibilities.)

With such heavy emphasis on familial status, there was a "strong admixture of status display", a form of Goffmanian labor (Collins 1992:213). The mistress of the household had been carefully trained to live up to her

responsibilities and develop a strong sense of community. Regardless of her feelings, she usually conformed to established norms because she was her husband's representative (Walsh 1983:18-19, 28). This meant that her household work was primarily status production, household work which identified the place and position of her family in the public world. According to Collins, it was a case of "Goffmanian status presentation in the private sphere" (Collins 1992:218). Such household status production could be revealed through the "style and orderliness of its furnishings and the presentation of food" (Collins 1992:219). Although Collins went on to state that women were in charge of status display, I beg to differ. While women indeed were largely responsible for such social codes, men were also responsible for status display by their very ability to purchase expensive household items such as silverware, elegant furnishings and exotic foods. Men knew that such goods as well as family relationships stood as a public and social status code for the neighbors to read. This was part of the Goffmanian status symbolism (Collins 1992:223). Their wives continued this social code from this point by focusing on the elevation of their husbands' status through cooking and entertainment. Her performance was crucial because it could either enhance or detract from her husband's standing and effectiveness in the public sphere. Dolley Madison excelled at this.

In this sense, men and women's spheres were not as separate as commonly stated in anthropological literature. Although the prescriptions clearly defined male and female roles in exclusive terms, their spheres actually overlapped in function (Norton 1984:597, 617) and were also interdependent since they were both Goffmanian actors on the stage of image management. As representatives of their husbands (Scott and Lebsack 1988:12), women

were not viewed by men as having standing in their own right but as supporters of their (male) status as well as family honor. The degree of separation of their spheres had actually diminished as a result of women's increasing responsibilities in formal entertaining. Furthermore, women served as "a counterpoint to men's forceful public character" (Smith 1980:68).

Cooking is "the most ceremonial form of household work" according to Mary Douglas, and therefore, the very presentation of food to outside guests "is a Goffmanian ritual par excellence" (Collins 1992:219). The preparation of food in the kitchens was "back of stage" activity while entertainment was a "front" in terms of image management (status production). In this sense, women were the "first line of Goffman organizational self-presentation" (Collins 1992:214)--i.e., they specialized in initial impression management whenever they greeted visitors.

However, it must be noted that women's status production is not a tangible thing, since it goes beyond the medium of cookery. There was the "ritual setting" of cuisine to guests, the most satisfying kind of cooking. There was "proper group behavior," which was characterized by the correct placement of dishes and carving of meat (Collins 1992:219-220). In addition, food preparation was a form of crucial teamwork and an intangible part of women's social network as they shared their recipes. In short, their status production was synonymous with the elevation and maintenance of their husbands' status. Therefore, women were much more active in the public sphere than previously realized, a fact not acknowledged by men.

CHAPTER X.
CONCLUSIONS

The early settlers brought with them views regarding the role of women in the domestic/public spheres that were consistent with the prescriptions given in Gervase Markham's classic cookbook, The English Housewife, published in 1615. His book reiterated that men serve in the public sphere (e.g., held public office) and provide status-bearing goods. Women were to keep themselves busy as household managers, supervising everything from planting gardens to cleaning rooms. A woman's role was in the domestic niche, and her home the arena in which she was expected to distinguish herself (Spruill 1966:65).

An important part of a woman's activities related to her responsibilities as a hostess. A family's dining room played a central role in the extension of hospitality, and the hostess' achievements in the selection, preparation and presentation of foods, and the entertainment of her guests around the table, were noted carefully by all concerned. Success as a hostess could do much to maintain and enhance the family's standing, and strengthen her husband's position in the public sphere.

In spite of Markham's powerful prescriptions, recognition of the importance of their roles, and deriving status as a consequence, women still desired to go beyond their traditional boundaries. Many of them disliked their confinement or certain responsibilities, and felt that they deserved

better; Susanna Clay, for instance, wrote: "...recall that hateful season to all housekeepers (the putting up of Pork)..." (Clay 1833:1).

Education was a crucial factor since it was more than likely that far more women would have been active in the public sphere had they been well educated. This would have far-reaching consequences for the course of Virginia history. Though many could read, most of them could not write, and therefore many of their private thoughts have been lost to us. In addition to this problem, there were indications that women were trained not to write their true feelings on paper. Sally Cary Fairfax expressed it best: "I wish I could write free and unreserved, for I have many things I would say...that I don't like the curious should see. I will endeavour to act in the department I am in as well as circumstances will permit" (Fairfax 1770:215). They did not resort to the brash antics of their English counterparts by publishing books like "Mary Tattle-Well" and "Joane-Hit-Him-Home", authors of The Women's Sharp Revenge: Or, An Answer to Sir Seldom Sober (1640). Instead they had a more elegant and subtle way of achieving their goals through exemplary behavior and proof of status production. Chesapeake women saw that the best and most effective way to improve their own personal status was to eventually 'cook their way out of their homes.' What they did in the kitchen was important to themselves. They turned to cooking as an expression of their unsolicited views (recall the patriotic desserts), and "a sense of identity" (Konvitz n.d.:85, 89).

The three cookbook manuscripts examined in the present study provide insights into the lives of Virginian women as Chesapeake society evolved. Cookbooks in themselves are ahistorical since "cooking is a tradition with social associations, something organic which can grow or wither, improve or decline.....recipes are abstracted from meteorological, political, technical and

social environments, past and present" (Konvitz n.d.:88). Furthermore, recipes do change. Over a period of time and different locations, "certain procedures and ingredients have been preferred to others...collections whose pieces change from period to period" (Konvitz n.d.:88).

The three cookbooks belonging to Anonymous (1700), Jane (Bolling) Randolph and Mary Randolph were no exception. Each document deals not only with foodways, but reflects the perceptions and life experiences of the author at a given stage in the region's history.

Anonymous (1700) adhered closely to Markham's prescriptions and French fashion. She did not attempt to be creative, and faithfully copied a number of recipes published by Edward Kidder. Although obviously well-educated, she did not experiment with Native American foods or make an attempt to stretch beyond her boundaries. She concentrated instead on presenting numerous meat dishes, plentiful sugared fruits and expensive items like chocolate almonds. French cookery assumed a great importance as shown by her copy of a French menu and list of dinner courses in her cookbook. No indications of her private thoughts concerning her role is given other than her ultra-conservatism revealed in her recipes. In fact, she identified more closely with the outlook of English society than with the new possibilities inherent in late seventeenth century Virginia. She was determined to be as 'civilized' as her London peers in the midst of the Chesapeake frontier and within her domestic circle. In keeping with her station and Markham's prescription, she felt she would be judged by her table, and sought to provide only the best. To her, that meant haute cuisine, a cuisine which reflected the status of her husband and family.

Jane (Bolling) Randolph was also well-educated for her day. Her manuscript reflects a later period and her position as a transitional figure, partly traditional and partly experimental. Although she still preserved and followed many traditional dictates of behavior and the domestic arts, she was prepared to innovate and experiment with many recipes and new ingredients. She incorporated new recipes with the old, thus showing a further evolution in Virginia cookery. Besides the plentiful and traditional array of meats and sugared sweets, she provided persimmon beer and potato custard. She experimented with the use of blood and cochineal to color her meats and with "Kipsacuanna" as a potentially useful medical remedy (Appendix X). Unlike Anonymous (1700), she was willing to break new ground, and thought the 'best cuisine' could appropriately include some Native American foods and beverages.

Jane (Bolling) Randolph also was willing to build on her success in the culinary arts, and as a hostess, to stretch the boundaries of her domestic role. A sphere to which, according to tradition, she should limit herself. In addition to writing her cookbook, she took up accounting, and in later life, drew up her own will which listed a number of silver articles. It may be significant that she waited until after her husband's death to write her own will. She obviously took pride in her work and had a strong sense of her role in her domestic niche. Her accomplishments and sense of self-worth set an example that her descendant, Mary Randolph, would subsequently expand upon.

In contrast to Jane (Bolling) Randolph and Anonymous (1700) who lived on plantations, Mary Randolph, the third of the authors, ran a boarding house in the city. An outstanding hostess, she introduced many vernacular dishes and encouraged the large-scale use of regional vegetables. She also confidently

simplified meals and the management of their preparation, actions that helped to shape a new era in Virginia cooking. Her cooking was much more democratic in feeling and approach, which partially accounted for the great success and influence of her 1824 publication, The Virginia Housewife. Just as importantly, she saw her role not only as an upholder of her husband's status, but also important in her own right. She had her own worthy contributions to make, and her creative mind and practical bent led her to invent the refrigerator and the bathtub. She felt at ease writing a cookbook and earning a living running a boarding house which was a financial success. She did not attempt to patent her design for a refrigerator. Mary Randolph was wise enough to see that this would have been a direct move into the world of business and beyond acceptable behavior for a women of her class. (The refrigerator was shortly thereafter patented by a man who had not contributed to its inventor.) Mary Randolph's contributions signaled the beginning of a new chapter for Virginian women.

Each of the three authors conducted herself in accordance with Markham's prescription, interpreted in the light of changing times and individual circumstances. Hesitantly at first, but with growing confidence, boundaries were tested, stretched, and at times surmounted. While much would still need to be accomplished in years to come, the women of Virginia did not wait passively for their role to change. They made use of the opportunities available to them to help point the way.

Individually and collectively, these women made major contributions to the well-being and progress of their families, their communities, and the Colony of Virginia.

I. William Randolph I m. Mary Isham

- IA. Col. William Randolph (1681-1742) m. Elizabeth Beverley (1691-1723),
dau of Peter Beverley and Elizabeth Peyton.
- A. Elizabeth "Betty" Randolph (1715-1776) m. Col. John Chiswell
(1726-1766) of "Scotchtown," Hanover County.
- B. Peter Randolph (1717-1767), of "Chatsworth," m. Lucy Bolling (1719-
after 1775). Great-grandparents of Mary Ann Randolph Custis, wife
of Robert E. Lee. Lucy is probably the Mrs. Lucy Randolph in the
1769 association.
- B. Mary "Molly" Randolph (1719-before 1775) m. John Price
(1725-before 1775) of "Coolwater", near "Scotchtown", Hanover
County. Son of John Price and Jane Cannon.
- IB. Richard Randolph I (1691-1748) m. Jane Bolling, below.
- IC. Elizabeth Randolph (1686-1719/20), m Richard Bland (1665-1720) of
"Jordan's Point."
- A. Anna Bland (1711-1771) m. (1) Robert Munford (?-1744) and had
dau Elizabeth b. 1733. Robert Munford son of Robert Munford and
Martha, dau of Richard Kennon.
- B. Theodrick Bland (1719-1784) m. (1) Frances Bolling (1724-1774).
Great-grandparents of Elizabeth Tucker Coalter
- [Daniels 1972:genealogical tables; Eggleston, 1928:5; Cowden 1980:165, 167,
190.]

II. Robert Bolling m (1) Jane Rolfe, (granddaughter of Pocahontas) and (2) Anne Stith

II A. Col. John Bolling I, b 1676 (by Jane Rolfe) m Mary Kennon, daughter of Richard Kennon and Elizabeth Worsham.

A. John (1700 -1757) , m. (1) Elizabeth Lewis and (2) Elizabeth Blair

B. Jane (1703-1766/7), m Richard Randolph of "Curles". Author of of Jane Randolph Her Cookery Book, 1743.

B1. Richard Randolph II (1725-1786) m. Anne Meade (1731-1814), daughter of David Meade and Susanna Everard who was a granddaughter of Richard Kidder, a bishop in England.

a. David Meade Randolph, below

B2. Mary Randolph (1727-1781), m. 1744, Archibald Cary (1721-1787) of "Ampthill," Chesterfield Co.

b. Anne Cary, m. Thomas Mann Randolph (1741-1793) of Tuckahoe

b1. Mary "Molly" Randolph, m. 9 Dec. 1780, David Meade Randolph of "Moldavia"-author of The Virginia Housewife.

B3. Jane ("Jenny") Bolling Randolph (1729 -1756), m. Anthony Walke. Inherited her mother's cookbook for a time.

IIB. Robert Bolling, 1682-1749 (by Anne Stith) m Anne Cocke

A. Mary (b. 1708) m William Starke

B. Elizabeth (b. 1709) m James Munford

C. Anne (b. 1713) m John Hall

D. Lucy (b 1719) m Col. Peter Randolph

E. Jane (b 1722) m Hugh Miller -parents of Lady Jean Skipwith

F. Martha (b 1726) m Richard Eppes

G. Susanna (b 1728) m Alexander Bolling

H. Robert (1730-1775) m. (1) Martha Banister and (2) Mary Marshall Tabb, after 1759.

[Daniels 1972:genealogical tables ; Brown 1990:115 and 122.]

III. Richard Kidder Meade m Mary Grymes

IIIA. Ann Randolph m Matthew Page. Freed slaves for Liberia project.

[Hughes 1906:34.]

IV. Col. Wilson Cary (1703 -1772) of "Ceelys," Elizabeth City Co. and Sarah Pate? (1710 -1783)

IVA. Sarah "Sally" Cary (1730- 1811/2) m. 1748, George William Fairfax.

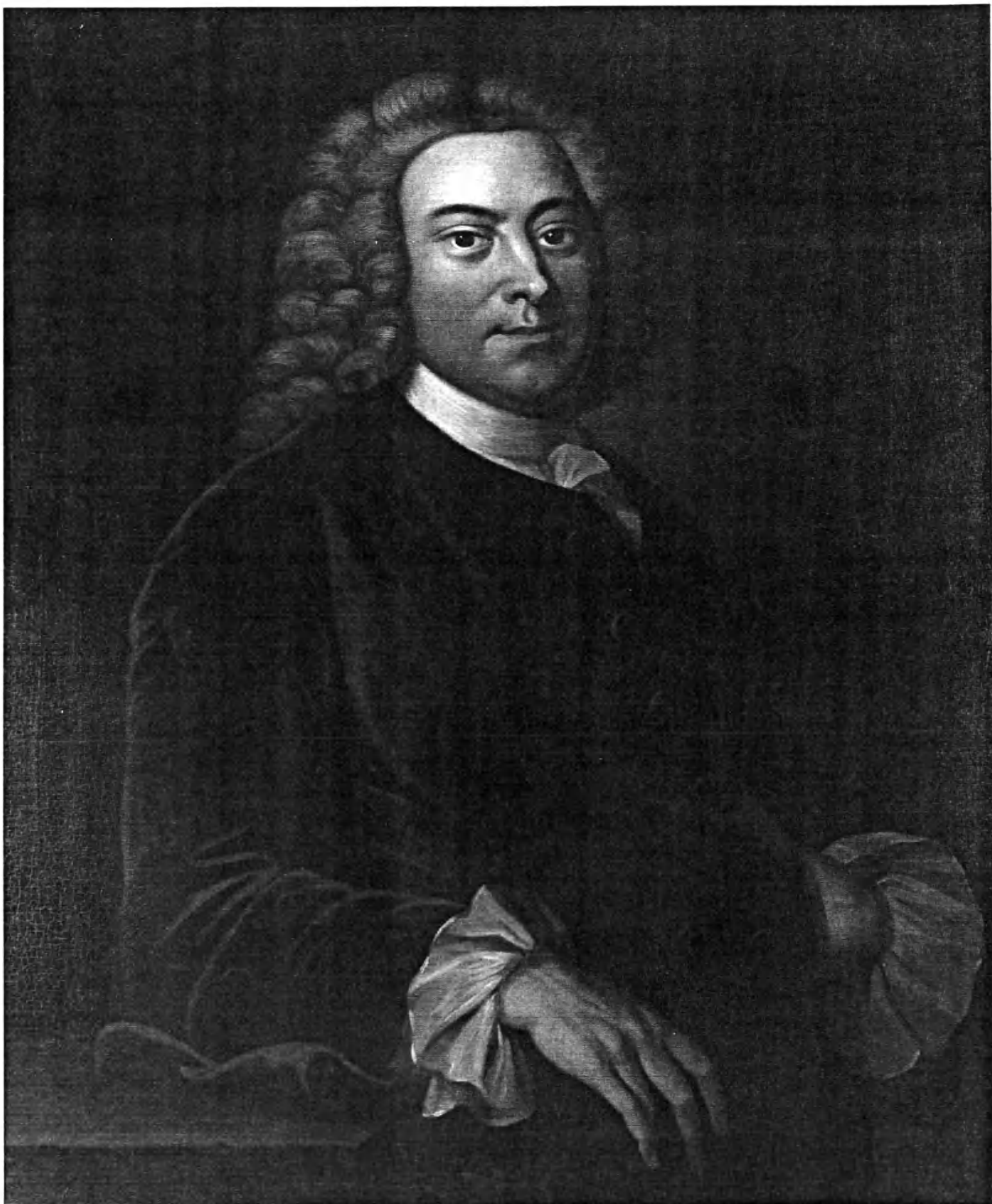
IVB. Mary Cary (1731/8-1781), m. 1754, Edward Ambler of Jamestown. During Revolutionary War moved to "Cottage," Hanover Co.

IVC. Elizabeth Cary (1738 - 1778), m. 1759, Bryan Fairfax- parents of Sally Cary Fairfax (1760 -ante 1779).

[Ambler 1937: 152 and Cary 1902:108.]

Mary (Isham) Randolph





Jane (Bolling) Randolph



Jane ("Jenny") Randolph Walke



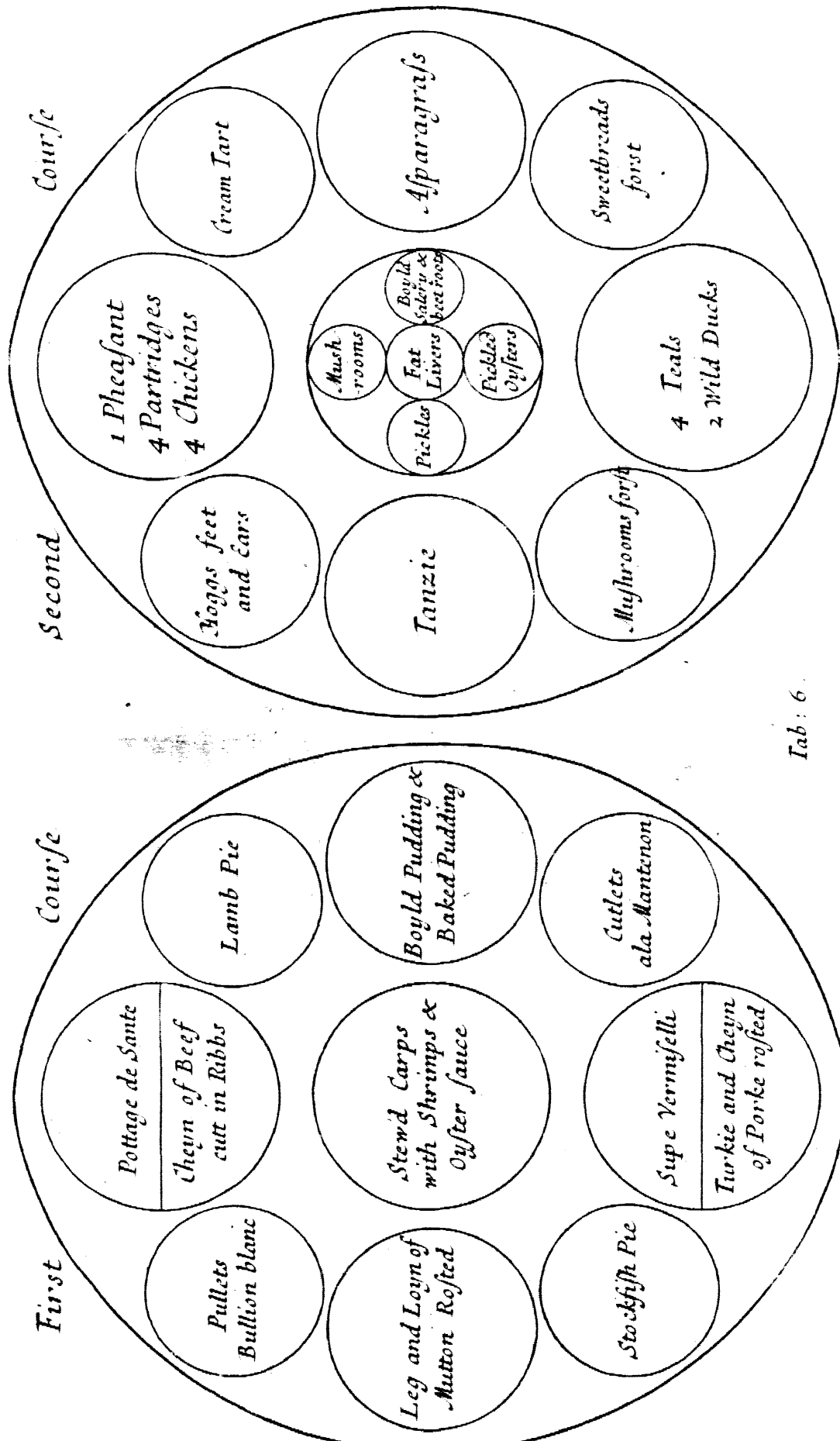
Mary (Randolph) Cary







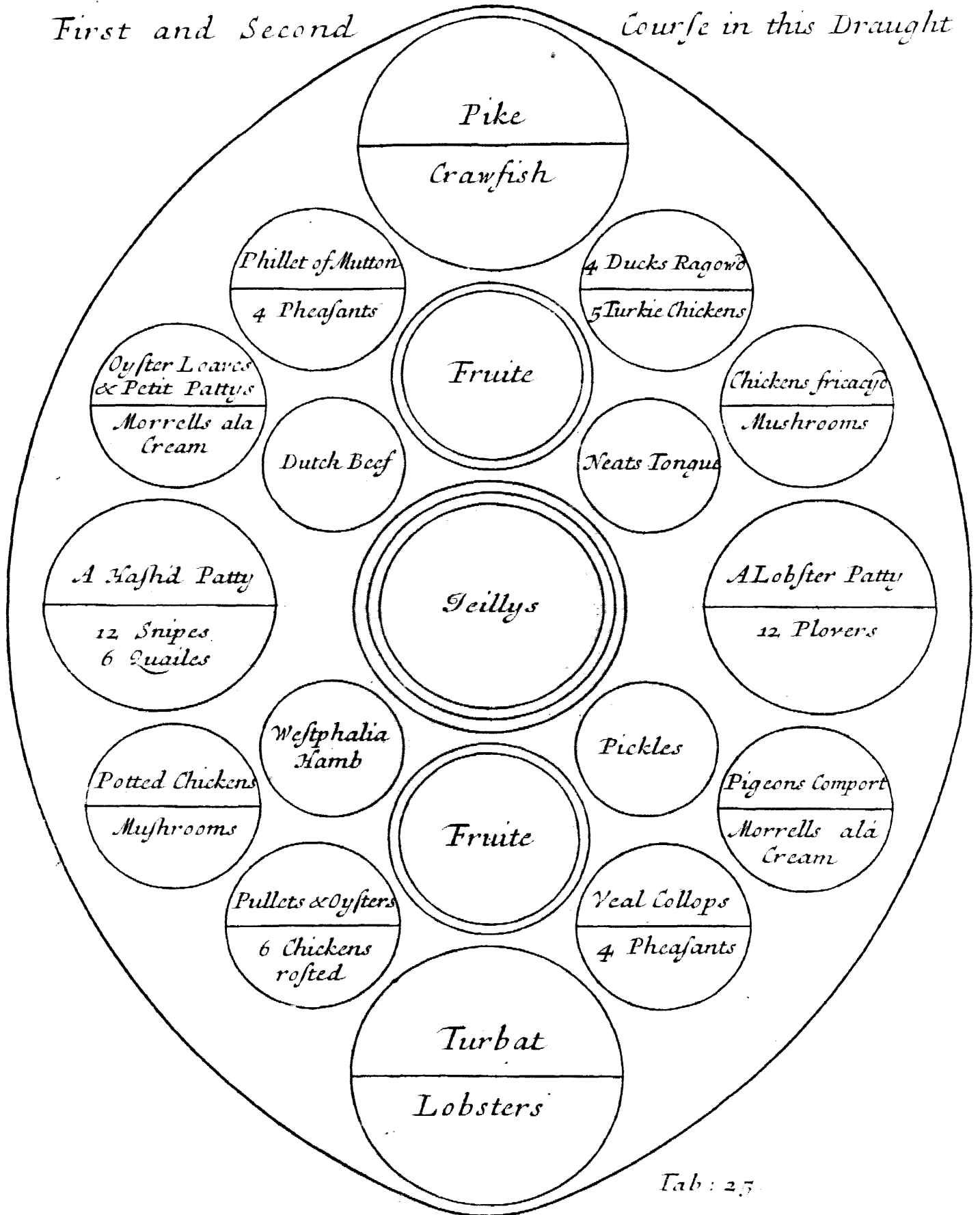
First and Second Courses, Table 6



Tab: 6

First and Second

Course in this Draught



Tab: 25

APPENDIXES I-XIV

Appendix I:THE MANUSCRIPTS OF COOKBOOKS OF ANONYMOUS (1700), JANE (BOLLING)
RANDOLPH, AND MARY RANDOLPHAnonymous (1700)

Manuscripts were traditionally handed down from mother to daughter, and thus were treasured compilations of family recipes and recipes from friends and neighbors. Most surviving examples date from the latter part of the eighteenth century, like the 1770-1880s cookbook initiated by Frances Peyton Tabb which was continued by her daughter, granddaughter and great-granddaughter (McConnaughey 1981:3, 5, 10, 12). The cookbooks written by Anonymous (1700) and Jane (Bolling) Randolph are substantially older and therefore are of great historical interest. It is clear that some of Anonymous (1700)'s older recipes were copied from a treasured, earlier document. In turn, her manuscript was expanded by three other compilers in the course of the eighteenth century (Briggs 1993, personal communication). From all indications, Anonymous (1700) was a woman of very high social standing, who interacted with various members of the Randolph family among others. She may in fact have been a Randolph or related to them by marriage.

Many of the recipes in the manuscript are attributed to "mb". These initials were first thought to refer to "M.B.", who published a cookbook in England in 1654. However, the recipes marked "mb" were more personal, elaborate and truly expensive for the time period, and did not match any of

the recipes printed by "M.B.". The notable elegance of the "mb" recipes suggested that she was of high social status and/or wealth. It may be that the initials refer to Anonymous (1700) or one of her peers. Possible candidates include Mary (Kennon) Bolling, mother of Jane (Bolling) Randolph; Mary (Cocke) Bolling, wife of Col. John Bolling; and Maria (Taylor) Byrd. Given the time frame of the recipes, it is unlikely that "mb" would be Maria (Horsmanden) Byrd (d. 1699) or Mary (Willing) Byrd (m. 1750s), wives respectively of William Byrd I and III.

If "mb" was not Anonymous (1700) herself, another possibility also arises: the ca. 1700 manuscript could be a new copy of a cookbook belonging to Mary (Isham) Randolph, with "mb" as one of the early contributors. Like Mary (Kennon) Bolling, she was of precisely the right age and time to use traditional seventeenth century dishes. It is known that Mary (Isham) Randolph kept recipes since she donated her metheglin formula to her daughter-in-law, Jane (Bolling) Randolph. By 1710-1720, her own manuscript may well have been worn with use.

During the mid-eighteenth century, Anonymous (1700)'s cookbook lay forgotten for at least sixty years, since the entries seem to have stopped around the eve of the American Revolution. After serving as a child's art sketch book, the remaining blank pages of the document were used for journalistic jottings during the Civil War. I believe the document was held at Ampthill, a plantation in Henrico County (now Chesterfield County). It was rediscovered ca. 1830 by the Temple family who had purchased the plantation from the Carys. The placement of the ca. 1700 manuscript in or near Henrico County, Virginia gives it a special historical value in terms of provenance.

It should also be noted that Ann Cary, first wife of Thomas Mann Randolph Sr. of Tuckahoe and mother of author Mary Randolph, had grown up at Ampthill as a daughter of Mary Randolph and Archibald Cary. Mary Randolph was a daughter of Jane Bolling and Richard Randolph of Curles Plantation (Daniels 1972:genealogical tables). In 1764 at Williamsburg, Archibald Cary bought his wife a copy of Hannah Glasse's The Art of Cookery made plain and easy (Cowden 1977:455), so we know she possessed some culinary knowledge.

One of the identified contributors to Jane (Bolling) Randolph's 1743 manuscript, "Mrs. Cary," may have been Archibald Cary's mother, Anne Edwards, wife of Henry Cary who died at Ampthill in 1749. It is also possible the contributor referred to was Mary (Randolph) Cary. (References to "Mrs. Cary" also appeared in Elizabeth (Tucker) Coalter's cake recipes [Appendix II], and William Byrd mentioned in 1751 that he ate "fricassed chicken" and "pigeon pie" at "Mr. Cary's" [Byrd 1941 (1709-1712):161-2].) Another likely contributor was Mary Cary, later wife of Edward Ambler. She moved from Jamestown to the "Cottage" in Hanover County where she died in 1781 (Ambler 1937:152).

Jane (Bolling) Randolph of Curles Plantation

Jane (Bolling) Randolph was the daughter of Col. John Bolling and Mary Kennon of Kippax, a plantation along the banks of the Appomattox River. She was named after her grandmother Jane (Rolfe) Randolph, a granddaughter of John Rolfe and Pocahontas. As the socially prominent wife of Richard Randolph, Jane was fully aware of her obligations as a proper hostess. One of

her main responsibilities involved the entertainment of her honored guests at Curles Plantation. Unlike Lucy Byrd who was criticized by her husband William, Jane's domestic accomplishments were found satisfactory; Richard Randolph described her as "dutiful" in his 1742 will (Anonymous 1748-1750:#112).

It is believed, during the instruction in cookery to her daughters (as part of their genteel education and preparation for their own prominent social roles through suitable marriages), that Jane (Bolling) Randolph decided to compile her recipes in a new manuscript. Only her more elegant or 'party' recipes, family recipes, 'conceits', and essential medical remedies were entered in this book. Economically stringent recipes such as ways "To preserve Fish when near Tainting" did not fill her pages (Tryon 1702:100). In addition, the majority of her recipes required copious amounts of sugar, a very expensive ingredient at the time (Mennell 1985:87). Only the well-off gentry and noble classes had the wherewithal to afford it; therefore most of her recipes were foods "seldom sampled by town or country people if at all" (Mennell 1985:84). One recipe for metheglin came from her mother-in-law, Mary (Isham) Randolph (Randolph 1743:76), while a flummery recipe (Appendix III) was derived from the ca. 1700 cookbook (Randolph 1743:76).

Two other contributors to Jane (Bolling) Randolph's manuscript ("Ms. Pr." and "Ms. Chiswell") are also of interest (Appendix II). They were the Randolph sisters, Mary ("Molly") and Elizabeth ("Betty"). Mary married John Price of Coolwater, while Elizabeth married Col. John Chiswell of Scotchtown, both of Hanover County (Daniels 1972:genealogical tables). (Perhaps this Betty was the "Bettie" whose scrap of paper was tied to the ca. 1700 manuscript with a dainty blue ribbon.)

Obviously proud of her culinary skills, Jane (Bolling) Randolph carefully signed and dated the cover of her manuscript "Jane Randolph Her Cook Book 1743." Although proof is lacking whether the 1743 date represented the beginning or end of her compilation, it is my opinion that it signified completion because her accounts were an integral part of this manuscript and are dated 1739.

Jane (Bolling) Randolph's recipes were in great demand. Many were repeated in successive pages of the manuscript when the earlier ones wore out. Others were borrowed from the manuscript and never returned, or were lost during the passage of time. There are strong indications that her manuscript served as an important source for her great-granddaughter Mary Randolph's 1824 best-seller, The Virginia Housewife. (Compare Jane [Bolling] Randolph's walnut recipe to Mary Randolph's recipe [Appendix IV].)

An account book and a portrait of Jane (Bolling) Randolph reinforce the impression that she was unusually well educated for her time, and was fully confident about her personal capabilities (Appendix V). Unlike most beribboned and bedecked ladies of her day, Jane (Bolling) Randolph was portrayed in a simple satin gown. Instead of holding the usual posy, she is shown touching a thick tome. In contrast, her daughter Jane ("Jenny") was posed in the usual feminine fashion (Illustrations, pp. 127-128). Towards the end of her life, Jane (Bolling) Randolph drew up her own will, carefully dividing her cherished possessions such as sweetmeat spoons among her children (Appendix VI).

William Byrd often referred to the Randolphs in his diaries and penned praises of Randolph wives, with the notable exception of Jane (Bolling) Randolph. Never once was she mentioned in any of his journals, although the

name of her husband, Richard Randolph ("Dick"), appeared occasionally (Byrd 1942 [1709-1712]:91). Did her spirit of independence or assertiveness offend William Byrd's sense of a woman's proper place and level of accomplishment? The omission of any reference to her may be a telling comment.

Mary Randolph of Richmond

By publishing her cookbook, The Virginia Housewife, in 1824, Mary Randolph brought into print recipes including native vegetables not previously published. Although Amelia Simmons is credited as the author of the earliest published American cookbook (1796) with recipes for native and vernacular dishes such as pumpkin pudding, Indian slapjacks, johnny cakes and crookneck squash (Simmons 1796:21, 27-28, 34), she introduced vernacular terms such as "squash," "molasses" instead of "treacle," "emptins," and "shortening" in 1796. (The earliest published dictionaries containing these words are dated 1823 and 1839 [Wilson 1957:20, 25-26].) She also added a chemical leaven, a kind of ash (Simmons 1796:21-2, 29; Wilson 1957: 22-23, 159; Wilson 1974:270; Moss and Hoffman 1985:54, 58), which lightened baked goods. (Up to that time, eggs or yeast were used for this purpose. Ashes like pearl ash were forerunners of baking powder [Wilson 1957:22-3; Moss and Hoffman 1985:54].)

Amelia Simmons was better known for her instructions concerning the improvement of women's status through cookery than for true culinary creativity: " (for) ...an opinion and determination of her own..." (Simmons 1796:3). Amelia Simmons was original in the sense that she utilized

American ingredients for American recipes, ingredients which could not be obtained in Britain. She realized that many British cookbooks with their local items were unsuitable for the American audience. This recognition, however, did not stop her from plagiarizing several recipes from British cookbooks (Wilson 1957:20).

In contrast, The Virginia Housewife was the first "regional" and wholly American book of its kind (Lebsock 1984:79; Wilson 1974:126). Mary Randolph's recipes included okra, field peas, gumbo, pepper pot, "tomatas," tomato ketchup, Indian meal puddings, pumpkin soup (Kimball 1938:37-39), lima beans, eggplant, macaroni, rice with curry, Spanish olla, gaspacho (Randolph 1824:65, 83, 89), Mexican bean soup (Kimball 1938:37), and even barbecued shoat (Randolph 1824:63). Okra and black-eyed peas originally came from Africa (Wilson 1964:116). Macaroni, along with vanilla, had originally been introduced to the U.S. by Thomas Jefferson (Crump 1986:35), but Mary Randolph popularized them. By incorporating together various elements from Native American, African and Caribbean sources, Mary Randolph's recipes were not only elegant but indicate that Virginia cookery was by this time truly creole (Hess 1984:xxxi). This is significant in view of the fact that food historians consider foodways to be one of the most conservative aspects of society.

Mary Randolph made other innovations as well: iced lemonade similar to sherbet, scalloped tomatoes (Randolph 1824:178, 236-7), and the addition of tomatoes to mutton gravy (Carson 1985:85). In one chapter, she concentrated exclusively on vegetables (Hess 1981:xxxiii); this was more attention than had been given to them in the previous two centuries. This chapter also includes a description of a green salad of the type familiar to us

today (Carson 1985:45, 104). Vegetables, she instructed, were to be picked in the morning while young and tender, cooked on the same day until just soft, and flavored with just a touch of butter (Randolph 1824:95-113).

Although the use of corn and corn meal products by the mid-seventeenth century is well documented in historical records, published recipes for their use did not appear until the time of Amelia Simmons and Mary Randolph. Vernacular foods, by their very nature, were so widely used that people did not feel the need for published recipes. It was 'common knowledge' because these recipes were handed down through a different traditional mode: they were committed to memory. Johnny cakes and corn pone are such examples. More elegant or high cuisine type of dishes such as "Battalia Pye" were written down. Battalia Pye was a deep dish containing chickens, pigeons, rabbits and squabs (Anonymous (1700):53).

Mary Randolph almost certainly was familiar with Jane (Bolling) Randolph's manuscript. Like her great-grandmother and Anonymous (1700), she had recipes for Beef a la Mode, Red Beet Roots, Oyster Loaves, Jumbals, Caveech Fish, and Hash Calf's Head among others (Appendix VII). Even the largely forgotten tansy and pipkin reappeared in one of her recipes (Randolph 1824:34, 38, 78, 90, 103-104, 123, 157). Tansy was a green leafy herb similar to spinach and extensively used in egg-based mixtures (Hess 1981:124-5; Price 1974 [1681]:336). A pipkin was a small earthenware pan or a little pot (Hawkins and Allen 1991:1103). See p. 88 for Beef á la Mode and Appendix VII for other recipes. Note how similar her recipes for pickled walnuts (Appendix IV), wafers, sturgeon and oyster loaves are to Jane (Bolling) Randolph's versions (Appendixes VII and VIII). Her recipes for Hash

Calf's Head and Caveech Fish, although more modern, are also easily recognizable in the 1700 recipes.

DATING OF THE CA. 1700 MANUSCRIPT

The original end papers (and thus the name of the original compiler) of this fascinating culinary work have unfortunately been pasted over and written on by a number of people. The title page and the first group of pages have long since been lost. Although dating is difficult, the Virginia Historical Society has applied the ca. 1700 date as a best estimate. Miss Stacy Rusch, a conservator at the Virginia Historical Society, dates the bound manuscript to the late seventeenth century. She bases her conclusion on the following characteristics: 1) the type of cording and binding of the book, 2) the thickness of the cover boards, 3) the blind design motif on the covers, and 4) the remains of metal hasps or latches. The latter show a Germanic influence and were in widespread use during the late seventeenth century. Her conclusion is supported by a very similar book, The Way to Get Wealth by Thomas Tryon, closely examined by me at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. This book, in pristine condition, has an intact title page dated 1702.

Dating of the handwriting of the manuscript is a difficult process since the adoption of different styles occurs at varying times within a population, and some styles were maintained longer than others. Samples of handwriting styles were analyzed by me, using not only manuals on the subject, but also a seventeenth century cookbook in published form, Arcana Fairfaxiana. It was

concluded from this comparison that the earliest handwriting in the ca. 1700 manuscript could date to the late seventeenth century but would be consistent as well with dates in the early eighteenth century. Since a number of the recipes in the ca. 1700 manuscript appear to have been copied from cookbooks that appeared in 1705 and 1714 in London, it seems likely that the handwriting by Anonymous (1700) was begun approximately in the period 1710-1715. Mr. E. Lee Shepard, archivist of the Virginia Historical Society, examined the papers and concurs with this assessment.

A careful examination of several published English cookbooks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggests that the majority of the recipes in the ca. 1700 manuscript were based on recipes from 1654 to approximately 1740. One recipe may be adapted from one of Gervase Markham's recipes (1615), while another is an obvious descendant of an approximately 1390 French recipe (Appendix IV). (Both recipes used very young walnuts (numbered at least a hundred or more) which were pierced with holes and then preserved in a sweet syrup [honey or sugar].) It is also clear that Anonymous (1700) also recopied the earliest recipes from another treasured but tattered family manuscript, perhaps once in the possession of her mother or grandmother. She then proceeded to copy the latest fashionable recipes, beginning around 1705-1720.

Evidence for the latter date can be summarized as follows. Firstly, Anonymous (1700) carefully noted that the last quarter of her recipe collection was derived from "Kidder." This "Kidder" was E[dward] Kidder, author of Receipts of Pastry and Cookery, which was published twice: in 1720 and 1740. Secondly, some of the recipes she attributed to Kidder do not appear in the 1740 edition, which I have examined personally at the Library of Congress.

The implication is that the 1720 edition was her source. Thirdly, works by Robert Smith (1723/4), John Nott (1724), Charles Carter (1732) and Sarah Harrison (1733) not only show how heavily Kidder's work was plagiarized, but make use of language that is already more modern. Anonymous (1700), on the other hand, had faithfully copied (or plagiarized) Kidder's recipes right down to "ym" and "yn" and arabic numerals. Good examples of these differences lie in recipes for "To Boyle Pullets with Oysters," "Mutton A la Daube" and "To Pickle Smelts" (Appendix VII). Fourthly, her handwriting was more old fashioned – too old for 1740, even allowing for 'being out of date' in the New World.

According to Karen Hess, a number of recipes in Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery were actually in the family for generations (Hess 1981:449). While this was often the case for the ca. 1700 manuscript, great care must be taken to distinguish original family recipes from those copied from cookbooks. I have located sources in publications even for recipes which do not make any reference to a source, and will publish them after the completion of this thesis. The clues lie in the age and composition of the language as well as the personal vagaries of spelling and comments. Each recipe must be examined on its individual merit. A good example is the recipe, "To Stew Pidgeons," which came from a 1714 publication (Appendix VII). Others, such as "To make beef sausages without Skins" (p. 85), "To Make the Jews Almond Cakes", and "To Make Jews bread", seem to be originals (Appendix VII).

There are other tell-tale clues which assist in the dating of recipes if the date of a published source is unknown. Along with dated identification of cited contributors, there are ink and paper characteristics, old terms and phrases, and the replacement of obsolete ingredients or tools with new ones

(Hörandner 1981 [1977]:120). Old items such as pipkins and hair sieves, alterations in cooking techniques, contemporary fads and written observations of religious or natural phenomenon offer other useful clues. These factors also helped place the earliest copied recipes of the ca. 1700 manuscript to the mid-seventeenth century.

Old seventeenth century terms such as "walm" (Mansur 1960:94) and "shifting" evolved into their equivalent modern usage by the first quarter of the eighteenth century: "boil" and "changing." "Sparrow grass" was an early name for asparagus. Phrases such as "you must...", "...see your face at the bottom...", "prick with a needle," and "put a strow through it", dating from the mid-seventeenth century, were gradually dropped after the mid-seventeenth century for more streamlined and modernized English grammar. Another phrase, "Grosly shred...", from a 1705 cookbook (Anonymous 1705:85) was used for a given length of time, and Jane (Bolling) Randolph has a recipe in which she wrote "...groasly beaten..." (Randolph 1743:75). Rosewater or orange water, long favored as flavoring agents, were eventually replaced by vanilla which was introduced by Jefferson in 1784 (Hess 1981:13). The use of pipkins and gallypots disappeared during the early eighteenth century, due to the availability of different and improved wares. At the same time, cooking techniques changed. A syllabub originally was made by curdling. A good example is the squirt in Mrs. Byrd's recipe in Jane (Bolling) Randolph's cookbook. Mrs. Byrd used her squirt like a pastry tube to insert cream into her syllabub. (Squirt as a tool is not found in any other American cookbook according to Nancy Crump [Crump 1992, personal communication]. Only one other recipe [British, published in 1654] has been found to date with this item.) A whisk, however, was the adopted method by the turn of the

eighteenth century to separate the cream by aeration. In contrast, today's syllabubs are wine-based desserts (Belden 1975:1157; Driver and Berriedale-Johnson 1984:98). The following recipes illustrate such changes with time:

(Mrs. Byrd)

Mrs. Byrd's' Jumbals

Take 1 lib of Almonds Blanched in cold Water, Bet them very fine pput to them 1 lib DLS & the white of one Egg Beat it to a froth Beat them till they are mixed well together and so put them into the Squirt the Oven must be no hotter then when Bread is taken out (J. Randolph 1743:67).

(Cooper)

Take a pinte of White-wine or Sack, and a sprig of Rosemary a Nutmeg quartered, a Lemmon squeezed into it, with the peelee, and Sugar, put them into the pot at night, and cover them them till the next morne; then take a pinte of Cream, a pinte and half of new Milke; then take out one Lemon peel and Rosemary, and Nutmeg, and so squirt in your Milk into the pot (Cooper 1654:154-155).

(Anonymous 1700)

A Whipt Sillibub Extraordinary

Take a quart of Cream: and boil it let it stand till tis Cold then take a pint of white wine; pare a Lemon thin, and Steep the peel in the wine two howers before you use it, to this ad the juice of a Lemon an as much Sugar as will make it very Sweet: put all this together into a bason & whisk it all one way till tis pritty thick: Fill your Glasses and keep it a day before your use, twill keep good three or four days Let your Cream be full Measure and your wine rather less, if you like it perfum'd put a grain or two of Amber-greese (Anonymous 1700:12).

(Price)

To make a sillibub My Lady How's Receipt
Take a quart of cream and a pint of milk and boyle them., then put into your sillibub pot a pint of white wine and a glass of Sack with ye juce of one lemon. Sweeten it then pour in your creame stirring all the while. Then let it stand four houres; or you may make in ye morning and eat it at night; you must let your creame be as cold as milke from ye Cowe before ye mix it with ye wine (Price 1974 [1681]:164).

Another dating device was the appearance of French cuisine. It quickly became a hallmark of the last half of the seventeenth century. Other helpful clues included certain items made for religious holidays, such as unleavened Jews bread for Lent (Anonymous 1700:43a). Mary (Isham) Randolph instructed her daughter-in-law that the metheglin had to be brewed before the first of October (Randolph 1743:75). (Metheglin dates from medieval times. It is a mildly fermented, spiced and/or medicated beverage of honey and water [Hess 1981:390].) See Appendix IV. One cookbook as late as 1732 stipulated that "a little before Michaelmas is the best time to make this

metheglin..." (Carter 1732:220). (Michaelmas, now known as St. Michael's Day, was then observed on October 10th or on the first Sunday of October [MacDonald 1992:491-492]). Gathering oysters "in the full of ye moon" showed observation of natural phenomena, such as late night tides (Anonymous 1700:63).

Thus the cookbooks compiled by Anonymous (1700), Jane (Bolling) Randolph and Mary Randolph reflected evolutionary changes that occurred over the years, be it recipes, ingredients, terminology, fads or techniques.

Appendix II:

(J. Randolph)

A Plumb Cake pr Mrs Cary

Take 6 lb flower, nutmegs, Mace, Cinn
among of Each 1/2 an Oz mix them in the
Flower 6 lb Currants plump them well
one lb Sugar half of it mixt in the Currts
the rest in the flower 1 qt. Cream boil'd
then slice 1 lb and half of Butter in the
Cream to melt one pint and half of
Yeast 2 doz Eggs half the Whites strain your
Your Eggs & Yest on one side of
the Flower the Cream & Butter on the other
The Cream must be hot then mix
them all together make the Cake
very tender Let it stand by the
fire 'till the Oven is hot make your
Coffin of Paper well Butter'd, let
it stand in the Oven 2 hours
(Randolph, 1743:72-73).

(Coalter)

Plumb Cake Mrs. Cary or Pudding

1 1/4 lb Flour 1 lb Sugar 1 lb Butter 12 Eggs-cream the But-
ter and Flour together till quite light Beat the Yolks and
whites of Eggs seperately beat the sugar into the Yolks and
when light sided the whites then keep? them with the Butter
and Flour-and put in 1 1/4 lbs stoned raisins, cut up
or the same of Currans with 3 spoonfuls beaten mace
and 2 wine Glasses French Brandy It must be bak'd
in a quick Oven and the top must be hot enough
to turn it unless covered with Paper-thus way will ___ : a
Pudding but too large for a moderate company
(Coalter, 1808:37).

(Anonymous 1700)

[Scrap piece of paper:]

Mrs. Pr- fish Sass

Take Bech? Beef & Cut it small & put
it in your pan with a little water & let
it Stue over ye fier till it is Broun then
—? it till ye brun Cu?nse? of of ye pan
then pore it of & put more water
till you have as much as you want
then put your meet in a saspan with
with a little water & wine Onyon Ancho
-vis pepper & Salt & when you think
all ye gras?e is s?out off ye meet then
put it to ye other gravey & when ye
want to use it put half a pound
— to a pint of Grave

(Anonymous, 1700:67).

(J. Randolph)

M: Ps. Extraordinary Cakes

A pound of Sweet Almonds blanched
Do of the best flower beaten with a
Little Orange water 8 egges 4 whites
a Quarter of a pound of Loaf Sugar
beaten well together the rine of a
Lemon grated (Randolph, 1743:38)

(J. Randolph)

Mrs Chiswel's Receipt for a Cake, very good

To half a peck Flour put 2 lb Butter, 1 1/4 lb Sugar,
1/2 an oz: Nutmegs, 1/2 an oz: Mace, 1/4 an oz: Cloves 1/4 an oz:
Cinnamon, 16 Eggs, 1/2 the Whites, a pt Cream, 1/2 pt. Sack
a qt. Yest, & 5: lb Currants. Let it stand all Night to rise
(Randolph, 1743:90).

Appendix III:

(Anonymous 1700)

To make a Pretty Sort of Flummery

Put three large handfulls of Oat-
meal ground small, into two quarts
of fair water, let it Steep a Day and
Night, then pour off the Clear water,
and put the Same quantity of fresh water to it
Strain it through a fine hair-Seive, and boil it till as thick
as hasty-pudding, Stir it all the while, that it may be extremely
Smooth, and when you first Strain it out, before you Set it on
the fire, put in one Spoonful of Sugar, and two of Orange-flow(er)
water, when 'tis boild enough, pour it into shallow dishes, for use
(Anonymous 1700:13).

(J. Randolph)

Flummery

Put 3 large handfulls of Oat meal
ground fine into 2 qts of Water
Let? it steep 24 hours then pour
of the clear Water & put the same
Quantity of Water on it again then
strain it through a fine hair sifter &
boil it 'till 'tis as thick as a hasty Pudding
Stir it all the while to make it smooth
When you put it on the fire put in one
spoonful of Sugar & 2 of Oatmeal water
When it is boiled Enough put it into
shallow Dishes (Randolph, 1743:76).

(1714)

To make a pretty Sort of Flummery
 Put three large handfuls of Oat-
 meal ground small, into two quarts
 of Fair Water, let it steep a Day and
 Night; then pour off the clear Water,
 and put the same quantity of fresh Wa-
 ter to it; strain it through a fine Hair-
 sieve, and boil it 'till 'tis as thick as
 Hasty-pudding; stir it all the while,
 that it may be extremely Smooth;
 and when your first strain it out, be-
 fore you set it on the Fire, put in one
 Spoonful of Sugar, and two of good
 Orange-flower Water..) When 'tis boil'd
 enough, pour it into shallow dishes, for your Use.
 (Several Hands, 1714:74).

Appendix IV:

(ca. 1390)

Take Five Hundred New Walnuts

This is the way to make compote. It should be begun on St. John's Day, which is the twenty-fourth of June. First, around that time, take five hundred new walnuts, being careful that the shells and the kernels are not yet formed, and that the shells are not yet too hard or too soft. Peel them all around, make holes through them in three places or in the form of a cross, put them to soak in Seine or well water, and change the water every day. Let them soak ten or twelve days (they will turn black) until there is no bitterness when you chew them. Then boil them awhile in sweet water, for as long as it takes to say a *miserere*, or until they are neither too hard nor too soft. After this, throw out the water and put them in a sack to drain. Take honey, a *sextier* or as much as will thoroughly cover them, and melt it until it is runny and foamy. When it is cooled to lukewarm again, add the nuts. Leave them two or three days, then drain them. Take as much of your honey as will cover them, put it on the fire, bring it once to a rapid boil, skim it, and take it off the fire. In each of the holes in the nuts stick a clove on one side and a little piece of cut ginger in the other. When the honey is lukewarm, put the nuts in it and then turn them two or three times a day. After four days take them out and boil the honey again; if there is not enough, add more. Boil it, skim it, boil it, and then add the nuts. Do this every week for a month. Then leave them in an earthenware pot or a cask; and turn them once a week (Bayard 1992:121-122).

(Anonymous 1700)

To Preaserve Green Walnutts //

Take ye: beest green Walnutts You can gett when thay are so young
 that one may run a nedle through y/m: Then Cast of the Stalks & noses
 then prick them all over full of holes wth: a nedle haveing ready a
 Little of watter put y/m: in & make them boyle apace: a lettle while y/n
 Shift y/m in another water * & let them boyle till they are tender
 Shifting y/m: often y/n: peel them & haveing ready two boyling watter: putt
 them in & let them have a warm or two over the fier in Each water
 then take them up into a Cleane Cloth & dry them y/n: way them
 & take their weight in Sugar & to Each pound of sugar 1 pd of watter
 Set it over a quick fier & scum it well Then put in y/r walnutts &
 let y/m: boyl 1/2 an hour or rather more y/n: take y/m: of ye fier & let y/m stand
 all ye night ye next day heat it againe: Scalding hot: Then take ye
 Walnuts up into ye pots & lay y/m eaven: y/n: boyle up ye Syrup till it be
 Pretty thick scum it very well & pour it on y/m ye next day paper y/m
 (Anonymous, 1700:27).

(J. Randolph)

To Pickle Wallnuts

Gather your Wallnuts about the middle of July Lett them Lye in Pump water 3 weeks Shifting them every day in fresh water then take Salt & water that will bear an Egg, boyling hott pour over them for a Fortnight Shifting them once in three days, wiping them every time For ye pickle of an hundred wallnutts if Large will require 5 quarts of vinegar when you putt your vinegar Over the fire you must putt in 3 or 4 Shallots when they are Scalded a Little take them out the Quantity of Spice for 100 Walnuts is an oz. of whole black Pepper 1/2 ounce of Jamaica Do. an ounce of Ginger 1/2 oz of mace & Cloves 2 Nuttmegs a Clover or two of garlick Putt the Garlick with the Spice the Vinegar Some horse Reddish butt when all these boyle pour it Over the Wall nutts it must be 3 times once in 3 weeks Some bay Leaves in ye Pickle if you put Mustard seed itt must be half a pint put not putt in till Cold- (Randolph, 1743:46).

(M. Randolph)

To Picle English Walnuts.

The walnuts should be gathered when the nut is so young that you can run a pin into it easily; pour boiling salt and water on and let them be covered with it nine days, changing it every third day; take them out and put them on dishes in the air for a few minutes, taking care to turn them over; this will make them black much sooner; put them in a pot, strew over some whole pepper, cloves, a little garlic, mustard seed, and horse radish scraped and dried, cover them with strong cold vinegar (Randolph, 1824:208).

(J. Randolph)

To Pickle Walnuts

Take young walnuts put them into a pot of water almost boiling hot in which let them Stand Seven days, then take them out & put them into a pot of boiling water let them boil a Quarter of an hour, wipe them & put them Into as much vinagar as will Cover them 2 Inches then add cloves ginger mace Nutmeg pepper crack't Mustard Seed, 10: or 12: cloves of garlick as much shallot, digest all in cold pickle for 9: or 10: Days put in the nuts & keep them close tied Down (Randolph, 1743:83-84).

Appendix V:

Jane Randolph's Account Book 1739:

p. 4 1739 19 Oct.	Mrs. Margery	Dr.	Cr.		
	To 1 Flanll. Petticoate	@3	9	3	9
	To 1 pr. Stockings	@3	9	3	9
	To 2 yds. Flanll.	@2		4	
	To George's acct.	1		1	
	To 1 pr. Stockings				
	To 1 pr. Gloves	3		3	
	To 1 1/2 yd. Check	1		1	6
	To 1 1/2 yd. Linsey Woolsey	1	8	2	1
	To 2 1/2 yds. Rushia	@	4 1/2		11 1/2
			Cur. L.	1	
1739 21 Oct	Cate	Dr.			
		Cur.			
	To 2 yds. Stripe Cotton	@2	6	5?	
	To 2 yds. Dutch Do.	@2	2	4	4
22	To 1 Check apron & Beads	@3		3	
	To 1 paper of pins	@7 1/2 d.		7 1/2	
	To 1 piece none so pretty	@	Do.	7 1/2	
	Cur. L.		13	7	
			<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	
	Remains Due by Ballance		12	4	
	P Contra Crs.				
1739 21 Oct.	P Contra Cr.				
	By Cash reced one Shill: & 9 pence	1	3		
p. 5 1739 21 Oct	Joan	Dr.	Cr.		
	To 3 1/2 yds. Cotton	@	2.2	7	7
1739 22 Oct	Sam	Dr.	Ster.		
	To 1 pr. stockings	@	3	3	
	To 1 Worsted Cap	@	<u>1</u>		
			Ster.	<u>4</u>	
			Cur.	5	
			<u>2</u>	<u>1 1/2</u>	
	Remain/Due by Ballance	Cur. L.	2	0 1/2	
	P Contra	Cr.			
	by Cash			3	
	By Do.			1	7
	P Contra	Cr.			5

By Cash reced

2 11 1/2

p 6.

19 Oct

mr. Peter Randolph

Dr.

Ster.

To 19 yds. Linen	@7d per yd	11	1	
To 14 1/2 yds. Do.	@8 1/2	10	8 3/4	
To 1 pr. of Worsted hose	18	1	6	
To 9 1/2 Yds. Linen	@11	8	8 1/2	
To 2 pr. Children hose		2		
To 3/4 yds Ribband	@8d		6	
To Do.			6	
To Do.			6	
To 1 pr. Red Hose		3		
To 2 pr. Womens Hose	@3s	6		
To 16 1/2 yds. White kowl	@7d	9		
To Pins		2	7	
To 100 sowing Needles	@6s pr 1000		7	
To 1/2 lb. Thread	@10s	5		
To 2 pr. Stockings	@3/6?		7	
To 1 Hair Cap	@6d		6	
To 1 Bible	@18s			
		<u>18</u>		
	Ster. L.	4	7	5 1/2
	Cur.	5	9	3 1/2

P Contra Cr

By Charged by R R in Private
acct. L. folo. 109

p. 7

1739

20 Oct

Major John Bolling

Dr.

Ster.

To 1 prs. Dutch Cotton		19	7	
To 21 1/4 yds. Rushia Linen	@4 12d			
To 24 yds. Do.	@10 1/2	1	1	
To 3 pr. Boys hose 3s Twist	3d		3	3
To 11 Worsted Caps	@9d		<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>
	Ster. L.		3	0
	Cur.		3	15

1739

20 Oct

Madm Carey

Dr.

Ster.

To 7 prs. Stockings	@12d		7	
To 1 pr. Do.	@24		2	
To 19 yds. Rushia Cloth	@4 1/2		7	1 1/2
To 20 hanks Worsted	@ 1		1	8
To 1 busk	@ 4			4
To 2 borders 10 Petticoats	@14		2	4
To 4 1/2 Yds. Ribband	@ 8		3	
To 10 1/2 yds. Ell wide Check	@15		13	1 1/2
To 4 prs. Gloves	@14			
To 3 pr. Stockings	@42		10	6
To pr. Norwich Gloves	@15		13	1 1/2
To 1 lb. Coarse Do.	@28		2	4
To 6 Worsted Caps	@ 9		4	6

Ster.

L4:9:10

Curs.

	To 3 yds. Diapr.	@21		15	3?
	To 1 pr. scales & wafer			?	?
P Contra Cr.					
P Contra Cr.					
p. 8					
1739					
13 Oct	Coll: Richd. Randolph	Dr.			
	To 600 Pins at 2s P 1000	Ster.		1	
	and sowing Needles to ye				
	Irish men yt. Brot ye Butter				
19	To 1/2 yd. Lawn	@9s		4	6
	To 2 1/2 yds. Do.	@2.10		7	1
21	To 2 pr. Drawn Pocketts	@1		2	
	To 6 prs. Mittins	@1 6		9	
	To 2 pr. Gloves	@10		1	8
	To 3 yds. canvass for Sampler	@1 6		4	6
23	To 35 yds. Check	@1 6	2	12	6
	To 3 pr. Childrens Stockings	@4 1/2	1	11 1/2	
	To 1 Flanll. Petticoate	@3		3	
	To 7 1/4 yds. stripe Flanll.	@1 8		12	1
26	To mr. Pleasants acct.		2	2	3
29	To 1 Piece Cotton	@12	1	1	
30	To 24 yds. Rushia Cloth	@10 1/2d	1	1	
	To 23 1/2 yds. Do.	@4 1/2	8	9 3/4	
	To 3 yds. Do.	@Do.	1?	1 1/2	
	To Ned's acct.			8	
31	To ye Gardener's acct.			<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
		Ster. L.	9	19	4 3/4
		Cur.	12	9	4 3/4
			1		
April 2	To Margery				
P Contra Cr.					
1742	By Cash Reciev'd of Jean			7	7
June 2d:					
p. 9					
1739					
21 Oct	mr. Joseph Hobson	Dr.			
	To 2 pr. Stockings	Cur.		3	9
	To 23 Ells Rushia	@9d		<u>17</u>	
		Cur. L.		9	
				<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>
	Remain/Due p Ballance			11	7
1739					
20 Oct	Beverly Randolph Esqr.	Dr.			
	To 1 pr. Stockings	@4s		4	
	To 1 pr. Do.	@1.9d		1	9
21	To 2 pr. Do.	@4.3		<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>

				Ster. L.	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>
	To two fans			Cur.	17	10
	To four yds. Riband				<u>3</u>	
					1	10
1739						
23 Oct	mrs. Baugh			Ster.		
	To 2 pr. Stockings	@8d			<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
				Cur.	1	8
1739						
17 Oct	mr. Sackvill Brewer		Dr.	Ster.		
	To 2 pr. Stockings	@4s		Ster.	8	
				Cur.	10	
1739	P Contra Cr.					
21 Oct	By Cash reced nine Shillings & 2 pence				9	2
	P Contra Cr.					
	P Contra Cr.					
	P Contra Cr					

Appendix VI:

Will of Jane Randolph:

Will of Jane Randolph, of "Curles." In the name of God Amen I Jane Randolph of Curles, in the County of Henrico, being of Sound Mind and Memory, do constitute and appoint this my last will & Testament, in manner and form following. Imprimis, I give & bequeath unto my Son Richard Randolph, one silver Salver; four large silver salt-cellars; one Counterpane of the largest size, & one fringed counterpane of the best sort: Item: I devise unto my Son Ryland, one silver Tankard; two small silver waiters; one large silver spoon, one Counterpane of the largest size, and one fringed counterpane of the best sort. Item; I devise unto my son John, one flat silver Candle Stick & snuffers; one dozen large silver Table spoons with the crest on them, ten silver sweet meat spoons, & two old silver Table spoons now about the House; with all the old Tea-spoons: one counterpane of the smallest size, a silk Quilt, the black Trunk

in the Chamber, and two small Counterpanes of the worst sort; Item, I give to my Daughter-in-law Anne Randolph, The silver chased Milk Pot & the Coral and whereas by my late Husbands will, my Sons Brett, Ryland & John were entitled to sundry Slaves therein named, with their future increase which he lent me during my Life & were directed by my said Husband to be equally divided between them; three of which slaves to-wit, Jenny the Daughter of Joan, Hannah, & Ester the Daughter of Cato, were by me put into the possession of my said son Brett and by him sold to my son John; I do allot these following, Jenny, Stump, Seneca, & Jemmy the son of Bob; part of the said devised slaves, to be his share. I give unto my son Ryland & his Heirs old Jenny, old Dinah, Nelly, Ben, Sue the daughter of Jenny, York, Hannebal, & Pompey, Billy & Jenny the children of Sue. Item; I give unto my son John & his heirs,- Jack, Isaac, Bounshire?, George & Cato, Joan & her son Thompson, and Jenny the Daughter of Chillis, and Nelly, Bob & Jenny the children of Sue. Item, I give unto my Daughter Elizabeth, the sum of sixty Pounds currency, My Gold Watch, Seal, Chain, and all appurtenances; the Mahogoney Press which stands in my Room; The chest which stands under the Window in the store Room & everything in it, except a pr. of cotton cards. I lent to my Niece Jane Eldridge, during her natural life, my negro woman Sally, with her sons Jemmy & nat, & her future increase. But my will is, that if my said Niece should marry, and have Issue then I give the said Slaves to my said niece in fee. But if this contingency should not happen, & my said niece should not marry, & have Issue, then I give the said slaves Sally, & her Children, unto my daughter Elizabeth & her Heirs. I give unto my Niece Jane Eldridge my black Walnut Press. Item. I give unto my Daughter Elizabeth. my Post Charriot. Item; I give all the Pewter & Copper furniture to my three sons Richard, Ryland & John and

the eldest surviving son of my deceased son Brett to be equally divided among them by my Executors. Item; I give unto my Son Richard, the Mahogany Scritoire in the little Hall. Item, I give unto my son Ryland my Picture of his Father's hanging in my Room and the Picture of my son Brett drawn in Crayons; also the large Mahogany Table in the Dining Room; and the small Mahogany Spring Table. Item, I give unto my Son John the Picture of Sr. John Randolph and the black Walnut Scrutiore in the Chamber. Item, I give unto the eldest surviving son of my deceased Son Brett, the Picture in the Chamber. Item, I give unto my three Sons, Richard, Ryland, & John & the eldest surviving son of my deceased son Brett, eight Feather Beds, to be equally divided among them by my executors I also give unto my said three sons & Grandson, to be equally divided all the cash I may leave, after my Debts, & legacies are paid. I leave all my effects not before disposed of in trust to my Sons Richard & Ryland, to be divided agreeable to Memorandum committed to their care. And I do appoint my sons Richard & Ryland, with Coll. Archibald Cary, my Executors. In witness whereof, I have hereto set my Hand & Seal & published this my last will & Testament this second day of March, one Thousand seven Hundred & sixty-six. But I first direct farther that there be no appraisement of my estate. Signed, sealed and published in presence of us Elizabeth Gay, Anne Murray. Jane Ralph [sic] (Black Wax Seal Arms.)

(Anonymous 1758-1769:1995-1998.)

Appendix VII:

(J. Randolph)
 Potatoe Custeard very good
 To a quart of Potatoe Pulp, put a quart
 of good top of Milk, Six Eggs 2 spoonfuls
 Rose Water, half a Nutmeg, sweeten it to your
 Taste then bake it in good Paste
 (Randolph 1743:98)

(Anonymous 1700)

To Make the Jews Almond Cakes

Take 1 lb Almonds: blanch them & beat y/m with 3 Spoonfulls Orange flower: watter then take 1/2 lb of Duple refin'd Sugar & ye youlks of 4 Eggs & beat y/m altogether in a mortar very well: Then put in 2 Grs: of musk or amber Grease,
To make ye past you must take 1/4 lb of double refind Sugar 1/2 lb of flower dry'd: & 2 Eggs but one white & wth: a little watter make a Stiff past and So make it into what form you please / /
(Anonymous 1700:43a).

(Anonymous 1700)

To Make Jews Bread

Take 11 yolks of Eggs & beat y/m very well wth: a little amber watter abt: a spoonfull: then put to it 1 lb of Duple-refined Sugar & 1 lb flower Then put it into ye: pans & put them into a moderate Oven / /
(Anonymous 1700:43a).

(Anonymous 1700)

To Make Jumballs

Take One pound & half of flower Dried One pound of fine Sugar put it into Six yoalkes of Eggs & three whites Butter ye Bigness of an Egg A quarter of a pound of Coriander & Carraway Seeds & Six Spoonfulls of Cream as much Rose
(Anonymous 1700:15).

(M. Randolph)

Wafers

Make a very thin batter with eggs, milk, butter, and powdered loaf sugar, to your taste; pour it into Wafer irons, bake them very quick, without browning; roll them as you take them from the irons (Randolph 1824:173).

(J. Randolph)

French Bread, or Rouls, for Oisters-

Take 1 qt. Flour three Eggs, a bit Butter, a little Saqk [sic], make it up with warm Milk, very light, & Bake them in little patty-pans.- You must stew the oisters very nice, then scoop all the crum out of the Roles, & fill the hole with the stew'd Oisters, & put on the bit You cut off. Pour some melted Butter over the top, & Just set them in the Oven after they are drawn, to crisp them
(Randolph 1743:92).

(Mrs, Byrd)

Mrs. Byrds' Jumbals

Take 1 lib of Almonds Blanched in cold Water, Bet them very fine put to them 1 lib D LS & the white of one Egg Beat it to a froth Beat them till they are mixed well together and so put them into the Squirt the Oven must be no hotter then when Bread is taken out (J.Randolph 1743:67).

(J. Randolph)

To Pickle Beets Rots or turnips

(M. Randolph)

To Make Jumbals

To one pound of butter and one of flour, add one pound of sugar, four eggs beaten light, and whatever spice you like; knead all well together, and bake it nicely
(Randolph 1824:157).

(J. Randolph)

Wafers

Take a qt of thick Cream half a pound fine Sugar a cup of rose water as much fine flour as will make it thin Batter make you Iron hot put a Spoonful on it they will be presently done (Randolph 1743:90).

(M. Randolph)

Take little round loaves, cut of the top, scrape out all the crumbs, then put the oysters into a stew pan with the crumbs that came out of the loaves, a little water, and a good lump of butter; stew them together ten or fifteen minutes, then put in a spoonful of good cream, fill your loaves, lay the bit of crust carefully on again, set them in the oven to crisp. Three are enough for a side dish
(Randolph 1824:78)

(Cooper)

Take a pinte of White-wine or Sack, and a sprig of Rosemary a Nutmeg quartered, a Lemmon squeezed into it, with the peeel, and Sugar; put them into the pot at night, and cover them them till the next morne; then take a pinte of Ccream, a pinte and half of new Milke; then take out one Lemon peel and Rosemary, and Nutmeg, and so squirt in your Milk into the pot (Cooper 1654:154-155).

(M. Randolph)

Red Beet Roots

Are not so much used as they deserve to be;

Boil yr. beet roots in water
Salt and Spice, a pint
Vinagar when they are 1/2
boiled put in yr. turnips
Being pard, when they are
boiled; take them of & keep
them in this pickle
(Randolph 1743:80-81).

they are dressed in the same way as pars-
nips; only neither scraped nor cut till after
they are boiled; they will take from an hour
and a half to three hours in boiling, accord-
ing to their size; to be sent to the table with
salt fish, boiled beef, &c. When young,
large and juicy, it is a very good variety, a
excellent garnish, and easily converted into a
very cheap and pleasant pickle (Randolph
1824:123).

(Anonymous 1700)

To Pickle beet Root & Turnips

Boyle yor. beet roots in water & salt a pt of vinegar a little Cutchenele when
they are half boyled put in ye turnips being pared wn they are boyled take
ym off ye fier & keep ym in this pickle (Anonymous 1700:65).

(Anonymous 1700)

To Boyle Pullets & oysters

Boyle ym in water & salt wth a good piece of bacon for, for
sauce draw up a pd of butter wth a little strong broth white wine
& a qt of large oysters yn put yor 3 pullets in a dish Cut yor
bacon & lay about ym wth a pd & 1/2 of fry'd sausages garnish it wth
slicd lemon (Anonymous 1700:59b).

(Kidder)

To Boyle Pullets & oysters

Boyle ym in water & salt wth a good piece of bacon, for
sauce draw a pd of butter wth a little strong broth white wine
& a qt of large oysters yn put your 3 pullets in a dish Cut yor
bacon & lay about ym wth a pd & 1/2 of fry'd sausages garnish it wth
slicd lemon (Kidder 1740:F2).

(R. Smith)

To boil Pullets and Oysters

Boil them in Water and Salt, with a piece
of Bacon: For Sauce, melt a Pound of
Butter with a little white-Wine and strong-Broth,
and a Quart of Oysters, then put your Pullets
in the Dish, cut the Bacon, and lay about them
them with a pound or two of fry'd Sausages, and
garnish it with sliced Lemon (Smith, 1723:22-23).

(Anonymous 1700)

A Leg of Mutton Ala Daube

Lard yor meat wth beaon half roast it draw it off ye spitt and
put it in as small a pott as will boyle it put to it a qt of white
wine strong broth a pt of vinegar whole spice bay leaves
swete marjoram winter savory & green onions wn ye meat is
ready make seace wth some of ye liquor mushrooms dicd Lemon
2 or 3 anchovys thicken it wth brown butter & garnish it wth
sliced Lemon (Anonymous 1700:62).

(Kidder)

A Leg of Mutton Ala Daube

Lard yor meat wth beaon half roast it draw if off ye spitt and
put it in as small a pott as will boyle it put to it a qt of white
wine strong broth a pt of vinegar whole spice bay leaves
swete marjoram winter savory & green onions wn ye meat is
ready make seace wth some of ye liquor mushrooms dicd Lemon
2 or 3 anchovys thicken it wth brown butter & garnish it wth
sliced Lemon (Kidder 1740:F7).

(S. Harrison)

A Leg of Mutton A la Daube

Lard your Meat with Bacon, half
roast it, draw if off, the Spit and put
it in as small a Pot as will boil it, a Quart

of White Wine, a Pint of Vinegar, strong Broth, whole Spice, Bay Leaves, Sweet Marjoram, Savory, Onions; when the Meat is ready make the sauce of some of the Liquor, Mushrooms, diced Lemon, two or three Anchovies, thicken it with brown Butter, lay it in the Dish, pour on the Sauce, garnish it with sliced Lemon (Harrison, 1733:155-156).

(Anonymous 1700)

A Calves Head hashd

Your Calves head being slitt & Cleans'd, half boyld, & Cold Cut one side into thin slices fry it in a pan of brown butter yn having a toss-pan on ye stov with a pt of gravy as much strong broth a quarter of a pt of Clarret as much white wine & an handfull of savory balls 2 or 3 shiverd pallats a pt of oysters Cocks-combs lamstons & sweet breads blanchd & sliced with mushrooms truffels & murrells 2 or 3 anchovys as many shallots a foggot of sweet herbs toss'd up & stewed together season it with savory spice yn scotch ye other side Cross & Cross flower bast & broyle it the hash being thickened wth brown butter put it in ye dish lay over & about it fryd balls & ye tongue sliced & larded wth bacon lemon piele & beet root yn fry in ye batter of eggs slicd sweet bread Carved Cippets & oysters lay in ye head & place these on & about ye dish & garnish it wth slicd orange and lemon (Anonymous 1700:60).

(Anonymous 1700)

To Pickle Smelts

Lay ym in a pan in rows lay on ym slicd lemon ginger nutmeg mace peper and pay [sic] leaves powderd & sald [sic] let ye pickle be red wine vineger bruis(d) Cutchenele & peter salt. You may eat ym as anchovys (Anonymous 1700:65).

(Kidder)

To Pickle Smelts

Lay ym in a pot in rows, lay on ym slicd lemon ginger nutmeg mace, pepper & bay leaves powder'd, & salt; let ye pickle be red wine vineger, bruis'd Cochinele & peter salt, let ye pickle be boyl'd & cold & pour'd on ym, & cover ym close (Kidder 1740:K2).

(S. Harrison)

To Pickle Smelts

Your Smelts being gutted, lay them in a Pan in Rows, lay on them sliced Lemon, Ginger, Nutmeg, Mace, Papper and Bay-Leaves powderd and Salt; let the Pickle be Red wine Vinegar, bruisd Cotchinal, and Peter-Salt; you may eat them with Lemon and Pickle, as you eat Anchovies (Harrison 1733:172).

(Anonymous 1700)

To Caveech Fish

When ye fish is gutted and wash'd, Cut it in round peices, and Split the head, when so done, wipe them very dry, then take Nutmeg, Cloves, and Mace, and English pepper, beat them very fine, and mix salt with them, and Season the fish there with, then fry then in Sweet Oyl, till it is brown and dry, turning every peice on all sides then set them a Colling, and (A)nd take as much Vinegar as will Cover the fish, boyling in the Vinegar 2 or 3 Cloves of garlick, and some whole pepper, when boyld together take it off of the fire, and Set them a Cooling, and when all is Cold, put the fish into a pot, then pour the pickle — when so done pour half a pint of Sweet Oyl

(M. Randolph)

To Hash a Calf's Head

Boil the head till the meat is almost enough for eating; then cut it in thin slices, take three quarters of a pint of good gravy, and add half a pint of white wine, half a nutmeg two anchovies, a small onion stuck with cloves, and a little mace; boil these up in the liquor for a quarter of an hour, then strain it and boil it up again; put in the meat, with salt to your taste, let it stew a little, and if you choose it, you may add some sweet breads, and make some forced meat balls with veal; mix the brains with the yelks of eggs, and fry them to lay for a garnish. When the head is ready to be sent in, stir in a bit of butter (Randolph 1824:90).

(M. Randolph)

To Caveach Fish

Cut the fish in pieces the thickness of your hand, wash it and dry it in a cloath, sprinkle on some pepper and salt, dredge it with flour, and fry it a nice brown; when it gets cold, put it in a pot with a little chopped onion between the layers, take as much vinegar as will cover it, mix with it some oil, pounded mace, and whole black pepper, pour it on and stop the pot closely. This is a very convenient article, as it makes an excellent and ready addition to a dinner or supper. When served up, it should be garnished with green fennel or parsley (Randolph 1824:104).

over, tye it up Close and keep it for use the above receipt is Calculated for about 8 lbs of fish the firmest fish is the best to be done, and if done well, will keep twelve months (Anonymous 1700:5-6).

(1714)

To Stew Pidgeons

Take six Pigeons with their Giblets cut the Pigeons in Quarters put ym in ye Stew-pan with two blades of Mace, a little Pepper are tender, thicke the Liquor with water enough to of one egg, three Spoonfuls of water enough to of thick Sweet Cream, a bit of Butter; when they are tender, thicke the Liquor with the yolk of one egg, three Spoonfuls of of thick Sweet Cream, a bit of Butter and a little shred thyme and Parsly, shake ym all up and garnish it with Lemon (Several Hands 1714:10-11).

Appendix VIII:

(J. Randolph),

Thomas Edwardses Receipt
to keep Sturgeon

You must wash & Scrap it very clean,
then take out the bones, and grisle,
then boile it in Salt and water, scum it
all the while tis boiling
when tis
colld enoug, lay it on clean straw to
drain, then take some vinegar, and the
liquor it was boild in, an equal quan-
tyt boil it together with pepper and
Salt, let it cool and settle, when cold,
wipe the sturgeon, and put it into the
Souce, put the oil on it and cover it close
(Randolph 1743:87)

(M. Randolph)

To Pickle Sturgeon

The best sturgeons are the small ones, about four feet long without the head and the best part is the one next to the tail. After the sturgeon is split through the back bone, take a piece with the skin on, which is essential to its appearance and goodness, cut off the gristle, scrape the skin well, wash it, and salt it; let it lie twenty-four hours, wipe off the salt, roll it and tie it around with twine, put it on in a good deal of cold water, let it boil till you can run a straw easily into the skin, take it up, pull off the large scales, and when cold, put it in a pot, and cover it with one part vinegar and two of salt and water; keep it closely-stopped, and when served, garnish with green fennel (Randolph 1824:104)

Appendix IX:

(J. Randolph)

To make Metheglein
 Make your honey and water strong
 Enough to bare an Egg then boil it away
 to abt. 6 Inches then take it off and set
 it to cool the Yest must be very good,-
 work'd very well by the fire then mix it
 off with your wort wch. must be a little
 warm then set it to work, being cover'd-
 with a Blankett when it has done
 working turn it into a clean dry Cask
 & take 1 Oz. Cloves Do of Mace & as much
 Ginger some Nutmeg groasly beaten
 tie them up in a rag and put them up
 into the Cask & stop it very well Let it stand
 3 months & then bottle it in 7 weeks time
 (J. Randolph 1743:75).

it will be fit to drink.

Pr. mrs. Mary Randolph

Pr. Mrs. Mary Randolph

NB You must brew this drink the first of October
 (Randolph 1743:133).

Appendix X:

(J. Randolph)

For a broken Cancer this Receipt Cost
 the old Lady Arundell 200 L in germany
 The Caustick powder
 Take yellow Arsenick an Ounce Bole
 Armoniack half an ounce make ym it to
 fine powder & mix them well together
 The Glistening Caustick Powder

Take an ounce of yellow Arsenick red
 Precipitate & bole Armoniack of each
 half an ounce & mix them well together
 when made into fine Powder
 (Randolph, 1743:35)

(J. Randolph)

The Oyntment of Tobacco
 Take of Tobacco Leaves 6 pounds
 hogs Lard Clarified 3 pounds Lett ye
 Herb being bruised be infused in a pint
 or read Sed wine a whole night in
 the morning put the Lard to the
 herbs & Lett it boyle Over a Slow
 Fire to the Consuming of the wine
 Then strain it of the Juice of Tobacco
 a pint Rosin 12 ounces sett it on the
 Fire again & Lett it boyle to ye consum
 ption of the Juice then take it off
 & Lett it stand a whole week then
 Sett it on a Slow fire & when it boyls
 Putt in a Little by Little of a time of
 the Powder of round beachworck roots
 6 ounces then Lett it Stand boyling
 for half an hour Stirring it all the
 Time with a wooden Stick then add (79)
 it half a pound of bee's wax & when its
 Melted take it off & Lett it Stand to
 Settle then pour it off gently from ye
 Dregs you must Stir it first nor Loose
 it till its Cold

The Virtues of this Oyntment
 It Cures humorous Apposthumes wounds
 Ulcers Gun Shots blotches & Scabs Itch
 Stinging with Bees or Wasps hornetts

This will never Putrifie a wound
 with a Weapon that no text? Can follow
 On? it ?with this & you need not fear any
 Danger of your head Aches anoint ye
 Temples & you Shall have Ease the
 Stomach being Anointed with it no
 Infirmary harbours there no not
 Asthmas nor Consumptions of ye Lungs
 the belly being Anointed with it
 Helps the Chollick & Passion
 it helps the Hermoriads & piles &
 is the best for the Gout of all sorts
 (Randolph, 1743:48-49).

(J. Randolph)

A Receipt for Purging

Take half an oz of Kipsacuanna, dec(e?) it in one
 equal quantity of Clarit, & Water let it boil from a qrt
 to less than a pint. Strain it, & add one Spoonful of Oil
 give it in a Glisten. If the Patient be very weak or
 a Chid, you must infuse less, of the Root. A dram
 being a full Quanty for a Man- J. Coupland
 (Randolph 1743:97).

Venemous Beasts wound made with
 Poysned Arrows it helps Scalding with
 burning Oil or Lightning & that with
 out a Scar it helps nasty Rotten
 Putryfied Ulcers though in the Lungs
 In Fistulaes though the bone be
 Afflicted it Shall Seale it without an
 Instrument & bring up ye flesh from
 ye very bottom a wound Dresst with

Appendix XI:

(Anonymous 1700)
 The order

First Dishes

Pottages of all sorts
 a dish of fish
 beans & beaçon
 a ham & chickens
 pullets & oysters
 boyled tongues & udders
 a ledg of veal bacon & herbs
 a calves head hashed
 a goose or turkey ala daube
 a legg of veal or mutton ala daube
 a bisk of pidgeons
 a forcd leg of veal boyld
 a powderd haunch of venison
 a powderd leg of pork
 a leg of mutton & turnips
 a piece of salt beef carrots
 pullets bacon & cabbatch
 boyld foulde & marraw bons
 a turbit & small fish

Side Dishes

Bombarded veal
 Scotcht Collops
 A forced leg of Lamb
 Cutlets forcd
 Frigasees white or brown
 A ragooe of any sort
 Puddings of any sort
 Atourt or tansie
 Pease beans or french beans
 Scollopt oysters
 Ollives of veal
 Carp in a ragooe
 Pidgeons & asparragus
 Lambstons & Sweetbreads
 Stewed or forcd Carp
 Chickens ala Cream
 A pompetone

Second Course

A dish of wild foul
 Green geese or ducklings
 Roast Chickens or pidgeons
 Lamb in joynts
 Fryd fish
 Turkey pouts or Leverits
 Partridges Cocks or Snips
 Teasants [sic] quails or Larks
 Wild ducks or teal

Bottom Dishes

A chine of veal or mutton
 a jaggot of mutton
 a neck of veal
 pidgeons in surtout
 pudings of sorts
 roast beef mincd pyes
 cold ham: slicd tongus
 potted meats or foulde
 cold lobsters salmon
 or sturgen
 a haunch of venison roast
 a lege of mutton roast with oysters
 lamb in joynts
 a chine & turkey
 roast tongues & udders
 chickens & asparragus
 hens wth eggs
 a roast pike
 a calves head roast

For ye midle of the table

A Grand sallad
 Pickles of all sorts
 A sallad & butter
 A hott or Cold pye
 Tarts Chees Cakes puffs
 A Custards
 jellies & Creams
 Blamangoes
 A dish of fruite
 A sweetmeat tart
 A patty of Lobsters
 Cold Lobsters

Plates

A ponpetone
 Oyster, Loves
 Tourts of marrow or Cream
 Artichokes in Cream
 Eggs la swith
 Portugall eggs
 Cutlets, ollives of veal
 Patties of oysters
 Crawfish prawns shrimps

Buttard Lobsters or Crabs
 Artichokes boyld
 Asparragus & eggs
 Scollopt oysters
 Pitty Patties
 A tourt or tansie
 Tarts Cheascaks puffs & Custards
 A dish of Pease
 A ragooe of mushrooms
 Lobsters ragoode or roused
 (Anonymous, 1700:68. Based on Kidder.)

Fritters of a peecoaks or oysters
 Vnion tansie
 Polonia sausage
 Slicd tongues
 Salmongandy
 Potting Collaring or Pickles of any
 sort: Marraw or Spinnage toast
 Veal puffs
 Sweetbreads larded & roasted

Appendix XII:

Letter of Wm McKean, steward, to James Dunlop, July 17nth, 1810:

...You have here enclosed a list of garden seeds which you will please send out also. The Ladies think the garden is nothing because there are no flowers in it, when you order the seeds, you may as well order a few flower seeds also, to ornament it a little, and please the Ladies.

4 lb Orange Carrot	4 oz. Early Battersea cabbage
2 qts. Wh round turnip	4" do Sugar leaf do
2" green ____ do	4" red Dutch leaf do
2" red ____ do	1/2 lb large Winter do
2" yellow ____ do	1/2 " do long sided do
3 lb rape	1/2 " Scotch ____ do
1/2 " Blk Spanish radish	1/2 " Green Savoy
1/2" London short top do	4 oz. Yellow do
1/2" rose Turnip do	4 oz. Curled brown cob
1/2" Salmon ____ do	4" green do. Scotch do.
4 oz. Imperial Lettuce	2 lb. globe artichokes
4 " Hardy green do	4 qts early frame peas
4" Brown dutch do	4" Wh double dwf. do
1/2 lb Prickly Spinach	4" do fine early Hots do
1/2" round ____ do	4" dwf. marrow do
4 oz. Solid cellery	4" nonpareil do
2" north large do	4" Charleston Hotts do
2" Early cauliflower	4" Spanish Manotte do
2" late ____ do	1/2 lb Gravesend Asparagus
2" Early dross cabbage	2 oz. large Cork do
4" do York do	1/2 lb Russia cabbage

(McKean, July 17, 1810:n.p.)

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