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A Dinner at the Governor's Palace, 10 September 1770

Mollie C. Malone

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<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-0rxz-9w15>

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A DINNER AT THE GOVERNOR'S PALACE,
10 SEPTEMBER 1770

A Thesis

Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of American Studies
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Mollie C. Malone

1998

APPROVAL SHEET

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

Master of Arts

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I want to thank Professor Barbara Carson, under whose guidance this paper was completed, for her "no-nonsense" style and supportive advising throughout the project. I also want to express gratitude to Pat Gibbs for her careful reading and constructive comments, as well as the gracious loan of many books. Thank you to Grey Gundaker for reading and correspondence during the final stages of the paper. I am incredibly grateful to Jennifer Jones (John Hancock) for her wit and flexibility during my tenure at Colonial Williamsburg. My sincerest thanks also go to the rest of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia for their constant support, helpful criticism, and unfailing humor.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to synthesize and present, in a readable narrative form, the abundant secondary and numerous primary resources available about eighteenth-century foodways at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, Virginia during the governorship of Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt.

The paper follows the entire process of a meal, hypothetically dated 10 September 1770, from the earliest stages of planning and procurement through the service and eating of the prepared meal. This reconstruction of a dinner in honor of Governor Robert Eden and his wife, is based on the 1770 inventory of Governor Botetourt's belongings in the Palace and eighteenth-century cooking practices. Additionally, an appendix of appropriate recipes, annotated with documentary evidence about foodstuffs at the Palace, provides information specific to Williamsburg. The final product is written in a style known as historical imagination, which allows the author a measure of speculation and artistic license while working within the bounds of the evidence.

A DINNER AT THE GOVERNOR'S PALACE,
10 SEPTEMBER 1770

INTRODUCTION

The following narrative is a semi-fictionalized account of a dinner held at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, Virginia on September 21, 1770. I have drawn on the wealth of primary sources dealing with food and the Palace kitchen from 1768 to 1770, the years during which Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, resided at the Palace. In order to gain an understanding of the entire process of a meal, from the earliest stages of planning and procurement through the service and eating of the prepared meal, I have chosen to write according to a style called "historical imagination," which allows the author a measure of speculation and artistic license while working within the bounds of the evidence. Historical imagination is appropriate for this project, because although several comprehensive works on eating and drinking have been published and much work has been done separately on the procurement, preparation, and presentation of foodstuffs, there has yet to be any literature which follows the process through each of the major steps. In order to assemble a narrative from the available sources, which are extensive but not complete, it has been necessary to fill in some gaps with assumptions gleaned from more general historical literature and common sense. The result is a reliable, but partly fictional picture of eighteenth-century foodways specific to the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, with a primary focus on the preparation aspects of the meal.¹

The Sources

¹Foodways is a relatively new term used to encompass the study of food in history and culture, incorporating a wide range of disciplines including anthropology, folklore, and sociology.

My research consists of many primary sources previously utilized separately, but never before synthesized and used to write a composite study of foodways at the Governor's Palace. The primary documents include several manuscripts found in the Muniment's Room of the Duke of Beaufort's home in Badminton, Gloucester County and at the Gloucestershire Records Office in Gloucester, England, including the inventory of the Governor's Palace taken after Botetourt's death in 1770; "Virginia. Disbursements. Housekeeping. from 3 July 1769 to 1 July 1771 included.";² "Work done with the Cart," a record of payment to laborers who carried items to the Governor's Palace by cart; and William Marshman's "Dayly Acct of Expenses."³ I have also relied on several eighteenth-century cookery and housekeeping books for recipes and information about common foods, preparation methods, and dinner service. Additionally, sources compiled by Colonial Williamsburg historians and researchers have proved essential, including Pat Gibb's studies "The Palace Lands" and "The Governor's Household and Its Operations," as well as the "Palace Kitchen Reports" prepared by Desirée B. Caldwell for the Department of Collections in 1979. I have taken the evidence provided by these various sources and woven them into a narrative, based on my own assumptions and interpretations from background reading. I hope the result will offer readers, academic and non-scholars alike, an enjoyable and useful glimpse into the operations of the Palace Kitchen and dining room.

The narrative of Botetourt's dinner in honor of Governor Robert Eden is accompanied by a selection of recipes for popular eighteenth-century dishes which might have been served at the Palace dining table. Each recipe is annotated with a brief introduction and evidence from the Palace records of food purchases in 1770. In order to place this very specific study in the larger scheme of food and culinary history, I have

²The inside heading reads "An Account of Cash Paid by William Sparrow for his Excellency Lord Botetourt Governor of Virginia at Williamsburg July 3, 1769" by William Marshman and is known at Colonial Williamsburg as the kitchen accounts.

³This source is known at Colonial Williamsburg as the petty cash book, dated 1768 Jun 14 - 1770 Oct 14.

also included a short historiography of the scholarly literature on food history in general and foodways specific to Colonial Williamsburg.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are.--
Brillat-Savarin, nineteenth-century French gastronome

In order to place my paper, *A Dinner at the Governor's Palace, 10 September 1770*, in the broad scheme of scholarship of foodways and food history, and to better understand the historical context of this project, the following is a brief sketch of the scholarly literature pertaining to food and drink, in general and specific to the eighteenth century.

Academic writing about cuisine and culinary history has been dominated through the years by scholars in the fields of anthropology, sociology, and, only more recently, history. The first publications relating to the study of food and cuisine were written by anthropologists in the 1960s and 1970s. One of the earliest contributors, Claude Lévi-Strauss, approached his study of the cultural relationship between human beings and the food they eat in a structuralist manner, creating a food triangle diagram to help explain the various methods of preparation: raw, cooked, and intentionally rotten. Although more recent scholars tend to find Lévi-Strauss's work too narrowly structured and unable to account for the ever-changing nature of taste and cultural food habits, he initiated the study of food as an unconscious mode of communication for all humans.

Following Lévi-Strauss's initial theories on social uses of food, the scholarship of the late 1970s and early 1980s was dominated by the structuralist school, which attempted to detect patterns in food choice and consumption, and explain them in terms of strictly defined rules, often using models shared from the discipline of linguistics. The most prolific writer during this time was anthropologist Mary Douglas. In 1972, Douglas wrote "Deciphering a Meal," in which she addressed food as a system of encoded messages that express degrees of hierarchy, social inclusion or exclusion, and cultural

boundaries.⁴ She explained that meanings contained within meals, and the food consumed during, are understood through a system of repeated analogies that are interpreted and understood by those participating in the society that prepares and consumes the food.⁵ Criticizing Lévi-Strauss's methods--although she too employed analytical tools borrowed from the study of linguistics--Douglas contended that he relied too heavily on binary analysis when looking for a precoded, panhuman message in the language of food. Meanings encoded in food systems, she explained, function on a smaller scale, often only within a singular family.

In 1979, Mary Douglas teamed with economist Baron Isherwood to author *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. The two addressed the idea of consumption as an integral part of social systems, the purchase and use of goods as expressions of "a social need to relate to other people, and to have mediating materials for relating to them."⁶ Goods, according to Douglas and Isherwood's thesis, act as part of a "live information system" in which all people interact, displaying levels of wealth and poverty, as well as creating and reshaping culture.⁷ Three years later, Douglas produced "Food as a System of Communication" in which she examined food as part of a family system which, in turn, works within a larger cultural system. She observed families at mealtimes in attempt to answer questions about the social factors affecting presentation and acceptability of new foods. The specific results of her study do not relate directly to my research, but her approach to defining patterns and rules, as well as the vocabulary she adopted to express her findings (such as food systems and food event), proved helpful in creating a theoretical framework.

⁴Mary Douglas. "Deciphering a Meal." *Daedalus* 101 (1972): 61.

⁵*Ibid.*, 69.

⁶Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), 4. Concepts from this volume will be treated more fully in the conclusion.

⁷*Ibid.*, 10.

In 1984, Mary Douglas edited *Food in the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities*, a volume dedicated to exploring the causes and possible solutions to world famine and hunger problems. In her introduction, "Standard Social Uses of Food," she argued that world famine could be better understood, and consequently reduced, if researchers took a more humanistic approach to food studies by looking into the social and cultural uses of food rather than focusing on production or biological aspects. Douglas studied the range of social intercourse based on food in terms of reciprocity, frequency of exchange, and other patterns in order to gain a better understanding of the complex and various ways food acts within a cultural group or family system.⁸ She found that structure within a social group "appears as the result of strict rules governing the presentation of food, the varieties permitted at a given occasion, and rules of precedence and combination."⁹ She concluded that food studies have been too narrowly defined and she argues for a more inclusive and interdisciplinary field of research: "Food is a field of action. It is a medium in which other levels of categorization become manifest. Food choices support political alignments and social opportunities. The concept of individual economic rationality is much too narrowly applied to such issues, as if food could be segregated from the major concerns of a person and as if these major concerns were not social."¹⁰

Perhaps responding to similar political and academic trends as Douglas, other anthropologists and sociologists studied and wrote about food in the 1980s. *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating*, by Peter Farb and George Armelagos, was published in 1980. This volume presents a comprehensive examination of the broad scope of anthropological assumptions which can be gleaned from studying a culture's culinary habits and provides an excellent background for any endeavor to study food or

⁸Mary Douglas, ed. *Food in the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984), 11.

⁹Ibid., 15.

¹⁰Ibid., 30.

culinary history. Farb and Armelagos explain that food studies are essential to cultural studies, because "once the anthropologist finds out where, when, and with whom the food is eaten, just about everything else can be inferred about the relations among the society's members." The ability to understand "cultural traits, social institutions, national histories, and individual attitudes cannot be entirely understood without an understanding also of how these have meshed with our varied and peculiar modes of eating," the authors contend. In all societies, human relationships are initiated and maintained primarily through eating.¹¹ Farb and Armelagos explain that food is so central to a society and to an individual's identity within that society that "long after dress, manners, and speech have become indistinguishable from those of the majority, the old food habits continue as the last vestiges of the previous culture."¹²

Chapter 5, "Meal as Metaphor," addresses the greater implications of studying food habits: "Because of values that go far beyond filling the stomach, eating becomes associated, if only at an unconscious level, with deep rooted associations about oneself and the world one lives in."¹³ Farb and Armelagos draw upon the earlier scholarship of anthropologist Lévi-Strauss, who "looks upon the ways people prepare food as a sort of language which at an unconscious level communicates the structure of society." The type of relationship between individuals, or even between social groups, is often expressed and understood by the type of food or meal they share; "when people in modern societies organize various social events, they are using food and drink as metaphors for the character of a relationship. Cocktails without a meal are for acquaintances or for people of lower social status; meals preceded by drinks are for close friends and honored guests."¹⁴

¹¹Peter Farb and George Armelagos, *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1980), 4.

¹²*Ibid.*, 6.

¹³*Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 103.

The authors also address the concepts of feasting and food as a gift. In a hierarchical society, they explain, food becomes merely another way, alongside taxes, rent, and tributes, for rulers to display their status and hold power over the lower classes. In both symbolic and practical ways, certain foods become associated with the ruling classes--such as items affordable to only the wealthy or through sumptuary laws which restrict what foods are eaten by whom. Within systems of ritual and competitive feasting "the exchange of food, or a symbolic representation of it, marks the beginning and the end of sociability--the establishment, maintenance, or severing of the social bond."¹⁵

Consuming Passions also focuses on issues of taste and distaste: "people in every society regard their own preferences as sensible and all deviations from these as perverse or even loathsome."¹⁶ The authors cite chemical and genetic explanations for the inheritance of tastes, as well as environmental factors which influence how certain flavors are received.¹⁷ Attempting to account for "cuisine," which differs radically from one society to the next, and even among various groups within a single society, Farb and Armelagos discuss four components which must be taken into consideration--the very limited number of foods selected from what the environment offers--usually on the basis of availability and the yield of nutrients in proportion to the energy required to obtain them; the manner of preparation; the society's traditional principle of flavoring staple foods; and rules such as the number of meals eaten per day, whether they are eaten alone or with others, which foods are set aside for ceremonial use, and the observation of taboos.¹⁸ A cuisine is based on staple foods that are available in abundance and influenced by religion, mythology, and history.¹⁹ *Consuming Passions* introduces countless issues and concepts which must be taken into consideration in any study of

¹⁵Ibid., 153-159.

¹⁶Ibid., 165.

¹⁷Ibid., 185.

¹⁸Ibid., 190.

¹⁹Ibid., 200.

food history. This volume constituted the bulk of the theoretical background which influenced my research.

The second half of the 1980s witnessed a dramatic increase in research and writing about food history and cuisine. Several major volumes based in several different disciplines were published in 1985, including, Stephen Mennel's *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France From the Middle Ages to the Present*. Mennel explores concepts of how social groups develop cultural standards of taste, adopting a stance similar to Farb and Armelagos's cultural anthropological position toward the study of food habits and cuisine. Mennel's volume identifies taste and food choices as part of the mythology, social class structure, religious, political, and national identity of cultural groups. In a critique of the various approaches to food studies, he outlines the structuralist attitude which accounts for taste as a culturally shaped and socially controlled phenomenon. This explanation--maintained by Claude Lévi-Strauss, Mary Douglas, Roland Barthes, and Pierre Bordieu--is, according to Mennel, too static and does not account for change or development over time. The developmental approach, of which Mennel is a supporter, takes into account the social forces that affect the static nature, as well as the changes in taste, between generations. His book, he explains, is a figurational or sociogenetic account, which functions "within a developing social figuration, modes of individual behaviour, cultural tastes, intellectual ideas, social stratification, political power and economic organization are all entangled with each other in complex ways which themselves change over time in ways that need to be investigated."²⁰

Within the developmentalist framework he defines, Mennel follows the chronological development of food in England and France. According to *All Manners of Food*, the most significant developments of the time frame (during which my study of

²⁰Stephen Mennel, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985), 15.

cuisine at the Governor's Palace in 1770 falls) include the development of "haute cuisine," increased differences in food and eating habits among the various classes, and the printing of cookbooks which led toward "social emulation of the habits, styles and interests of one class or stratum by another."²¹ Mennel's sociological and historical angle on the study of eating and taste provide insight into the complexity of forces which influence cuisine, specifically that of England and France.

Also published in 1985, Sidney Mintz's *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* addresses the relationship between class structure and the access to and consumption of sugar. The ways sugar has been used, both socially and economically, throughout modern history, and what these uses imply about societies and cultures, are the specific concerns of Mintz's volume, although his general thesis can be well understood as he comments on food more generally:

food choices and eating habits reveal distinctions of age, sex, status, culture, and even occupation. These distinctions are immensely important adornments on an inescapable necessity. What we like, what we eat, how we eat it, and how we feel about it are phenomenologically interrelated matters; together, they speak eloquently to the question of how we perceive ourselves in relation to others.²²

Sugar, like many other imported substances (tea, chocolate, and various spices), became a symbol of wealth and power. Only those that could afford to pay for production and importation, as well as manipulate the economic and production forces, had access to it. Sugar was not only consumed, but used as decoration to display social and economic status. Creating "subtleties"--elaborate displays of sweet foods, often marzipan--was a way for nobility to communicate their status and political prowess, and by consuming these symbols, guests validated that power.²³ As sugar became more available toward the end of the eighteenth century allowing the less wealthy to acquire it,

²¹Ibid., 62-64.

²²Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (NY: Elisabeth Sifton Books, 1985), 3-4.

²³Ibid., 89.

its symbolic properties began to diminish.²⁴ Mintz's thesis and the supporting historical details provide an interesting angle from which to approach food studies and encourage the consideration of factors such as political and economic power and control when investigating foodways in any culture.

In 1987, Cambridge University Press published *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*, edited by Mary Douglas. In chapter 3, "Passage to Play: Rituals of Drinking Time in American Society," author Joseph Gusfield asserts that "as life moved into cities and work into factories and organization, predictability and constancy came to be prized. Time was cut up into smaller units and the flow of time secularized and made into routine, fixed elements. It is in this context that I want to consider the symbolic uses of drinking in the time-frames of American life."²⁵ Although he addresses a historic transformation that took place shortly after the time scope of this project, his thesis "that alcohol, in the particular historical context of the United States, has developed symbolic properties which serve to facilitate this passage [from work to leisure] in a generally, though not always, orderly manner" can be applied to drinking in the late eighteenth century as well. During this time period, however, there was less separation between work and leisure time, and alcohol was often a part of both. As industrialization increased, sobriety became increasingly associated with daytime work and drinking with evening leisure.

The most recent addition to the historical and anthropological studies of food and its cultural role was published in 1993. In *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, Wolfgang Schivelbusch links the search for certain food items to great historical events such as the discovery of the New World and the beginning of the Modern Age. Between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries, he explains, spices dominated European taste,

²⁴Ibid., 95.

²⁵Mary Douglas, ed., *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 73.

they were part of it and stamped it from the first stirrings of interest in lands beyond Europe to the conclusion of the conquest of the colonial world in the seventeenth century. Once there was nothing more worth mentioning to be discovered and conquered, and knowledge of the earth became common, spices apparently lost their tremendous attraction. After the discovery of the sea route to India, consumption once more rose sharply, only to taper off in time. The market was saturated if not glutted.²⁶

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a new group of luxury foods--coffee, tea, chocolate, and sugar--filled the role spices had played. Schivelbusch's volume explains the way that members of aristocratic societies employed foods as symbols of their wealth and power until the previously limited supplies became more widely available and affordable to the middle and lower classes. Subsequently, aristocrats replaced one formerly luxury item with another. The author also delves into the intoxicant, stimulant, or depressant qualities of coffee, tea, chocolate, and alcohol and explores the ways these properties were utilized through history.

Another genre of literature about food and culinary history gained popularity in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Less theoretical and focused more specifically on the history of the foodstuffs, volumes authored by historians began to appear on the academic publishing scene. The harbinger of this genre, Reay Tannahill's *Food in History*, was published in 1973, almost a decade before the majority of its equivalents. Tannahill follows the development of foodstuffs and cooking procedures from the prehistoric world through the present day. Another volume of this type, the 1973 (reprinted in 1991) *Food and Drink in Britain: From the Stone Age to the Nineteenth Century* by C. Anne Wilson begins with the earliest history of Britain's food habits divided into chapters by food groups (dairy products, meats, etc.) Wilson's volume provides a fairly comprehensive background on the foods and methods of preparation utilized by the English. In 1979, historian Ferdinand Braudel wrote *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*, which focuses on the material life of the pre-industrial world (fifteenth through

²⁶Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 13.

nineteenth centuries) with a focus on economic factors, including such broad topics as food availability and procurement, eating habits, housing, costume, technology, money, and the development of towns. The next addition to this group was the 1981 *Food and Drink in America: A History* by Richard J. Hooker. Hooker chronicles the types of foods available and eaten by European-Americans from the discovery of America to the present. Sara Paston-Williams's 1993 *The Art of Dining: A History of Cooking and Eating* focuses on foodstuffs as well as service items, decorative and functional, neatly organized by historical time period. In 1983, Louise Beldon researched and wrote about the elaborate and extravagant practices of dessert. *The Festive Tradition: Table Decoration and Desserts in America, 1650-1900* thoroughly examines the material culture and culinary aspects of dessert displays, providing historical evidence, illustrations, and recipes from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. Each of these volumes proved useful for general background information on the types of foods and cooking techniques that would have been used during the middle of the eighteenth century.

Also in the mid-1980s, publishing companies focused attention on reprinting, many in facsimile, seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century cookbooks that had recently been rediscovered. I consulted several of these for background information on cooking methods and for recipes contained in the body of this paper. In 1995, Sandra Oliver published a unique volume bringing together food history and the material culture of a specific community. *Saltwater Foodways* incorporates information about Mystic Seaport, "the place where this food history was enacted...ideas about how to think about food and human activity: the role that food plays in human interactions; how it reveals distinctions among classes and between genders; how it is used as a symbol of identity or celebration; how it responds to technological or social change; how it changes over time,

as New England's foodways changed in the nineteenth century."²⁷ Oliver's interdisciplinary study of food history and culture at Mystic Seaport focuses on the material culture and food uses of several families of varying economic status, that of sailors aboard ship, and several special occasions and holidays which involve food. She also offers recipes drawn from nineteenth-century sources with adaptations for use by twentieth-century cooks in modern kitchens. It was the concept and format of *Saltwater Foodways* that inspired my paper, *A Dinner at the Governor's Palace, 10 September 1770*, although I did not attempt to match the scope or volume of Oliver's work.

Despite the proliferation of theoretical treatments of food from anthropological and sociological points of view and the more recent increase in publications about food history, it remains that very few authors have addressed the act of dining itself. Almost alone in this field, Margaret Visser's 1991 book, *The Rituals of Dinner*, focuses on the customs and conventions of eating in many cultures over a broad spectrum of time. Visser deals with the basic concepts of sharing meals, addressing table manners and etiquette in societies around the world.

Colonial Williamsburg's specific interest in food history and foodways increased dramatically in the mid 1980s, although there had been a few publications prior to that time. Earlier volumes include the 1942 Foundation publication *The Williamsburg Art of Cookery*, by Helen Bullock, and Audrey Noel Hume's *Food*, an addition to the Colonial Williamsburg Archaeological Series. In 1985, at the peak of interest in foodways, the Foundation reprinted Jane Carson's 1968 *Colonial Virginia Cookery*. Based almost entirely upon primary sources, her volume remains useful and relevant today. Carson consulted letters and diaries of Virginians and travelers to the area, as well as descriptions of natural resources and gardening books, to gather information about the food and

²⁷Sandra Oliver, *Saltwater Foodways: New Englanders and Their Food, At Sea and Ashore, in the Nineteenth Century*, (Mystic, Connecticut: Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., 1995), xi-xii.

cooking in Colonial Virginia. She studied merchant orders, newspaper advertisements, and inventories to obtain details about the equipment used in kitchens of the period.

When Colonial Williamsburg refurbished the Governor's Palace in the 1980s, much attention was focused on the kitchen. Using Botetourt's inventory, the Departments of Research and Collections compiled information about the materials and equipment to furnish the outbuildings and to begin an interpretive program on the foodways in the eighteenth century at the Palace. All of the work generated during this time, including the Palace Kitchen Reports by Désirée Caldwell and the transcription of several manuscripts by Dennis Cotner, provided the bulk of the primary resources for this project.

During the past four decades the scholarly literature about food and culinary history has developed from a sparse collection of theoretical articles by structuralist anthropologists into a widely based pool of texts by academics from several fields. Although not entirely comprehensive, the above outline represents an introduction to the types of publications available for the study of foodways. Whether in a theoretical or specifically informational capacity, each of these texts influenced the shape and content of the following paper.

A DINNER AT THE GOVERNOR'S PALACE, 10 SEPTEMBER 1770

When William Marshman, Governor Botetourt's butler²⁸, received word that Governor Robert Eden of Maryland and his wife would be arriving for a visit in September 1770, he immediately began preparing for a dinner on 10 September in their honor.²⁹ First, he informed Mrs. Wilson, the Palace cook, of the upcoming event so she could begin her necessary planning procedures.³⁰ He then began to organize the service and entertainment portions of the evening, including sending invitations to dinner guests, hiring additional servants or slaves as footmen, and assuring that the appropriate linens and service wares would be ready and available for the dinner.

After consulting with Marshman about the upcoming dinner plans, Mrs. Wilson started her portion of the preparations for the 10 September meal. Her responsibilities included preparing the menu, arranging for the procurement of necessary ingredients, acquiring additional help in the kitchen, and overseeing the preparation of the meal. As

²⁸William Marshman became Botetourt's butler in 1763 and served him until the governor's death in October 1770. Marshman was responsible for supervising all household operations at the Palace and overseeing the work of the household staff including the underbutler, footman, underfootmen, and housemaids. The butler was superintendent of the governor's financial affairs and household accounts. He was additionally responsible for directing meal service and controlling the contents of the wine cellars and silver (Gibbs, *Palace Lands, 1700-1790* [unpublished research report, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Department, 1980], 14).

²⁹We know that Governor Eden and his wife arrived at the Palace on 2 September 1770 and assuming the Edens would have stayed little more than a week, I chose 10 September 1770 as a date for this hypothetical dinner.

³⁰In September 1770, Mrs. Rosanna Wilson was the head cook in the palace kitchen. She had only been a member of the staff since February 1770 when William Sparrow, the previous cook, left Botetourt's staff and returned to England (Gibbs: 1981, 16). Although her background and training are not known, Mrs. Wilson was surely familiar with English cookery and had received some training in England or the colonies. Her instruction may have been informal, on the job training rather than formal education, but she would have been well versed in British tastes and exposed to some French cooking, which was considered haute cuisine in the late eighteenth century. As head cook, her duties included "ordering provisions, disbursing kitchen account funds, overseeing the distribution and proper storage of foodstuffs and supplies, preparing menus, directing the kitchen staff (several slaves and supplementary workers hired on special occasions) in preparing meals, making special dishes himself [herself in this case], seeing that the food was served punctually, and maintaining high standards of cleanliness and orderliness in the kitchen and its associated outbuildings" (Gibbs: 1981, 16).

one of the first steps in the process, she planned the bill of fare for the dinner. This meant taking into consideration many factors, such as the seasonal items available from the Palace Gardens and the local merchants, items stored at the Palace (i.e. salted meats and preserves), as well as British tastes and regional specialties. Knowing that the governor expected about a dozen guests, including Governor and Mrs. Eden, several local prominent citizens, and members of the Governor's Council, she knew to plan for about nine dishes per course.

Mrs. Wilson, like other eighteenth-century professional cooks and housewives, owned a small library of contemporary cookery books. She relied on these books for advice on various aspects of food preparation and recipes. She would also have compiled her own personal notes--or commonplace book--in which she had adapted fashionable English recipes to the Virginia climate and agriculture and recorded her own personal recipes or variations on favorites. Some of the most popular editions of the time, which Mrs. Wilson was likely to have owned, include Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy by a Lady*, the first edition of which was published in 1747;³¹ *The Compleat Housewife or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* by Eliza Smith, a 1742 edition of which, published in Williamsburg, was adapted to ingredients available in Virginia;³² *The Complete Practical Cook: Or, a System of the Whole Art and Mystery of Cookery* by Charles Carter; Richard Bradley's *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director*, first published in 1727³³; and John Nott's *Cook's and Confectioner's Dictionary*, first published in 1726.³⁴

³¹For this paper I used a 1995 publication which consists of the facsimile of the Prospect Books reprint of the first edition-- the full text of the first edition in facsimile and in the same size as the original, a glossary by Alan Davidson, notes, and introductory essays by Jennifer Stead and Priscilla Bain.

³²There is a copy of this edition in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Special Collections library, but I used a combination between that rare book and the London edition published in facsimile in 1968 by Literary Services and Production Limited.

³³I used a 1980 Prospect Books edition, published in facsimile from the 1736 edition which includes an introduction, list of recipe contributors, a glossary and notes, and bibliography by Caroline Davis.

³⁴I used a 1980 reprint of the 1726 edition with an introduction and glossary by Elizabeth David, published by Lawrence Rivington of London.

Selecting popular English dishes and Virginia specialties to highlight seasonal produce and regional delicacies, Mrs. Wilson arranged a menu for a dinner of two courses, in the traditional English manner.³⁵ Although many Virginia households had begun to adapt the second course into a true dessert course, the governor, considering himself a true and proper Englishman, retained British tradition and served a second course of meats and sweets, followed by a light third course of fruits and nuts.

Mrs. Wilson would have put together a menu such as this for the first course: Pullet and Bacon boil'd with Oysters, etc.; Calf's Head Turtle Fashion; Lumber Pye; Scotch Collops of Veal; Virginia Ham and Chickens; Fricassy of Chickens; Olaves of Veal with Ragoo; Chine of Mutton; and Green Pease Soup; as well as the ubiquitous freshly baked dinner rolls. For the second course, Mrs. Wilson planned to prepare Syllabub; an Artichoke Pye; Roasted Rabbits and Geese; a Chine of Salmon and Smelts; Fish of Sorts; Champignons (or other mushrooms) Ragoust; Tanseys of Sorts and Colours; a dish of pickles; and various creams, jellies, march-panes, and sweet meats.³⁶

Preparation

Several female slaves and hired servants assisted Mrs. Wilson in the Palace kitchen. Hannah and Doll, the governor's slaves, and the white servants whose names we do not know from records, performed most of the daily cooking duties while Mrs. Wilson supervised and occasionally prepared specialty items.³⁷ Just as Marshman hired help for the service portion of the evening, the cook contracted additional assistants for the preparation of the large formal dinner on 10 September 1770.

³⁵I have selected a menu which represents a composite of several suggested menus or "bills of fare" for August and September from various popular cookbooks of the day.

³⁶The full text of these recipes appears in the second section, with annotations for definitions and other explanations. The procedures and equipment used are discussed later in this section.

³⁷It is known that Botetourt purchased Hannah from Governor Fauquier, but the only evidence of Doll's existence is notation of the pair of shoe buckles purchased for her in 1768 (Gibbs: 1981, 26-27).

While making special preparations for the formal dinner, Mrs. Wilson and her kitchen staff had to maintain their normal schedule of meal preparation and service for the governor and his household, which consisted of all the servants and slaves housed there. This schedule included a light breakfast around eight or nine o'clock for Botetourt and any household guests. The morning meal was comprised of hot breads, cold sliced meats, or a hashed dish served with tea, chocolate, or coffee, and occasionally fruit or eggs. Dinner, the main meal of the day, served between two and four o'clock, required the most preparation, as this paper will demonstrate. The kitchen staff was also responsible for preparing a light supper in the late evening, between eight and ten o'clock, which might have included bread and butter, a few cold meat dishes or seafood, and a sweet dish, possibly fruit. The governor probably enjoyed tea between dinner and supper, consisting of a beverage accompanied by breads, cakes, or some other baked items.³⁸ Botetourt's servants dined in the servant's hall, consuming the leftover food from these meals. His household slaves probably ate with the paid servants, while those working on the outlying Palace grounds received rations and were responsible for their own subsistence.

Storage and Preservation of Food at the Palace

Immediately after deciding upon a bill of fare, Mrs. Wilson assured that she had sufficient quantities of preserved foods on hand for the upcoming dinner event and to sustain the governor and staff's normal meal schedule. Pickled vegetables and fish, salted meats, candied and jellied fruits, as well as the staple ingredients for the recipes she had chosen would be inventoried. If the supply had dwindled, those foods would be prepared in anticipation of the elaborate dinner. Mrs. Wilson accompanied a lower servant or slave to the various areas around the Palace grounds where food items were kept in storage in

³⁸Jane Carson, *Colonial Virginia Cookery* (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1985), 8.

order to take account of her supplies. This task required her personal attention because these areas were kept under lock and key and access was limited to the upper servants such as Mrs. Wilson and Mr. Marshman.

Governor Botetourt's staff did not have the luxury of refrigeration or canning technologies. Seasonal fruits and vegetables were dried, pickled, or candied to be preserved for the rest of the year. Because meat spoiled quickly in the warm Virginia climate, even in early fall, almost all meat was salted, smoked, or potted, unless it could be eaten shortly after butchering.

Pickling was the method of preservation employed by the governor's kitchen staff for vegetables and fish. To pickle vegetables or fish, the cook placed slices of vegetable or pieces of fish into a hot brine, a salty solution, to soak for about ten days before draining them and transferring them to a cold solution, or cold pickle. This substance consisted mainly of sugar and vinegar, but a cook could choose to substitute verjuice, alegar, or white wine. Spices such as pepper, turmeric, mace, cloves, nutmeg, ginger, mustard seed, garlic, scraped horseradish, tarragon, dill, fennel, and bay leaves could be added to the cold pickle as the cook desired.³⁹ The final product was stored in stoneware or glass jars and bottles that did not absorb the vinegar or salt.

Oysters and other shellfish were particularly easy to pickle, because they were naturally soaked in saltwater so no brine was needed. Storing them so that they retained their natural moisture allowed them to remain alive for several weeks out of water. They were shucked and picked over for bits of shell before being placed directly in a stew pan in their own juice mixed with white wine or water, seasoned with salt, pepper, and mace. After they were stewed and cooled, pale vinegar was added to the liquid-- enough to give it "an agreeable acid," before they were poured into large barrels or kegs for storage. Boned meats were also pickled, usually after they had been sliced, stuffed with forcemeat, rolled, bound with tape, and wrapped in a cloth for stewing. If not to be used

³⁹Carson, *op. cit.*, 117.

at once, the meat was drained, the cloth was removed, and the collar was kept in a pickle of brine and vinegar until it was served in thin round slices garnished with herbs. Mrs. Wilson found her store of pickled vegetables in the pantry of the Palace, while the fish and some fruits were kept in the "outhouses belonging to the kitchen larder."⁴⁰

Meats including beef, venison, fowl, fish, and seafood were also potted for preservation. Mrs. Wilson and her staff were well versed in potting procedures which involved cooking the meat and packing it in an earthenware pot, sealing it with clarified butter, and then filling all the crevices and covering the meat with butter "the thickness of a crown piece." The pots were finally covered with paper to protect them from dust.⁴¹ These potted meats would have been stored in the cellars or other outhouses.

Salting, another of the most popular meat preservation methods in the eighteenth century, was one of the practices with which the Palace kitchen staff were familiar. The Palace grounds contained a smoke house, which was used to preserve meats, and a salt house for storage of salt, tubs, and other equipment used in the smoking process. Large cuts of fresh beef were cured in the summer or early fall for use in the winter. Pieces of meat were thoroughly rubbed with salt and then immersed in powdering tubs filled with more salt. Ten days later, the meat was removed from the tubs and soaked in brine which was made from saltpetre, salt, and water. After another ten days had passed, the meat could be eaten, or it could continue to be stored in the brine solution. If the meat remained in the brine for three weeks, it could be removed, wiped dry, rubbed with bran, and hung to dry. Smoked meats were prepared similarly, rubbed and immersed in salt, and then cured in the smokehouse.⁴²

British housewives and cooks also preserved vegetables such as green peas, mushrooms, and artichoke bottoms by drying them in the oven and sealing them in

⁴⁰*An Inventory of the Governor's Palace Taken After the Death of Lord Botetourt* (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1981), 14.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 116.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 113-115. Botetourt's inventory records the storage of 133 pieces of bacon in the Palace smokehouse (*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, 1981: 14).

bottles with corks or melted fat. Walnuts, lemons, and root vegetables like carrots, potatoes, and radishes were preserved by storing them in large jars in layers of dry sand. Peas and kidney beans, still in their pods, were preserved in layers of salt. Onion and garlic bulbs were taken up in July, dried, and hung in "some room or garret, as close from air as possible," although this method was less effective and therefore less common in the humid Tidewater Virginia area.⁴³ Six ropes of onions, dried according to this fashion, were stored in the "out houses belonging to the kitchen larder" at the Palace when Botetourt's inventory was taken in October 1770 and walnuts, in earthenware pots, were kept in the stone cellar.⁴⁴

Fruits were preserved in a variety of ways in the eighteenth century. Whole fruits and berries could be cooked and stored in syrup, producing "preserves." When mashed and mixed with a sweet syrup, they became marmalade, conserve, or jam. Confections or sweetmeats, also called comfits, could be produced by drying or candying pieces or whole fruits. By mixing the juice of the fruit with syrup and boiling the mixture down to form hard candies, a cook could make fruit "chips," and if the mashed pulp was used in the same way, they were called "pastes." Adding brandy to the syrup and fruit juice produced brandied fruits.⁴⁵ Mrs. Wilson and her staff served sweetmeats and candied lemon peels that had been stored in the dining room bowfat and the stone cellar.⁴⁶

The Dairy

Mrs. Wilson also needed to make sure she had enough dairy products on hand to complete the recipes for the dinner. Although the kitchen accounts record the receipt of dairy products such as milk, cream, and butter, at other times of the year, no evidence exists of receiving any during late August or early September of 1770. Therefore, the

⁴³Carson, op. cit., 119.

⁴⁴*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 12-14.

⁴⁵Carson, op. cit., 120.

⁴⁶*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 5.

dairy on the Palace grounds must have been functioning at the time of governor Eden's visit, providing the necessary dairy items for the Palace meals. Butter was being stored in the kitchen larder, but fresh milk and cream would have been gathered by a member of the kitchen staff as needed from the governor's 4 cows on the Palace grounds.⁴⁷

Gardens and Produce

The Palace kitchen garden and orchards produced many of the vegetables and fruits served at the Governor's table. Mrs. Wilson knew what items were ready to "come to table" from the large kitchen and herb garden and planned her bill of fare accordingly. The governor's gardener, James Wilson, was assisted on the Palace grounds by one or two of the governor's slaves, and possibly one or more who were contracted from neighboring households or plantations, including James who had been hired from Carter's Grove.⁴⁸ The inventory lists numerous "Garden Implements" for tending the kitchen and pleasure gardens including weeding knives, asparagus knives, wheel barrows, shears, watering pots, baskets, hoes, spades, rakes, pots, and bell glasses, which were placed over a plant to intensify the amount of sunlight and lengthen the growing season.⁴⁹

According to *Adam's Luxury and Eve's Cookery*, an eighteenth-century kitchen garden calendar and cookery book, late August would provide "Pease, Beans, Kidney-Beans, Collyflowers, Cabbage, Melons and Cucumbers, Lettuces of all Kinds, with small Salletting; as Cresses, Mustard, &c. with Purslain, Nastursian Flowers, Cellery, Endive, Carrots, Turnips, Artichokes and Onion, with Garlick Shallots, &c." Early September would additionally provide "Parsnips...Potatoes...Pickling Cucumbers, Artichokes,

⁴⁷Ibid., 12-15.

⁴⁸James Wilson was Mrs. Wilson's son (Pat Gibbs, memo to Palace interpreters, 30 July 1987). The Palace gardener's responsibilities were many, including the "planting and cultivating of herbs, flowers, fruits, and vegetables; the managing of hotbeds and greenhouses or orangeries; the laying out and maintaining of pleasure gardens; an understanding of the elements of landscape gardening; and a willingness to show the gardens to interested visitors." Wilson's duties also included maintenance of the orchard and assisting with the park and farm operations (Gibbs, 1981: 17).

⁴⁹*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 13.

Mushrooms, Radish... Cabbage Lettuces of several sorts; also Cresses,
Rape...Rocamboles...Leeks, Beet, Skirrets and Scorzonera, &c."⁵⁰

Mrs. Wilson also planned some dishes around the vegetables, fruits, and other foodstuffs that were received at the Palace kitchen as gifts from Williamsburg residents. These gifts usually represented the first crop of the season from local gardens and farms. The Palace kitchen accounts record the receipt of gifts throughout the year, including peaches, musk melons, and other fruits from George Wythe on several occasions, peaches from Charles Taliaferro on August 24 and pears on August 29, peaches from Mrs. Hay on August 30, melons from "Mr. Attorney" [Peyton Randolph] and Mr. Kidd on August 24, and "sora's", a kind of bird that lives in the marshes, from Mr. Clayborne on September 18 and from Mr. Gregory on September 11.⁵¹

Markets and Butchers

The remainder of the ingredients necessary to complete preparations for the Governor's dinner were purchased from local merchants and butchers or ordered from London or other ports and then brought by cart from Yorktown. When a butcher or other merchant delivered meat or produce to the Palace kitchen, Mrs. Wilson or a member of her staff inspected the product, testing for freshness and quality. Beef, for instance, was examined according to directions such as these included in Hannah Glasse's chapter on *How to market, and the Seasons of the Year for Butcher's Meat, Poultry, Fish, Herbs, Roots, &c. and Fruit*:

If it be right Ox-beef, it will have an open Grain, if young, a tender and oily Smoothness: If rough and spungy, it is old, or inclining to be so, except Neck Briscuit, and such Parts as are very fibrous, which in young Meat will be more tough than in other Parts. A carnation

⁵⁰Adam's *Luxury and Eve's Cookery* (1744; reprint London: Prospect Books, 1983), 94-96.

⁵¹The Palace kitchen accounts list the receipt of "soros" and "sorus," several times (Governor's Palace Kitchen Accounts. "An Account of Cash Paid by William Sparrow for his Excellency Lord Botetourt. By William Marshman." 3 July 1769-24 July 1771. , ALS. Orig.: Duke of Beaufort and Gloucestershire Records Office, Botetourt Manuscripts from Badminton, ffr 297-329. Microfilm in Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, M-1395).

pleasant Color betokens good spending Meat, and the Suet a curious white, yellowish is not so good. Cow-beef is less bound and closer grained than the Ox, the Fat whiter, but the Lean somewhat paler, if young, the Dent you make with your Finger will rise again in a little Time. Bull-beef is of a closer Grain, a deep dusky red, tough in pinching, the Fat skinny, hard, and has a rammish rand Smell, and for Newness or Staleness, this Flesh brough fresh, has but few Signs, the most material is its Clamminess, the rest your Smell will inform you. If it be bruised, these Places will look more dusky or blackish than the rest.⁵²

Cooking Equipment and Methods in the Palace Kitchen

The inventory of the Palace taken shortly after Botetourt's death in October 1770 provides extensive information about the furniture and equipment housed in the kitchen outbuilding. The Palace kitchen was furnished to accommodate the preparation of large-scale meals, such as the dinner held for governor Eden in September 1770. Specialized equipment for boiling, roasting, broiling, and baking filled the kitchen and storage areas. The only standing furniture listed in the inventory, however, was a single "old wooden chair" and the "old 8 day clock," which was probably a tall striking clock essential in coordinating activities and keeping time while cooking. The remainder of the furniture was most likely built-in; work tables, shelves, and other storage facilities were probably designed as part of the architecture of the building, allowing greater efficiency of space. Lighting in the kitchen was provided only by "1 large Glass Lanthern" and "1 large tin flat candlestick." These two objects, supplemented by the light of the fire and from the windows, were probably sufficient for the majority of kitchen activity which took place during daylight hours.

The Palace kitchen was a bustling place, at times likely to be quite hectic as deliveries were received from local merchants and butchers, produce came in from the gardens, and the servants and slaves responsible for the governor's meals went about their daily routine of baking and cooking. Mrs. Wilson, as overseer of all kitchen activities,

⁵²Hannah Glasse, *The Art and Mystery of Cooking Made Plain and Easy by a Lady* (1747, reprint London: Prospect Books, 1983), 161.

had to be skilled at organizing and supervising the two or more assistants directly stationed under her, as well as coordinating the outsiders who arrived for business purposes and handling requests from the governor and Palace staff. On any given day, and especially during the hours before a large dinner party was to be served, the Palace kitchen was doubtlessly buzzing with the noise and crowds associated with the governor's meals.

For most of the day, the fireplace was the center of activity in the Palace kitchen. The fire would have been started very early in the morning, probably before dawn, in order to have it functional in time for the servants' and governor's breakfast. Fresh baked items requiring hot coals that had been burning for quite some time would be prepared first in order to be ready when the governor awoke. After the morning meal had been completed, the fire had to be carefully regulated throughout the day for the various cooking techniques: low coals for baking in a dutch oven, even flames for roasting, and consistent heat for boiling. Next to the fireplace sat a pair of bellows to ventilate the fire, raising the flames and maintaining the heat; a set of pokers and tongs to stir the coals and rearrange the wood as necessary; and a "large Fire screen" functioning as a meat screen or as a plate warmer.⁵³

Much of the cooking in the Palace kitchen may have been performed on a stew stove, an elevated brick platform with holes on which copper pots were placed to cook above the burning charcoal below. This arrangement allowed greater control over cooking temperature than an open hearth and would have been used to prepare fried foods, sauces, vegetables, and "made dishes" such as boiled puddings, ragoos, and fricasses. Cooking over an open hearth was a practical method for roasting, broiling, and stewing large cuts of meat, but required the cook to stoop or bend over the radiating

⁵³ The inventory does not list a shovel, which is generally included in such a fire-keeping tool kit. Perhaps the shovel had been removed to another area before the inventory was taken." 1 pr Bellows" "1 poker & Tongs" "1 large Fire screen" although the latter is unlikely because the pantry in the Palace was equipped with a plate warmer (Desirée Caldwell, "Palace Kitchen Report", unpublished research notes, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1979, no page numbers).

flames and coals. A stew stove, however, allowed the kitchen staff to stand upright and attend more delicate concoctions, such as sauces for fricassees and other French-inspired dishes which required constant stirring or additions, at waist level. The abundance of copper cookware listed in the Palace inventory and the sheer quantity of food prepared at the Palace for a dinner such as the one on 10 September 1770, suggest that the governor's kitchen staff had the use of a stew stove.⁵⁴ These copper pots also suggest the staff's adherence to advice from cookery books which recommended cooking vegetables in copper to avoid discoloration.⁵⁵

Mounted on the wall by the fireplace, a blue wooden box protected salt from excess moisture in the damp Tidewater climate. Two "small iron stands", or trivets, would have been conveniently located on a work bench near the fire to set hot dishes or pots on as they were brought out of the fire, and numerous storage containers, including "2 round coffee canisters & 5 Tea Canisters," perched upon a nearby shelf. A pair of "2 lb copp'r scales & weights" used to measure ingredients would also have served to weigh produce and meat as deliveries arrived at the kitchen.

The shelving and work space in the kitchen contained an extensive collection of preparation items, each with a specific function and in appropriate quantity to facilitate the large-scale production of which Mrs. Wilson and her staff were capable. Various ingredients could be ground using one of the two mortars listed in the inventory. The marble mortar would have been used for crushing sugar, almonds, and other substances that required the larger marble implement rather than the smaller iron, or "Bell mettle pestle & mortar," often used for spices. The kitchen also contained "2 Tin cullenders" which were used to strain soup, fruits, and juices or to temporarily store

⁵⁴Betty C. Leviner, "Stew Stove Report" (unpublished research report, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1994), no page numbers.

⁵⁵For example, Hannah Glasse instructs cooks to "Always be very careful that your Greens be nicely pick'd and wash'd. You should lay them in a clean Pan for fear of Sand and Dust, which is apt to hang round wooden Vessels. Boil all your Greens in a Copper Sauce-pan by themselves with a great Quantity of Water. Boil no Meat with them, for that discolours them. Use no Iron Pans, &c. for they are not proper; but let them be Copper, Brass or Silver" (Glasse, 10).

vegetables and fruits. Two chopping knives, which were probably vegetable mincers with rounded blades, and "3 Funnels," which were probably made of tin and as large as a quart or gallon, were used in the preparation of many dishes. The kitchen staff grated bread and biscuits with the "4 large tin graters" to thicken puddings and stuffings as well as garnish dishes.

The kitchen also contained a number of sundry items which the kitchen staff probably used on an almost daily basis. A "half bushel hand basket" for collecting and carrying vegetables or herbs from the garden and delivering any other items about the Palace grounds was kept on hand. The "2 large pewter water dishes" were probably filled with hot water and placed under other dishes to keep them warm, in the fashion of a chafing dish. When Mrs. Wilson wished to signal her staff, she might have sounded the "hand Dinner Bell" to catch the attention of servants who were not within shouting distance. The listing of "26 pewter cande [candle] moulds" suggests that candles were also produced in the kitchen.⁵⁶

Sieves, eleven of which were kept in the Palace kitchen, could have been used as drying racks for biscuits and fruit pastes. Fine sieves were used to sift sugar and strain thick liquids such as jellies and syrups, fruits, custards, and for draining milk off the curd. Coarser sieves, often made of natural fibers, functioned as strainers for puddings and other semi-liquid dishes. Hannah Glasse's volume offers an example of the manner in which these implements were used in the kitchen:

"Rules to be observed in making Puddings, &c."

In boiled Puddings, take great Care the Bag or Cloth be very clean, and not soapy, and dipped in hot water, and then well flowered. If a Bread-pudding, tye it loose; if a Batter-pudding, tye it close; and be sure the Water bolis [sic] when you put the Pudding in, and you should move your Puddings in the Pot now and then, for fear they stick. When you make a Batter-pudding, first mix the Flour well with a little Milk, then put in the Ingredients by degrees, and it will be smooth and not have Lumps; but for a plain Batter-pudding, the best way is to strain it through a coarse Hair Sieve, that it may neither have Lumps, or the Treadels of the Eggs: And all other Puddings, strain the Eggs when

⁵⁶Desirée Caldwell, "Palace Kitchen Report" (unpublished research notes, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1979), no page numbers.

they are beat. If you boil them in Wooden-bowls, or China-dishes, butter the Inside before you put in your Batter: And all baked Puddings, butter the Pan or Dish, before the Pudding is put in.⁵⁷

The inventory also includes "1 Salamander," which is a circular iron plate, heated over the fire and placed on top of a pudding or other dish to brown it.⁵⁸

Mrs. Wilson and her staff had access to dozens of pewter "ice moulds" which could have been used to form various deserts and cheeses and were often in the shape of fruits, vegetables, and animals. As Mrs. Wilson and her staff prepared syllabub for the second course, they used the "1 Tin ventilator" to aerate the milk, wine, and sugar. They also could have used the "1 Coffee mill fix'd" for this purpose, as directed by Hannah Glasse. Most likely, however, the coffee mill was used for its traditional purpose of grinding coffee beans for beverages.

Mrs. Wilson stored several staple ingredients in the kitchen, including a paper "parcel of Hartshorn Shavgs" and "& 1 do [parcel] Ising Glass." Hartshorn shavings, obtained by rasping, slicing, or calcinating the horns or antlers of a hart (a male deer or stag) was the eighteenth-century's chief source of gelatin, an essential ingredient for making jellies. Isinglass, an alternative ingredient also used to make jellies, is a comparatively pure form of gelatin procured from air-bladders of freshwater fish. Additionally, the writers of Botetourt's inventory found a single "small flower [flour] keg" in the kitchen, which had most likely been brought from storage elsewhere to be used in many of the baking recipes, as well as a thickening agent for sauces and gravies.⁵⁹

Several of the recipes chosen for the dinner menu required the cook to boil meats, vegetables, and sauces. Mrs. Wilson and her staff were well versed in the procedures and subtleties of the boiling technique, such as those directed by Hannah Glasse:

As to all Sorts of boil'd Meats, allow a Quarter of an Hour to every Pound; be sure the Pot is very clean, and skim it well, for every Thing will have a Scum rise, and if that boils down it makes the Meat black.

⁵⁷Glasse, op. cit., 70.

⁵⁸*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "salamander."

⁵⁹Caldwell, op. cit.

All Sorts of fresh Meat you are to put in when the Water boils, but salt Meat when the Water is cold.⁶⁰

The Palace cooks prepared some meats in large copper boiling pots, which can be found in several forms, including pots with covers, kettles without covers, and pots with spouts.

The governor's staff fixed soups, including the green pease soup for Eden's dinner, in the "4 do [copper] Soup pots & covers." Broths and other liquids were stirred and transferred to the serving dishes with one of the "3 do [iron] Soup ladles." The kitchen inventory also includes "1 do [tin] soup horse" the purpose and form of which remains a mystery. It may have been a sort of trivet, a kettle tilter, a pot hook or a trammel. The long-handled, shallow pierced tin or brass skimmer (both are listed in inventory), was used to remove the inevitable scum that formed in the broth, despite the Palace staff's careful attention to cleanliness.⁶¹

Certain dishes required specialized equipment, such as poached fish for which a cook needed a copper fish kettle, covered and fitted with a rack inside, and fish strainers, pewter and copper platters with pierced trays that allowed the juices from the fish to drain. Large pieces of meat would have been boiled in the copper "Alamode pot & cover," a large container with a fitted cover similar to a modern one used to make a pot roast. To preserve fruits and vegetables, Mrs. Wilson and her staff boiled the fresh

⁶⁰Glasse, op. cit., 7. Eliza Smith's *Compleat Housewife, or Gentlewoman's Companion* (1759) offers similar instructions on page 12: "Let your pot be very clean; and as a scum will arise from every thing, be sure to shake a small handful of flour into it, which will take all the scum up, and prevent any from falling down to make the meat black. All salt meat must be put in when the water is cold; but fresh meat, not till it boils; and as many pounds as your piece weighs, so many quarters of an hour it will require in boiling."

⁶¹Hannah Glasse also offers this information about boiling broths and soups: "First take great Care the Pots or Sauce-pans, and Covers be very clean, and free from all Grease and Sand, and that they be well tinned, for fear of giving the Broths or Soops any brassy Taste; and if you have time to stew as softly as you can, it will both have a finer Flavour, and the Meat will be tenderer. But then observe, when you make Soops or Broths for present Use, and if it is to be done softly, don't put much more Water than you intend to have Sloop or Broth; and if you have the Convenience of an Earthen Pan or Pipkin, and set on Wood Embers till it boils, then skim it, and put in your Seasoning. Cover it close, and set it in Ember, so that it may do very softly for some time, and both the Meat and Broth will be delicious. You must observe in all Broths and Sloop, that one thing does not taste more than another; but that the Taste be equal, and have a fine agreeable Relish, according to what you design it for; and be sure, that all the Greens and Herbs you put in be cleaned and washed and picked" (Glasse, 68).

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⁶⁰Glasse, op. cit., 7. Eliza Smith's *Compleat Housewife, or Gentlewoman's Companion* (1759) offers similar instructions on page 12: "Let your pot be very clean; and as a scum will arise from every thing, be sure to shake a small handful of flour into it, which will take all the scum up, and prevent any from falling down to make the meat black. All salt meat must be put in when the water is cold; but fresh meat, not till it boils; and as many pounds as your piece weighs, so many quarters of an hour it will require in boiling."

⁶¹Hannah Glasse also offers this information about boiling broths and soups: "First take great Care the Pots or Sauce-pans, and Covers be very clean, and free from all Grease and Sand, and that they be well tinned, for fear of giving the Broths or Soops any brassy Taste; and if you have time to stew as softly as you can, it will both have a finer Flavour, and the Meat will be tenderer. But then observe, when you make Soops or Broths for present Use, and if it is to be done softly, don't put much more Water than you intend to have Sloop or Broth; and if you have the Convenience of an Earthen Pan or Pipkin, and set on Wood Embers till it boils, then skim it, and put in your Seasoning. Cover it close, and set it in Ember, so that it may do very softly for some time, and both the Meat and Broth will be delicious. You must observe in all Broths and Sloop, that one thing does not taste more than another; but that the Taste be equal, and have a fine agreeable Relish, according to what you design it for; and be sure, that all the Greens and Herbs you put in be cleaned and washed and picked" (Glasse, 68).

produce in the copper "preserg pot & do [cover]," a covered pot as large as two feet wide with handles for lifting and pouring. The "5 do [copper] Sauce pans & do cover," bellied pans that were used for gravies, sauces, puddings, pastes, pie crusts, and jellies. The kitchen was also furnished with "21 Copr [copper] Stew pans & 24 Covers" with straight sides.⁶² Puddings and pastes were prepared in the "4 doz. copr Moulds" which probably took one of five basic forms--Turk's Head moulds, deep round scalloped pans, deep scalloped moulds with fruit or flower motifs, baking pans, and specialty moulds for puddings in the shape of fish, stars, obelisks.

Many of the meats for the 10 September 1770 dinner at the Governor's Palace were roasted over the fire. Mrs. Wilson and her staff were adept at this technique, following Hannah Glasse's instructions:

In the first Place, take great Care the Spit be very clean; and be sure to clean it with nothing but Sand and Water. Wash it clean, and wipe it with a dry Cloth; for Oil, Brick-dust, and such Things, will spoil your Meat.⁶³

Glasse also provides specific directions for roasting mutton, pork, veal, house-lamb, an entire pig, a hare, turkey, goose, fowls, tame ducks, wild ducks, tal, wigeon, woodcocks, snipes, partridges, pigeons, and larks, including estimated cooking times. She advises cooks

To roast a Piece of Beef of about ten Pounds will take an Hour and a Half, at a good Fire. Twenty Pounds Weight will take three Hours, if it be a thick Piece; but if it be a thin Piece of twenty Pounds Weight, two Hours and a Half will do it; and so on, according to the Weight of your Meat, more or less. In frosty Weather your Beef will take Half an Hour longer.⁶⁴

Eliza Smith's *Compleat Housewife* also includes "Rules to be observed in Roasting," educating kitchen workers to

Let your fire be made in proportion to the piece you are to dress; that is, if it be a little or thin piece, make a little brisk fire that it may be done

⁶²Caldwell, op. cit.

⁶³Glasse, op. cit., 8.

⁶⁴Ibid.

quick and nice; but if a large joint observe to lay a good fire to cake, and let it be always clear at the bottom. When your meat is about half done, move it, and the dripping-pan a little distance from the fire, which stir up and make it burn brisk; for the quicker your fire is, the sooner and better will your meat be done.⁶⁵

The primary utensil employed in roasting at the Palace kitchen was the "large meat Jack & Appurtanences." The jack in Botetourt's kitchen was most likely a "clock jack" or weight-driven jack. Functioning on the same principle as a clock with weights, the weight was wound up on a drum fitted with wooden driving wheels, connected to the spit by a leather belt or chain. As the gravity pulled the weights to the ground, the chain unwound, revolving the meat on the spit over the fire. Several types of spits existed in the eighteenth century and the Palace kitchen might have used all three depending on the type of meat being roasted. A straight spit would have been used to pierce large piece of meat, while a spit basket would have been used for more delicate meats which would lose their juices if punctured.⁶⁶ The kitchen was also equipped with "4 Iron Bird Spits" which were probably standing iron roasting frames for cooking fowl. The "Appurtanences" listed in the inventory additionally included andirons. Roasting could also have been performed on a more simple apparatus, such as an iron bar grate placed over the fire.⁶⁷

The cook basted the roasting flesh by pouring juices with the "1 Iron bastg [basting] ladle" from the "1 do [copper] dripping pan," which was probably a long, rectangular, shallow copper pan with iron feet and handles, with a well inside partially filled with water and a little salt, to catch the drippings under the meat. In addition to basting, Mrs. Wilson's staff ensured the tenderness of the meats during roasting by larding. The cooks used lardons, or larding needles, pins of hollowed steel or brass split into four sections at one end, with a sharp point at the other end to push through the piece of meat, leaving behind strips of fat which would melt and moisten the meat as it cooked.

⁶⁵Eliza Smith, *The Compleat Housewife: or, Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion* (1753, reprint London: Literary Services and Production Limited, 1968), 17.

⁶⁶Caldwell, op. cit.

⁶⁷Leviner, op. cit.

The meat was tested for doneness with the flesh fork, a two-pronged wrought iron piece about 18-22 inches, usually with a decorated handle. When the cook felt the meat was ready to be removed from the fire, she used a flesh fork to remove the meat from the spit and place it on the interim or service dish. Similarly, one of two pairs of "steak tongs" was used to remove steaks from the gridiron.⁶⁸

Although some cooks considered broiling an inferior method to roasting, "because it [the meat] is out of the way of the smoak; where as broiled things are exposed to it, if there be ever so little," the Palace kitchen was equipped to broil meats of all kinds.⁶⁹ Two gridirons, three- or four-legged iron tools, probably fitted with a draining rack, were found in the Palace kitchen. Hannah Glasse advises cooks on their use:

As to Mutton and Pork Steaks, you must keep them turning quick on the Gridiron, and have ready your Dish over a Chaffing-dish of hot Coals, and carry them to Table cover'd hot. When you broil Fowls or Pigeons always take Care your Fire is clear, and never baste any Thing on the Gridiron, for it only makes it smoak'd and burnt.⁷⁰

Breads, pies, and fancy dessert items made up the bulk of many meals at the Governor's Palace. The kitchen was outfitted with sufficient equipment to supply baked items for everyday meals, as well as a formal dinner such as on 10 September 1770. The preparation of baked items was an involved process. The dough for pie crusts had to be mixed and measured, then rolled out using one of the "3 Wooden rollg pins." After the crust was rolled, it was decoratively trimmed with a "paste marker" (also called jags, jiggers, or runners.) The baker then fitted the crust, or poured the cake batter, into one of the many pans in the kitchen. The inventory lists "9 doz. and 9 Tin moulds of different

⁶⁸Caldwell, op. cit.

⁶⁹Richard Bradley, *The British Housewife*, [quoted in Caldwell:, op. cit.] Bradley continues: "Broiling may very well be considered as an additional article to Roasting. It is of the same kind, the naked Fire being used and the Difference being more in the Instrument than in any thing else: It is one of the smallest Articles in Cookery, but we propose to omit nothing. The Advantage of Roasting above Broiling is plain, because it is out of the way of the smoak; where as broiled things are exposed to it, if there be ever so little. It is for this reason that most of those things we usually broil, eat better roasted...."

⁷⁰Glasse, op. cit., 6.

forms." This collection of moulds could have included patty pans, scalloped and rectangular pans; small cake moulds in various shapes including round, heart-shaped, or stars; square and fleur de lis-shaped paste moulds or pie pans; large cake pans found in trefoils, ovals, stars, triangles, and rectangles; "cookie cutter" type moulds shaped like circles, hearts, diamonds, rectangles, trefoils, stars, triangles, squares, or ovals, with plain or fluted edges; and flat baking sheets. The kitchen also housed "2 round copper paste pans" and "2 oval tin do [paste pans]." ⁷¹ These pans may also have served as mixing vessels, since the inventory does not list any bowls in the kitchen. ⁷² Additionally, the kitchen staff had use of "4 tin naples basket pans" which were tin pans divided into rectangular sections meant to hold one biscuit or cake. ⁷³

Just before the pan was put in to bake, the dough was brushed with egg or melted butter with bundle of feathers, referred to in the inventory as "paste brushes." The baking was done in a dutch oven, a three-legged iron pot with a loop handle and closely-fitting lid. The preheated pot could be placed in the fire with and covered with hot coals or ashes, in order for the contents to be evenly heated. ⁷⁴

As the cooks completed items in the kitchen, the food was placed on one of the "21 Pewter Dishes & 15 plates," "1 old pewter dish," or the "12 White stone Scollop" plates (cast shell shaped dishes) to be transferred to the little middle room in the Palace for serving. ⁷⁵ As foods were transported to the dining areas, they were kept warm in one of the three copper chafing dishes, which was "The best Way to keep Meat hot, if it be done before your Company is ready," according to Hannah Glasse. The food was placed over a pan of boiling water and covered with a cloth keeping it warm with the steam

⁷¹Caldwell, op. cit.

⁷²There is, however, a single wooden bowl in the closet of the little middle room (*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, 6).

⁷³Caldwell, op. cit.

⁷⁴ibid.

⁷⁵*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 15.

rising from below.⁷⁶ The kitchen staff also employed the "21 tin meat covers" to transport meat to the Palace from the kitchen.⁷⁷ The servants transferred the food from the pewter dishes and chafing dishes to serving wares including Staffordshire ware bowls and blue and white enameled china bowls.⁷⁸

Dinner Is Served

Botetourt entertained the group of a dozen guests in the dining room, which could have seated at least twelve people, rather than opening the more formal Supper Room, usually reserved for larger or more formal events, such as a ball or dinner in the king's honor.⁷⁹ The dining room, coupled with the parlor, composed a suite of chambers intended to be used in tandem. The parlor functioned as a gathering place for guests before the meal was served, and as a place to retire after the meal was finished.⁸⁰ Usually, male guests would remain in the dining room for conversation and card games while the women convened in the parlor.⁸¹ The parlor was furnished with two leather smoking chairs, two mahogany card tables, a mahogany writing table, a mahogany couch covered with checkered fabric and two small looking glasses. The walls were adorned with maps and eleven Chelsea china figures on the mantle of the fireplace, which was equipped for use with a poker, tongs, and a broom.⁸²

⁷⁶The full text of Hannah Glasse's comments read: "The best Way to keep Meat hot, if it be done before your Company is ready, is to set the Dish over a Pan of boiling Water; cover the Dish with a deep Cover so as not to touch the Meat, and throw a Cloth over all. Thus you may keep your Meat hot a long Time, and it is better than over roasting and spoiling the Meat. The Steam of the Water keeps the Meat hot, and don't draw the Gravy out, or dry it up: whereas if you set a Dish of Meat any Time over a Chaffing-dish of Coals, it will dry up all the Gravy, and spoil the Meat" (Glasse, 10).

⁷⁷The use of the middle room as an intermediary between the kitchen and dining room is also suggested by the "1 small dutch oven" which is listed in the inventory, perhaps left over from such a meal. This area was also used for storage of preparation items such as tea kettles and coffee pots which were used during other meals and tea service (*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, 7).

⁷⁸*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 5.

⁷⁹Graham Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study* (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1991), 174.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 118.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 123.

⁸²*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 5.

The dining room contained a large mahogany dining table which was surrounded by twelve mahogany chairs with "hair bottoms" to accommodate Botetourt and his guests. The dining room also served as Botetourt's office area, but for an evening event such as this one, the "library table containg papers public & private" and the "Desk, containg sundry papers private & public" may have been removed. Two leather smoking chairs, a smaller mahogany dining table, a walnut writing table, and the small reading desk were placed against the walls out of the way or may have been taken to the parlor for use during card games or other entertainment. The room was decorated with eleven Chelsea china figures and a map of Virginia. At the start of the meal, around two or three o'clock in the afternoon, the room was lighted naturally. As the afternoon and evening progressed, however, servants added candles for artificial illumination. Marshman would have set the table with equipment chosen from the "16 Candlesticks, 1 flat Candlestick, 2 Taper candlesticks, and 8 French plate Candlesticks" stored in the Pantry and "2 pr English china Candlesticks" stored in the bowfat. Footmen stationed about the room during the meal trimmed the wicks with one of the "3 Pr Snuffers with 1 Stand & 1 Pan." Both the sunlight and the candlelight were reflected by the "1 Oval lookg Glass," which probably hung above the fireplace. The service staff used the plate warmer, twelve bottle stands, and a mahogany wine cooler during the meal.⁸³

The underbutler and footmen laid the table with two white linen cloths, chosen from fifty-eight cloths stored in the pantry.⁸⁴ The first course was arranged according to standard formal customs, set for housewives and servants by diagrams in books such as

⁸³Ibid., 5-8.

⁸⁴The inventory includes "4 Damask long Dinner table cloths, 6 Doz. Napkins to Do, 4 Damask long table Clths, 3 1/2 doz Napkins to do, 4 long Diaper table clths, 4 Middle Clths to do, 5 doz. Napkins to do, 2 long Damask table clths, 4 doz. Napkins to do, 1 large Damask table cloth, 1 Middle cloth to do, 1 doz. Napkins to do, 6 Fine damask table cloths, 6 doz. Napkins to do, 2 Damask table clths, 2 doz. Napkins to do, 30 Dinner table clths & 5 doz odd Napkins..." and several "Breakfast" and "Servants" table cloths (*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, 15).

Damask is made of a fine bleached white linen yarn woven in elaborate twill designs which are revealed by reflection of light. Diaper is similarly woven, but with small regular diamond patterns (Peter Brears in C. Anne Wilson, ed., *"The Appetite and the Eye": Visual Aspects of Food and Its Presentation Within Their Historic Context*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991, 59]).

The Complete Practical Cook by Charles Carter. Marshman and Wilson both were familiar with these customs and instructed the lower servants to follow these guidelines.⁸⁵ The ladies and gentlemen in Botetourt's company would have exited their gathering places and entered the dining room according to polite protocol of the day which required each to know his or her rightful place in the company of others:

When dinner is announced, the mistress of the house requests the lady first in rank, in company, to shew the way to the rest, and walk first into the room where the table is served; she then asks the second in precedence to follow, and after all the ladies are passed, she brings up the rear herself. The master of the house does the same with the gentlemen. Among persons of real distinction, this marshalling of the company is unnecessary, every woman and every man knows his rank and precedence, and takes the lead, without any direction from the mistress or the master.

When they enter the dining-room, each takes his place in the same order...A gentleman and a lady sitting alternately round the table, and this, for the better convenience of a lady's being attended to, and served by the gentleman next her. But notwithstanding this promiscuous seating, the ladies whether above or below, are to be served in order, according to their rank or age, and after them the gentlemen, in the same manner.⁸⁶

According to the "French Fashion," which was in general use by mid-century, the hostess sat at the top of the table and carved the top dish, in this case the Virginia ham and chickens, with one of the green handle carving knives in the inventory. The host was seated at the opposite end and served the bottom dish. The other dishes were served by the guest seated nearest it, while plates were passed around the table. Plates, glasses, knives, forks, and spoons were arranged similarly to the modern method, in front of the guest. Soup bowls and teacups were placed in front of the hostess.⁸⁷ In the case of Governor Botetourt's dining room, however, the governor sat at the head of the table and carved the main dish while servants were responsible the majority of carving and serving, employing the many hand waiters, or trays, stored in the pantry when the inventory was taken.⁸⁸

⁸⁵Examples of these diagrams are included in the appendix.

⁸⁶John Trusler, *The Honours of the Table, or rules for Behaviour During Meals* (Dublin: Literary Press, 1791), 4-5.

⁸⁷Carson, op. cit., 5.

⁸⁸*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 7.

The footmen presented the guests with Staffordshire ware plates, a fashionable creamware design, from the store of "27 Dishes, 60 Plates" in the Pantry. Before placing the dinner ware on the table, Botetourt's servants warmed the plates in plate warmer which was located near the sideboard, probably in front of the dining room fireplace.⁸⁹ According to the "French Fashion," the foods were laid out in front of the guests who served themselves from the dishes located nearest them. The manners of the day dictated that a polite guest would eat repeatedly from the one or two foods closest to their place.⁹⁰ The Palace contained several sets of iron-bladed knives from which Marshman could have chosen to set the dinner table, including silver-gilt knives, knives with china handles, and buck handled knives. A full service of utensils included a dinner or meat knife, a fork, a soup spoon, and later in the courses, a dessert knife, fork, and spoon.⁹¹ Salt was placed on table in open bowls with spoons "6 large Salts & Shovels... 6 small Salts & Spoons." Butter was served in cream ware dishes called boats.⁹²

The governor's well-trained butler would have carefully instructed his own staff, as well as those hired for the event, about the requirements of good waiting. Footmen were taught, according to prescriptive literature of the day, to "stand with his back to the sideboard, looking on the table. This is the office of the principal servant. If there are more then to stand round the table, or if each person's servant is present, that servant should stand behind his mistress's or master's chair." Further, footmen knew to

keep the dishes in order upon the table, as they were at first put on. 4. If any of the garnish of the dishes falls on the cloth, to remove it from the table in a plate, thus keeping the table free from litter. 5. To change each person's plate, knife, fork and spoon, as soon as they are done with. This will be known, by the person's putting the handles of his knife and fork into his plate. 6. To look round and see if any want bread and help them to it, before it is called for. 7. To hand the

⁸⁹Hood, op. cit., 130.

⁹⁰Margaret Visser, *The Rituals of Dinner: The Origins, Evolution, Eccentricities, and Meaning of Table Manners* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1991), 223.

⁹¹*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 8.

⁹²*ibid.*, 7.

decoraments of the table, viz. oil, vinegar, or mustard, to those who want, anticipating even their wishes...10. To give nothing but on a waiter, and always to hand it with the left hand, and on the left side of the person he serves....12. To tread lightly across the room, and never to speak, but in reply to a question asked, and then in a modest undervoice. 13. When dishes are to be removed, to remove them with care, so as not to spill the sauce or gravy over any of the company, to clean the table cloth from crumbs, if a second course is to be served up, if not, to take away the knives, forks and spoons in a knife-tray, clear away the plates, take up the pieces of bread with a fork, roll up the cloth to prevent the crumbs falling on the floor, rub the table clean and bright, and put on the wine, &c. from the side-board, with a decanter of water and plenty of clean glasses.⁹³

Water, tea, coffee, wine, and beer were offered with each course of the meal, although no specific rules governed the type of beverage to be served. The governor's inventory lists a large store of many types of wines and beers. He was prepared for almost any occasion, and the kitchen staff had their pick of many types for use in recipes. According to the inventory, taken only a little more than a month after our proposed dinner for Governor Eden, Botetourt was in possession of great quantities of wines including port, claret, burgundy, and madeira; various spirits including gin, hock, arrack, "Barbadoes Spirit," peach brandy, and rum; and various types of brewed alcohols including ales, "Virginia Cyder," "Strong beer," and "English small beer."⁹⁴ Each of these beverages were made available to the guests, while tea and coffee would be served after the meal in the parlor or other gathering place.

Each beverage a guest could choose was served in a designated type of glass. Cut glass water tumblers, wine glasses, and beer glasses were stored in the dining room "bowfat." Wine brought up from the cellars, chilled in the mahogany wine cooler, was served in cut glass decanters or japanned cisterns that were stored in the Pantry. Coffee and tea would be served in china cups that matched the dinner service.⁹⁵ Marshman, and

⁹³Trusler, op. cit., 9-11.

⁹⁴*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 6-7. The inclusion of hops in the inventory suggests that perhaps beer was being brewed on the Palace grounds.

⁹⁵*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 5-7.

his underbutler or footmen, filled the guests' glasses, presenting them on silver salvers, hand trays designed for that purpose, and rinsing them at the sideboard as they changed wines.⁹⁶

Protocol also dictated the behavior of dinner guests. Guidelines for manners and "Principles of Politeness" were understood among the gentility and printed in prescriptive literature:

Eating quick or very slow at meals, is characteristic of the vulgar...To be well received, you must always be circumspect at table, where it is exceedingly rude, to scratch any part of your body, to spit, or blow your nose, (if you can't avoid it, turn your head,) to eat greedily, to lean your elbows on the table, to sit too far from it, to pick your teeth before the dishes are removed, or leave the table before grace is said...If a superior, the master of the table offers you a thing of which there is but one, to pass it to the person next you, would be indirectly charging him that offered it to you, with a want of good manners...⁹⁷

After the diners had enjoyed a combination of the nine dishes prepared for the first course, the servants cleared the items using trays or baskets and removed the top linen cloth. The second course was then laid out upon the bottom cloth. These dishes were also set according to a pattern such as those suggested by Carter and Smith.⁹⁸ Creams, jellies, and syllabub were served in the designated glasses, pulled from Botetourt's enormous store of cut glassware.⁹⁹

Once the second course had been taken away, the table cloth was removed and the bare wood served as the backdrop for the dishes of nuts and fruits which composed the third course. John Nott's *Cook's Dictionary* of 1726 provides instructions for "Setting out a Desert of Fruits and Sweet-meats:"

A Desert is said to be dress'd, on a Level, when it is dispos'd in *China* Dishes, and Machines made of Wood or Ofier -twigs, having a great Board in the middle, in Form of a Square, or with six Panes in Length, call'd a *Hexagon*, or any other Figure, you Please: This Board is encompass'd with divers other Works of different Shapes, viz. either round, oval, or of a Club at Cards, or any other pretty Form; and several *China* Dishes are set upon these Boards, supported upon wooden Legs

⁹⁶Hood, op. cit. 130.

⁹⁷Trusler, op. cit., 12-15.

⁹⁸A diagram is included in the appendix.

⁹⁹*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 15.

and Cups; so as the Oval may contain two, and the Clubs three, whilst the Ovals serve for the Composts, and the middle Board for a large Pyramid of Fruit, with *China* Dishes round about, fixed as before mentioned: Or else it may be fill'd up all together with *China* Dishes: That in the Middle being rais'd higher than the others, upon which several small Pyramids are to be erected of an exact Proportion: So that the same Sorts of Comfits, and the same Colours may appear on every Side at the opposite Angles. Lastly, a Row or Border of raw Fruit may be made round about the Dishes upon every Board, to garnish the Top; and the whole Desert is to be set out with Flowers, Greens, and other Ornaments, according to the Season.¹⁰⁰

Marshman and the footmen could have followed these instructions using the "56 pieces of ornamental china" in the bowfat and the extensive collection of glass which included two glass pyramids, one with fourteen pails which would be filled with candies, flower stands, and numerous glass plates both plain and scalloped.¹⁰¹ Ornamental arrangements of fruits and flowers would have been gathered from the Palace gardens and orchards to complement the decorative ceramic and glass pieces, if the governor did not own a collection of ornamental artificial ones.¹⁰²

Another round of beverages was poured and the governor commenced the ceremony of toasts before the diners enjoyed the ornate dessert arrangement. Graham Hood explains the toasting ritual: "by proposing the health of the king (or the king and queen together) the governor initiated the final stage of the ceremony and retained control of it. Other individuals subsequently proposed toasts to which all the guests or merely another individual could respond."¹⁰³ This third course lasted well into the evening hours, at which point the guests removed to the parlor for the remainder of the evening

¹⁰⁰John Nott, *Cooks and Confectioners Dictionary* (1726, reprint London: Lawrence Rivington, 1980), no page number. Nott provides a diagram for servants to follow, which is included in the appendix to this paper.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 5. Louse Beldon's *The Festive Tradition* (1983) provides excellent illustrations, both from primary sources and photographs of recreated meals, of dessert displays.

¹⁰²Louise Beldon, *The Festive Tradition: Table Decoration and Desserts in America, 1650-1900* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1983), 79.

¹⁰³See Hood, op. cit., 131 for more details.

and the footmen remained on duty until they departed, leaving the majority of the cleaning to be done by the Palace staff the following day.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴Patricia Brady Schmit, ed., *Nelly Custis Lewis's Housekeeping Book* (New Orleans: The Historic New Orleans Collection, 1982), 31.

CONCLUSION

As the preceding narrative has illustrated, Governor Botetourt's Palace in Williamsburg was equipped to provide his guests with an extravagant and elegant dining experience. Far beyond the reach of most eighteenth-century households, the Palace's collection of preparation and service equipment, as well as the range of foodstuffs available to the kitchen staff, demonstrated the Governor's wealth and power. According to Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood's anthropological and economical stance on consumption, outlined in *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*, the items in use and on display at the Palace were part of a "live information system" in which all members of colonial Virginia society, rich and poor, participated.¹⁰⁵ By entertaining guests on the scale illustrated by the historically imaginative recreation of the 10 September 1770 dinner for Governor Robert Eden, Botetourt was taking part in the information system and communicating his position within society.

Douglas and Isherwood assert that while goods are neutral objects, conveying no particular messages themselves, their uses are social: "they can be used as fences or bridges."¹⁰⁶ In the case of the Governor's Palace, they were used as both--bridges between members of the elite gentry and aristocratic classes and barriers against middling and impoverished Virginians who would never experience a meal of the scale that Botetourt could regularly produce. If, as *The World of Goods* proposes, "consumption is the very arena in which culture is fought over and licked into shape," the governor was clearly expressing his participation in aristocratic English culture, and his separation from

¹⁰⁵Douglas and Isherwood, op. cit., 10.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 12.

what has become known as American culture.¹⁰⁷ Botetourt used food and the materials associated with dining rituals to convey his position in society and to create and maintain the social relationships between England and the colony, at the level of the governor and his subjects.¹⁰⁸

Douglas and Isherwood also address the usage of time as an issue of consumption. On a day such as 21 September 1770, Botetourt and his guests were acting as consumers of time in two ways--enjoying a leisurely dinner during which they were not required to work in order to maintain their social, cultural, or economic status and by consuming the time and labor of others. Botetourt and his guests had the resources to employ the time of many people including kitchen staff, service staff, gardeners, and butchers, and even to own other human beings (slaves) as goods themselves.¹⁰⁹ Botetourt, Eden, and the other dinner guests epitomized the consumer class in eighteenth-century Virginia.

It is in this context of the theoretical treatment of food and material culture studies that I present my synthesization of the primary sources specific to the Palace and the secondary sources about eighteenth-century cooking and foodways. I hope it will prove useful as both an exploration of the concepts of consumption, ritual, and culture, as well as an enjoyable example of the types of food and cooking techniques employed at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, Virginia.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 59-60.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 195.

APPENDIX A: ANNOTATED RECIPES

The following selection of eighteenth-century recipes were chosen from popular cookery books as representative of the types of dishes Mrs. Wilson and her staff would have prepared for a dinner for the Governor. Drawn from the sample menus and bills of fare from the cookery books, along with primary evidence of the foodstuffs available in Williamsburg and purchased by Botetourt's staff in September 1770, each recipe is annotated with definitions and documentation of the evidence from the Palace kitchen accounts and other records.

For the First Course:

Virginia Ham

Almost every dinner hosted in colonial Virginia included a ham, which was usually placed at the head of the table as the main dish for the first course.¹¹⁰ The cookery books authored by Charles Carter, Eliza Smith, and John Nott all recommend serving "Westphalia Ham and Chickens" in the first course and Mrs. Wilson would have followed this suggestion, however, adapting the Westphalia Ham to the available Virginia-style Ham. Mary Randolph's *The Virginia Housewife* offers the following advice and recipe for preparing and dressing a ham:

"To Cure Bacon"

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

¹¹⁰Carson, op. cit., 5.

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 petre¹¹¹ on the inside of each ham, for some minutes, then rub both sides well with salt, sprinkel 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 soulders 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 off the ears and noses, and lay them in a 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. Remeber to hang the hams and shoulders iwtht he 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. The generally received opinion that salt-petre hardens meat, is entirely erroneou:--it tends greatly to prevent putrefaction, but will not make it hard; neither will laying in brine five or six weeks in cold weather, have that effect, but remaining in salt too long, will certainly draw off the juices, and harden it. Bacon should be boiled in a large quantity of water, and a ham is not done sufficiently, till the bone onthe under part comes off with ease. New bacon requires much longer boiling than that which is old.¹¹²

The Palace kitchen accounts record the delivery of a side of shoat on August 31, 1770 for the cost of 5s and on September 10, 1770 "Mr. Attorney's serv't" was given 2s 6d "for a pig."¹¹³ These pieces of pork could have been cured several weeks or days in advance of the meal and stored until shortly before the dinner.

Green Pease Soup

Take the broth of a leg of beef, and boil in it a piece of bacon and a sheep's-head, to mash with a good quantity of peas; strain the broth from the husks, then take half a nutmeg, four cloves, and a race of ginger, some pepper, a pretty deal of mint, some sweet-marjoram and thyme; bruse the spice, powder the herbs, and put them into the soup; boil leeks in two or three waters till they are tender and the rankness out of them; put in what other herbs you please, as spinach, lettuce, beets, &c. forget not to boil an onion or two in the broth at first; some will

¹¹¹Salt petre is potassium or sodium nitrate (glossary addition, Glasse, 199).

¹¹²Mary Randolph, *The Virginia House-wife* (1825; reprint Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina, 1984), 17-19. Although this volume was published much later than the 1770 dinner at the Governor's Palace, it represents recipes adapted to the Virginia climate which were in use for many years before its publication.

¹¹³The monetary scale of the late eighteenth century, used in the Palace Account Book, was 20 pence (abbreviated "d") equal to 1 shilling (abbreviated "s") and 12 shillings to a pound (abbreviated "£".)

burn butter in a stew-pan, and when it is boiling put in a large plate of sliced onions; let them boil till they are tender, keeping them stirring all the time, and boil them in a soup; others will scrape a little cheshire cheese, and strew in the butter and onions; it ought to be old cheshire-cheese; if you put the onions mentioned last, they must be fry'd in butter, brown, before they are put into the soup; when you put them into the frying-pan flour them well, put in celery and turneps, if you like the taste, but strain the turneps out : to throw an old pigeon in with the meat at first, gives a high taste, or a piece of lean bacon fry'd. ¹¹⁴

Fresh green peas would have been abundant in early September, as were the leeks, turnips, celery and "spinach, lettuce, beets, &c." that Eliza Smith suggests as an addition to the basic soup recipe. In addition to the seasonal garden produce, a "2 Bushel Cask of split Pease" was also being stored in the "small beer Cellar" at the Palace in October, suggesting that the kitchen garden could supply enough peas to be dried and saved for later in the year.¹¹⁵ Although cheshire cheese was not listed in the accounts or inventory, it might have been substituted with "gloster cheese," for which there is evidence in the Palace inventory.¹¹⁶ Onions were in season in the early fall and were probably ready to be harvested from the Palace kitchen garden at the time of Governor Eden's visit as well as being received from merchants or markets.¹¹⁷ They could be kept in storage for use throughout the year, such as the "6 Ropes of Onions" in the kitchen larder remaining in October 1770 when the inventory was taken.

Pullet and Backon boil'd with Oysters, etc.

This recipe, also featured in Nott's *Cook's Dictionary*, employs several common cooking techniques of the eighteenth century. Nott directs the cook to prepare a rago, or

¹¹⁴Smith, op. cit., 86-87.

¹¹⁵*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 11.

¹¹⁶In the "Madeira & Cheese Store" are listed "2 dble Gloster Cheeses-- 37 single do [ditto]" (*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, 12).

¹¹⁷Onions were received at the Palace kitchen on August 27, 1770 for 3s 9d [Governor's Palace Kitchen Accounts. "An Account of Cash Paid by William Sparrow for his Excellency Lord Botetourt. By William Marshman." 3 July 1769-24 July 1771. , ALS. Orig: Duke of Beaufort and Gloucestershire Records Office, Botetourt Manuscripts from Badminton, ffr 297-329. (microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, M-1395).

ragout, which is "a seasoned stew or a thick sauce or relish"¹¹⁸ and a cullis which is a "preparation for thickening soups and stews." The pullet, or poultry, is to be "farced" or stuffed with the mixture, a procedure also known as "forcing".

Raise the Skin on their Breasts with your Finger, pull out the Flesh of their Breasts, of Which make a Farce with some Ham of Bacon, Beefsuet, Chives, Parsley, sweet Herbs and Spices, the whole seasoned with Salt and Pepper; add to these the Crum of a *French* Roll soaked in Cream, and the Yolks of two or three raw Eggs; mince all these well together, and pound them in a Mortar; then farc the Pullets with it, leaving a Hole in the middle, in which put your Oysters, and close it up with some of the Farce. Then wrap them up in Slices of Ham and Bards of Bacon; put a Paper over them, bind them about with Packthread, run a Skewer through their Legs, fasten them on the Spit, and roast them at a gentle Fire: In the mean time make a Ragoo of Oysters in the manner following: Open your Oysters into a Sauce-pan, give them two or three Walms over the Fire; then take them off, take them out one by one, and cleanse them; also toss up some Mushrooms and Truffles in a Stew-pan with a little melted Bacon, season with Salt and Pepper, put in a little Veal-gravy, and let them simmer over a gentle Fire; when they are done, take off all the Fat, thicken the Ragoo with a Cullis of Veal and Ham, then put in the Oysters; keep it simmering, but let it not boil, that your Oysters may not be hardened. When the Pullets are roasted enough, take off the Bards, dish them, pour the Ragoo over them, and serve them up for a fist Course.

After the same manner, you may roast Pullets with Cray-fish, only in Farcing you use Cray-fish ragoo'd instead of Ysters; and when you dish them, you must pour over them a Ragoo of Cray-fish.¹¹⁹

This recipe could have been prepared with almost any type of poultry, including the 17 chickens received at the Palace kitchen on September 12, 1770 for 11s, or those delivered as a gift on September 13, for which "Mr. Attorney's serv't" was paid 1s. The cook could also have chosen to use turkeys, geese, or ducks all of which were both delivered to the kitchen and raised on the Palace grounds.

Botetourt's kitchen staff could have collected their own eggs for the ragoo mixture if had they kept chickens on the Palace grounds, but the only poultry listed in the inventory are 20 turkeys, 18 geese, and 9 ducks. The kitchen accounts record the receipt of eggs on a regular basis throughout the year, including August 26, August 27, September 3, September 5, September 8, September 9, September 12, September 14, and

¹¹⁸ Glossary addition, Smith, op. cit..

¹¹⁹ Nott, op. cit. 258. Note: The numbers on citations from John Nott's *Cook's Dictionary* refer to recipe numbers, rather than pages.

September 15.¹²⁰ The oysters and crayfish needed to complete the farcing mixture were common products of Tidewater Virginia and known to have been delivered to the Palace on several occasions, including September 14, 1770.¹²¹

Seasonings, such as the "sweet herbs" for this recipe, would have been produced in the kitchen garden, dried, and stored for the remainder of the year. Although Nott's directions for preparing the pullets do not mention garnish, many of Hannah Glasse's recipes suggest the cook "Garnish with Lemon."¹²² Lemons, to be used as garnish and for other functions, were brought to the Palace on August 17, 1770.¹²³

Chicken Fricassee

Due to the popularity of French cuisine in the eighteenth century, the Governor would surely have served a fricassee at every formal dinner he hosted. This dish of fried or stewed meat served in a heavy rich sauce was considered essential to a proper English dinner.¹²⁴ John Nott's recipe "To fricassee Chickens" reads

Wash your Chickens, and cut them in Pieces, set them on the Fire in just so much Water as will cover them; and, when they boil, scum them very clean; then take them up, and strain the Liquor; take Part of the Liquor; and season it with Salt, Pepper whole and beaten, a Blade or two of Mace, an Onion stuck with three or four Cloves, and a little Lemon-peel; then warm a quarter of a Pint of Wine, and put to it; boil the Chickens in all these, till they are enough; then put to it three Spoonfuls of Cream mix'd with a little Flour, shake it well over the fire 'till it begins to thicken; then beat the Yolks of two Eggs with a little nutmeg, and Juice of a Lemon; mix these with your Liquor by little and little, that it may not curdle; then put in a good Quantity of Butter, and shake it about 'till it is melted.¹²⁵

¹²⁰Governor's Palace Kitchen Accounts, "An Account of Cash Paid by William Sparrow for his Excellency Lord Botetourt. By William Marshman." 3 July 1769-24 July 1771. , ALS. Orig: Duke of Beaufort's Home and Gloucestershire Records Office, Botetourt Manuscripts from Badminton, ffr 297-329. (microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library), M-1395.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²²Glasse, op. cit., 37.

¹²³"Dayly Account of Expenses," Book No. 2 (Petty Cash Book) 1768 Jun 28- 1771 Oct 14. Orig: Duke of Beaufort's Home and Glosteshire Record Office (microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library).

¹²⁴Glossary addition, Smith, op. cit.

¹²⁵Nott, op. cit., 114.

There were numerous variations on this basic recipe and Mrs. Wilson and her staff had probably developed their own unique version of the fricassee in the Palace kitchen.

A Calf's Head Turtle Fashion

Calf's head was another popular dish for formal dinners and was often served stuffed into the skull of the calf, although it was popular to serve it dressed as a cook would a turtle, which was a Virginia regional specialty. To be prepared as a mock turtle, the calf's head was stewed; the ears were stuffed with forcemeat and tied with cloths to make them stand erect during stewing. Then they were shaped into the "crown of the turtle" and placed on a platter or in a real turtle shell.¹²⁶ The kitchen accounts record the delivery of calves' heads, tongues, feet, and "pluck" (the heart, liver, and lungs) on September 6 and September 7.¹²⁷

Lumber Pye

Lumber Pye, a savory pie of meat or fish and eggs, is recommended by Carter, Smith, and Nott for the first course of a formal dinner. *The Cook's Dictionary* directs

Take any cold Meat, except Beef and Pork and, for every Pound of Meat, take a Pound of Suet¹²⁸, mine them small; take usual sweet Herbs, shred them small; add Salt, have an Ounce of Cloves and Mace finely beaten, and a couple of grated Nutmegs; put in half a Dozen Eggs, mix these all well together, and work them up into Balls, as big as Pullets Eggs. Put them into your Pye; and also Raisins and Currents, a Pound of each; a Quarter of a Pound of Dates slic'd and ston'd; put in a Pound of butter, and bake it. Then put a Quarter of a Pound of Sugar into a Quarter of a Pint of Canary¹²⁹, a Quarter of a Pound of Butter, the Yolks of three Eggs, and half a Quarter of a Pint of Verjuice¹³⁰; boil them all together with a little Mace, 'till they are of a pretty

¹²⁶Carson, op. cit., 103.

¹²⁷Pluck is "the heart, liver and lungs," according to the glossary in Smith. The kitchen accounts document the receipt of "Head, Tongue & Pluck" on September 1 for 3s, and of "Head Feet & Pluck" on September 6 for 2s 4d and on September 7 for 1s 6d.

¹²⁸Suet is "the solid fat round the loins and kidneys of certain animals, esp. that of the ox and sheep, which, chopped up, is used in cooking, and when rendered down, forms tallow" (Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "suet").

¹²⁹Canary is "a light, sweet wine from the Canary Islands" (Glossary addition, Smith).

¹³⁰Verjuice is "the acid juice of green or unripe grapes, crab-apples or other sour fruit, expressed, formed into liquor and used in place of vinegar." (Glossary addition, Smith).

Thickness, and, when you are about to serve up your Pye, pour them into it.¹³¹

For this recipe, Mrs. Wilson might have used a portion of the quarters of lamb purchased on August 28, September 7, and September 18, or that for which "Mr. Kendal's serv't" was paid 1s 3d on September 18 "for carriage of do [ditto]."¹³²

The butter could have been produced in the Palace dairy, but it is clear that butter was often purchased for use in the kitchen. The account books include notation of delivery of 8 1/2 lb. of butter on 18 September 1770 at the price of 8s 6d. The inventory indicates that butter was stored in the kitchen larder, where in October of 1770, there was "about 1/3 of Firkin¹³³ of Butter."¹³⁴ Currants were kept on hand at the Palace, stored in the Stone Cellar, and probably brought up to the kitchen as needed. The required sugar would have been stored at the Palace after being shipped from Norfolk, as on September 18, 1770 when Marshman recorded paying 7 1/2 d "To freightage of Sugar from Norfolk."¹³⁵ The sugar was also stored in various locations on the Palace grounds.¹³⁶

Pie Crust

The mix could be baked in one of several types of pastry, recipes for both of which follow.

Rub six pounds of butter into fourteen pounds, of flour, put to it eight eggs, whip the whites to snow, and make it into a pretty stiff paste with cold water.¹³⁷

¹³¹Nott, op. cit., 65.

¹³²The kitchen accounts record deliveries on August 28 [a quarter for 3s,] on September 7 [a quarter for 7s 6d, on September 18 [a "Side of" for 6s], and a quarter for which "Mr. Kendal's serv't" was paid 1s 3d on September 18 "for carriage of do [ditto].".

¹³³A firkin is "a small cask for liquids, fish, butter, etc., originally containing a quarter of a 'barrel' or half a 'kilderkin.'" (Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "firkin").

¹³⁴*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 7-15.

¹³⁵Dayly Account of Expenses, op. cit.

¹³⁶On page 12, the inventory lists "2 full Jars of Currants" in the stone cellar (*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace.*, 12).

¹³⁷Smith, op. cit., 152.

The paste would have been rolled and shaped into a mold before it was filled with the "lumber mix." The cook could also have chosen to bake her filling in "Puff-Paste" as directed thus by Mrs. Smith:

To a peck of flour you must have three quarters the weight in butter; dry your flour well, and lay it on a table; make a hole, and put in it a dozen whites of eggs well beaten, but first break into it a third part of your butter; then with water make up your paste, then roll it out, and by degrees put in the rest of the butter.¹³⁸

Puff pastry would have been formed into the desired shape and baked in a mold or flat pan. These recipes would obviously yield enough pastry for a large number of pies, but could be cut down in divisions to prepare a lesser quantity.

Scotch Collops of Veal

The term "collops" referred to any sliced meat that could be prepared in a great variety of ways. Scotch Collops seems to be one of the most popular methods of preparation for the meat and each cookery book offered several variations on the recipe. Mrs. Wilson would undoubtedly have adapted her own version of this favorite, based on a recipe similar to the two below.

"To Make Scotch Collops of Mutton or Veal" in the basic way,
Cut your Meat into thin Slices, beat it with a Rolling-pin, hack them on both Sides with the Back of the Knife, fry them with any Meat-gravy; then lay them in a Dish set over a Chafing-dish of Coals; dissolve a couple of Anchovies in a little Claret; put to it a Bit of Butter, and the Yolks of two or three Eggs beaten; heat these together and pour it over your Collops. Then lay in some Slices of Bacon fry'd, the Yolks of Eggs boil'd hard, and afterwards fry'd, and some Sausage-meat fry'd, and serve them up to Table.¹³⁹

"Scotch Collops a la Francois"
Take a Leg of Veal, cut it very thin, lard it with Bacon, then take Half a Pint of Ale boiling and pour it over it till the Blood is out, and then pour the Ale out into a Bason; take a few Sweet Herbs chopp'd small, strew them over the Veal and fry it in Butter, flour it a little till enough, then put it into a Dish and pour the Butter away, toast little thin Pieces of Bacon and lay round, pour the Ale into the Stew-pan with two Anchovies and a Glass of White Wine, then beat up the Yolks of two Eggs and stir in with a little Nutmeg, some Pepper, and a Piece of

¹³⁸Ibid., 165.

¹³⁹Nott, op. cit., 67.

Butter, shake all together till thick, and then pour it into the Dish.
Garnish with Lemon.¹⁴⁰

The kitchen accounts provide evidence of veal being delivered to the Palace kitchen on several occasions shortly before the dinner for Governor Eden: on August 26, the "Attorney's servt" was given 2s 6d for delivery of veal, on August 28 Dr. Carter was paid 0.8.0 for a "Qr. of Veal & pluck;" on September 6 a quarter of veal was received for 6s; on September 7 a quarter was delivered for 7s 6d; and on the eleventh Dr. Carter was paid 12s for "2 Quarters."¹⁴¹

These recipes also called for several items which were prepared earlier and stored in various locations, including some of the pickled anchovies which were kept in the kitchen larder, as well as the claret and ale which were probably pulled from the vast stores of wine and beer in one of the cellars. A visit to the Palace smoke house, where "133 pieces of Bacon" remained in October at the taking of the inventory, would have provided the cook's staff with the necessary pork products for the Scotch Collops.¹⁴² None of the sources provide specific evidence of sausage being produced or delivered at the Palace, but it is likely to have been included in the deliveries from the butcher, the contents of which are not specified in the kitchen accounts.¹⁴³

Sweetbreads, Larded and Rost

For the center dish of the first course, Robert Carter recommends a plate of "Sweetbreads, Larded and Rost [Roasted]." As Hannah Glasse's book explains,

There are many Ways of dressing Sweetbreads: You may lard them with thin Slips of Bacon, and roast them with what Sauce you please; or you may marinate them, cut them into thin Slices, flour them, and fry

¹⁴⁰ Glasse, op. cit., 29.

¹⁴¹ Kitchen Accounts, op. cit..

¹⁴² *An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 14.

¹⁴³ The kitchen accounts document deliveries to the Palace kitchen on September 10 "to Chapplin the butcher's bill" at the cost of 3£ 8.5d and on September 17 "to George Jones bill for Meat" for 1£ 7d.

them. Serve them up with fry'd Parsley, and either Butter or Gravy. Garnish with Lemon.¹⁴⁴

Chine of Mutton Roasted and Stewed Cucumbers¹⁴⁵

This additional dish of roasted meat would have kept Mrs. Wilson and her staff quite busy at the spit on the day of the governor's dinner for Eden.

You may spit your Mutton with a Loop of Packthread¹⁴⁶, then raise off the Skin and roast it; then take your Cucumbers and feed them; cut them in Slices, and fry them brown with an Onion, then put in some Gravy and a little Vinegar : Season it with Pepper and Salt, and so Serve it under your Mutton.¹⁴⁷

Mutton was delivered to the Palace kitchen several times in the weeks before the Governor's dinner. The accounts record payment of 6s 6d for a side of mutton on August 31, 1770; on September 1, George Chapplin was paid 5s for a quarter of mutton; and on September 5, 10 pounds of mutton were received by the kitchen staff at the price of 5d per pound, totaling 4s 2d.

Oyster Loaves

Oysters were ubiquitous on Virginia dinner tables and appear on this menu in several dishes, including Robert Carter's "Oyster-Loaves, *or* Oyster-Bread:"

Take your Oysters, set them and beard them, brown a Piece of Butter, and thicken it, and toss them up into a brown Ragoust, with good Gravy; dice a Sweetbread in amongst them, an a few Morelles cut in Pieces; first, set and season them with Pepper, Salt, and Nutmeg, Thyme and Parsly minc'd, and a little Touch of Onion; squeeze in a little Lemon, and toss round small French Manchet¹⁴⁸; cut a three square Hole in the Bottom, and scoop out the Crumb; fill up the Loaf with the Oysters, and put the same Piece in again as you cut out, and wash it over with the Yolk of an Egg and a little Flower to make it

¹⁴⁴Glasse, op. cit., 30.

¹⁴⁵The glossary addition to Smith's volume explains that to chine a piece of meat is to remove the backbone.

¹⁴⁶Packthread is "stout thread or twine such as is used for sewing or tying up packs or bundles (Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "packthread"). The Palace inventory lists "32 balls Pack thread" in the "Storerooms 1st." (*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, 10).

¹⁴⁷Carter, op. cit., 45.

¹⁴⁸A manchet is a "white loaf made of the finest wheaten flour" (Glossary addition, Smith, op. cit.).

stick, and fry the Loaves crisp in clarify'd Butter, and so serve them in hot, and garnish with Lemon. ¹⁴⁹

Oysters were delivered regularly throughout the year, including a recorded shipment on September 14, 1770 which could have easily supplied Mrs. Wilson with enough oysters to prepare these loaves and the other dishes requiring them. ¹⁵⁰

For the Second Course:

Dish of Pickles

Eliza Smith suggests placing a dish of pickles on the table during the first course. In the eighteenth century, the term "pickles" applied to any vegetable, fruits, and nuts preserved in a pickling solution, usually with a vinegar base. Hannah Glasse, for instance, provides recipes for pickling everything from walnuts to nectarines and apricots, as well as lemons and oysters, cockles, and mussels. Many of these fruits and vegetables would have been produced in the kitchen garden and Palace orchards. Mrs. Wilson and her staff could have prepared them as they came in season and stored them until needed for a dinner such as the one in honor of Governor Eden. ¹⁵¹

Roasted Geese

Roasted meats were also commonly included in the second course, prepared according to the basic roasting methods and often with a seasoned baste or marinade. Eliza Smith's *Compleat Housewife* suggests the following method for roasting a goose for the dinner table.

¹⁴⁹Carter, op. cit., 79.

¹⁵⁰The kitchen accounts entry for September 14, 1770, provides record of oysters delivered for 1s 3d.

¹⁵¹The inventory lists "Broken pots of pickles" in the pantry (*An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, 7).

Take a little sage, and a small onion chopt small, some pepper and salt, and a bit of butter; mix these together, and put it into the belly of the goose. Then spit it, singe it with a bit of white paper, drudge it with a little flour, and baste it with butter. When it is done, which may be known by the leg being tender, take it up, and pour thro it two glasses of red wine, and serve it up in the same dish, and apple sauce in a bason.¹⁵²

Smith also includes a section on "Instructions for Carving, according to these Terms of Art" which provides the reader with directions on carving various meats and poultry, such as a goose:

Take off both legs fair, like shoulders of lamb; then cut off the belly-piece round close to the end of the breast; then lace your goose down on both sides of the breast half an inch from the sharp bone; then take off the pinion on each side, and the flesh you first lac'd with your knife; raise it up clean from the bone, and take it off with the pinion from the body; then cut from the breast-bone another slice of flesh quite thro'; then turn up your carcase, and cut it asunder, the back bone above the loin-bones; then take the rump end of the back-bone and lay it in a dish, with the skinny side upwards; lay at the fore-end of it the merry-thought, with the skinny side upwards, and before that the apron of the goose; then lay the pinions on each side contrary, set the legs on each side contrary behind them, that the bone ends of the legs may stand up cross in the middle of the dish, and the wing pinions may come on the outside of them; put the long slice which you cut from the breast-bone, under the wing pinions on each side, and let the ends meet under the leg-bones, and let the other ends lie cut in the dish betwixt the leg and the pinion; then pour in your sauce under the meat; throw on salt, and serve it to table again.¹⁵³

Roasted Rabbits

Roasted rabbits were often served with the appearance of the body as if it were still alive, arranged on the plate to resemble the animal before cooking. Smith's directions do not, however, detail this process.

When you have lain your rabbits down to the fire, baste them with good butter, and then drudge them with flour. If they are small, and your fire quick and clear, half an hour will do them, but if they are large they will require three quarters of an hour. Melt some good butter, and having boiled the liver with a bunch of parsley, and chop'd them small, put half into the butter, and pour it into the dish, garnishing it with the other half.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵²Smith, op. cit., 22.

¹⁵³Ibid., 395.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., 20.

Rabbits were among the game that the Governor's slaves and servants might have been expected to provide as part of their duties.

Fish of Sorts

Eliza Smith recommends serving "Fish of Sorts" during the second course. No fish, with the exception of sturgeon, were delivered to the Palace in the several days before this meal. Mrs. Wilson might, therefore, have served several types of pickled fish which could have been drawn from the large stock of fish in storage at the Palace. Botetourt's inventory lists "2 Barrells pickled Tripe, 1 Whole Kitt of Salmon"¹⁵⁵ and "1 piece of Jar of pickled Anchovies" in the kitchen larder.¹⁵⁶

Hannah Glasse provides recipes for preparing pickled fish for the table, such as "To Dress a Jole of pickled Salmon:"

Lay it in fresh Water all Night, then lay it in a Fish plate, put it into a large Stew-pan, season it with a little whole Pepper, a Blade or two of Mace in a coarse Muslin Rag tied, a whole Onion, a Nutmeg bruised, a Bundle of Sweet Herbs and Parsley, a little Piece of Lemon-peel; put to it three large Spoonfuls of Vinegar, a Pint of White Wine, and a quarter of a Pound of fresh Butter rolled in Flour. Cover it close, and let it simmer over a slow Fire for a quarter of an Hour, then carefully take up your Salmon, and lay it in your Dish, set it over hot Water, and cover it. In the mean time let your Sauce boil, til it is thick and good. Take out the Spice, Onion, and Sweet Herbs, and pour it over the Fish. Garnish with Lemon. ¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵A kitt is "a wooden vessel made of hooped staves," and could have been any size (Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "kitt").

¹⁵⁶The kitchen accounts provide evidence of the following deliveries of fish: Rock fish on September 8, for 2s 6d; sheep's head fish on August 30 for 7s 6d and on September 6 for 2s 6d; "fish" on September 9 for 2s; sturgeon on September 12 for 3s 9d and on September 18, "Mr. Attorney's serv't" was paid 2s 6d for delivery; and "Mr. Speaker's Serv't" was paid 2s 6d for delivery of crabs on September 5, 1770.

¹⁵⁷Glasse, op. cit., 89.

Fresh seafood could have been prepared in a number of ways. For example, the sturgeon might have been boiled, roasted, fricasseed, or broiled, and the crabs could have been buttered, stewed, or dressed with a mixture of wine, eggs, bread crumbs, and herbs.¹⁵⁸

Artichoke Pye

Artichokes, a seasonal favorite, would have provided the base for another popular dish for Mrs. Wilson's second course.

To take the bottoms of three good Artichokes boil'd, and cut and pare out the Strings, and beat them in a Mortar, with a quarter of a Pound of Bisket or white Bread; mince the Marrow of two large Bones, if small three; season it with Sack¹⁵⁹, Sugar, Salt, Cinnamon, Ginger, and Nutmeg; work it up with the Yoks of ten Eggs and a little Cream; boil up a Quart of Cream, and draw it up thick with this, and sheet your Dish with Puff-paste, bake it, and serve it away to the Table; stick it over with candy'd Citron.

Puff-Paste made thus;

To a Quarter of a peck of the finest Flower, take a Pound and half of the sweetest new Butter; take the Whites of eight Eggs, and work half the Butter in with the Whites of Eggs, and work it up stiff with cold Liquor; then roll it out into a Sheet, and lay the rest of your Butter all over the Sht of Paste in little Bits; then flower it over, and fold it, and roll it, and beat it with your Rolling-pin, and fold it and roll it at least a Dozen times; let it lie a little, and then use it as you think fit. This is proper for most Sort of Torts, and a great many Patties and Petits, and for any Sort of Puffs, or Tarts that should be light.¹⁶⁰

A Chine of Salmon and Smelts

The salmon and smelts could have been prepared in a number of ways with various sauces, including the following recipe for "Salmon, Pike, Carps, or Fresh Cod in Corbullion:"

First scale, draw, and cleanse your Fish very well; then lay your Fish into a Corbullion, made as follows: Take one Part Wine, one Part Vinegar, and two Parts Water; season it well with Salt, whole Pepper, Cloves, mace and Ginger; put in some Onions, Horse-radish, a good Faggot of sweet Herbs, and a few Bay-leaves; pour this cold all over your fish, and let there be enough of it to boil it in; let it lie an Hour in

¹⁵⁸Recipes for these variations appear in Glasse, op. cit., 94-96.

¹⁵⁹Sack is "a dry, amber wine imported from Spain and the Canaries, and often drunk with sugar added. Sack lees are the residue in the cask" (Glossary addition, Glasse, op. cit., 197).

¹⁶⁰Carter, op. cit., 124.

this Corbullion, and then take out your Fish, and set your Corbullion on to boil; and when it boils up, put in your Fish; when boil'd enough, take it out, and drain it well; dish it, and lay some other small Fish about it, either boil'd, or fry'd, or broil'd, and garnish with Horse-radish and slic'd Lemon.

"To make Sauce for any Fish boil'd in Corbullion," Carter instructs

First brown a Piece of Butter, about a quarter of a Pound, of a golden Colour; thicken it with fine Flower; put in some red Wine, and some Mace, Cloves, and beaten Ginger, some Onion or Shallot minc'd, a Faggot of sweet Herbs, half a Dozen Anchovies, a Lemon cut in Dice, some Horse-radish grated; draw all this up together with good Butter very thick, and put in Oysters set and bearded, Shrimps pick'd and wash'd, some pickled Mushrooms, and at last a spoonful of Catchup, and draw it up very thick. This Sauce is proper for Turbet, or holy Bret, or Pearl, or Mulletts, or Gurnets, or any Fish that is dress'd high.¹⁶¹

Shampinions Ragoust

During the month of September, the Palace kitchen garden and the surrounding park lands would have provided the cooking staff with an abundance and variety of mushrooms. Richard Bradley's *Country Housewife* advises

As this Month produces great numbers of Mushrooms in the Fields, it is now chiefly that we ought to provide ourselves with them for the making of Ketchup, and Mushroom Gravey: And it is also a proper Season for pickling them. In the gathering of Mushrooms, we are sure to meet with some of all sizes; the very small for pickling, the large Buttons for stewing or making Mushroom-Loaves, and Mushroom-Gravey, and the large Flaps for broiling or making of Ragous, or stewing, and Ketchup: therefore to follow the common way, we should make two or three Parcels of them.¹⁶²

"To make a Ragoo of Mushrooms," using the harvested fungi, John Nott's *Cook's Dictionary* directs

Cut your Mushrooms, and toss them up with Butter or melted Bacon, season them with Salt, Pepper, and Parsley shred small: Moisten them with Flesh-Gravy, or Fish-broth; thicken it with a Cullis of Flesh, or meagre Cullis, or a little Flour, Yoks of Eggs, and Lemon-juice, and serve them up.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹Ibid., 69-70.

¹⁶²Richard Bradley, *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director* (1736, reprint London: Prospect Books, 1980), 140-141.

¹⁶³Nott, op. cit., 67.

Tansey

Alan Davidson's glossary addition to Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* explains that "in mediaeval times tansy was a fried mixture of eggs flavored with the bitter juice of tansy leaves, eaten at Easter in remembrance of the 'bitter herbs' of Passover...[i]n the 17th century the traditional tansy was thickened with breadcrumbs, cream and spices, and served with sugar scattered over it. Gradually, as more crumbs, Naples biscuits, and sugar were added, it became a sweet pudding, baked or boiled, still including chopped tansy, but now coloured green with spinach juice."¹⁶⁴ The latter version, represented here by a recipe drawn from Carter's *The Complete Practical Cook*, could have been prepared by Botetourt's staff for his dinner table on September 19, 1770.

Take to a Quart of Milk or Cream twenty-four Eggs, the Whites of twelve; beat them very well, and mingle them with your Cream, and strain it; season it with Salt, Sugar, Nutmeg, Cinnamon, and Ginger; put in a little Sack and Orange-Flower Water, and beat it up with a Pound of Naples Bisket grated; beat a great deal of Spinach, and some Tansey; strain out the Juice, and colour your Stuff with it very green, and mingle it very well together; then set it over the Fire till it thickens, and begins to bind together; then put it into another Thing to cool a little, and then butter a Dish or Petty-pan, and bake it, but not too much; turn it out of your Dish or Pan the Bottom upward, sprinkle over some Sack, grate over some Sugar, and garnish with quarter'd Orange.¹⁶⁵

Syllabub

Syllabub, served in specialized glasses, was universally served as part of the second course during a formal afternoon meal. This sweet jelly-like concoction of cream and wine could be prepared in a number of ways, but Mrs. Wilson is likely to have chosen this recipe in order to allow additional time for the preparation of items which could not be kept over night.

"To make Everlasting Syllabubs."

Take five half Pints of thick Cram, half a Pint of Rhenish, and half a Pint of Sack, the Juice of two large Seville Oranges; grate in just the

¹⁶⁴Glossary addition, Glasse, op. cit., 202.

¹⁶⁵Carter, op. cit., 105.

yellow Rind of three Lemons, and a Pound of double-refined Sugar well beat, and sifted. Mix all together with a Spoonful of Orange-flower Water, beat it well together with a Whisk half an Hour, then with a Spoon fill your Glasses. These will keep above a Week, and is better made the Day before. The best Way to whip Syllabubs is, have a fine large Chocolate-mill, which you must keep on purpose, and a large deep Bowl to mill them; it is both quicker done, and the Froth stronger. The thin that is left at Bottom, have ready some Calf's Foot Jelly boiled and clarified, there must be nothing but the Calf's Foot boiled to a hard Jelly; when cold, take off the Fat, and clear it with the White of the Eggs, run it through a Flannel Bag, and mix it with the clear, which you saved of the Syllabubs; sweeten it to your Palate, and give it a boil; then pour it into Basons, or what you please. When cold, turn it out, and it is a fine Flummery.

Before being turned out into the glasses, the mixture could be colored with several natural ingredients to add to the aesthetic effect of the dish.

You may colour some with Juice of Spinage, some with Saffron, and some with Cochineal, just as you fancy.¹⁶⁶

One of the major components of the syllabub recipe is calves foot jelly, which could be served alone and used to make various dessert jellies (see following recipes.) Hannah Glasse's recipe for this key ingredient is as follows:

Boil two Calves Feet in a Gallon of Water, till it comes to a Quart, then strain it, let it stand till cold, skim off all the Fat clean, and take the Jelly up clean. If there be any Settling in the Bottom, leave it; put the Jelly into a Sauce pan, with a Pint of Mountain Wine, half a Pound of Loaf-sugar, the Juice of four large Lemons, beat up six or eight Whites of Eggs with a Whisk, then put them into a Sauce-pan, stir all together well till it boils. Let it boil a few Minutes; have ready a large Flannel Bag, pour it in, it will run through quick; pour it in a gain till it runs clear, then have ready a large China Bason, with the Lemon-peels cut as thin as Possible, let the Jelly run into that Bason, and the Peels both gives it a fine Amber Colour, and also a Flavour; with a clean Silver Spoon fill your Glasses.¹⁶⁷

Marchpanes

Sweets, including various types of sweetmeats, marchpanes (marzipan,) macaroons, jellies, and preserves would have been a major component of the second course. The march panes could have been formed into fanciful scenes or decorative

¹⁶⁶ Glasse, op. cit., 144-145.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

shapes intended to impress and delight the guests.¹⁶⁸ John Nott's *Cook's Dictionary* offers a variety of recipes for confections, such as the following instructions for marchpanes.

Take Almonds, scald them, then put them into cold Water, drain them, wipe them, then pound them in a Marble Mortar, moisten them frequently with the White of an Egg to keep them from oiling. In the mean time take half the Weight of your Almond-paste, in clarify'd Sugar, boil it 'till it becomes feathered, then put in your Almonds by Handfuls, stir it well with a Spatula, that it do not stick to the Pan. Pass the Back of your Hand over it, and, if it stick no to it, it is enough; then lay it upon the powder'd Sugar, and let it cool; then roll out the Paste into Pieces of a convenient Thickness, make them into what Forms you please, either round, long, oval, or jagged, in the Shape of an Heart, lay them on Sheets of Paper, in order to be baked in an Oven, then they are to be turn'd and ic'd over, and set into the Oven again.¹⁶⁹

"To make March-pane gilded and garnished," the author writes

Blanch your Almonds, pound them in a Mortar with a little Rose-water; sift Sugar very fine, mingle them well 'till they become a Paste: Then roll it out flat, cover it with white Paper; make Impressions round it with a Marking-Iron us'd in Pastry, then take off your Paper; then beat up the Whites of Eggs with Rose-water and Sugar, and ice it over, bake it; take Leaves of Gold, cut them into divers Forms, wash your March-pane over with Gum-water, and lay on your Leaf-gold.¹⁷⁰

"To make ic'd March-panes"

When the March-panes of any Sort or Form are bak'd and coloured on one Side, cut them off from the Paper, and ice the under-side as follows. Take Orange-flower-water, or any other sweet Water, or any Juices or Marmalades, and mix them by Degrees with Sugar finely powdered, tempering them well together 'till they are of the Consistence of a Pap¹⁷¹. Then spread this Ice with a Knife upon the March-panes, put them upon Paper with the Oven-lid, and some Fire on the Top to make the Ice cagulate; then put them up in Boxes for Use.¹⁷²

Nott also offers directions for "Royal March-panes" in which he explains how to roll them around your fingers to make rings or wreaths

Then there will rise in the Middle a Sort of a Puff in the Form of a Coronet; to adorn while you are dressing them, put upon the void

¹⁶⁸Refer to historiography for explanation of subtleties.

¹⁶⁹Nott, op. cit., 8.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 9.

¹⁷¹Pap is "soft or semi-liquid food for infants or invalids, made of bread, meal, etc., moistened with water or milk" (Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "pap").

¹⁷²Nott, op. cit., 10.

Spaces of these Rings a small round Pellet of some Paste, or a small Grain of some Fruit, such as a Rasberry, Cherry, or the like.¹⁷³

Macaroons

"To Make Macaroons," Nott directs the cook to

Blanch two Pound of Almonds in scalding Water, put to them a Pound and half of seared Loaf-sugar, pownd them in a Stone-mortar with the Whits of eight Eggs, and a little Rose-water, beat them 'till they be something thicker than Batter for Fritters. Then drop them on Wafers, and bake them on Sheets of Tin.¹⁷⁴

These macaroons could have been prepared in advance of the dinner, as suggested by the "2 do [broken papers of] white mackaroons" and "2 do yellow do" which were located in the Store Rooms when the Palace was inventoried in October 1770.

The sugar for these recipes was also in reserve in the Palace. The inventory lists "10 Loaves treble refined Sugar. 22 do double. 27 do single--" along with the "6 lb sweet Almonds," "part of a Box rock Sugar," and several "Vials of colour'd sugars" which could have been used to decorate these macaroons, sweetmeats, and marchpanes.¹⁷⁵ The stock of sugars is representative of the several kinds of sugar which were available in the eighteenth century, distinct in terms of the extent of processing and the way each was presented for sale, usually in the form of a loaf. The refining process, a method by which coarse raw sugar was filtered and purified, could be regulated to produce several grades of refined sugar, including ordinary refined sugar which was often yellow in color, double refined sugar which was off-white, and triple-refined sugar or Royal sugar (the most expensive type) was white. Lump sugar refers to lumps broken off the loaf and powdered sugar was made by grating off the loaf.¹⁷⁶

Creams

¹⁷³ Ibid., 11.

¹⁷⁴ Nott, op. cit., 1.

¹⁷⁵ *An Inventory of the Contents of the Governor's Palace*, op. cit., 5-10.

¹⁷⁶ Glossary addition, Glasse, op. cit., 201.

Creams could be flavored in a variety of ways, colored with natural dyes, and served in decorative glasses. Nott's *Cook's Dictionary* includes a recipe for an almond-flavored cream, "Blanc-Mangers."¹⁷⁷

Blanc-Mangers are us'd in Inter-Messes, or for middling Dishes, or Out-Works, and are made a follows.

Blanch a Pound of sweet Almonds in scalding Water, take off the Husks, and pownd the Kernels into a fine Paste in a Stone-Mortar, putting to them now and then a Spoonful of Jelly to keep them from oiling, (the Way of making which you will see in Letter I;) when they are very finely beaten, put them into a clean Sauce-Pan, with a Quart or three Pints of the Jelly above-mention'd. Set it on the Fire 'till it is scalding hot, breaking your Almonds with your Jelly with a wooden Ladle; then strain it either through a woollen Strainer, or a Napkin, rubbing the Almonds through as much as you can; then put your Jelly back upon the Almonds three or four Times, still pressing them through the Strainer, 'till the Blanc-Manger is become as thick as Cream. Or else, when it is cold, it will be apt to part, the Jelly falling to the Bottom, and the Almonds swimming at the Top; then put it up in Jelly Glasses.

These Glasses you may set betwixt your plain Jelly, or put it into a China Bowl for the Middle of the Dish, or in cold Plates for the second Course.

Nott also provides instructions for preparing a Blanc-Manger of harts-horn:

Take a Pound of rasped Harts-horn, and boil it for a considerable time, till the Liquor is become clammy; then strain it through a very fine Sieve; the pownd your Almonds, moistening them with a little Milk or Cream; then strain the Jelly with the Almonds three or four Times to make it white, and put to it a little Orange-flower-water.¹⁷⁸

The inventory records "1 parcel of Hartshorn Shavgs" "& 1 do (parcel) Ising Glass" in store in the Palace kitchen. Creams could also be made from a variety of fruits, such as this recipe for Cream of Quinces.

Roast four or five ripe Quinces, core them, slice them thin, and boil them in a Pint of sweet Cream, with a Race of Ginger, over a gentle Fire, till it is pretty thick, stain it, and put to it Sugar and Rosewater at Discretion.¹⁷⁹

The kitchen accounts record the receipt of quinces on September 7 and 9, 1770.

¹⁷⁷Nott, op. cit., 106.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., 109.

¹⁷⁹Nott, op. cit., 15. ¹⁷⁹ A quince is "a hard, acid, yellowish, pear-shaped fruit (Glossary addition, Bradley, op. cit., 67).

Jellies

Flavored jellies, prepared from seasonal and stored fruits, would also have been served during the second course. For example, "To Make Jelly of Currans," Nott instructs the cook to

Let your Currans be pretty ripe, press out the Juice thro' a coarse Linnen Cloth, clarify it, and add to it half a Pound of Sugar boil'd to a Candy height to each Pint of Juice; boil them together 'till a third Part be wasted away, and it is done.

The following instructions, included in Eliza Smith's cookery book, illustrate how the jellies were formed and served at the table.

"To make clear Cakes of the Jelly of any Fruit" ¹⁸⁰
To half a pound of jelly, take six ounces of sugar; wet your sugar with a little water and boil it candy high; then put in your jelly; let it boil very fast till it jelly; then put it into glasses, and when it is dried enough on one side, turn it into glass plates. Set them in a stove to dry leisurely; let your stove be hot against your cakes be turned.

Jellies could be colored with various natural dyes, including saffron for a yellow color, spinach juice for green, syrup of violet flowers for purple, or beet juice for red, and put together in a number of ways, such as layers or checkers, for an aesthetic effect on the dinner table, as instructed by Carter in *The Complete Practical Cook*. See the attached illustration.¹⁸¹

For the Third Course:

For the last and lightest course of the meal, Mrs. Wilson would have prepared several types of nuts and dishes of fruits, both fresh and preserved. The kitchen accounts provide extensive evidence of the fruits which were in season during this time. The kitchen received deliveries of peaches, pears, apples, musk melon, water melon, oranges, and walnuts between the end of August and the middle of September 1770, all of which

¹⁸⁰Smith, op. cit., 205-206.

¹⁸¹Carter, op. cit., 178-180.

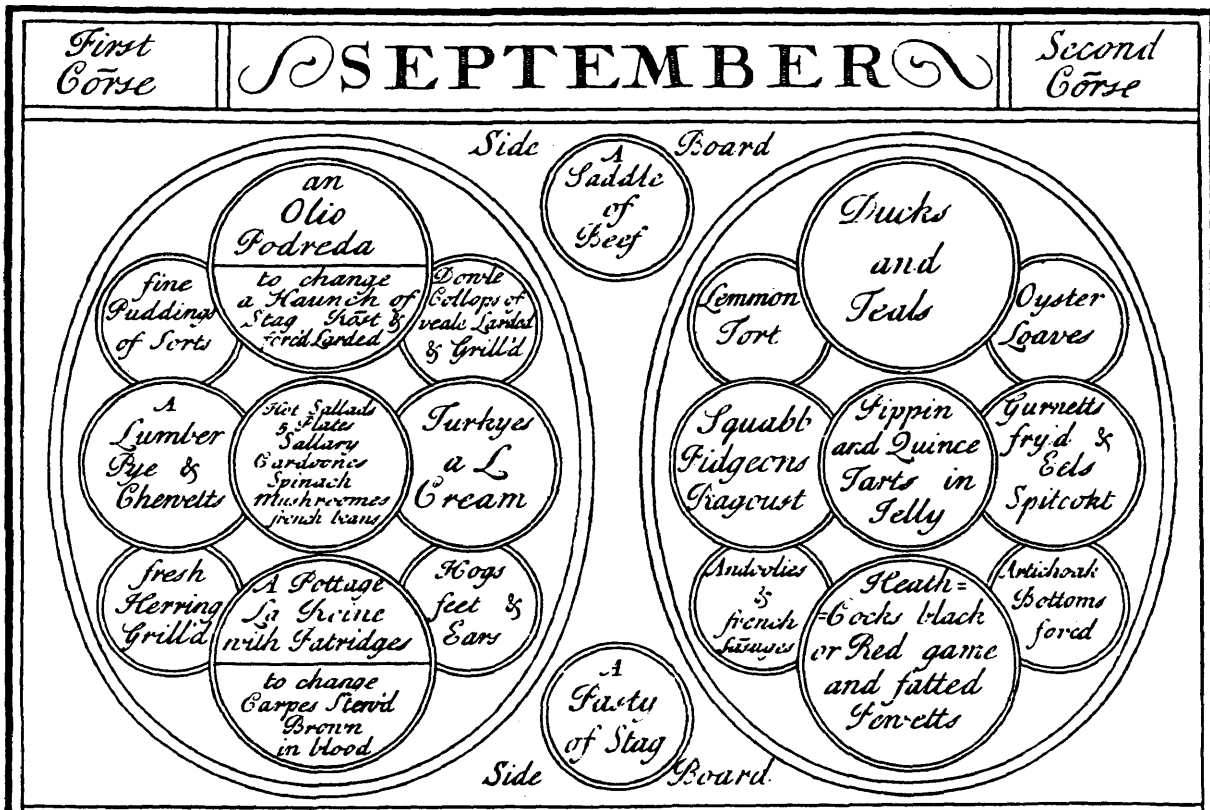
could have been served fresh and candied.¹⁸² Candied and preserved fruits were stored at the Palace in various locations including in the kitchen, in the "Outhouses belonging to the Kitchen Larder," in the stone cellar, and in the storerooms.¹⁸³

¹⁸²The kitchen accounts document the receipt of fresh fruits throughout the late summer and early fall, including peaches on August 26, August 30, [and apples] September 1, September 4, September 9, September 17; pears on August 26 and August 29; apples [and eggs] on August 3, [and peaches] on September 1, September 8, September 15, September 17; musk melon on August 30, September 5, and September 8; water melon on August 31, September 9, and September 13; and oranges on September 19.

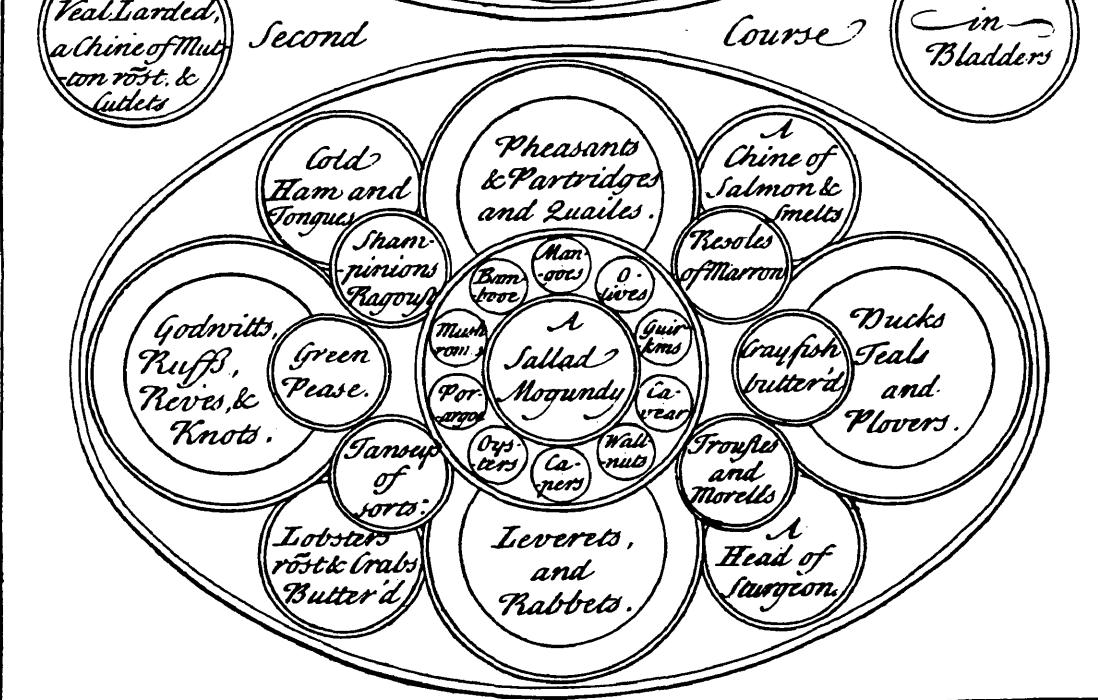
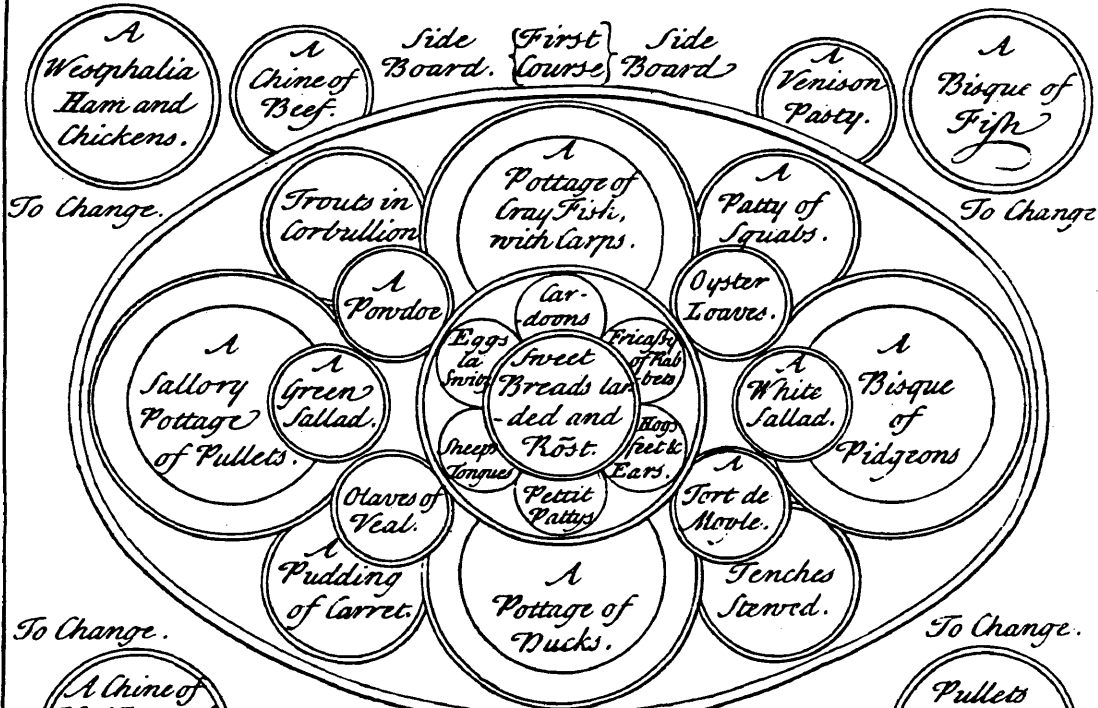
¹⁸³Directions for preparing these items appear in the main text of the paper.

APPENDIX B:

TABLE DIAGRAMS FROM CHARLES CARTER'S
THE COMPLETE PRACTICAL COOK (1730)



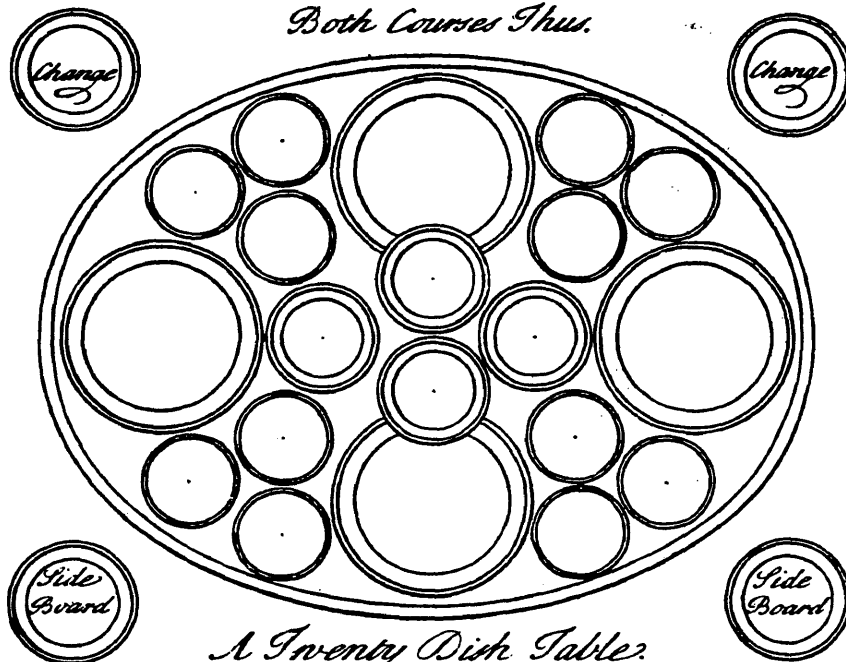
A Dinner for the King Sep. 10th



These Following Draughts.

Are Composed for Tables, to be used at any time as Occasion shall require.

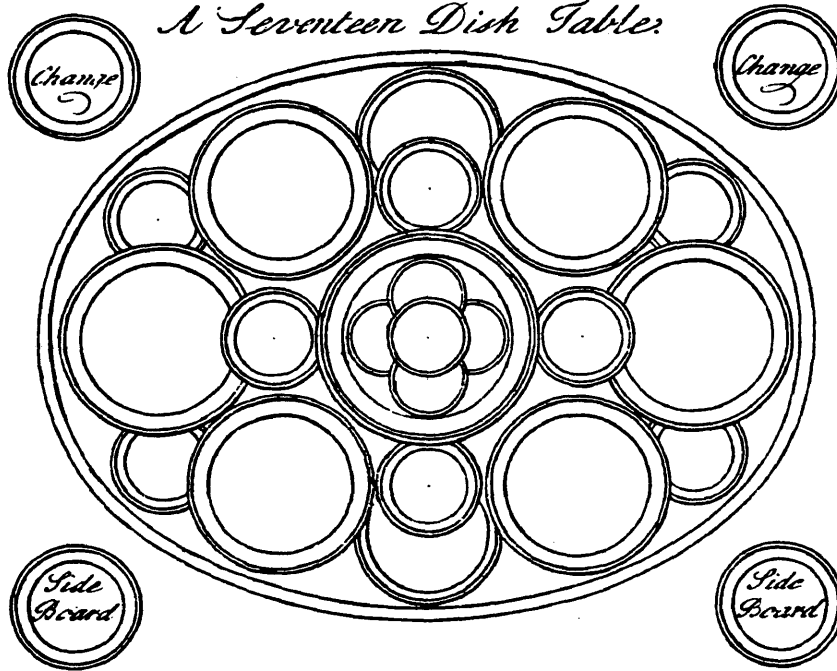
Both Courses Thus.



A Twenty Dish Table.

Both Courses thus,

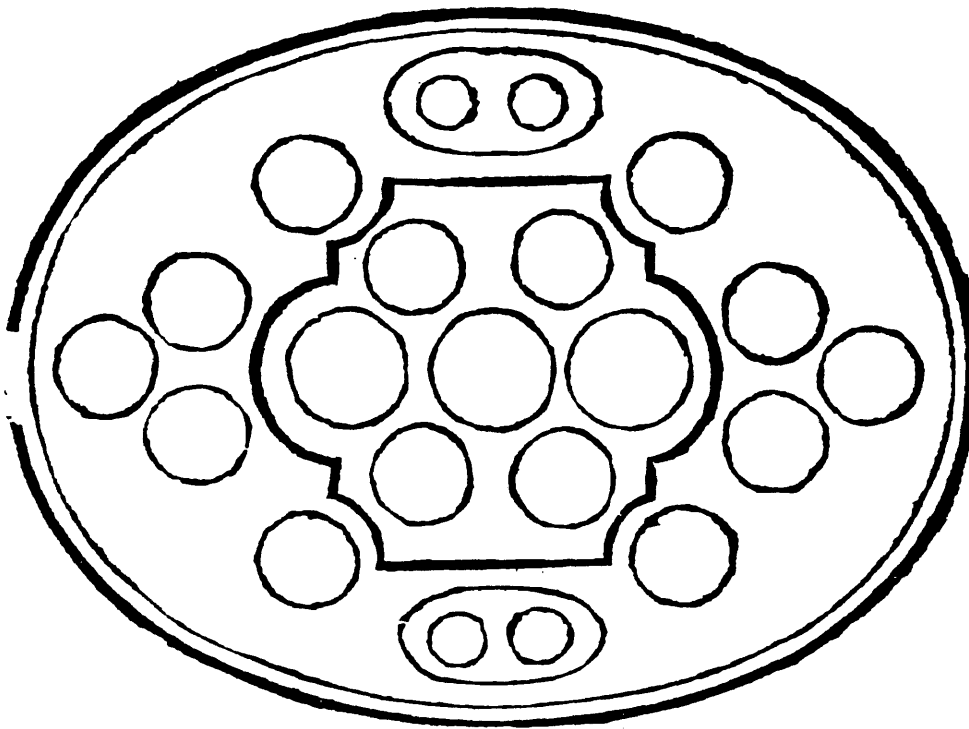
A Seventeen Dish Table.



APPENDIX C:

TABLE DIAGRAM FROM JOHN NOTT'S
COOKS AND CONFECTIONERS DICTIONARY (1726)

The Manner of setting out a Desert.
The Model of a Desert for an oval Table of twelve
Coverings.



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