NOURISHING 19th CENTURY AMERICANS: THE DIETARY ADVICE IN COOKERY BOOKS

By
ROCÍO PETERSEN

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Dr. Geraldine Moreno-Black

Before the United States established its dietary guidelines and before the discovery of the chemistry of nutrition, authors of nineteenth-century cookery books based their opinions of a healthy lifestyle primarily on their own experiences. The most influential American authors of cookery books dealt with cooking for the home according to their understanding of health and nutrition, evident in the advice that they provided and in the nutritional content of their recipes.

The cookery books represent shifts in the prescribed American diet before and during the dissemination of professional knowledge about the nutrients in foods. By tracing the changes of selected recurring recipes, I evaluate how meals from the early to late 1800s represent the basic tenets of a healthy lifestyle in terms of food choices at that time.

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INTRODUCTION

By 2008, food writing has boomed into a genre that includes television channels, magazines, books, and lines of cooking products sold through their connections to celebrity chefs. While recipe books in the twenty-first century teach readers how to bake the most moist chocolate cake this side of heaven or to cook a low-fat vegetable soup, they also offer windows into the society, culture, and time period in which the recipes were written. Historians, sociologists, and anthropologists have examined the gender, social, ethnic, and nationalistic issues in the first American cookery books[1] published in the United States. However, few researchers have looked into these cookery book writers' cooking and eating advice and the implications of changes in recipes and meal choices to understand how their authors understood nutrition and health.

Janet Theophano has explained that cookery book "writers told stories. Some books were elaborate, if not coded, explorations of identity—of self; of other women; and of home community and country—which supported or challenged (sometimes both) the status quo."[2] The cookery book authors were leaders in teaching Americans how to cook. Could we learn anything about eating healthy from these old cookery books whose authors knew little or nothing about the science of nutrition?

The research goal of this paper was to better understand how Americans cooked and ate, as well as how they saw the relationship between food and health, before and during the dissemination of the professional knowledge about dietetics and nutrition.

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[1] "Cookery" is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as the art or practice of cooking or the preparation of food by means of fire. The term "cook-book" originated in the United States in the nineteenth century.

[2] Theophano 228.

Many twenty-first century cookbooks seem to emphasize, for example, the Vitamin C in oranges and the antioxidant-rich blueberries in a fruit dessert instead of relying solely on the taste of the dish. What did nineteenth-century cookery book authors write about before the field of nutrition explained to Americans how to optimize their diet to provide sufficient carbohydrates, proteins, lipids, vitamins, and minerals?

Cookbooks printed in 2008 sometimes assume that readers know about calories and the food groups expounded by the United States Department of Agriculture's food pyramid. Without the studies and years of public advertisements, would the first authors of American cookery books still include information about the relationship between diet and health? Along with their writing about topics ranging from buying foods at the market to cleaning the household and setting the dinner table, the cookery book authors wrote recipes. Through an analysis of the changes in recipes over time, the authors offered information about the changing American economy, society, and scientific thought. Thus, through a biocultural perspective, the author of this paper set out to understand what kind of information nineteenth-century authors of cookery books directly and indirectly gave their readers.

DISTINCTLY AMERICAN COOKING

The arrival of the first immigrants from Europe to North America sparked a cultural exchange of the culinary traditions between these immigrants and the indigenous peoples. The European settlers grew crops that were not native to the areas they settled. By the mid-eighteenth century they maintained "kitchen gardens, orchards, and fields brimming with plants and animals."[3] In addition to their introduced plants and

[3] Trudy Eden, *Cooking in America, 1590-1840* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006) 44.

animals, the foods that greeted those newcomers to the Americas included staples such as maize (corn), manioc, potatoes, and sweet potatoes, along with other produce and flavors such as peanuts, squash, pineapples, avocadoes, tomatoes, chocolate, vanilla, chili, and various species of beans.[4]

With so many flavors new to them, the Europeans who began to call North America their home took part in what historian Sherrie Inness calls the creation of "exile food." Inness explains how "exile food is the culinary reminder of home in the wilds of an adventure where everything is new and strange…[H]ome-style food is a nod toward that which is constant and reassuring."[5] Immigrants of yesteryear, like those of today, brought recipes from their home countries and adapted them to new ingredients or cooking methods. As part of oral tradition, the travelers would have passed on their recipes and advice from friends and family through word-of-mouth because "reading was often a group activity in which a person who knew how to read would share his or her ability with others by reading to them."[6] Besides the recipes from memory, "impressed by long continued practice,"[7] immigrant cooks brought their handwritten manuscript cookery books from home.

The first printed cookery books to help American cooks in the kitchen were either of European origin or they were European copies printed in North America. In carefully prepared books, publishers might "substitute American produce. . . in British

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[4] Sophie D. Coe, *America's First Cuisines* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).
[5] Traci Marie Kelly, "Honoring Helga, 'The Little Lefse Maker': Regional Food as Social Marker, Tradition, and Art," ed. Sherrie A. Inness, *Cooking Lessons: The Politics of Gender and Food* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001) 21.
[6] Eden xxvii.
[7] Mary Randolph, *The Virginia Housewife: Or Methodical Cook: A Facsimile of an Authentic Early American Cookbook* (New York: Dover Publications, 1993) iv.

recipes."[8] Usually, however, the editors kept the books in their original versions. Many of the copyright laws would not be enacted until the 1780s and plagiarism seemed to cause little outrage from consumers.

As historian Mary Tolford Wilson has pointed out, "it would be interesting to know how many copies of these. . . popular works were worn past preserving in colonial homes"[9] or even which books passed down through several generations of cooks before being lost or thrown out to be replaced by newer books. Available ownership information came from estate inventories and shipping invoices listing often unspecified cookbooks. Thus, for the time being, there are few or no known sources to track down the purchasing history of who bought the cookery books and in what quantities. Despite the lack of information about how many cookery books people bought and actually used, historians recognize cooks' needs for recipes dealing with ingredients found in North America because "the need of the eighteenth-century American housewife could not be completely met by any one of the British [or other European] works."[10]

AMERICAN COOKERY BOOKS

Culinary historians make the assumption that nineteenth-century cookery books illustrated the foodways of the average, middle-class family in the United States. Throughout the nineteenth century, the "average" family changed as people of different nationalities, religions, and socioeconomic classes joined the American population. The cookery book authors themselves recognized their different audiences. For example,

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[8] Eden xxviii.
[9] Mary Tolford Wilson, "Amelia Simmons Fills a Need: American Cookery, 1796," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 14.1 (1957): 17.
[10] Wilson 18.

one author wrote for an audience that included housekeepers, as well as domestic servants, since the recipes and advice in her book had been collated "entirely from the experience of the best practical housekeepers…[and] the book [could] be kept in the kitchen and used by any domestic who [could] read."[11]

Another author directed her book to its reader, admitting "no apology…[for her] cheap little book of economical hints, except her deep conviction that such a book [was] needed."[12] The awareness of affordability meant many of the books that became popular could be purchased more easily by a greater percentage of the population. Between 1590 and 1675, families of any income level had small gardens or foods from the surrounding wilderness, but most "well-to-do colonists had more variety every day and ate more refined foods, such as imported wines, domestic fowl, fruits, vegetables, and fine white bread."[13] However, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the availability of "foods that [were] less complicated and expensive to prepare"[14] increased.

Information from document signatures and census statistics demonstrate that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a literacy rate of more than fifty percent for women of European descent, about seventy-five percent for men of European descent living in the northern United States, and about fifty percent of adults of European descent living in the South. Southern women, Latinos, Native Americans, immigrants, and African Americans began the century with a much lower literacy rate.

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[11] Catharine Esther Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Receipt Book: Designed as a Supplement to her Treatise on Domestic Economy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1850) iii.
[12] Lydia Maria Child, *The American Frugal Housewife* (Boston: Carter, Hendee, & co., 1835) 4.
[13] Eden 16.
[14] Eden xxviii.

By 1860, with increasing education, literacy for adults of European descent increased to about eighty-five percent. For the same time period, the percentage of literate slaves ranged by state from ten to fifty percent.

In 1870, the census specified their questions and began asking about both reading and writing. The percentage of people who could write was about twenty-five percent less than those who could read. [15] In reference to cookery books, the reading and writing rates are important to current historical understanding because they meant that writers received more education than their readers. The number of people who could only read might have numbered more than the census' count.

The authors of the cookery books analyzed in this paper represent a few[16] of the most "talented, influential and remarkable group of women...[who] dominated...the nineteenth-century American cookbook scene...[since] their books went through hundreds of editions, and they reached millions of households."[17] Coincidentally, the publications of the six works reviewed in this study were in the eastern states of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. At first, the publication may indicate a lack of regional diversity, but as noted earlier, it was nearly impossible to track the spread of where the books traveled and were sold.

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[15] Catherine Hobbs, "Introduction: Cultures and Practices of U.S. Women's Literacy" in *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write*, ed. Catherine Hobbs (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995).

[16] Other well-known cookery book authors not covered in my study include Eliza Leslie, Juliet Corson, Marion Harland, Mary J. Lincoln, Maria Parloa and Sarah T. Rorer.

[17] "Feeding America: The Historic American Cookbook Project," *Feeding America*, ed. Jan Langone, 21 May 2004, Michigan State University Library, July 14 2007 <http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/cookbooks/html/intro_essay.html#1>.

AMELIA SIMMONS

While printers continued to reproduce European cookery books through the 1700s, by the end of the eighteenth century at least one writer felt the need to fix the problem of the lack of an authentic American cookery book. The 1796 *American Cookery*, by Amelia Simmons, presented a rather revolutionary text. Simmons provided her readers with an indispensable resource. She taught them to be savvy buyers in the city markets, to recognize the many varieties of meat and produce native to the United States, and to cook or preserve their food. By keeping the book relatively short in length, yet replete with advice and one hundred and fifty recipes, Simmons provided a "well-calculated combination of the most common and practical recipes, printed on [in]expensive binding."[18] Even families who could afford few books had the chance to purchase *American Cookery*.

Simmons and the cookery book authors who came after her embodied what social psychologist Kurt Lewin, in the 1940s, described as the nutrition "gatekeeper" of a family. The writers McIntosh and Zey observe that the "concept of gatekeepers reflects the perception that women control the flow of goods, specifically food, into the household."[19] The cookery book authors not only cooked in their own households and exercised influence over the "flow of goods," but they were also responsible for a large portion of the printed information about food and cooking entering the home. The authors of cookery books acted as gatekeepers for their readers interested in learning about cooking and household management.

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[18] Wilson 20.

[19] Alex McIntosh and Mary Zey, "Women as Gatekeepers of Food Consumption: A Sociological Critique," *Food and Foodways* 3.4 (1989): 128.

As a gatekeeper and the first author to write a whole cookery book with recipes using American ingredients, Amelia Simmons followed the American Revolution with her own kind of revolution in the kitchen. In an article published in the *American Heritage Magazine*, Martha Brown points out how Simmons imparted "well spiced...Yankee common sense...[as well as] a lively picture of marketing and gardening in the new nation."[20] Simmons interspersed her short book with political opinions and tidbits of national pride for the newly independent country.

The culinary historian Mary Tolford Wilson has noted that Simmons' style appealed to a wide literate audience because she wrote in the vernacular and included American phrasings such as "slapjacks" and "slaw" (a type of salad). Also, while English cookery books used the term "cakes" for the modern version of cookies, Simmons wrote with the Americanized "cooky" for the Dutch term *koekje* ("little cake").[21]

In addition to new word uses, Simmons' book was the first of its kind to use many ingredients indigenous to America and "adapted to this country, and all grades of life." As a post-independence work, *American Cookery* incorporated patriotism into the pride of cooking dishes with ingredients distinct to North America. Some of the local animals and plants mentioned as ingredients included turkey, pumpkin, squash, and corn. Simmons set the stage for other authors to write with pride about their nation's origin in the context of books about the home and kitchen. The American variations of European recipes "marked their first appearance in print. . . consequently, Amelia

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[20] Martha C. Brown, "Of Pearl Ash, Emptins, and Tree Sweetin.'" *American Heritage Magazine* 32.5 (1981).
[21] Wilson 25-26.

Simmons's work was, in its minor sphere, another declaration of American independence."[22] She passed down her advice and recipes with candor about the realities of living in a country where the ingredients were unfamiliar to the majority of newly-arrived European immigrants.

Since the cookery book authors were examples of the literate citizens of their communities, an examination of their treatment of Native North Americans' knowledge and of indigenous ingredients can shed light on yet another aspect of the authors' small roles as cultural gatekeepers. Because no published records exist of cooking recipes of Native North Americans from the 1800s, twenty-first century researchers must rely on the writings of literate Americans of European descent. Some recipes handed down through oral tradition (and later printed in popular nineteenth-century cookery books) included breads made of chinquapin (chestnut) or hickory nuts.[23]

In her 1796 cookery book, Amelia Simmons explained that she learned the term for the squash plant from Native Americans. More importantly, Simmons was the first author to include recipes using the American ingredients of corn and cornmeal. Historian Mary Tolford Wilson wrote that *American Cookery* was "truly 'Adapted to this Country' by including five receipts requiring the use of corn meal: three for Indian Pudding, one for 'Johnny Cake or Hoe Cake,' and one for 'Indian Slapjack.'"[24] Colonists before Simmons' time had adopted the use of corn supposedly after being taught to grow it by Native Americans. Almost no previous cookery book writers,

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[22] Wilson 19.
[23] Eden 9.
[24] Wilson 21.

however, felt the need to include recipes with corn even though colonists certainly grew and ate it.

MARY RANDOLPH

After Simmons' successful booklet, other literate women took up quills and wrote their own advice and recipe books.[25] In 1824, Mary Randolph published *The Virginia Housewife Or, Methodical Cook.* Unlike Simmons, whose book contained almost as much advice as recipes, Randolph's book offered little advice but a large collection of recipes—the "Contents" page contained a detailed list of more than four hundred recipes.

The Virginia Housewife not only reflected Randolph's interest in being a "methodical cook" by using "proper weights and measures." The cookery book also exhibited the author's curiosity and appreciation for regional and international culinary influences. In footnotes for how "To barbeque shote" and "Chicken pudding, a favourite Virginia dish," Randolph showed the regional pride of "southern states."

For international flavors, Randolph included recipes such as Spanish "ollo" and "ropa veija," "Gumbo—A West Indian dish," "curry after the East Indian manner," and Italian vermicelli. Randolph's French "omelette soufflé," "fondu," and numerous foods "a-la-crème" predated the growing American interest in French cuisine that took off with Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin's 1826 work on the fine dining "you are what you

[25] Books by male authors included Dr. Chase's advice about the home, Thomas De Voe's book about different cuts of meats at the market, and Pierre Blot's lessons on French cooking. While these other cookery books written by male authors existed, they were not nearly as popular or as often mentioned as the six authors, all coincidentally female, featured in this study.

eat" philosophy.[26] Randolph even explained how "To caveach a fish," which was "of course, *escabeche*, the ancient Arab pickling dish."[27]

With her many regional dishes, Randolph was an author not only unafraid of introducing Americans to foreign recipes but also one interested in helping her readers live well. In addition to her foreign recipes, for example, she advised that "fermented honeywater is good in the summer because of its high amount of carbonic acid." Interestingly, Randolph did not provide the reasons why such a drink might be beneficial to the reader's health.

Similar to Simmons who wrote that the produce and meat "quality...must be good, or the cook will be disappointed,"[28] Randolph advised her readers to buy local, fresh ingredients because "the shorter distance [the meats] are driven to market, the better their flesh will be."[29] With the invention of the icebox in the late 1820s, meats could be preserved for a longer period of time and thus sent farther distances. Randolph's warning to pay attention to the sources of the household's foods showed how the growing American population and economy affected families' food sources because food, such as meats, no longer came only from the corner butcher but also from a more distant rancher.

LYDIA MARIA CHILD

Eight years after Randolph's book first appeared, Lydia Maria Child professed to offer housewives advice and recipes for running a thrifty and frugal household. In the

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[26] "Physiolodie du Gout," *Not by Bread Alone: America's Culinary Heritage*, 2002, Cornell University Library, 25 March 2008 <http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/food/gastronomy/Physiologie_du_Gout_L.htm>.
[27] John L. and Karen Hess, *The Taste of America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000) 91.
[28] Amelia Simmons, *The First American Cookbook: A Facsimile of "American Cooker."* (New York: Dover Publications, 1984) 10.
[29] Randolph 49.

title page of her 1832 version of *The American Frugal Housewife* (first published in 1829 without "American" in the title), Child dedicated her cookery book "to those who are not ashamed of economy." She introduced her ideas about frugality by noting "books of this kind have usually been written for the wealthy: I have written for the poor. I have said nothing about *rich* cooking; those who can afford to be epicures will find the best of information [in other books]."[30]

Child was not only an author of numerous books, novels, poems, speeches, but she was also a political activist and supporter of the abolitionist movement. Thus it came as no surprise that she would write a relatively inexpensive book that people of lower socioeconomic class could benefit from and afford. Child's cookery book set out to be useful by teaching "how money can be *saved*, not how it can be *enjoyed*."[31] Her book read like a "To Do List" of ways to spend less money, although the author interspersed her advice with literary and famous quotes of the nineteenth century to seemingly lighten the mood.

The American Frugal Housewife provided very detailed, knowledgeable instructions on how to treat household and family problems ranging from dysentery and dyspepsia to the education of daughters. For example, Child wrote that a remedy for a severe cough or quincy was to "bathe the neck with bear's grease, and pour it down the throat." When the "digestive powers [were] out of order," the treatment was a sweet tea make of dried huckleberries.[32]

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[30] Child 4.
[31] Child 4.
[32] Child 24.

Although Child did not hold back her own opinion about many European-American recipes to cure illnesses, she hesitated to support the Native American wisdom. Unlike Simmons and Randolph, Child expressed doubts about Native American knowledge. In the appendix of *The American Frugal Housewife*, under the subject heading "cancers," Child gave an explanation on how to use a poultice of cranberries to cure cancer. She wrote that "whether this will effect a cure I know not; I simply know that Indians strongly recommend it."[33] For the bite of a snake, Child wrote that the "Indians say that poke-root boiled into a soft poultice is the cure for the bite of a snake. I have heard of a fine horse saved by it."[34] By pointing that one cure could help animals but maybe not humans, Child showed her distrust for the advice of an indigenous culture that professed a cure that might be better than her own community's recipe.

Child shared the sentiments of other European-Americans of the nineteenth century. For example, during the American Civil War in the 1860s, female nurses, such as Florence Nightingale, used indigenous ingredients such as arrowroot to treat injured soldiers even though these patients did not immediately accept the food.[35] Ultimately, however, most Americans accepted and adopted as their own the indigenous plants, animals, and herbs that cookery book authors had previously questioned.

Strongly opinionated about the "correct" ways of the household, Child also wrote honestly about advice to keep the family healthy through home remedies for illnesses, tips for a well-kept household, and advice on eating the right kinds of food. In

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[33] Child 118.
[34] Child 18.
[35] Barbara Haber, *From Hardtack to Home Fries* (New York: The Free Press, 2002) 41.

a succinct, straightforward manner, Child told her readers that the keys to living healthy were to "Rise early. Eat simple food. Take plenty of exercise. . . [and] eat and sleep at regular hours."[36] Child provided a recipe for "Sponge cake, or diet bread" which was similar to Simmons' recipe called "Diet Bread." Compared to their other bread recipes, both Child's and Simmons' "Diet Bread" recipes avoided butter and had smaller quantities of its other ingredients of flour, sugar, eggs, rose water, and spices.

By providing a recipe for "Sponge Cake, or Diet Bread" without butter or cream, Child implied that there were somewhat lower-fat substitutes for pound cake or rich wedding cakes. *The American Frugal Housewife* was the first to contain a section devoted exclusively to the "General Maxims for Health," which set Child apart from Simmons and Randolph in her insistence on teaching readers about the relationship between food and health. Child further explained how to "avoid the necessity of a physician…by careful attention to your diet. Eat what best agrees with your system, and resolutely abstain from what hurts you, however well you may like it."[37] She understood the effects of eating too many sweets or buttery foods so that eating less fat in the form of butter could lead to a "healthier" body (although she did not define "healthy").

Of the cookery books analyzed in this paper, Child's was the first to address, not only bodily health in terms of diet, but also the importance of eating a variety of food, eating according to the seasons with more fruits and vegetables in the summer, and eating slowly so as to eat less. Since Child dedicated the book to the less wealthy, her

[36] Child 89.
[37] Child 89.

message of leading a healthy lifestyle demonstrated that in her 1832 snapshot of history the less wealthy could afford to maintain a frugal—and health-conscious—household.

SARAH JOSEPHA HALE

Unlike the three previous authors, Sarah Josepha Hale approached "cookery as an artistic medium through which personal taste and creativity can be expressed."[38] Published in 1841, *The Good Housekeeper* could be read with ease and delight. Hale wrote clearly, intelligently, and adamantly about the topics she considered to be important—messages mingled with quotes from literature as well as a few teachings from the Bible to help her suggestions reach her Christian readers.

Hale dedicated her book "To Every American Woman, who wishes to promote the Health, Comfort, and Prosperity of Her Family…[with the] greatest economy of cost…[and] the most nourishing and healthy materials."[39] With almost two hundred and seventy recipes and lengthy sections of advice, Hale's cookery book was notable for its keen interest in how the health of the readers may be attained through proper cooking, eating, and exercising.

Having the belief that "good food…cures ills," Hale was even more adamant than Lydia Maria Child about her advice to eat healthily through a "dietetic system of cookery." Hale advocated for the need to change American habits of "using *animal food* to excess, eating *hot bread*, and swallowing…meals with steam engine rapidity."[40]

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[38] Eden xxix.
[39] Sarah Josepha Hale, *Early American Cookery: "The Good Housekeeper," 1841* (Mineola: Dover Publications, 1996) 3 and 104.
[40] Hale 5.

A topic Hale passionately addressed was her opposition to eating a purely vegetarian diet. To her readers and to the American public in general, she strongly recommended eating "a mixed diet, [of] *bread, meat, vegetables and fruit, as the best, the only right regimen for the healthy.*"[41] She supported her argument with information from science, religion, and history. For example, her reasoning from "science" came from the fact that humans were similar to monkeys in terms of their teeth and ability to digest the same foods. Since (as the common knowledge of the time) monkeys lived off a vegetarian diet, "those [humans] who should live as the monkeys do would most closely resemble them."[42]

Besides being the first of the six authors in this paper to write specifically about the importance of a mixed diet, Hale was also the first to use phrases such as the "Physiology of Digestion" and the "Principles of Dietetics." She quoted a doctor for his experiment with gastric fluid and she stressed the importance of using unbolted wheat flour since "light, white bread…[was] nearly tasteless, and cannot be as healthy or nutritious as bread made from the flour of good, sound wheat."[43] Although formal nutrition research did not begin until the mid 1800s, Hale presented the idea that common sense and passed-down knowledge might not be enough to keep the reader's family in good health. Hale wrote that women should be "thoroughly instructed in the physiology and the natural laws which govern the human constitution, in chemistry and in domestic economy."[44] Hale's advice relating health to diet characterized a pivotal time in the nineteenth century before the discovery of the chemistry of nutrients in food.

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[41] Hale 19.
[42] Hale 19.
[43] Hale 31.
[44] Hale 23.

Hale and previous authors had no extensive knowledge of the chemical properties involved in breaking down the nutrients in food and of their absorption by the human body.

The Good Housekeeper contained ideas similar to those in *The American Frugal Housewife*. At the beginning of her work, Hale made a respectful reference to Child's book as well as to "Cook's Oracle," by William Kitchiner, about English cookery. Hale learned from experience: the young and active members of society should eat more often, with the amount of food given in proportion to the amount of exercise taken during the day. Everyone should have breakfast. No one should overeat. She asserted that stimulants such as tea, coffee, and chocolate should not be given to children during meals. Hale defended the key idea that "bodily health. . . happiness and usefulness in domestic and social life, depend very much on the proper quantity of food we eat, and the time and circumstances under which it is taken."[45] Repeating Child's admonishment about overeating rich (buttery) foods, Hale noted that "the mischief is that these delicious compounds [of desserts] often tempt to repletion."[46] She concluded that "cake of every sort is to be partaken as a luxury, not eaten for a full meal."[47]

In Hale's popular cookery book, there emerged the beginning of an American public concerned with the relationship between diet and health. With better cast-iron stoves appearing in 1835 and the invention of the plow and the reaper,[48] cooks buying editions of Hale's cookery book would be able to make more use of the more numerous

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[45] Hale 12.
[46] Hale 76.
[47] Hale 96.
[48] Richard J. Hooker, *Food and Drink in America: A History* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1981).

dessert recipes calling for the precision of a heated oven as opposed to the varying heat produced in a hearth or fireplace. Hale was aware of the growing availability of better ovens and more food such as flour—she warned that if dessert cakes were "used freely as bread, [they] would not only prove injurious to the constitution, but we would soon tire of the luscious compound."[49]

Hale believed in eating desserts and other foods and drinks in moderation. Liquors, for example, should not be used at all, not even in moderation. They were the "insidious destroyer…[and] poison…disguised in delicious flavors…the deadly foe of social improvement and human happiness!"[50] Like Lydia Maria Child writing before her, Hale participated in forwarding the issues of the current temperance movement's abhorrence of distilled liquors.

A comment appearing consistently throughout the cookery book concerned Hale's disapproval of dumplings. She warned readers: "do not put in [to soup] those libels on civilized cookery, called *dumplings*! One might as well eat, with the hope of digesting, a brick from the ruins of Babylon, as one of the hard, heavy masses of boiled dough which usually pass under this name."[51] Overall, however, Hale's cookery advice and recipes demonstrated how a popular author, without formal education in the emerging field of nutrition, began introducing American readers to cooking as a combination of "the promotion of health, the study of economy, and the gratification of taste." [52]

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[49] Hale 95.
[50] Hale 110.
[51] Hale 58.
[52] Hale 4.

CATHERINE BEECHER

Chronologically succeeding Hale's *The Good Housekeeper, Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt-Book*[53] first appeared in publication in 1846. Compared to the four authors previously mentioned, Beecher (the sister of novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe) eloquently wrote a much larger volume of recipes—almost 500 in number, compared to 269 from Hale—along with extensive advice incorporating more issues of health and nutrition, food purchase, butchering, cleaning home tools, and building kitchen equipment such as tin freezers. With strong beliefs about what foods she considered injurious or unhealthy for the body, Beecher invoked the professional studies, knowledge, and experience of doctors to explain the basic tenets of maintaining proper bodily health.

As she noted in the preface, the *Receipt-Book* "set forth a large variety of what is both healthful and good, in conexion[*sic*] with warnings and suggestions which it is hoped may avail to promote a more healthful fashion in regard both to entertainments and to daily table supplies." Beecher's wide audience included housekeepers, as well as domestic servants. But, the main reader Beecher envisioned was the "young and inexperienced housekeeper, in moderate circumstances, who receives visiters[*sic*] at her table from the most wealthy circles."[54]

Beecher's reasons for writing her cookery book, like those of the authors before her, included the inadequacy of books of its kind. She pointed out that other books had recipes that were unclear, too rich and unhealthful, or overly elaborate. In regards to

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[53] According to the online version of the 1989 Oxford English Dictionary, the use of "recipe" for cooking instructions began to come in use into the early eighteenth century. "Receipt" was first, and more commonly, used.

[54] Beecher 234.

diet, Beecher was not original in her advice about variety with "proper quantities…in a proper time and manner" or in her evidence that "many cases are on record, of great changes for the better, in health of individuals and communities, by the habitual use of food made of unbolted flour."[55] What Beecher stood out for was her belief that a "lady who understands chemistry may often improve her receipts by applying chemical principles."[56]

Beecher's writing about the physiology of the human body as being composed of chemical compounds distinguished her knowledge from the less detailed information in Sarah Josepha Hale's cookery book. The late 1830s saw the beginnings of food as a topic of scientific study, but the general public did not yet know the particulars about proteins, fats, carbohydrates, and minerals until later years. By 1846, Beecher's nutrition repertoire included specific names of the elements of oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, and nitrogen along with food building blocks of sugar, starch, oils, and carbonic acid. Beecher had learned that "all food[s] that nourish the body. . . impart renewed energies to the various bodily functions."[57]

The extension of science into the kitchen included the use of new tools, such as a cheese-making thermometer reading precisely 98° to 100° Fahrenheit. The meticulousness included taking notes so that a housekeeper could try a recipe, "vary it to her own taste, or the taste of her family, and then write the exact proportions for the use of all the future cooks in her family."[58] Beecher's *Receipt-Book* represented some of

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[55] Beecher 231.
[56] Beecher 202.
[57] Beecher 4.
[58] Beecher 67.

the earlier knowledge that "cases of slight indisposition are cured by a *change in diet*" alongside recipes for a "Healthful Pie Crust" or "A Healthful Pudding Sauce."[59]

FANNIE FARMER

Between the first publication of Beecher's book and the 1896 publication of Fannie Farmer's *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book*, the last influential cookery book of the nineteenth century, there appeared numerous new inventions including the four-prong fork, Mason jars for home canning, canned foods, and condensed milk.[60] New foods included commercial breakfast cereals such as Corn Flakes, Shredded Wheat, and Grape Nuts and soda water, flavored with lemon, strawberry, vanilla, ginger, or root beer, and sold as Coca-Cola or Pepsi Cola. In print, the new magazines of *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping* geared themselves specifically towards women in the home.

With the discovery of a way to produce aluminum, households saw an influx of standardized kitchen products including cooking pans, utensils, and molds. The process of canning allowed manufacturers to provide a variety of foods year round despite a short growing season. The ice box, refrigeration, and electricity also increased the availability of food outside of the constraints of the seasonality of food production while the Union Pacific Railroad linked the industries of the east and west coasts.

The cooks and housewives of the 1860s experienced the effects of the Civil War in relation to food shortages and adjustments in diet. The people in the country suffered

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[59] After the publication of Beecher's book, in the late 1850s, Florence Nightingale also added a layer to the growing knowledge of nutrition in "Directions for Cooking by Troops in Camp and Hospital" (published by the Army of Virginia in 1861). This book was "a diet manual based on nutrition science of the time" which included knowledge of nitrogen and carbon in food as well as five food categories, including

[60] Alice L. McLean, *Cooking in America, 1840-1945* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006) 3.

less because of the crops from small gardens and plots of last. On the other hand, the Southern cities, with their dependence on money from cash crops such as cotton, depended on Europe and the Union for food. At first, Confederate states received less sugar, salt, tea, and coffee.[61] Eventually, the shortages began including meats, fruits, and vegetables. Creative cooks altered their recipes, or reintroduced older recipes, for spruce or ginger beer, apple pie without apples, coffee from toasted acorns, and preserved meat without salt.

By the mid 1890s, Fannie Farmer's kitchen instruction and recipes included more innovations and nutrition data than any of the previously-mentioned cookery books. Unlike earlier authors, Farmer understood and portrayed cooking as a laboratory experiment that occurred in the kitchen. For example, instead of presenting recipes and advice with the "art of cookery" in mind, Farmer outlined iodine tests to tell whether certain foods contained starch. She followed the experiments with explanations of the role that starches, carbohydrates, and other nutrients played in the growth and maintenance of the human body. The food groups Farmer identified were carbohydrates, proteids, fats, and mineral matter, basically the same food groups of the twenty-first century.

Ingredients never before seen in the previous five cookery books included baking powder, bananas, margarine, marshmallows, and Maraschino cherries. Name-brand, commercial foods also first appeared as ingredients. These included Baker's chocolate, Nestle's Swiss condensed milk, and Apollinaris bottled water.

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[61] Richard J. Hooker, *Food and Drink in America: A History*, (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1981).

Farmer greatly influenced American cooks by teaching them the chemistry behind cooking methods. The tome of more than one thousand recipes served as a type of cooking encyclopedia for home cooks interested in the growing field of domestic science and home economy. The advancement in glass technology meant better and more powerful microscopes could be built. The new equipment allowed scientists to identify bacteria, which eventually led to the increase in the insistence for better food hygiene that characterized the realm of domestic science.

The *Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* contained many of the recipes (although "modernized") and much of the advice given by Simmons, Randolph, Child, Hale, and Beecher. In 1894, W. O. Atwater published the food standards and guidelines for Americans. Such a wealth of information about food and nutrition encouraged Fannie Farmer to write her large, comprehensive book combining chemistry, home economics, and recipes of her (mostly) unacknowledged predecessors. Although Farmer's advice paralleled that of previous authors, her new cookery book demonstrated a dramatic shift in the United States cooking recipe: a shift from cooking to please the palate to cooking to feed the body's cellular activities. While the cookery book may not be called a masterpiece in unique cooking styles and recipes, it did take a different approach to explaining the relationship between food and bodily health.

COOKING MULTIPLE DISHES

After examining the authors' advice and recipes, a more comprehensive comparison of how each writer treated the same dishes reveals the nuances of each particular approach to cooking and the characteristics of the changing audiences. For example, historian Traci Kelly has commented about the implications of a recipe that

included little instruction for how to proceed with the suggested ingredients: "recipes that aren't 'complete' denote the cook's bias about the cookbook buyer. . . . It indicates that the writers of the cookbook did not expect the cookbook to travel beyond their own culinary community."[62]

A cookery book author who provided very detailed instructions assumed that his or her book would travel far and thus influence people not used to cooking with certain ingredients or in certain styles. When six authors who span a period of one hundred years share the same recipes, the ingredients that they use as well as how they treat those ingredients denote something about the authors themselves as well as their society.[63]

To compare the recipes, the authors' own divisions of sections were used with personal judgment in attributing a few uncategorized dishes to specific categories. Recipes were grouped based on the title (i.e., "pudding") as well as the main ingredient or final product. For example, the section that included puddings, gruels, custards, creams, and iced creams incorporated recipes for products with smooth, spoonable consistencies and cream as a main ingredient or foods garnished to indicate a dessert dish.

Table 1, on the following page, shows the main recipes grouped into meat dishes and entrées, soups, sauces, vegetable dishes, desserts, breads items, and preserves and pickles. (Table 2, attached, contains a more detailed list.) Four of the six authors

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[62] Kelly 34.

[63] Table 4, in the appendix, contains the 57 ingredients present in all of the cookery books examined in this paper.

presented more recipes for a desserts and sweets course while only Randolph and Child gave more recipes for meats and entrées.

Table 1: Recipes by Type of Dish for Each Author*

Dish	*Simmons*	*Randolph*	*Child*	*Hale*	*Beecher*	*Farmer*
Animal meat; entrée	13%	**37%**	**38%**	28%	20%	30%
Soups		4%		6%	4%	6%
Sauces		4%	1%	5%	4%	8%
Vegetables; salads	4%	13%	6%	8%	8%	13%
Desserts; sweets	**60%**	24%	35%	**34%**	**43%**	**32%**
Bread items	10%	6%	9%	4%	7%	6%
Preserves and pickles	13%	12%	11%	15%	14%	5%
Total Number of Recipes Included:	*150*	*432*	*172*	*269*	*574*	*1320*

*Note: The numbers in bold indicate the highest count of the type of dish by author.

Meat and vegetable dishes that were present at breakfast, lunch, and dinner, would have been in a cook's repertoire of recipes. As a sweet ending to a meal, desserts would not appear at every meal of the day. Because many of the desserts necessitated the knowledge of special cooking techniques or ingredients, their presence might indicate why readers bought cookery books. Dessert recipes, with their somewhat exact measurements and use of leavenings, would have required the special instructions found in cookery books.

A RECIPE'S DISTINCT FLAVOR

Similarities in recipe titles suggest a shared style of cooking or similar final products and often best indicate the author's conception of the dish. For example, Amelia Simmons' recipe for "Pompkin" pudding was equivalent to the modern version of pumpkin pie—which appeared with the title "Pumpkin Pie" in Child's 1832 book.

Of the total of three thousand recipes from the six authors, nine recipes stand out as being present in each of the cookery books. These recipes include à la mode beef,

mince pie, Indian pudding, currant jelly, gingerbread, apple pie, rice pudding, apple pudding, and bread pudding. By comparing the recipes, parallels and important distinctions may be drawn.

À LA MODE BEEF

For à la mode, or alamode, beef the cook would pierce holes in the meat and fill them with a stuffing made of bread crumbs seasoned with herbs and spices, such as parsley, sweet marjoram, cloves, and nutmeg. The beef then stewed in water over fire. In each of the recipes, the number of ingredients ranged from seven to thirteen. The authors from the first half of the nineteenth century used more herbs and spices to season the meat and pan juices, while the authors who wrote after 1850 used root vegetables with the meat.

With commercial use of aluminum, American households started to use standardized kitchen products such as measuring cups and spoons, cans, cooking pans, utensils, and molds. Fannie Farmer provides drawings of the different measuring tools. The increased use of flour to thicken the meat's gravy reflects the commercialization and availability of white (versus unbolted wheat) flour. White flour, along with the use of lardoons, skewers, and platters, show how the authors of the recipes for à la mode beef adapted their cooking to technological innovations and commercialization of food items.

MINCE PIE

Although à la mode beef remained more or less the same in a hundred years' time, mince meat pie changed into a dramatically different dish. The pie continued to be made with a highly seasoned filling of apples, raisins, currants, cinnamon, cloves, wine,

brandy, and sweetening, but the main ingredient—meat—changed. The first recipes called for ox, calves, or hogs' feet while the latter recipes used tongue or any piece of beef. Two of the last recipes by Fannie Farmer contained no meat at all. Instead, Farmer provided her readers with a "Mock Mince Pie" using "common crackers." The addition of a pre-made commercial ingredient indicated a modern touch, especially when combined with the use of standardized measurements such as a cup, tablespoon, and teaspoon instead of the older measurements of a gill, a pint, "just enough," or amount "as large as a hen's egg."

Although most of the mince pies contained meat—the ingredient that usually signaled a dish as an entrée—the cookery authors implied that their readers would probably use the pies as dessert. As such, the pies received special treatment with garnishes of thin slices of citron or "paste cut in fanciful shapes." Hale warned that the pies were a "rich, expensive and exceedingly unhealthy" so they should be "used very sparingly."

Hale further explained that "the custom of eating mince pies at Christmas…[and] at Thanksgiving, too…was too firmly rooted for the 'Pilgrim fathers' to abolish."[64] Coincidentally, Hale was a key proponent in encouraging President Lincoln to make Thanksgiving a national holiday to help give the young United States have a sense of history, tradition, and pride. The classic recipes now associated with the Thanksgiving feast supposedly included mince pie, turkey, pumpkin pie, sweet potato pudding, and stewed cranberries. That national holiday started in 1863 and included

[64] Hale 51.

many crops and game used by indigenous Americans for thousands of years, even if those foods did not represent the actual traditions of the "Pilgrim fathers."

INDIAN PUDDING

Corn, or maize, a plant indigenous to America, appeared in an English-style recipe: pudding with corn meal substituted for the traditional wheat flour. The cookery book authors—except Mary Randolph—referred to ground corn as "Indian meal." The Oxford English Dictionary notes that the term "cornmeal" began to replace "Indian meal" in the 1780s, while "Indian meal" had been used since 1635. Alone among the studied group of writers, Randolph's 1824 cookery book presented recipes using "cornmeal."

Since the early authors had recipes such as "rye'n'injun [bread]," one may assume that they either wanted readers to understand and recognize the origins of the important New World grain or they wanted to distance themselves from the un-European maize plant. Culinary historian Sherrie Inness has studied the connotations of cooking styles and ingredients in recipes that use flour instead of cornmeal. She has argued that in the early 1900s,

> Biscuit baking [with flour] demonstrated class consciousness, leisure time for women, consumer marketed equipment, and nationally standardized consumption. *Corn bread*, on the other hand, symbolized ignorance, disease, and poverty. It could be made with locally produced ingredients, equipment made at home, and brief moments of time seized between other work; even at the turn of the century, it was *regionally identified* and *nationally disparaged.* A social history of class, race, and gender hides in the different recipes and uses of corn bread and biscuits.[65]

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[65] Elizabeth S. D. Engelhardt, "Beating the Biscuits in Appalachia: Race, Class, and Gender Politics of Women Baking Bread," ed. Sherrie A. Inness, *Cooking Lessons: The Politics of Gender and Food* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2001) 151-168. Emphasis mine.

By keeping the title of "Indian pudding" in her recipe, Mary Randolph provided readers with a recognizable dish. Yet, she used cornmeal instead of "Indian meal" in the list of ingredients, showing greater respect and interest for the flavors and dishes of other cultures. She stands out as a woman ahead of her time in respect to her cultural sensitivity.

CURRANT JELLY

Another curiosity appears in the recipes, in this case with currant jelly. Simmons and Randolph called for a ratio of one to two for currant juice and sugar, although authors who wrote in the second part of the nineteenth century used a ratio of approximately one to one, deviating from the general trend of increased quantities of sugar.

As mentioned earlier, at the end of the 1800s the cookery book authors included more recipes for sweet foods and desserts, yet these fruit preserve recipes follow a different pattern. According to Alice L. McLean, the number of recipes about a certain ingredient or dish (such as dessert) showed the importance of that dish in the eyes of the writer. For example,

> Nineteenth-century cookbooks often include a large section on pickling and might devote over half their pages to breads and sweets. The emphasis placed on this category decreases in the twentieth-century because home cooks have less time and skill to devote to time-consuming or elaborate recipes. As a result, these sections will be considerably shorter.[66]

The fact that currant jelly recipes required less sugar meant fewer cooks might have paid close attention to the quantities because fewer cooks actually used those time-consuming recipes.

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[66] McLean xxviii.

While the main sweetening for Indian pudding was molasses, the sweetening of choice for currant jelly was sugar. In the United States, sugar became more common as a sweetener with the decrease in the price of its manufacture. The historian Harvey Levenstein has noted that "in the decades before the Civil War, new methods for refining sugar brought down the price of white sugar and greatly increased its consumption [and quality]."[67]

The reduced cost of sugar might also reflect an increase in the strength of the sugar. Evidence comes from the preparation directions. Simmons, for example, instructed that sugar blocks should be dried in an oven before measuring the sugar for a recipe. If the blocks of sugar (that were later grated) were not dried enough, one pound of sugar with the weight of water moisture would not sweeten as much as one pound of dry, white, refined sugar.

GINGERBREAD

Like mince pie, gingerbread was a highly spiced recipe brought to North America by European immigrants. The bread was often associated with the holidays of Christmas and (in Sarah Hale's case) Thanksgiving. From Amelia Simmons to Fannie Farmer, all the gingerbread recipes asked for specific quantities of flour, sweetener, and spices with no "sweeten to taste" measurements. The fixed specifications allowed for a nutritional assessment using Food Processor SQL, version 8.3. Food Processor is a database for nutrition professionals to asses the diets of clients, to analyze nutrients in foods, and to produce analyzable recipes. The database contains more than 27,000 foods

[67] Harvey A. Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 32.

and allowed for the nutrients in the gingerbread recipes to be tabulated and compared to each other.[68]

Below appear two recipes for gingerbread. The first recipe comes from Amelia Simmons' 1796 *American Cookery.*

> *Molasses Gingerbread.*
> One table spoon of cinnamon, some coriander or allspice, put to four tea spoons pearl ash, dissolved in half pint of water, four pound flour, one quart molasses, four ounces butter, (if in summer rub in the butter, if in winter warm the butter and molasses and pour to the spiced flour,) knead well 'till stiff, the more the better, the lighter and whiter it will be; put in, wash it with whites and sugar beat together. [69]

Like other authors of the late eighteenth century, Simmons provided her recipes in paragraph format, with ingredients and instructions together. By the late nineteenth century, cookery book recipes appeared as shown in Farmer's Fairy Gingerbread: a list of ingredients followed by instructions. The following recipe from Fannie Farmer's 1896 *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* displays the progressive change in recipe format.

> Fairy Gingerbread.
> ½ cup butter — ½ cup milk
> 1 cup light brown sugar — 1 7/8 cups bread flour
> 2 teaspoons ginger
> Cream the butter, add sugar gradually, and milk very slowly. Mix and sift flour and ginger, and combine mixtures. Spread very thinly with a broad, long-bladed knife on a buttered, inverted dripping pan. Bake in a moderate oven. Cut in squares before removing from pan. Watch carefully and turn pan frequently during baking, that all may be evenly cooked. If mixture around the edge of the pan is cooked before that in the centre, pan should be removed from oven, cooked part cut off, and remainder returned to oven to finish cooking.[70]

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[68] The Anthropology Department at the University of Oregon owns a copy Food Processor software with which the caloric, sugar, and fat values were calculated. For more information about the nutrition tool, refer to the manufacturer's website at <www.esha.com/foodprosql>.
[69] Simmons 36.
[70] Fannie Merritt Farmer, *The 1986 Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* (New York: Random House, 1997) 404.

To evaluate the caloric values of the gingerbread, the phrasing of the recipes were converted to current measurements. For example, an "amount as big as an egg" was converted to two tablespoons. Table 3, attached at the end of this paper, shows other measurement conversions. With the nutrition calculation software, modern ingredients were used. For example, the ingredient substitutions include the use of salted butter, as opposed to modern unsalted butter, because

> modern salt has many added chemicals and is not as potent as sea salt, which most colonists used...This fact may be one of the reasons so many recipes that use butter do not require salt. On the other hand, by the nineteenth century, some recipes directed the cook to wash the butter [of its excess salt].[71]

In addition to types of butter, the appearance of more modern chemical leavenings meant better accuracy in translating the gingerbread recipes because later authors of the nineteenth century used saleratus (baking soda) and baking powder as opposed to earlier (less potent) pearl ash, or potassium carbonate.

In terms of the loaves of bread produces by one recipe, none of the authors gave suggestions for serving sizes. To account for the lack of specified servings, the averages of all the recipes provided by each author were compared to understand whether how much gingerbread a single recipe would produce. Graph 1, below, shows the comparisons between the average calories from three or more recipes from each author.

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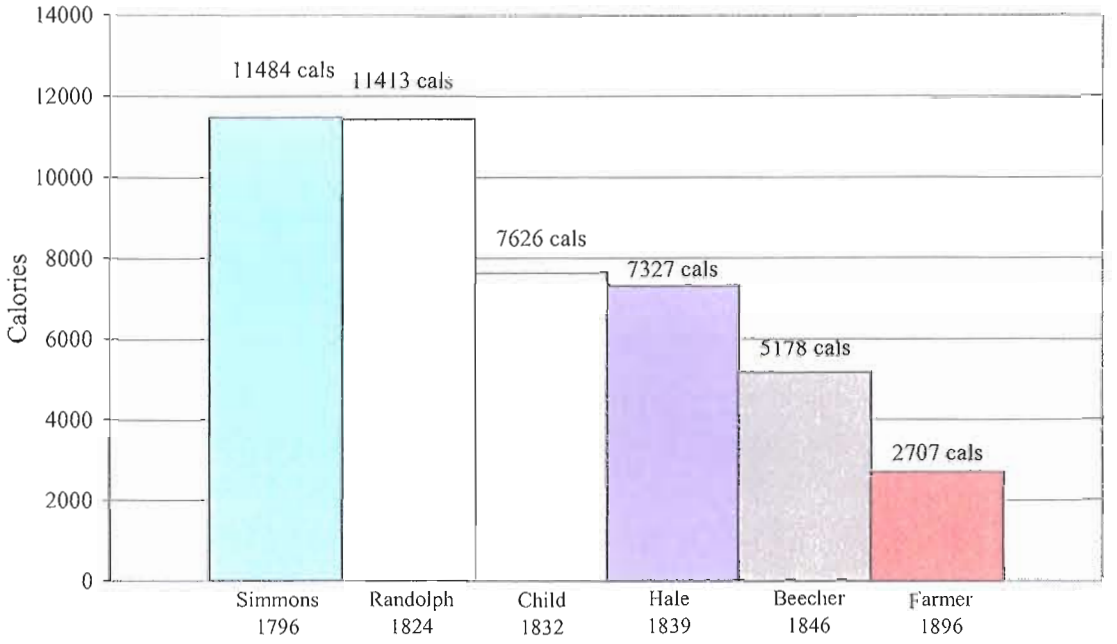
[71] Eden xxxvi.

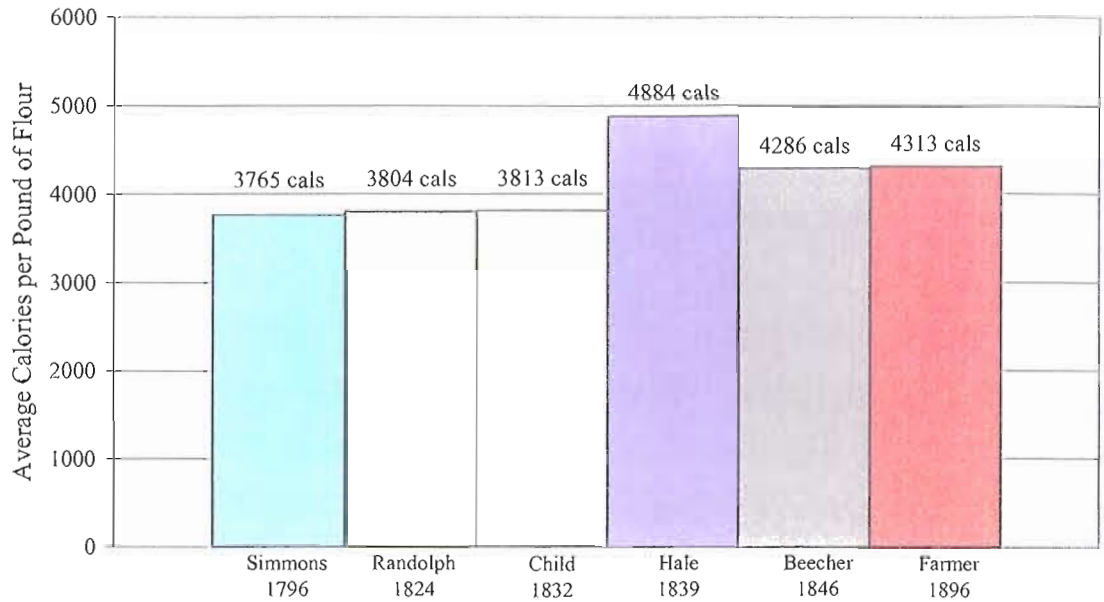
Graph 1: Gingerbread Calories per Recipe



The above graph illustrates an average reduction in the number of loaves of gingerbread from each recipe. For example, Simmons' recipe might have produced six loaves of bread and Farmer's recipe would have produced two loaves. The shift reflected the general trend in the fewer number of people living in one household over the course of the nineteenth century. In response, cookery book authors reduced the serving sizes of their dishes. (Graph 3, attached at the end of this paper, shows the calories of each individual recipe by the different authors before being averaged.)

Since none of the authors suggested an actual "serving size," a comparison of the gingerbread recipes rested on using a common thread to account for differences in serving sizes. Flour was the only ingredient shared by all these recipes, so the nutrients could be divided into amounts for each pound of flour. Graph 2 shows the average calories per pound of flour for each author.

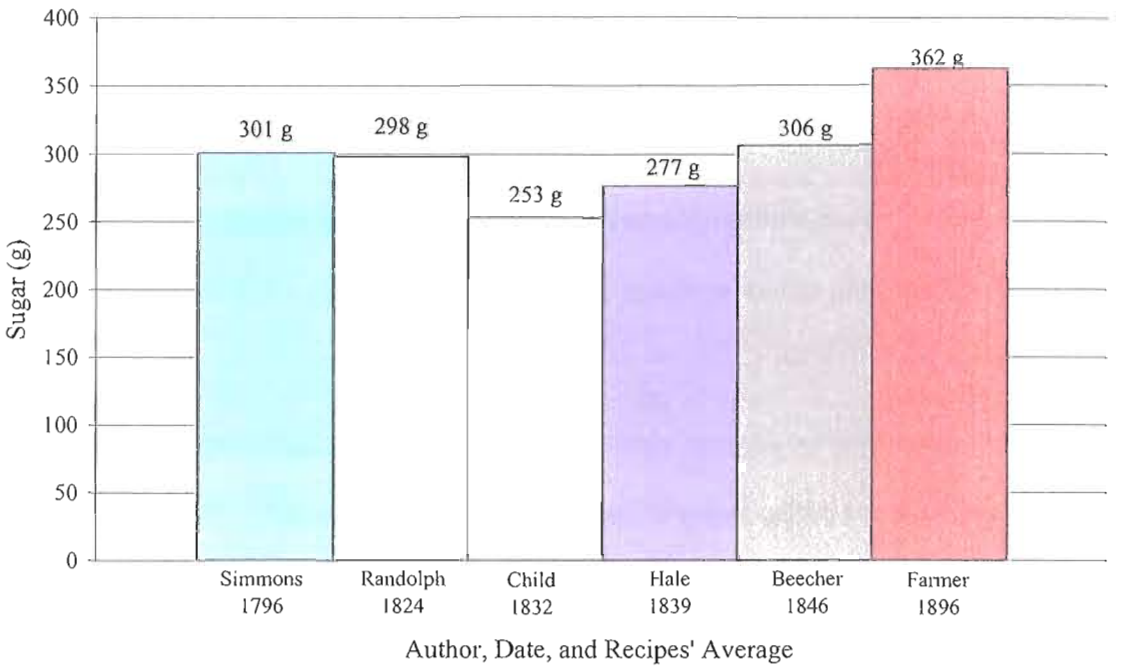
Graph 2: Gingerbread Calories per Pound of Flour



In the above graph, the average calories for Sarah Hale's recipes was higher than those of the other authors because one of her recipes, titled Soft Gingerbread, contained much more fat calories in the form of butter and cream. Testing this outlier by baking the gingerbread produced an incredibly rich, but feasible, "gingerbread." Thus, the single recipe did not represent a misprint or miscalculation by the author.

The trend in the cookery books was to use more sugar. With the increasing amount of sugar available through the blossoming worldwide trade, Americans seemed to have a more powerful sweet tooth. The tendency appeared in the analysis of data from the gingerbread recipes. Because the other recipes do not have specified quantities of ingredients, the results of the gingerbread recipe analysis will be referred to support the argument of the increasing presence of the sugar in recipes. The amount of sugar in each pound of flour for gingerbread appears in Graph 4.

Graph 4: Gingerbread Sugar per Pound of Flour



Because data about gingerbread was not statistically significant, one may argue that the caloric and nutritional values in cooking recipes changed little throughout the nineteenth century. But the advice stated outright by the cookery book authors does evolve. Interestingly, Hale's recipes for gingerbread have the most calories, but she consistently tells her readers to eat with moderation.

APPLE PIE

Apple pie was another dessert commonly associated with the American holiday of Thanksgiving. The recipes for sweetened and spiced apple filling cooked in pie crust vary, not so much in their ingredients, but in the approach to combining the ingredients. While Simmons provided a recipe for pie filling similar to modern apple sauce, other authors suggested either pre-cooking the apples before putting them into the crust or adding the apples thinly sliced but raw.

Except for Fannie Farmer's recipe, the directions followed Child's rule to "put in sugar to your taste; [since] it is impossible to make a precise rule, because apples vary so much in acidity." Without even an estimate of the amount of sugar needed to sweeten the apples, Child, Simmons, Randolph, Hale, and Beecher trusted in their readers' cooking experience. The reader would need to follow his or her own senses even if the cooks' personal tastes might have led them to add more (or less) sugar.

The reference to regional and seasonal variations in apple varieties was absent in Fannie Farmer's recipe. For four or five "sour apples," Farmer called for exactly one-third cup of sugar and one-eighth teaspoon of salt. Standardized measurements made cooking easier because the cook no longer had to know or understand food. By following a recipe written by the head of the Boston Cooking School, the cook assumed that the dish would come out perfect. Yet, ignorance of personal tastes and regional differences in fresh ingredients might have led cooks to use more sugar because it was available at cheaper prices.

Besides specifying the quantities of each ingredient, Farmer's recipe also incorporated the increasingly more reliable iron cooking-stoves and ranges. The first (unreliable) cast-iron stoves appeared in the 1830s. Twenty years later, safer iron ranges moved the cooking process from hearth or fireplace into a compact area in the kitchen. The stove brought an oven for baking. Beecher and the previous authors instructed the reader to bake their apple pies until they were light brown. Farmer, in 1896, instructs the reader to "bake [the pie] forty to forty-five minutes in moderate oven."

The confidence in a cooking time with five minutes of uncertainty demonstrated that Farmer and her fellow cooking-school cooks completely changed the preparation of American meals. The recipes for apple pie give a glimpse into how food 'as American as apple pie' evolved from a special dessert to a food that "must undergo chemical change after being taken into the body, before it can be utilized by the body." John Lehndorff of the American Pie Council has explained that "when you say something is 'as American as apple pie,' what you're really saying is that the item came to this country from elsewhere and was transformed into a distinctly American experience."[72] Apple pie, as with other recipes analyzed in this paper, reveals the century of changes in American cooking.

RICE PUDDING

The process of cooking pudding evolved from cooking pre-cooked rice in a pie crust to boiling it in a pudding bag to baking it in a pudding-dish. The ingredients of this "plain" and "common" pudding changed little. The recipes were essentially different combinations of rice, milk, cinnamon, nutmeg, and some kind of sweetener. The differences lay in the type of sweetener. For example, Farmer included a recipe for Poor Man's Rice Pudding. The 'cheaper' pudding used cinnamon instead of lemon and substitutes molasses for the same quantity of sugar. The substitution could only be explained as the author's personal preference because molasses did not appear in any of the other twelve recipes by other authors. Molasses, a by-product of sugar manufacturing, may or may not have been cheaper in 1896 than in 1796. Since the price of sugar would have been lower in Farmer's time, the rice pudding recipe was an

[72] "Apples," *The Food Timeline*, ed. Lynne Olver, 2000, 2 September 2007 <http://foodtimeline.org/foodpies.html#applepie>.

anomaly. Farmer's recipe deviated from the trend that "cookbooks during this time did not introduce new foods to eaters, unless they were specifically regional cookbooks that found their way to different regions. Rather, they put in print customs that may have been well established."[73]

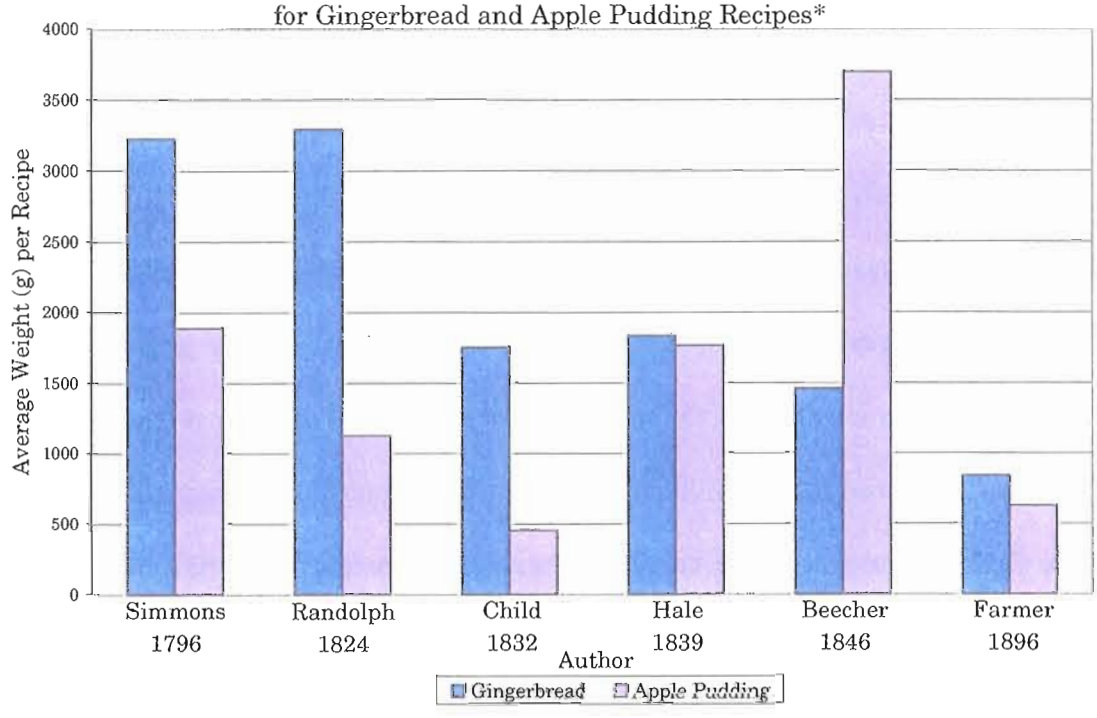
APPLE PUDDING

The recipes for apple pudding have ingredient quantities specific enough to calculate caloric values with the nutrition software of Food Processor SQL. Yet, since the majority of apple puddings were boiled in a type of pie crust, and the type of pie crust was rarely specified, only the actual apple pudding (filling) was analyzed.

Unlike the data for gingerbread, in the case of apple pudding, each cook provided only one recipe. When graphed, the data for the calories per gram of apple pudding in each recipe, with the exception of Hale's, tended to decrease, although not significantly. Interestingly, there appeared to be a correlation between the weight of gingerbread and that of apple pudding. The following Graph 5 demonstrates the decrease in the sizes of the dishes over time.

[73] Eden 125.

Graph 5: Weight Comparisons
for Gingerbread and Apple Pudding Recipes*



* Note: Beecher's apple pudding recipe weighs more because it contains twenty-four apples, while the other recipes contain fewer apples, sugar, spices, lemon juice, and water.

BREAD PUDDING

As the last of the shared recipes, bread pudding supported the results of the previous analysis of gingerbread recipes. Bread puddings were, essentially, a lightly sweetened mixture of bread crumbs, milk, and eggs. The recipes from Hale, Beecher, and Farmer added an extra dose of sweetness to their bread pudding by using "a sweet sauce," a Vanilla Sauce, or a Creamy Sauce.

To add even more to the increased sweetness of bread pudding, Fannie Farmer changed her Bread Pudding recipe into a Chocolate Bread Pudding which served with a Hard or Cream Sauce. Farmer updated her previous recipe by adding two squares of Baker's chocolate and a little over one tablespoon more of sugar, so her recipes overall

contained a higher percentage of sugar than some of the other cookery books' similar recipes.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RECIPES' ANALYSES

Amelia Simmons, Mary Randolph, Lydia Maria Child, Sarah Hale, Catherine Beecher, and Fannie Farmer influenced Americans' attitude toward health in relation to food and cooking, but such an argument has some limitations. In comparing their advice and recipes, one recognizes that each writer was an individual with her own history, educational background, and cookery knowledge. Yet, as numerous historians have written, the cookery books influenced generations of readers over a time period of more than one hundred years.

Another limitation concerns the collection of qualitative data. The recipes were titled according to the author's personal decision. The books share nine recipes with the same titles. Of these, only gingerbread and apple pudding have measured ingredients that could be converted to quantitative data and analyzed with a nutrition program. For consistency, the analyses of these recipes did not include the changes that occurred throughout the nineteenth century. All the gingerbread and apple pudding recipes have the same ingredients, but vary in the amounts and combinations prescribed by their authors. For example, every recipe was calculated using whole wheat flour for "flour" or white granulated sugar for "sugar." The analysis does not take into account the shift to using white flour with the wheat germ removed or to enriched, bleached white flour.

Even with modern substitutions, such as baking soda replacing pearl ash, the analyses demonstrated that the recipes changed to include the scientific and technological advances of the time. Between the 1830s and the 1900s, the American

experience of the housewife evolved drastically in the way she cooked, planned meals, and nourished her family. With many changes modernizing the diets of families, food recipes reflected changing opinions about cooking.

The books and health advice given by the cookery book authors were representations, not reality. For example, in a study about the dainty foods at tea parties, Sherrie Inness has shown that "the recipes suggested an idealized upper-middle-class vision of what women were expected to achieve in the kitchen."[74] Also, according to Janet Theophano, author of *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives though the Cookbooks They Wrote*, each cookery book author had different perceptions of who their intended audiences would be. The historical examples of women's writing were "the work of white, middle-class, literate, and often literary women and consequently [these cookery books] offer a somewhat skewed historical portrait."[75]

The language choice of the cookery book authors was meant to include "stratified households, [because] the title pages were addressed to multiple audiences: ladies, mistresses, housekeepers, maids, nurses, and mothers."[76] Each cookery book author "chose language as prosaic and nontechnical as they could muster to reach the widest possible audience."[77] The research for this paper assumes that the cooks in the households actually read the books, used the recipes, and followed the authors' advice.

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[74] Sherrie A. Inness, *Dinner Roles: American Women and Culinary Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001) 54.
[75] Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (New York: Palgrave, 2002) 2.
[76] Theophano 208.
[77] Theophano 190.

ONE STEP AHEAD OF THE 21st CENTURY

The United States government's dietary research was first published in 1894. The leading scientist in the Department of Chemistry, W. O. Atwater, described the nutrients that made up food as protein, carbohydrates, fats, and a certain mineral matter called ash. In 2005, a branch of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) released the most recent revised guidelines. Interestingly, some of the nineteenth-century cookery books studied in this paper shared many of the recommendations of the new Dietary Guidelines for Americans.

The overall message of contemporary nutrition advice from the USDA appears on the website MyPyramid.gov. There, the USDA lists tips to stay healthy, including suggestions to "make half your grain whole, vary your veggies, focus on fruit, get your calcium rich foods, go lean with protein, find your balance between food and physical activity."[78] As for the whole grains, Sarah Hale, in 1841, noted that whole wheat flour was best for cooking since "light, white bread...is nearly tasteless, and cannot be as healthy or nutritious as bread made from the flour of good, sound wheat." Many of the cookery book authors adamantly stressed the benefits of a mixed diet with breads, meat, vegetables, and fruit, which Catherine Beecher termed as "the most valuable articles of food." The nineteenth century authors also stressed the value of eating slowly and in moderation. In 1832, Lydia Maria Child, pointed out that Americans needed to "take plenty of exercise. . . eat and sleep at regular hours. . . [and] avoid the necessity of a physician...by careful attention to [their] diet."

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[78] *MyPyramid*, 2005, United States Department of Agriculture, 20 June 2007, <http://mypramid.gov/>.

Furthermore, a current USDA poster explaining the dietary guidelines says that people should "choose food and beverages low in added sugar [because] added sugars contribute calories with few, if any, nutrients."[79] Even though many of the nineteenth-century cookery books showed an increase in the use of sweeteners such as sugar, Catherine Beecher warned in 1850 that sugar should be seen as an enemy "not because it is unhealthful in its nature, but because it is used in excess or in an improper manner."

A cursory glance at these writers' works leaves a wealth of unanswered questions. Some of the subjects not covered here concern vegetarianism, special recipes for the sick, and changes in cooking during the Civil War. Further scholarship will undoubtedly reveal why American society should respect and more fully appreciate nineteenth century cookery book authors and the books they wrote.

CONCLUSION: DAWNING OF THE AGE OF NUTRITION

The goal of this research was to understand how cookery book authors may have "improve[d] the health and extend[ed] the lives of their countrymen by transforming their eating habits."[80] Even though some of the authors featured in this study wrote more than one hundred years ago, their advice was amazingly similar to that of the dietary guidelines of the twenty-first century. Based on qualitative and quantitative approaches the author of this paper adopted, a few major trends in nineteenth-century cookery books may be highlighted.

The women writing before the public knowledge of nutrition mentioned the importance of paying attention to one's diet to maintain optimum health. For example,

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[79] *MyPramid*, 12 September 2007, <http://www.mypyramid.gov/downloads/MiniPoster.pdf>.
[80] Levenstein 369.

Simmons and Child wrote recipes for "Diet Bread" and Hale wrote about seeing desserts as a luxury not to be partaken of at every meal. Although they did not mention specific knowledge, such as limiting saturated fats and choosing lean cuts of meats, the authors shared a surprising amount of advice with the current Dietary Guidelines for Americans. Similar to the USDA's 2005 dietary recommendations, the cookery book authors encouraged the use of unbolted wheat flour and they advised their readers to balance energy intake with energy needs. In addition, the inclusion of commercial and brand-name ingredients after the mid-1800s further changed how Americans cooked because they could now included more processed, convenience foods. The increase in the number of recipes calling for sugar or sweeteners such as maple syrup and honey increased so that, by Fannie Farmer's 1896 work, recipes for catsup called for a small quantity of sugar that was not present in earlier authors' recipes.

Historian Barbara Wheaton has argued that cookery books are "like a magician's hat: one can get more out of them than they seem to contain. When they are read carefully, with due effort in understanding them as cultural artifacts, they are rewarding, surprising, and illuminating."[81] My research focused on one of many topics that can be discussed in great length when studying nineteenth-century American cookery books. Through the knowledge gained by experience and social education, authors of cookery books offered their insights to other cooks. They wrote about cooking with seasonal plants and about enjoying dessert every now and then, but not at every meal. Even the women writing before the disseminations of scientific research on the chemistry of nutrition understood, through their own history, families, friends, and

[81] Inness 10.

culture, about ways to have a healthily-maintained body through the "right kinds" and proportions of food and exercise.

APPENDIX

Table 2: Recipes for Each Author

Dish	*Simmons*	*Randolph*	*Child*	*Hale*	*Beecher*	*Farmer*
Meat: beef, veal, lamb, mutton, rabbit, pork	9%	19%	15%	16%	11%	10%
Meat: fish, eel, shellfish	1%	9%	9%	6%	4%	8%
Meat: poultry	4%	6%	11%	4%	2%	6%
Soups, stews		4%		6%	4%	5%
Sauces, dressings, gravy		4%	1%	5%	3%	8%
Vegetables, salads	4%	13%	5%	7%	7%	13%
Pasta, polenta, rice		1%			1%	2%
Eggs, omelet, soufflé		2%			1%	4%
Puddings, gruel, custards, creams, ice cream	29%	17%	15%	16%	18%	13%
Pies, tarts, pie crusts/pastes, fritters	17%	2%	8%	5%	4%	5%
Cakes & cookies	14%	4%	10%	11%	17%	10%
Bread, yeast, biscuits, sandwiches, rusks	10%	5%	9%	4%	6%	6%
Preserves, jellies, jams	11%	6%	6%	9%	8%	4%
Pickles, catsups, vinegars	2%	6%	4%	5%	5%	1%
Cordials, drinks		4%	6%	7%	10%	4%
Candy, sweets						3%
Total Number of Recipes Included:	*150*	*432*	*172*	*269*	*574*	*1320*

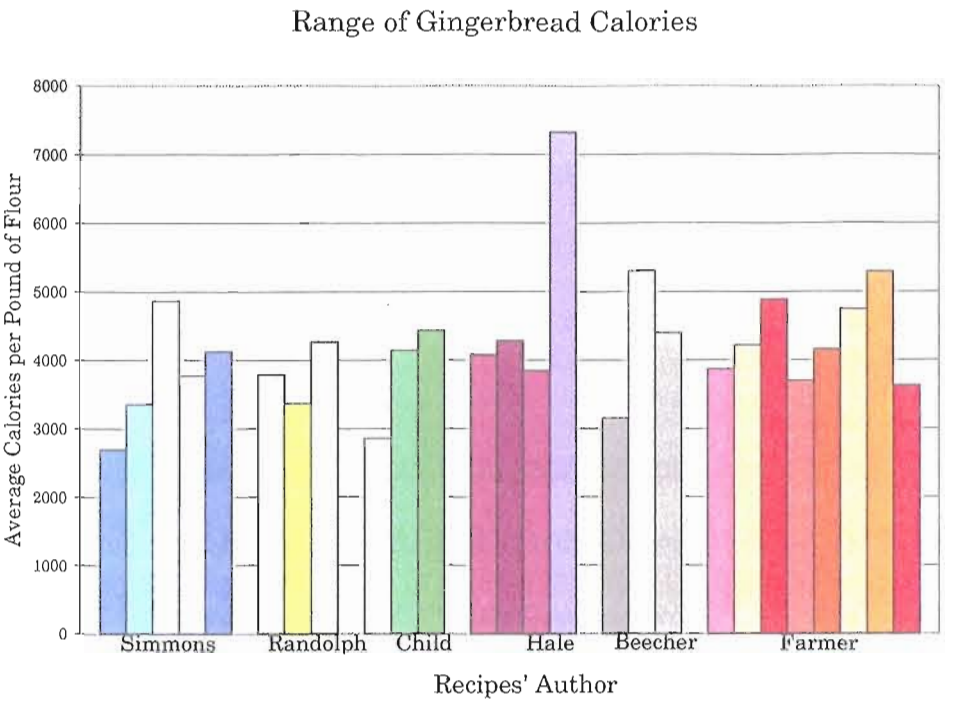
Table 3: Modern Conversions for Recipe Quantities

Phrasing in Recipe	*Conversion*
some (spice)	0.125 teaspoon (tsp)
small spoons, spoons	teaspoons
great spoonful, large spoonful	tablespoon (Tbs)
amount as big as an egg	2 tablespoons
small tea-cup	¾ cup
Handful	¼ cup
a gill	8 tablespoons
teacup, glass, large cup	1 cup

Table 4: Ingredients Common to All Cookery Books

allspice	onion, white
apple	oyster
beef	parsley
beet, red	parsnip
bread crumbs	pea, green
butter	peach
capers	pepper, black
chicken	pepper, cayenne
cinnamon	pigeon
clove	pork
cod	potato (white)
cornmeal	pumpkin
cream	raisin
cucumber, bright green	raspberry
currant	rice (white)
duck	rose water
egg	sage
flour, brown (wheat, unbolted)	salt
flour, white	shad
ginger	suet
gooseberry	sugar, white
lard	sweet marjoram
lemon	veal
lobster	vinegar
mace	turkey
milk	walnut
molasses	wine, red
mutton	yeast
nutmeg	

Graph 3


Range of Gingerbread Calories
Average Calories per Pound of Flour
8000
7000
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
Simmons
Randolph
Child
Hale
Beecher
Farmer
Recipes' Author

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