A QUESTION OF CUISINE
HOW FOOD WAS AMERICANIZED, 1796-1832

Laura Dean

Perhaps the most quintessential American feast is the traditional Thanksgiving dinner: a table laden with roast turkey, cornbread stuffing, cranberry sauce, mashed potatoes and gravy, candied sweet potatoes, and pumpkin pie. To the famous Pilgrims it was a symbol of English determination to succeed in the New World, but also a celebration of food and cookery. Although the ingredients for the feast were native to the Americas, it was not until much later that they were called American. After the Revolution food was "Americanized" along with politics and society. The difficulty was how to create a national cuisine without giving up the traditional English food the colonists stubbornly held on to even in the face of starvation.

Food defines culture and defies national boundaries. "Humans cling tenaciously to familiar foods because they become associated with nearly every dimension of human social and cultural life."[1] People take their food with them and only reluctantly give it up. It is tied to culture, religion, social status, identity, and region. According to Mark McWilliams, American food was "born in the anxiety of identity" that embroiled Americans in the 1790s as they defined American government and society.[2] Food historian Sidney Mintz argues that there is no such thing as American food; at least

[1] Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 8.

[2] Mark McWilliams, "Distant Tables: Food and the Novel in Early America," *Early American Literature* 38:3 (2003): 365-393, 365.

not in the same way that the Chinese or Italians have a national cuisine, because food must be argued over, discussed, and talked about.[3] He also finds that there is something "American" about our food although he cannot define it. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries American food was written about in literature and cookbooks; it was derided, defended, and defined as American.

In the late eighteenth century Americans began to recast their cuisine as something uniquely American and separate from its British roots. According to Mintz because the food in America is a conglomerate of many national cuisines it is not a true national cuisine. I argue that this was precisely what defined American food: the adoption, adaptation, and fusion of native ingredients and English technique. American food encompassed ingredients and techniques from the many cultures that made up America in the early republic. It relied on global trade for ingredients and was tied to the ideals of simplicity that were essential in defining America.

In this essay I will show how Americans transformed their traditional English food into a national American cuisine by analyzing three cookbooks written and published in America by Amelia Simmons (1796), Mary Randolph (1824), and Mrs. Lee (1832). These cookbooks encompass the northern, middle, and southern regions of the early republic. The recipes and commentaries of the authoresses show how food was rooted in the national ideals of simplicity and equality, and how American cuisine was tied into the global trade network.

The historiography of cookery has several different, if not always distinct categories; cultural, technical, recipe collections and reprints of cookbooks, and encyclopedias of food. Each adds a different piece to the culinary puzzle of the past. American colonial cookery is well represented in the facsimile reprints of cookbooks from the late eighteenth century on, providing a tremendous body of raw data to draw from. The cultural exploration of cookery is, however, much thinner when compared to studies on the foodways of other cultures.[4] Reprints of cookbooks from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most with some introduction or historical notes by a food historian, have been published since the 1960s.[5]

[3] Sidney Mintz, "Eating American," in *Food in the USA*, ed. Carole M. Counihan (New York: Rutledge, 2002), 26.

[4] "Foodways" is a term used to refer to the cultural and historical impact of food on society.

[5] Evelyn Abraham Benson, ed., *Penn Family Recipe: Cooking Recipes of Wm. Penn's Wife, Gulielma*, facsimile of recipes transcribed in 1702 (York, PA: George Shumway, 1966); Susannah Carter, *The Frugal Housewife*, (New

Redactions of recipes, which are often published in collections of recipes, can help a novice cook-historian get an idea about a recipe without wading through the archaic spelling and speech patterns of the old text.[6] There was a great resurgence of foodways as an interdisciplinary study in the 1980s, with many scholars looking to anthropology, archaeology, literature and history to study food, how it was prepared and the cultural significance of food in society.[7] The encyclopedias of food attempt to trace the origins of foodstuffs to their indigenous geographic region and how those foods changed with cultivation and migration. Reay Tannahill's *Food in History* is

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York: G. and R. Waite, 1803), online text facsimile at www.foodtimeline.org, 2008; Mrs. Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, facsimile of first American edition, *(*Alexandria: Cottom and Stewart, 1805; Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1997), N.K.M. Lee, *The Cook's Own Book,* facsimile of original edition, (Boston: Munroe and Francis, 1832; New York: Arno Press, 1972), Amelia Simmons, *American Cookery* Facsimile of 2nd edition, (Albany: Charles R. & George Webster, printed for the authoress, 1796; repr. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 1996).

[6] Alice Cook Brown's *Early American Herb Recipes.* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1966) and *Pleasures of Colonial Cooking*. (New Jersey: The Miller-Cory House Museum and the New Jersey Historical Society, 1982), are both good resources because they document the original recipes, where they are from and accurately date the time period of their initial writing. The Miller-Cory book is taken from a manuscript of original recipes in the museum, and Brown's book is a collection of recipes taken from disparate sources from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century all involving herbs and their uses medicinally and in food.

[7] Sally Smith Booth, Hung, Strung, and Potted: A History of Eating in Colonial America (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1971); Donna R. Gabaccia, We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); James E. McWilliams, *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985); Kathleen Ann Smallzried, *The Everlasting Pleasure* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956). One interesting note is that many of these are considered the "scholarly" works, and yet most contain conclusions or assumptions which are inaccurate and would not have been made if the author had actually read through the recipes in the cookbooks. Too often that kind of study is considered "antiquarian" and historical, but by examining the texts with the same critical facility brought to other primary documents many of the oft repeated and erroneous "food myths" would not be included.

one of the first to study where and when food originated and how it moved across continents and changed societies and cultures.[8]

To understand how English food was Americanized, one must first know what constituted English food in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in America. The Penn family's collection of recipes from the early eighteenth century serves as a telling example. Gulielma Penn, the wife of William Penn, had a copy of her recipes transcribed to send with her son when he went to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. Roast meats, boiled meats, puddings made with oatmeal or wheat flour, boiled and eaten like bread, and tarts formed the base of her cookery. Tarts had begun to change from the medieval English creations that mixed meat and fruit to vegetable and custard mixes, sweetened and spiced and baked in a pie crust. The forerunner of American pumpkin pie could be the "tart of spinaige" in Penn's recipes.[9] Spinach is boiled, sweetened with sugar, mixed with cream, eggs, and butter and laid into a crust and boiled. Although this might sound awful since spinach is a vegetable and not a sweet fruit, neither is pumpkin. The manuscript of "receipts" kept by the Ashfield women in New York City and New Jersey from the 1720s until the 1770s is another example of English cookery in America.[10] An interesting note about the recipes in the Ashfield manuscript is that they mention no ingredients native to the New World. There is no mention of corn, tomatoes, potatoes, or pumpkin; there are, however, recipes for chocolate cream and boiled turkey.[11] Yet these ingredients were not thought of as "American," chocolate was a Spanish import, and turkeys had been eaten and bred in England for a century and so were no longer considered "native."

The first separation of English and American cooking appeared after the American Revolution when Amelia Simmons published her *American Cookery* in 1796. She was "an American orphan" with firm opinions women's proper attributes. Her work was aimed at "the rising generation of *Females* in America…who by the loss of their parents or other unfortunate circumstances, are reduced to the

[8] Reay Tannahill, *Food in History* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1988); *The Cambridge World History of Food*, eds. Kenneth F. Kipple and Kriemhild Conee Ornelas, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food,* trans. Anthea Bell, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Reference Books, English translation in paperback, 1998).

[9] Benson, 151.

[10] "Receipt" was the term used instead of "recipe" denoting instructions received on how to make a particular dish.

[11] *Pleasures of Colonial Cooking*, 137, 85.

necessity of going into families in the line of domestics" as it might be inferred she had to do.[12] It is interesting that her attitude towards the "old people" mirrors the national attitude towards older leaders such as Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson who both wanted a return to the frugal simplicity of the war years. By the 1790s people were tired of the ideals of republican simplicity and wanted more. The nation was growing and changing, with new ideas and industries easing out the predominantly agrarian lifestyle.[13] As Simmons remarked, "the world, and the fashion thereof, is so variable, that old people cannot accommodate themselves to the various changes and fashions which daily occur."[14]

Simmons was an honest and no-nonsense woman. In the preface to the second edition of her cookbook, she vehemently denies writing the first seventeen pages of the first edition which gave directions on "how to make choice of meats, fowls, fish, and vegetables: this is a matter, with which, the Authoress does not pretend to be acquainted."[15] She also went to considerable trouble to correct the "egregious blunders, and inaccuracies, which attended the first" edition.[16] Some of the recipes had been transcribed incorrectly with the wrong measurements, which might explain why she took her second edition to a different printer.[17] The first six editions of her cookbook were printed in the Hudson Valley area, and although little is known about Amelia Simmons and her background, her cookery does seem to represent the Mid-Atlantic region.[18] She used pearl ash as a leavening, which was a technique that seemed to be more in use in the Albany area than further north.[19] She was a shrewd and practical woman who wrote and

[12] Simmons, 3.

[13] David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 77.

[14] Simmons, 3.

[15] Ibid., 6.

[16] Ibid., 5.

[17] The first edition was printed in Hartford, Connecticut in 1796, and the second in Albany, New York in 1796.

[18] Karen Hess' introduction, in Simmons *American Cookery*, xi. Karen Hess is a food historian who has studied and compared many of the primary source cookbooks and written the introduction and explanatory notes for several of the facsimile reprints of eighteenth-century cookbooks. She co-authored *The Taste of America* with John L. Hess, published in 1989 by the University of South Carolina Press, and wrote *The Carolina Rice Kitchen: The African Connection*, published by the University of South Carolina Press in 1992.

[19] Wilson, 22, and Hess, xi.

published her cookbook, selling it for 2s3d, which was economical enough for most families to afford.[20] Her recipes were mainly English, but with the important use of American ingredients, cornmeal, pumpkin, and cranberries, which had not been used in cookbooks written in England, even when they were published in America. Her recipes were simple with a range of ways to roast, boil, and bake meats, fowl, and fish; making pies, custards, tarts, puddings, cakes and preserves. It was a basic cookbook which was, as she said, "adapted to this country, and all grades of life."[21] There was a difference between cooking simply and the republican ideal of simplicity. The frugal menu propounded by Adams and Jefferson was to reduce the number of dishes at the table to just enough – one dish each of soup, fish, and meat. A menu for dinner in this time could encompass ten or more dishes of meat and fish, with soups, custards, pies, salads, vegetables, and desserts in each of two or three courses. The table would be loaded with food with more on the sideboard. Although the three authors, Simmons, Randolph, and Lee, each advocated frugality, it was very different from the way we eat today. They were preparing ten or twelve dishes (counting only the meat courses) instead of twenty.

Two cookbooks written in England and printed in America, Sussannah Carter's *The Frugal Housewife* (1803) and Mrs. Glasse's *The Art of Cookery* (1805) reflected traditional English cookery but included an appendix of recipes "adapted to the American mode of cooking."[22] They were influential cookbooks, and since the authors freely plagiarized each other's work, the recipes are much the same in each. By using American ingredients such as cornmeal, pumpkin, and cranberries, these cookbooks recognized America as a separate nation with its own cuisine. Cookbooks began to represent in print what had been long in practice.

Mary Randolph's cookbook, *The Virginia House-wife* was printed in 1824 in Washington and was the culmination of her years of cooking and managing a large estate in the 1790s and early 1800s. She was born into a wealthy Virginia family, with ties to Thomas Jefferson and the Custis family. She was a practical woman and when the family finances declined, she opened a board-

[20] Wilson, 20. The title page of Simmons' book notes that it was published "for the authoress" which was not a usual circumstance.

[21] Simmons, title page.

[22] Glasse, 137. Glasse or her publisher actually copied Carter's appendix word for word, including part of a treatise Carter had at the end on a method of raising turkeys translated from a Swedish book on rural economy.

inghouse.[23] What we now recognize as southern food ways were included in Randolph's work. Sweet potatoes, okra, rice, sugar, peppers, tomatoes, along with corn, wheat flour, pumpkins, beef, fish, and pork, were mixed together to create a southern version of British food that was then transformed into American cuisine. "The South pioneered a cooking style somewhere between a cuisine of adaptation and one of preservation."[24] American simplicity, method and management permeate the pages and recipes of Mary Randolph's work. Akin to the emerging method of factory work with interchangeable parts, Randolph had developed her recipes so they could be reproduced the same way each time, "for, when the ingredients employed, were given in just proportions, the article made, was always equally good."[25]

Many of the recipes reflected the British culinary traditions; pies, cakes, tarts, roast and boiled meats similar to those found in English cookery books. Her comments open a keyhole into the common discourse of life when she dispelled the commonly held myth "that meat killed in the decrease of the moon, will draw up when cooked." Refuting the idea, Randolph brought common sense into the kitchen by throwing out the old wives' tales. Her approach to cooking and the kitchen did not come from a long tradition of being taught by her mother or a long line of women. As she put it, "the difficulties I encountered when I first entered on the duties of a House-keeping life…compelled me to study the subject" because there was a "want of books sufficiently clear and concise to impart knowledge to a Tyro."[26] She had to learn it herself. The fact that about one hundred sixty different cookbooks were published in the first half of the nineteenth century, suggests that there were many women who had to learn to manage on their own.[27] As with Amelia Simmons' cookbook, the traditional recipes were still there, recast as American.

The Cook's Own Book by "A Boston Housekeeper" (Mrs. N. K. M. Lee) was published in Boston in 1832 as a culinary encyclopedia and the recipes reflect the British tradition of cookery, as well as the international nature of American cookery. She firmly believed in the

[23] Karen Hess, in Randolph's *The Virginia House-wife,* xi.

[24] James Mc Williams, 13.

[25] Randolph, ix.

[26] Ibid., ix.

[27] James Mc Williams, 14. Susan R. Williams, "Introduction" in *Dining in America 1850-1900,* ed. Kathryn Grover, (New York: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 18. Eleanor T. Fordyce, "Cookbooks of the 1800s" in *Dining in America 1850-1900*, 95.

efficacy of good food well cooked to ensure domestic bliss. Her belief in the importance of good cooking went so far as to argue that "after insanity, the most grievous affliction of Providence…is Dyspepsy," indigestion engendered by eating too much, the wrong foods, or those badly prepared. Lee made cooks into powerful figures when she suggested that they had "greater power over the public health and welfare than the physician, and if he should be a charlatan in his art, alas! for [sic] his employers."[28] She also lectured on family management and the problems of domestic help. "The most fatal of all things to private families, is to indulge an ambition to make an appearance above their fortunes." She acknowledged that not everyone was equal – some had more money or means than others, and to be happy, one had to live within those means.[29] Her book was directed to middle class women with enough income to have a cook and possibly a maid, and not necessarily women who cooked three meals a day themselves. Interestingly, the book included directions for cooking in a fireplace, and for the new stoves just coming into more widespread use in the kitchen.[30]

American food was international fusion food. American cooks took recipes from the Dutch, Spanish, French, African, German, and South American lexicon and made them their own. From the Dutch we have cookies, from *koekjes*, and slaw (as in cole slaw, or cabbage salad). Taken from other cultures were different styles of cakes, stews, gumbos, alamode beef, alamande beef, and more, respelled and reinvented into typical American foods. From this fusion of ingredient and technique we have such American staples as catsup, which is a fusion of American tomatoes and the English mushroom catsup. The long cooked, seasoned mushroom sauce was transformed into a long cooked seasoned tomato sauce. French fries took a little longer.[31] Several recipes in Mary Randolph's southern cookbook reflected the African origins of those foods. "Ochra soup," "Gumbs," and "Pepper pot" were all recipes that came from the West Indies, the okra used in the first two was indigenous to

[28] Lee, preface, iii.

[29] Ibid., vii.

[30] Brewer, 114. Cook stoves were more prevalent from the 1840s and on. The kitchen range was more in use in the northern areas like Boston where a scarcity of fuel demanded more economical cookery methods. In the south the fireplace was in use far longer since the kitchen was in a separate building and wood for cooking fuel was more plentiful.

[31] Actually, in *The Cook's Own Book,* 150, there is a recipe for potatoes cut into thin slices and fried, served with a little salt.

Africa.[32] What Americans ate was one part of their cuisine, how they ate was another.

Eating patterns in the early republic followed colonial eating patterns that "responded to the abundance of the New World by doggedly recreating British Cuisine."[33] American colonists had been using corn in many guises since the seventeenth century, but it was ignored in cookbooks, even those printed in America until Amelia Simmons' work. Although corn had been adopted in many regions of Europe as a staple grain, replacing millet in Eastern European breads and puddings, in England it was regarded as pig food.[34] Corn, hasty pudding, and hominy had been defended and written about in literature, but never before in cookery. Albeit tongue-in-cheek, an oration given in defense of the noble simplicity of hominy, "a good, wholesome and simple dish, very well adapted for nourishment" at the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club in 1755, tied corn and hominy into American culture.[35] What was once mere necessity, the use of corn instead of the more desirable wheat flour, was by the nineteenth century, a source of American pride and part of the definition of American food.

In the early eighteen hundreds American political ideals of republican simplicity began to be tied to food and eating patterns. Mark McWilliams argues that "as part of the emerging myth of republican simplicity, novelists like Lydia Maria Child and James Fenimore Cooper used dining and food in their novels that "helped define American culture by encoding food with social and moral meaning."[36] The nation was growing and changing with new ideas and industries easing out the predominantly agrarian lifestyle.[37] The ideal of simplicity was intricately tied to the new order of politics and national identity. The simplicity of Puritan and republican ideals was embodied in the cookbooks as the authors joined their voices to the national debate on how to live. Mary Randolph and

[32] Randolph, 96, 34.

[33] Mark, 365. The same point is made in James McWilliams' book, *A Revolution in Eating*, 83-84. Colonists assimilated corn into their British lexicon of agriculture and therefore made it less native American and more thoroughly British.

[34] Mc Williams, 55.

[35] Alexander Hamilton, *The History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club*, ed. Robert Micklus, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), Book 8, 278.

[36] Mark Mc Williams, 365.

[37] David E. Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 77.

Mrs. Lee both offered instruction on how to manage the family finances and not to live above one's means. The necessity of having order and economy was expressed not only in the preface of Mary Randolph's cookbook, but again later when she reminded readers that "profusion is not elegance – a dinner justly calculated for the company…will make a much more pleasing appearance…than a table loaded with food" most of which would be hastily prepared and get cold before it could be served or eaten. To prosper, gain wealth and station and still remain humble and godly was the Puritan conundrum that never left our national cultural ideal.[38] It was integral to the cooking and serving of food as "foodways became a part of a larger debate between luxury and virtue."[39] Simplicity meant rejecting the elaborate sauces and presentation in French cookery. Americans ate simply, but abundantly.

Food has always been used to define social status. In America the traditional hierarchy of class was overturned and food was used to establish the social equality of Americans instead. The ideal of "republican simplicity in an age of egalitarian expectations" was "increasingly anachronistic" when more and more people wanted what their neighbors had and strove to emulate the wealthier classes particularly at the table.[40] In the mid-eighteenth century there was enough surplus wealth in the colonies that "for the first time in its history, common people could finally afford to purchase common English imports." Kitchens benefitted from this explosion of trade. The distribution of kitchen goods "up and down the coast, as well as in the hinterlands" was a "precondition for the emergence of an identifiable American style of food."[41] The women who moved west took with them the same cuisine. They brought their kitchen wares, cookbooks, and etiquette books. They were "young housekeepers…beginning…the first arduous attempts at dinner giving."[42]

The American ideal of equality was expressed at the dinner table. From the scope of the recipes Americans wanted a better table and they created a national cuisine that encompassed all free white people; African-Americans were not included in this food-centered celebration of egalitarianism. As Mrs. Lee said, "we have

[38] Ibid., 8. See also James McWilliams, 15 for a discussion of food and politics.

[39] Mark McWilliams, 365.

[40] Shi, 96.

[41] James McWilliams, 14.

[42] John F. Kasson, "Rituals of Dining: Table Manners in Victorian America" in *Dining in America 1850-1900,* ed. Kathyrn Grover (Rochester, NY: The University of Amherst Press and the Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum, 1987), 122.

fortunately, in this country, but one class of people: all are free, and all are politically equal."[43] This ideal of equality and the international trade network helped to create a national American cuisine. From north to south a national cuisine emerged from local and imported ingredients and fused into British recipes. The cookbook published by Amelia Simmons in 1796 was part of the radical change engendered by the revolution; food was finally American. Women were in the kitchens helping to define the new nation through the food she cooked and her role in the global trade network bringing coffee, tea, nutmegs, sugar, and other commodities to her home.

The cookbooks of the early republic demonstrate the importance of global trade even in the kitchen. Tea, coffee, sugar, nutmeg, mace, ginger, cloves, allspice, cocoanut, chocolate, molasses, rum, wines, raisins, were some of the many foods imported and used freely in the recipes described in the cookbooks. Mary Randolph's cookbook included an "Olla Podrida" from Spain, dough nut's "a yankee cake," "A dish of curry after the East Indian manner," "Spanish Gaspacha," "Gumbs [gumbo] a West Indian Dish," macaroni [and cheese], polenta, and "ropa vieja" which showed the international range of southern cookery. Not only were the recipes reflective of other cuisines, the ingredients depended on foreign trade. The turmeric, nutmeg and mace in the curry powder recipe grew in the West Indies and Near East. Although the recipes had foreign names, the dishes themselves were adaptations of the original. Brandy, rose-water, mace, nutmeg and cinnamon are all found in Amelia Simmons cookbook in five different cake recipes. Mrs. Lee's cookbook lists all of these ingredients and more; calling for Cheshire cheese in one recipe and woodcocks in another.[44]

A cookbook is not just a static collection of recipes; in particular historic cookbooks are a primary source of information on the habits, technology, available food, popular food, attitudes, and culture of a people. In some cases even the titles of the recipes are revealing, "Election cake," "Independence cake," and "Federal pan cakes" most of which are common cake recipes for large or special occasion cakes with a name change.[45] The three authors of the

[43] Lee, v.

[44] Lee, 82; "fromage cuit", 246; "woodcocks in a minute," woodcocks are small birds from England.

[45] Simmons, 43-44. The election cake was certainly a heavy undertaking, requiring thirty quarts of flour, ten pounds of butter, fourteen pounds of sugar, twelve pounds of raisins, three dozen eggs and more. It must have taken a long time to bake in a brick oven, and been enough to feed a great number of people.

cookbooks, Simmons, Randolph, and Lee, each had far more to say than how to roast a chicken. Each wrote a preface and made more notes throughout their books that allow insights into the character and daily life of the people of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

By publishing their cookbooks these women had a peculiar agency, a voice to express their views as independent women in charge of their lives through the kitchen. Although the production of food crops was a man's work, producing dinner for the table was a woman's task. The conversion of the raw materials into a nourishing and tasty dinner was part of the magic assumed in the domestic sphere. American food, politics, and culture were all tied together in a complex web of old and new. English cuisine was transformed into American cuisine by the adaptation, adoption, and fusion of ingredients and techniques from England, mainland Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Americans erased the English origins of their cookery, recasting their food as something more virtuous and plain, incorporating native ingredients like corn and making them a focal point of their cuisine. The creation of American cookery was tied to the abundance of food in the colonies and the ready importation of more exotic ingredients fueling the global trade network. The Thanksgiving feast is one expression of what American food is, native ingredients (turkey, pumpkin, corn, cranberries), exotic imports (the spices to season the food), and English cookery techniques (roast meat, custard pies). This is American food transformed from the English; the simplicity of abundance spread on the table throughout America to be discussed, argued over, and remembered as American food.