

THE LEGITIMACY OF COOKBOOKS
AS RHETORIC OF SOUTHERN CULTURE

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
School of Communications and Multimedia Studies
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Master of Arts

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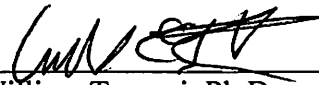
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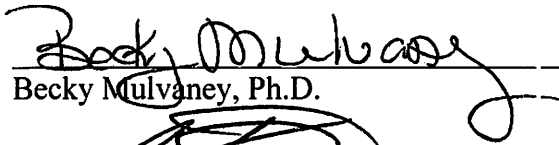
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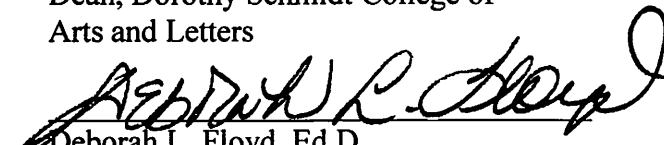
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Anyone who has studied Southern culture knows that being Southern differs from one city to the next. I am a Kentuckian, who has been transplanted in sunny South Florida, and as a sometimes tourist, part-time scholar, and an all-time foodie, wherever I am, I consider myself a child raised in the South. I owe many thanks to my “old Kentucky home far away,” as this thesis would not have been possible without this identification, deeply embedded in my soul through the locale of my birthplace.

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ABSTRACT

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Community cookbooks operate through a rhetoric of place as ways of thinking about belonging and influencing communal identities. They reveal much about a community, including the sharing of memories and tradition, geographical identification, and representation of socio-cultural hierarchies and habits. For that reason, this paper advances the claim that the discourse and visuality in community cookbooks, specifically the cookbooks *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, *Charleston Receipts*, and *Charleston Receipts Repeats* published during the height of a renaissance in Southern literature, influenced the identity of “Southernness” which, taken in conjunction with place, space, and time has resulted in a unification of the changing American South. Using Carolyn Miller’s notions of genre criticism on the basis of genres as social movements, community cookbooks qualify for the genre label of domestic literature in terms of content and rhetorical influence. To prove my claim, the use of images, recipes, and folklore within the pages are analyzed with five a posteriori themes that discuss relations between a sense of place and its foodways.

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CHAPTER I : INTRODUCTION

Beyond Cracklin' Bread

Perhaps Calpurnia sensed that my day had been a grim one: she let me watch her fix supper. 'Shut your eyes and open your mouth and I'll give you a surprise,' she said. It was not often that she made crackling bread, she said she never had time, but with both of us at school, the day had been an easy one for her. She knew I loved cracklin' bread. ~ Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird*¹

Many times when we look at a piece of literature, we witness not only the history of the era but also the social and cultural practices of the people. Foodways, the eating habits and culinary practices of a people, region, or historical period, are no exception. In fact, most works of Southern literature are not complete without a food scene or two. Mark Twain, for example, introduced the literary world to the Southern meal of pork, collard greens, and corn dodgers as “there ain’t nothing in the world so good when it’s cooked right” in *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, set in the rural South near the Mississippi River during the Antebellum Era.² Fifty years later, Margaret Mitchell perpetuated the archetypal plantation narrative using Southern slave dialect and culture, “Ef you doan care ‘bout what folks talks ‘bout dis family, Ah I does! Ah ain gwine stand by an have eve’ybody at de pahty sayin’ how you ain fotched up right. Ah has tole you and tole you dat you kin allus tell a lady by dat she eat lak a bird,” in the classic *Gone*

¹ Harper Lee. *To Kill a Mockingbird*. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1960).

² Mark Twain. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. (New York, Bantam Books, 1981), 9.

With The Wind, at a Southern plantation in Georgia during the Reconstruction Era.³

Likewise, in 1960, literary references to the safe keeping of family recipes can be seen in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*, set in Alabama during the Great Depression when Calpurnia says, "[t]hat Stephanie's been after my recipe for thirty years, and if she thinks I'll give it to her just because I'm staying with her she's got another thing coming."⁴

Foodways in literature, whether intentional or not, creates a space upon which values of people are written, allowing a glimpse into the socio-cultural practices of a place and the impact they have had on history. "Every human event happens somewhere, and the reader wants to know what that 'somewhere' is like."⁵ According to John Egerton, author of multiple books on southern culture and a folk hero to most Southerners, food and foodways have always been a joyous subject, a memory of tradition and ritual that evokes endless stories and enticing secrets; a past that "unlocks the rusty gates" of ongoing drama of life in the South.⁶ Egerton posits,

[t]here is "no other form of cultural expression, not even music, as distinctively characteristic of the region as the spreading of a feast of native food and drink before a gathering of kin and friends. For as long as there has been a South, and

³ Margaret Mitchell. *Gone with the Wind*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1936), 83.

⁴ Harper Lee. *To Kill a Mockingbird*. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1960), 73.

⁵ William Zinsser. *On Writing Well*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).

⁶ In his classic book that jump started the modern era of Southern food studies, *Southern Food: At Home, on the Road, in History*, Egerton used food as a lens through which to view the distinctive qualities of Southern identity. Egerton noted that in a study of contemporary foodways, the system of food should be shared by and viewed through a lens encompassing all caste, in order to gain the most egalitarian view of the existing culture. (John Egerton, and Ann Bleidt Egerton. *Southern Food: At Home, on the Road, in History*. (New York: Knopf: 1987), 148, 204.

people who think of themselves as Southerners, food has been central to the region's image, its personality, and its character.⁷

Cookbooks, a seemingly self-explanatory genre on the surface, are challenging to delimit as they emerge in various fields of scholarship. Community cookbooks, a genre of domestic literature have been used in examining the building of community, the preservation of memory and folklore, and the influence on pop culture and gender norms.⁸ Other studies have also shown a correlation between the foods of a given region and how others perceive them is notable as “eating is a daily reaffirmation of [one's] cultural identity.”⁹ Community cookbooks of a locale can be understood by “a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them.”¹⁰ To read a community cookbook from any geographic locale is to discover the varying ideologies that impacted life in the region. These books should be considered as an artifice or invention of place that may or may not represent the reality shared by those beyond the borders of the region. For these reasons, I advance the claim that the discourse and visuality in community cookbooks, specifically the cookbooks *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, *Charleston Receipts*, and *Charleston Receipts Repeats*

⁷ Ibid, 86

⁸ Anne Bower. *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997). David Sutton. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*. (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001); Janet Theophano. *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote*. (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002.) Jessamyn Neuhaus. *Manly Meals and Mom's Home Cooking: Cookbooks and Gender in Modern America*. (Baltimore, 2003).

⁹ Lévi-Strauss believes that society can be interpreted in terms of communication where human culture is the product of messages that are embedded in signifying practices, the most basic practices being hunger and sex. Lévi-Strauss, *Mythologiques*, focuses on food; especially the first three volumes: *The Raw and the Cooked*, *From Honey to Ashes*, and *The Origin of Table Manners*. Kittler, P.G., Sucher, K.P., & Nelms, M.N. *Food and culture* (6th ed.). (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2012).

¹⁰ Mary Louise Pratt. “Introduction – Criticism in Arts of the Contact Zone.” *Imperial Eyes*. (New York: Taylor and Francis Press. 1992), 471.

published during the height of a renaissance in Southern literature, influenced the identity of “Southernness” which, taken in conjunction with place, space, and time has resulted in a unification of the changing American South. To demonstrate this, I examine illustrations, recipes, and historical facts as indicators of what it means to be Southern in Charleston, South Carolina in the 20th Century.

For me, the pairing of food and literature holds a prominent place in being “Southern.” In a sense, reading and eating are natural companions; both consumptions rely on the rhetoric of place to aid the reader in constructing the social context of the literary work, and a sense of place. When I see a cookbook that my mother used, or I look for a particular recipe from my childhood to duplicate, I am immediately transported to another time and place, recalling fond memories and heritage. Unquestionably, this makes cookbooks evoke a visceral memory that links me to my Southern roots, working below my conscious, bringing together all the exigencies that constitute being from the Southern United States. Roland Barthes, postmodern theorist, argues that food implies a set of dreams, tastes, choices, values and ultimately it has a larger impact on culture than we allow or recognize.¹¹ As a genre of literary work, more than any other collectible book, cookbooks bring together all the exigencies that constitute “the South”: geographic, social, cultural, as well as historical and linguistic. A collection spanning decades or eras allows one to understand how cookbooks have provided a place for communities to share ideas, values, and opinions, operating rhetorically and sending messages to an intended audience.

¹¹ Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. *Food and Culture: A Reader*. Barthes, Roland, *Toward Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption*. (London: Routledge, 2013).

Anne Bower, a leading scholar in the literary analysis of cookbooks, cautions others of the difficulty of textual interpretation of local cookbooks due to “a community cookbook [being] a subtle gap-ridden kind of artifact, that asks its reader (at least the reader who seeks more than recipes) to fill those gaps with social and culinary history, knowledge of other texts (such as commercial cookbooks), and even personal knowledge.”¹² Community cookbooks, largely a work of white, middle class, literate, and often literary women, offer a historical portrait of a region that is created by the ideologies that are unconsciously or consciously held by them. Evocative and intimate, community cookbooks imparted a sense of time, place and character that commercialized cookbooks seldom offered.¹³ These books are more than a catalog of recipes, they are fundraisers, political propaganda, and historical accounts of the communities they serve; for this reason, they are a powerful means of transmitting ideologies over generations. Community cookbooks, differing from an oral culture of recipes, enable a “kinship” with people based on a national, regional, or local identity. Initially established in the private sphere of domesticity, community cookbooks ultimately shifted into the public domain as histories, souvenirs, and heirlooms filled with images, stories, and heritage. They contextualize and communalize the land, resources, history, and memory, emphasizing the commonalities of place for their readers. That is, they are of one locality, showing what is both specific and special about it, emphasizing fond memories or an attachment to a locality. At first glance, community cookbooks seem to offer prime examples of local

¹² Anne L. Bower. “Our Sisters’ Recipes: Exploring ‘Community’ in a Community Cookbook.” *Journal of Popular Culture* 1997: 31(3). 143.

¹³ “By 1915, there were as many as 6,000 community cookbooks published in the US, giving women the opportunity to overstep social bounds.” Green, Michelle. "A League of Their Own | Community Cookbooks." *Food & Wine Magazine*.

cooking giving us a peek into the way people lived, cooked and ate in a specific place at a given moment; yet, these books are, at their core, folklore or memory of a place. They are a ritual in which women build a place to defy, manipulate, and infiltrate social, cultural, and geographic boundaries.¹⁴ John T. Edge writes,

Community cookbooks are a voyeur's treat, a window into the everyday life and foods of a group of churchgoers, a clutch of quilters, or a league of ladies inclined towards service...At first glance, the books are almost formulaic in their intent, organization, and content. A closer look at the foods selected for inclusion, the names ascribed to the dishes, and the tales told of meals past reveals as much about the community of the compilers as any local history could.¹⁵

Others have considered similar concerns, such as Southern Foodways Alliance founder, John Edgerton, who believed food was a lens that could be used to teach history; folklorists, Lynn Ireland and Janet Theophano, who both documented how community cookbooks could be used to study collective attitudes and identities of a region as artifacts; literary scholar, Susan Leonardi, who reasoned that cookbooks offer codes of communication; sociologist, Laura Shapiro, who posited that community cookbooks impact habitual trends; and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, who understood the impact community cookbooks have on female identity and regionality.¹⁶ Moreover, it is clear

¹⁴ Bower. *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*. 268.

¹⁵ John T. Edge. *A Gracious Plenty: Recipes and Recollections from the American South*. (New York: Putnam, 1999).

¹⁶ Lynne Ireland. "The Compiled Cookbook as Foodways Autobiography." (*Western Folklore* 40, no. 1, 1981); Susan J Leonardi. "Recipes for Reading: Summer Pasta, Lobster a La Riseholme, and Key Lime Pie." (*Pmla* 104, no. 3, 1989); Laura Shapiro. *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century*. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1986); and, Barabara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. "Recipes for Creating Community: The Jewish Charity Cookbook in America" *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology*, 1987).

that since these three texts draw off a span 50 years of Charleston foodways, publish rare familial recipes field tested for accuracy and at least one holds the status of America's oldest Junior League cookbook still in print, they should hold considerable interest for socio-cultural communication scholars concerned with the rhetoric of artifacts, aspects of place that guide and constrain meaning-making, and relationships that legitimize some views and voices, while ignoring or diminishing others. Consequently, the study of community cookbooks offers valuable insights for those interested in the rhetoric of place. Toward fulfilling these ambitions, the thesis works toward defending its claim that community cookbooks are a discourse of place that operates by calling an identity into being, specifically the elusive identity of "Southernness."

A Sivilized Place

In its most basic sense, "Southernness" is a spatial term that describes someone that lives or lived the southern United States, but under that simple statement lie many complications as trying to construct a meaning of "Southernness" confuses even the aptest scholar. One thing that is certain: food figures large in South, allowing southerners a sustained measure of regional distinctiveness that clearly separates them from other places. Contemporary foodway scholars such as Margie Ferris, John Edge, and John Egerton realize that food is integral to providing meaning in the term "Southernness."¹⁷ It is within community cookbooks that a domestic literary discourse allows for messages to be understood from the perspective of the public and private spheres, or outward in the world and inward in our ideologies and beliefs. Foodways are place connected, assuming

¹⁷ Edge, *A Gracious Plenty: Recipes and Recollections from the American South.*; Egerton. *Southern Food: At Home, on the Road, in History.*; Marcie Cohen Ferris. *The Edible South: The Power of Food and the Making of an American Region.* (Chapel Hill, NC: UnC Press, 2014.) Kindle.

that places and relationships to places are socially and rhetorically influenced. It is through acts of rhetoric, or "the creation and communication of knowledge through the symbolic activity" that places are created and altered.¹⁸ Research has shown that foodways have become a focus of Southern scholars seeking to explain the power to define, describe, or characterize a place through a blending or maintenance of particular forms of influence, through either elevating them to prestige or denigrating them to marginal status within society. In this vein community cookbooks can maintain a heritage, identify ways of behaving in society to be considered an insider or an outlier, and promote specific social movements to aid in the funding of good cause.¹⁹

Moreover, to understand the South in the kitchen and social environments, one must begin with history as history inevitably shapes all places. History tells us that Maria J. Moss wrote the first community cookbook in 1864, *A Poetical Cook-Book*, with recipes written in rhyming verse to aid in the cause of Civil War field hospitals in Philadelphia.²⁰ At a time when white hegemonic ideals dominated the public sphere, community

¹⁸ For various uses of this concept see, Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 8-33; Kenneth Burke, *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature and Method* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968). Also, the direct quoted material, LeFevre, K.B. *Invention as a Social Act*. (Carbondale, IL, 1987), 5.

¹⁹ Community cookbooks, called by a number of names including charities, fund-raisers, church cookbooks, compiled cookbooks, and sometimes regionals, due to the emphasis on an isolated area and the local foods, are highly collectible artifacts of time and place. In *Cookbooks Worth Collecting*, Barile gathered an extensive history on collectible cookbooks, demonstrating how they are one of our most valuable pieces of literature existing today. Barile indexed over 1000 cookbooks worth collecting to illustrate how time and place are shared through a collection that spans centuries. In the chapter, "Funds from Food," Barile recounts the full history of community cookbooks and ends on the note that these particular cookbook values vary according to the proximity of the original locality of the book. "Careful collectors will discover that the closer a book is found to its original location, the more expensive it usually is." Barile, *Cookbooks worth Collecting*. 86.

²⁰ Barile, *Cookbooks worth Collecting*, 67.; Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote.*; Sheri Castle. *The Southern Living Community Cookbook: Celebrating Food & Fellowship in the American South*. (Atlanta, GA: Southern Living, 2014.) 3.

cookbooks spread the gospels of household management, healthy cooking, and domestic science to educate local communities about food developments and other natural extensions of a women's role.²¹ As the 20th century approached, community cookbooks became key repositories of the changes in foodways; recipes were no longer like musical scores, needing extraordinary skill and knowledge to use. In fact, community cookbooks pushed early feminism progress allowing women to establish themselves in the public sphere with a discourse that supported their communal identity into being.

Community cookbooks were snippets of poetry, essays on local history, household hints, personal reflections, quotations, and prayers strewn among recipes, making these books tasty ragouts of American style, filled with the cherished old and the daring new, in food and social thought.²²

Originating along the eastern coast of the United States, community cookbooks gradually moved west and south focusing on regional specialties including local ingredients and cooking methods.²³ Southern cookbooks had specialties such as sweet potato pie, shrimp and grits, okra pilau, and ambrosia, whereas northern cookbooks shared recipes for maple chiffon, Waldorf salad, vichyssoise, and pepper pot. Recipes held names like "Better than Sex" chocolate cake in the northern cookbooks and "Better than Heaven" cake in

²¹ Women were being educated to work or run schools, hospitals, prisons and asylum kitchens; open their own businesses in confections; manage small catering services; give public lectures on domestic science; design cooking utensils, tableware, appliances and kitchens; create recipes and demonstrate techniques for manufacturers; teach domestic science; and, write books and magazine articles. Mary Anne DuSablón. *America's collectible cookbooks: the history, the politics, the recipes*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1994.) 65-72.

²² Anne DuSablón argues how a certain place at a particular time behaved and made real contributions to posterity. Her research looked at the texts from early 18th century to the late 20th century from a historical and political vantage that speculated that cookbooks echoed a national spirit: America was going to be a bigger and better place to live than anywhere else in the world. *Ibid.*, 59.

²³ Barile. *Cookbooks worth Collecting*. (Radnor, PA: Wallace-Homestead Book, 1994) 70.

more conservative southern cookbooks. At any given point throughout the history of community cookbooks, different discourses have dominated and influenced the public ideologies, rituals, and heritage. Using a Foucauldian definition of discourse as systems of points of view composed of ideas, attitudes, and practices that construct the themes and the worlds of which they speak, one can see how a discourse shapes and reflects a sense of place, producing multiple sub-discourses and regionality.²⁴ The splattered, stained, dog-eared, and often comb-bound workhorses of Americana, community cookbooks frequently considered ephemera for charitable causes, speak volumes as rich sources of the discourse of place, as they become vehicles for sharing local narratives, communicating regional identity and reaffirming ties with a sense of place. Tim Cresswell suggests that place "is a force that cannot be reduced to the social, the natural, or the cultural. It is, rather, a phenomenon that brings these worlds together and, indeed, in part produce them"²⁵ As more immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe brought new foods to the regions, home economists and nutritionists attempted to "Americanize" them through domestic prescriptive literature.²⁶ Community cookbooks bridged the era of Reconstruction, not only as a how-to guide for women finding themselves in the kitchen alone but also as a sentimental souvenir of a bygone era.²⁷ In the words of Theophano, by

²⁴ Michel Foucault, *Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

²⁵ Tim Cresswell. *Place: A Short Introduction*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004). 31

²⁶ DuSablon. *America's collectible cookbooks: the history, the politics, the recipes*, 59. According to Barile next to the Bible, cookbooks have the highest number of books published. Barile, *Cookbooks Worth Collecting*. 8.

²⁷ Nelljean M Rice. "A Tale of Three Cakes: On the Air and in the Books." In *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, ed. Anne L. Bower, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.) 175–76.

reclaiming and rewriting their domestic identities, women engaged in counter-histories that “differed from the prevailing collective memory.”²⁸ Many women moved from densely populated cities to farmland and in newly created towns. Thus, they relied heavily on female discourse to feel connected to their larger communities.²⁹

Cultural geographers, urban sociologists, cultural studies scholars and, more recently, rhetorical scholars have studied place as ‘particular constellations of material things that occupy a particular segment of space and have sets of meanings attached to them.’³⁰ How people become attached to certain spaces in a variety of ways can make different spaces meaningful; furthermore, the term place can be defined as a combination of location and meaning. Three key components that make place meaningful are a topographical location or place; a specific region or space; and a sense of belonging, or the emotional attachment that people hold.³¹ With spatial terms used to describe both location and meaning, respectively space and place, Agnew determined that a sense of belonging, either consciously or as shown through everyday behavior such as cooking and eating, would be indicative of “sense of place.”³² Therefore, one could say that “Southernness” comes from a ‘sense of place’ or ‘rootedness.’ The key to this notion is

²⁸ Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote.*, 83.

²⁹ Rice, “A Tale of Three Cakes: On the Air and in the Books.”174.

³⁰ Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction.*; J.A. Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society.* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987). J.A. Agnew, “The devaluation of place in social science.” In J. Agnew and J. Duncan (eds.) *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations.* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1987). Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook, S. “Location matters: The rhetoric of place in protest. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 97(3): 257–282. Lucy Lippard. *The Lure of the Local: Senses of Place in a Multicentered Society.* (New York: The New Press, 1997).

³¹ Agnew. *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society.*; J.A. Agnew. “The devaluation of place in social science.” 23.

³² *Ibid.*, 24.

the experiences of people gathered and focused on the relationship with the place that they hold. Anthropologist Konstantinos Retsikas notes that a place is a tool of sociality; by which he means,

because people move and stop, settle, and move again ... places are shifting and changing, always becoming through people's engagements – material as well as discursive –in, through, and with them ... In other words, place is not where social relations simply take place, but an inherent ingredient of their modalities of actualization.³³

These many meanings of place capture both a setting for and intertwining in the operation of social and rhetorical processes through familiar experiences. Therefore, from this perspective place matters for what we think abstractly as well as what we do practically. In contrast, David Harvey suggests a dark side of “place ... like space and time, a social construct and can exclude or confine those that do not belong.”³⁴ Doreen Massey puts it another way,

[There] is a notion of place where specificity (local uniqueness, a sense of place) derives not from some mythical internal roots nor from a history of isolation – now to be disrupted by globalization – but precisely from the absolute particularity of the mixture of influences found together, ...allowing people to

³³ Konstantinos Retsikas. “Being and place: movement, ancestors, and personhood in East Java, Indonesia.” (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2007). 13, 971-2.

³⁴ David Harvey. "From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity" in Bird, Jon, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, George Robertson & Lisa Tickner, eds. *Mapping the Futures*. (London: Routledge, 1993) 5.

identify as “in” or “out.” If we think of place as progressive, we can see how constructs change and places are made and remade.³⁵

I believe that community cookbooks communicate in a system of complex social relationships, rhetorical and narrative strategies, and historical times and places. Like other literary works, domestic literature can be a manufactured narrative, making it vulnerable to questions of accuracy and authenticity. Some scholars have sought to challenge the unspoken patterns of communication or offer historical accounts from their own perspectives. But the fact remains that past making can be illusory, as we can never fully obtain a fixed account due to the ongoing process of it coming into existence, shifting, altering and being continually recreated. This is not to say that there are not learnings and gratifying moments in time, but for this project my goal is not to consider the degree to which the depiction of “Southernness” in these cookbooks is accurate and authentic, rather it is to demonstrate the value of engaging in a rhetorical reading of those texts. It can be seen that Southern cookbooks, especially community-based, take their setting from three ‘places,’ the imagined South of the past, the New South or No South of the present, and a South of the future.

“Southernness”

All things considered, there is no shortage of literature announcing, describing, and explaining the importance of the community cookbooks as historically significant.³⁶

³⁵ Dorean Massey. *Power-Geometries and the Politics of Space-Time* (Heidelberg: University of Heidelberg, Institute of Geography, 1999). 30.

³⁶ Bower. *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*; Sutton. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*; Theophano. *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote*. Counihan and Esterik. *Food and Culture: A Reader*. Sheri Castle. *The Southern Living Community Cookbook: Celebrating Food & Fellowship in the American South*. (Atlanta, GA: Southern Living, 2014.)

The first historian and researcher to acknowledge community cookbooks as worthy of scholarly pursuit, and aptly named, Margaret Cook, compiled a state-by-state index of all the community cookbooks from 1888 to 1908, finding over 3,000 compiled cookbooks published.³⁷ Initial research into community cookbooks was conducted by folklorists and sociologists, raising the questions of how recipes and foodways act as narratives of collective identity. Folklorist, Susan Ireland raise the question of how accurate cookbooks portray society, by way of asking are they “here is what we eat” or “here is what we would have you believe that we eat?” Ireland suggests that community cookbooks, popular cultural artifacts, could be used to study attitudes, usage, and consumption of groups.³⁸ While, sociologist, Susan Leonardi reasoned that cookbooks are cultural codes of communication, not just a set of procedures to follow,

...the recipe's social context gives it far more significance than that of a mere rule for cooking;” furthermore, declaring that “even the root of recipe-the Latin recipere-implies an exchange, a giver, and a receiver. Like a story, a recipe needs a recommendation, a context, a point, a reason to be.³⁹

As the study of Southern culture and foodways intensified and matured, a wider range of disciplines began using community cookbooks as a means to explore topics like cultural identity, social inclusion and exclusion, power, and sense making. Journalist, Laura Shapiro notes that community cookbook texts construct belief systems of the locals

³⁷ Margaret Cook. *America's Charitable Cooks: A Bibliography of Fund-raising Cook Books Published in the United States, 1861-1915*. (Kent, Ohio: Privately printed, 1971). Single best source for investigating beginnings of fund-raising cookbooks from Civil War to First World War. Lists more than 3,000 community cookbooks published before 1916.

³⁸ Ireland. "The Compiled Cookbook as Foodways Autobiography."

³⁹ Leonardi. "Recipes for Reading: Summer Pasta, Lobster a La Riseholme, and Key Lime Pie." 340, 344.

that produce them, making it clear that cookbooks can form a belief, as “if [we] could reform American eating habits, they could reform Americans.”⁴⁰ Furthermore, implying that every enclave of southerners seeks some form of a usable past, or control over the habits of their town, state, or region. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, performance studies and Jewish studies scholar, takes a broader contextualization of community cookbooks by considering regional influences on foodways and the domestic female role. She posits, “the ephemeral medium of food embodies cultural values.”⁴¹ These forerunning scholars stimulated inquiry of community cookbooks as popular cultural text as discourse, loaded with meaning particular to the time and place.⁴² However, it is Anne Bower’s edited collection of essays, *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, that pulled all fields together in thirteen previously unpublished essays that demonstrate the “position of women between private and public worlds... [and] provide an enduring representation of ethnic, religious and other group affiliations.”⁴³ Bower arranges the essays into three sections. The first, organized around historical and theoretical issues, includes a historian’s view of community cookbooks similar to Mary Barile in *Cookbooks Worth Collecting*, verifying the content, form and theoretical potential of community cookbooks. Then, Bower’s article focuses on the narrative power of the

⁴⁰ Shapiro. *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century*. 5.

⁴¹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. “*Recipes for Creating Community: The Jewish Charity Cookbook in America*.” 8-11.

⁴² DuSablón argues in, *American’s Collectible Cookbooks: The History, The Politics, The Recipes*, concerning how a certain place at a particular time behaved and made real contributions to posterity. Her research looked at the texts from early 18th century to the late 20th century from a historical and political vantage that speculated that cookbooks echoed a national spirit: America was going to be a bigger and better place to live than anywhere else in the world.

⁴³ Bower. *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*. 268.

discourse around regional myths and narratives within the pages of a community cookbooks. Lastly, she shows how the language of recipes iterates and reiterates the values of communities.⁴⁴ The second section looks at the social and communal contributions of community cookbooks, with particular consideration of oral narratives, feminine genealogy, community identity, and racial bias. Lastly, the third section delivers the role of community cookbooks in American culture and regionalism. The collection of essays in *Recipe for Reading* demonstrates the not only the “historical significance but ...their power to construct an ideology (national, regional, class, etc.)” Janet Theophano, in *Eat My Words*, also legitimized community cookbooks as shaping regional identity. “Cookbooks, then, besides describing foods, are records of women’s social interactions and exchanges.”⁴⁵ They demonstrate the breadth of locality and one’s standing in it, placing a delicate trail of a sense of place while engaging in counter-histories set in a specific region that altered the common collective memory.⁴⁶ Theophano posited that community cookbooks showed regional differences and gave subtle clues for a growing middle class, indirectly telling them who were insiders and outliers of the community.⁴⁷ Theophano notes that learning to make a dish is far less interesting than constructing the “maps of the social and cultural worlds they inhabit.”⁴⁸ Through seven chapters, Theophano demonstrates that community cookbooks are “icons of cultural

⁴⁴ Colleen Cotter. “Claiming a Piece of the Pie: How the Language of Recipes Defines Community.” In *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*, ed. Anne L. Bower, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 51-73.

⁴⁵ Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote*, 83.

⁴⁶ Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote*, 83.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

identity, a culture's cuisine may be used to mark the complex negotiations groups and individuals undertake in a new land.”⁴⁹

More recent studies include political scholar Kennan Ferguson who examined four different political theories in which collectives bring themselves into textual being through complex community engagement with food, taste, and place. Ferguson notes that community cookbooks either individualize or de-individualize through form and location. He notes that community cookbooks are collections contributed by individuals living within the community, yet the compilers of the cookbooks actual de-individualize them through edits. Ferguson concludes that compilers, contributors, and consumers of community cookbooks become part of

certain aspects of [their] communities even if – as in all communities -other aspects remain that we reject. Cookbooks, after all never make us create all or even any of the recipes contained within their covers. They instead entice us into these modalities of collectivity. We can choose aspects of our communities that taste right to us, with all the complexities and intensification we want to make.⁵⁰

Amy Reddinger, literary scholar, studied two Hawaiian cookbooks to validate how they constructed and imposed a narrative of Hawaiian culture still used in tourism today. Through her research, Reddinger outlines specific food traditions that make evident the “cultural and social histories of Hawaii previously rendered invisible by over-simplified mainland representations.”⁵¹ She concludes that the resistance to the oversimplification

⁴⁹ Ibid., 50.

⁵⁰ Kenneth Ferguson, *Intensifying Taste, Intensifying Identity: Collectivity through Community Cookbooks*. *Signs*, (University of Chicago Press, Spring 2012), 713-714

⁵¹ Amy Reddinger, *Eating Local: The Politics of the Post-Statehood of Hawaii Cookbooks*. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*. (2010) V. 9, 3.

makes specific history more visible and simultaneously imposes a new exigency that revises the 20th century understanding of Hawaii. Douglas, Brownlie, Hewer, and Horne, marketing scholars in the UK, also explore the potential contribution of community cookbooks as forms of popular culture or artifacts of cultural life in the making. In their research, they suggest cookbooks are a discourse through which culture and new patterns of sociality emerge. Noting that “rather than being simply instrumental and instructional texts about ingredients, their assembly, processing, and presentation, cookery books do indeed tell unusual cultural tales. Tales which are akin to confessionals through which are proffered solutions to contestations about gender norms, questions of cultural identity and ways to live in consumer culture.”⁵²

For many, food endures. It reconciles disagreements in a community while forging historical and cultural connections. No matter how one looks at foodways, symbolically or realistically, food is central to the production of culture. One’s food preferences inevitably indicate one’s sense of place, especially if it is a unique dish arising from the regions foodscape. The sharing of recipes then allows food to acquire its complex cultural identity shaped by a place. “In an era when, it is argued, 'local communities' seem to be increasingly broken up, when you can go abroad and find the same shops, the same music as at home, or eat your favorite foreign-holiday food at a restaurant down the road - and when everyone has a different experience of all this how then do we think about 'locality'?”⁵³ Can a sense of place be manufactured in ephemera such a community cookbook? How has their rhetoric unified the concept of Southernness?

⁵² Douglas Brownlie, Paul Hewer, and Suzanne Horne. Culinary tourism: An exploratory reading of contemporary representations of cooking. *Consumption Markets & Culture* (2005), 8, 1.

⁵³ Massey. Massey, Doreen. “A Place Called Home?” *New Formations* 17 (1992): 3–15. Web. Massey, Doreen. “Places and Their Pasts.” *History Workshop Journal* 39 (1995):

Gentility, Gateways, and Grits

In literature, food is often described as a boundary-creating maneuver. “The cuisine of the city is a web that embraces and connects all of the inhabitants. Regardless of class or education or income or race ... Talking about food, both its preparation and its taste is the greatest equalizing factor in the city.”⁵⁴ In this thesis, I attempt to weave together the claim that the term “Southernness” is a manufactured ideology invented in the postbellum New South and persists in private domestic literature, or community cookbooks, to romanticize Southern hospitality and cooking. “Southernness,” is a non-place, understood as having continued relevance for, and dialogic relationship with, memory and identity. Despite globalization and homogenization, physical situatedness localizes aspects of our lives, as well as senses of belonging to a place we call ‘home.’ To analyze the impact of community cookbooks in influencing the term “Southernness” it is necessary to find a locale with unmatched Southern heritage, a city with no other gastronomy that reinforces its history. A place where people are committed to celebrating discrete contributions, recognizing disparities and placing food in the accounts of the past. Foodways present an intersection of cuisine and culture, used to preserve heritage and group identity. Communication, thus, is possible through cookbooks as they construct a place-identity over time and allow a place to be imagined, or the food to create a sense of place.

The Southern “low country,” a relatively small coastal region that stretches from Charleston, South Carolina down through Savannah, Georgia is a study in contrasts of cultures, traditions, and cuisine. The complex geographical system of estuaries and inlets

182–192. Web.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Williams, *New Orleans: A Food Biography*. (Alta Mira Press, 2012).

supports local fares of seafood and rice. It is a region steeped in tradition and history with an air of gentility and refinement that pervades the local cuisine. While “Lowcountry” foodways share features of traditional Southern cooking, their culinary identity differs. Charleston, the larger city of the two, is known for its rich pre-revolution history, architectural preservation, southern hospitality, and unique gastronomy. Dishes such as She-crab soup, fried oysters, “Frogmore” stew, and shrimp and grits, reflect the French and West African influence on the city.

Spanning a 50-year period from 1930 to 1986, three community cookbooks that influenced Charleston and humanitarian women’s league groups were chosen as artifacts to analyze. The three historic community cookbooks include *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, *Charleston Receipts*, and *Charleston Receipts Repeats*. The first, *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, including recipes from two revered colonial fundraising cookbooks, *The Carolina Housewife*, and *The Southern Cook Book*, is rumored to be well-guarded cookbooks in a proper Charleston kitchen. *Charleston Receipts*, the Bible of all Junior League cookbooks, and considered a must for any cook due to its outstanding local and regional culinary preservation. *Charleston Receipts Repeats*, the sequel of the first Charleston Junior League cookbook that bridged the old into the new Charleston.

The first Charleston community cookbook to be analyzed was *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, published by Cape and Smith, Inc., in 1930, providing a detailed portrait of prominent families treasured recipes. The cookbook reinterpreted receipts for more “modern times” was compiled by a Charlestonian Grande Dame, Mrs. Blanche Rhett, and had contributions from other privileged Southern women.⁵⁵ The 335-page

⁵⁵ BlancheRhett, Lettie Gay and Helen Woodward. *200 years of Charleston cooking*. (New York: Harrison, Smith & Robert Haas, 1934.) x. eBook PDF.

book holds more than 330 recipes. As explained in the forward by Helen Woodward, author and noted home economist of the early 20th century, who decide upon receiving such Southern Hospitality from her host, Mrs. Rhett, Charlestonian recipes from “the housewives of Charleston and their colored cooks” were worthy sharing with friends afar.⁵⁶ The majority of the recipes are “rich in suggestion, but poor in precision” hence they had to be hand tested in the New York Herald Tribune Home Economic Kitchen to ensure repeatability. Only a few seafaring and Gullah heritage recipes remained in historical form.

The second community cookbook, *Charleston Receipts* (another term for recipes from early centuries), first published in 1950, is the oldest Junior League cookbook still in print. Similar to the Grande Dames of Charleston, the Charleston Junior League raises funds in support of the community, continuing to shape the local foodways. There are Junior Leagues all over the United States, as it is a worldwide organization that trains women to be successful volunteers and community philanthropists. The first Junior League cookbook was published in 1923 in Dallas; these members initiated the trend of Junior League members heading to the kitchen to raise money for important community initiatives just as women has done during the first World War. The 350-page cookbook contains 750 recipes and preserves the Gullah culture residing in the rural islands off the coast with traditional Gullah recipes and language excerpts. “By using Gullah [language] in *Charleston Receipts*, the Junior League of Charleston is helping to record and document a fascinating part of American’s heritage.”⁵⁷ Receipts contained in the

⁵⁶ Ibid., xii.

⁵⁷ Huguenin, Mary Vereen and Anne Montague Stoney. *Charleston Receipts*. (Charleston, SC: League, 1950.) 5

cookbooks are multigenerational adaptations of Gullah creations passed through the hands of Charleston's late 19th century and early 20th-century upper class.⁵⁸ With only \$150 investment, the first edition of *Charleston Receipts* raised over five thousand dollars in four days. Since 1950, over 750,000 copies have been sold, making this community cookbook the longest Junior League cookbook still in print.⁵⁹

The last cookbook is *Charleston Receipt Repeats*, an updated version of the original compiled once again by the Charleston Junior League. *Charleston Receipts Repeats* is the sequel to Charleston's all-time, best-selling cookbook and it touts that it picks up where the original left off. In 1983, the members decided to capitalize on the success of the first book and introduce a second, at their evening gala at Charleston Place. This cookbook is packed with over 600 recipes that highlight the Lowcountry foods that have persevered through the decades with modern modifications to those recipes from the women that continue to influence and support the community. It offers menus for parties and social occasions, a once common knowledge fifty years ago. Exclusive to *Charleston Receipt Repeats*, are the recipes of the area's acclaimed restaurants that continue to serve the community into the 21st century. Charleston, by 1986, was steeped in entertaining, arts, with a rich cultural history. It is "life in the Charleston" area. Noteworthy, by 1986, Favorite Recipes Press was partnering with all Junior Leagues to produce their cookbooks, resulting in a standardization of the Junior League community cookbooks across the nation.

⁵⁸ Catherine Gryniewski. "Dishing out Charleston Culinary Classics for Charity; Book Launch Planned to Celebrate Recently Rediscovered Cookbook." Junior League of Charleston Press Releases. www.jlcharleston.org.

⁵⁹ Huguenin and Stoney. *Charleston Receipts*.2

With a history steeped in patriotism and familial tradition, examining community cookbooks in Charleston offers scholars a closer look into how cookbooks effects a “sense of place.” “I think (they) tell so much about the history of the city through lifestyle and food,” says Vereen Coen, the self-described “biggest cheerleader” of the Junior League books, and daughter of the compiler of *Charleston Receipts*. As noted by research, the connection to a place can be called ‘a sense of place,’ defined by people’s attitudes, beliefs, meanings and interpretations attributed to a particular area. ⁶⁰ Charleston, offers what place scholars define as strong ties to places through “relational and community attachments (historical/familial, ideological, and narrative),” making it a prime locale to choose for analyzing Southern identity in its relation to the community cookbooks produced during a span of 50 years of racial inequalities and rural segregation of community. ⁶¹

In Chapter Three, titled “A Taste of Charleston, I give scope to five genre themes that provide insight into how *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, *Charleston Receipts*, and *Charleston Receipts Repeats* have influenced human social actions and cultural patterns of the region. There is no hard and fast rule, or fixed set of themes to look at community cookbooks as can be noted by previous research. Therefore, for this research project the five themes used for analysis were not a priori. Unlike traditional literature genre analysis using narrative themes, the themes for this project were observed from the recipes, images, and text through engagement of each over a period of time while

⁶⁰ John Agnew, in J. Agnew and D. Livingstone (eds.) *Handbook of Geographical Knowledge*. (London: Sage, 2011); Emily Chamlee-Wright and Virgil Henry Storr. “There’s No Place Like New Orleans”: Sense of Place and Community Recovery in the 9th Ward After Hurricane Katrina. (*Journal of Urban Affairs*, 2009.) 31: 615–634.

⁶¹ Hummon, David. "Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place." in *Place Attachment*, edited by Irwin Altman and Setha Low. New York: Plenum Press, 1992). 1-12, 253-278.

answering the research question of how one thinks about rhetoric of place in impacting and building an understanding of the culture of Charleston within the pages of the three texts identified.

The five themes identified are (a) kinship theme, a theme of social relationships, referring to both familial and community; (b) socio-cultural theme, or the cultural factors influenced by the society; (c) habitus theme, or the attitudes and dispositions of the society during the era of publish; (d) topographical theme, relating to representations of the landscape and physical features of the area; and (e) nostalgia theme, focusing on tradition and ritual that have been passed down from generation to generation.

All societies use kinship to define themselves socially with some variability in the rules and patterns. For this study, three patterns were employed in the analysis and interpretation of each community cookbook: descent, ones that result from ancestry; affinity, those created through marriage, and fictive, those linked that would otherwise not be. Kinship is a paramount descriptor of community cookbooks as these cookbooks were initially collected to enable a “kinship” from the community with familial, handwritten recipes that had been passed down from generation to generation. Therefore, kinship is not only a theme of the genre but a dogma with an ontological origin that connects the history and culture of families and community.

Kinship relations are social relations predicated upon cultural conceptions that specify the processes by which an individual comes into being and develops into a complete (i.e. mature) social person. These processes encompass the acquisition and transformation of both spiritual and corporeal components of being. Sexual reproduction and the formulation of paternal and maternal contributions are an important component of, but are not coextensive with, the relevant processes. This

is due to the ethnographic fact that a full complement of spiritual components is never derived exclusively from the parents. ...Foods may also constitute essential ingredients in the spiritual or corporeal completion of personhood. ...[And] maturation frequently entails...replacing, adding, and/or supplanting spiritual and corporeal components of personhood.⁶²

Therefore, the first distinct theme seen, and notably seen in most any community cookbook, is kinship, a theme built on the social relationships that form the most fundamental aspect of most human societies.

The next theme identified is the socio-cultural theme, a fused term from two concepts, society, community or group of people, and culture, the learned behaviors that are shared among the community. In the analysis, I specifically looked at this theme in regards to the socio-cultural evolution of the region influenced by hierarchy and privilege, with strong associations to kinship. When attempting to understand socio-cultural structures, there are several rules of thumb, the smaller the society, the more prominent kinship plays, and the larger the society, the more substructure patterns emerge. As such, the social position of individuals within each substructure become less based on kinship or caste, and more on age, race, gender, or voluntary association. Furthermore, such an analysis also explains how a dominate public sphere influences the cultural invisibles, like ingrained moralities, and hidden drives that emerge around power, equity, disparity, and resilience. In fact, social conditions presuppose the different ways of relating to realities and fictions, of believing in fictions and the realities they simulate, with more or less distance are very closely linked to the

⁶² Raymond Kelly. *Constructing Inequality: The Fabrication of a Hierarchy of Virtue Among the Etoro*. (Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press, 1993).

different possible positions in social space and, consequently, bound up with the systems of dispositions (habitus) characteristic of the different classes and class fractions.⁶³

In light of the socio-cultural theme, habitus outlines the attitudes and dispositions embedded in the societal dialectical relationship between individuals and place. Habitus, as I use it, is the way the socio-cultural groups form socialized norms that guide behaviors and thinking. It is not fixed or permanent, as it can change under unexpected situations or historical periods, and forms without any deliberate pursuit of consciousness. “This means that inevitably inscribed within the dispositions of the habitus is the whole structure of the system of conditions, as it presents itself in the experience of a life-condition occupying a particular position within that structure.”⁶⁴ As I see it, the particulars of habitus are a result of the socio-cultural negotiations of a society that are reproduced through actions that an individual has been subjected to in their life. It is often described as the dialectical relationship between agent and environment, developed over time.⁶⁵ In my analysis, habitus focuses on the assimilation, or lack thereof, of marginalized publics, observed over a 50-year history of Charleston

Contrary to the continual changes that occur with habitus, the two final themes, nostalgia and topography, share an antipathy to change and a certain sentimentality for a past in the tension between modern ways and old-fashion values. Nostalgia is essentially twofold, on one hand it encompasses homesickness, a regretful or wistful memory, and on the other a longing for an earlier time. For my purposes, nostalgia refers to folklore, or

⁶³ Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* (London, Routledge, 1984), 6.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 3-7.

the construction of a sense of past transmitted by a previous generation to the present, often a wistful memory, just as much as it refers to the longing for a collective history and belonging to a community. I use the nostalgia theme in this research to find folkloric narrative and images that hold a sentimentality for traditions of the Plantation Era and a longing for continuity in the present. Nostalgia is both a driver of empathy and social connectedness. It is the “perfect internal politician, connecting the past with the present, pointing optimistically to the future” and a mental state “absolutely central to human experience.”⁶⁶

Lastly, as with any place, the landscape and physical features of the area influence the habits, culture, socialization, and nostalgia, constructing distinct preferences and aversions. Therefore, the topography of the area is also a valuable tool shaping a ‘sense of place,’ through cultural diffusion, ecology, and interaction, as such, it is the last theme analyzed within each cookbook. There is something inherent about the geography of a region that shapes the cultural and place for when populations try to make new lives in new lands there can be a loss that simultaneously occurs while acquiring the new.

Under the influence of a given culture, itself changing through time, the landscape undergoes development, passing through phases, and probably reaching the ultimate end of cycle of its development. With the introduction of a different, that is alien culture, a rejuvenation of the cultural landscape sets in and a new landscape is superimposed on the remnants of the older one. The natural

⁶⁶ Tim Adams. "Thanks for the Memories — Nostalgia Is an Antidote to ..." Interview with Sedikides and Wildschut Courier Mail. (Brisbane, Australia. January 2015).

landscape is of course of fundamental importance, for it supplies the materials out of which the cultural landscape is formed.⁶⁷

Acculturation revolves around our landscape and is a window onto our most basic beliefs about the world and ourselves. To analyze this theme, I sought patterns of food and historical references to the landscape and geographical interaction.

Chapter Four, titled “Stick a Fork in It” offers the results and discussion of the genre analysis and the influence found supporting “Southernness” as a manufactured ‘sense of place.’ Charleston, a place of multiple Antebellum plantations, and the site of the first shots of the Civil War, lays claim to the most popular landmarks of the area, allowing for the imaginary of the Lowcountry to be aggressively constructed and promoted by the socially elite, those regarded as “uptown,” or the aristocracy of the city. Cookbooks are an important tool in the construction of a sense of place, both symbolically as readers visualize a region, literally, as food is eaten or within images and narratives of the pages. In this sense, then, community cookbooks should be understood as place-making rhetoric.

⁶⁷ Carl Ortwin Sauer. *The Morphology of Landscape*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1925.) 46.

CHAPTER II : METHOD

Into the Skillet

Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are.

~ *Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin*⁶⁸

As an excellent barometer of who we are and what we believe at any given moment in history, genres shape our thoughts and communication through a familiarity of convention that allows for exploration into the unfamiliar. Since the early 1900s, cookbooks have followed conventional formatting due to the Boston Cooking School's Fannie Farmer, who initiated the conventions of commercial cookbooks, taking them from a familial, handwritten manuscripts to a modern literary genre. Today, cookbooks adhere to a specific culinary literary style and form with descriptive subtitles, dedications, prefaces, introductions, not to mention tables of contents, indexes, and other stylistic devices used in recipes. However, it is the social constructs hidden in the text that I find most intriguing, as they can be recognized as rhetorical and social action.

Genres are not just forms. Genres are forms of life, ways of being. They are frames for social action. They are locations within which meaning is constructed. Genres shape the thoughts we form and the communications by which we interact. Genres are the familiar places we go to create intelligible communicative action with each other and the guideposts we use to explore the unfamiliar.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste*, 1825.

⁶⁹ Charles Bazerman. The life of genre, the life in the classroom. In W. Bishop & H. Ostrom (Eds.), *Genres and writing: Issues, arguments, alternatives*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann., 1997), 19.

As tools of cognitive practices that contribute to our ‘sense making,’ genres are a response to political, social, and economic conditions, changing according to the climate of the time; moreover, making them useful to answer if a sense of place can be implied in literary ephemera such as community cookbooks.

The word genre comes from the French word for “kind” or “class,” widely used to refer to a type of text, or structure of discourse.⁷⁰ This French word, derived from the Latin root ‘genus,’ causes many researchers to trace the origin of genre theory to Aristotle’s *Poetics*, where it was noted that poetry and its variations held essential qualities that could be categorized based on their structure and function as well as their different kinds of poetic action.⁷¹ Others have traced the origins to Romantic and post-Romantic poetry, where genre is imprinted with patterns that inform and deform the changing reality of the field.⁷² No matter whom we credit, as with any theoretical approach, there exists considerable disagreement about the definition and function of genres. For the deconstructionist, genres are not apriori, but rather patterns that shift continuously, thus rejecting the constitutive power of specific genres. In the *Laws of Genre*, Derrida posits,

Every text participates in one or several genres; there is no genreless text; there is always a genre and genres, yet such participation never amounts to belonging.

⁷⁰ Daniel Chandler “An Introduction to Genre Theory” [web site]. 2000. Retrieved from <http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/intgenre/intgenre1.html>

⁷¹ Aristotle. *Poetics*. Critical Theory Since Plato. Ed. Hazard Adams. Rev. ed. (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1994), 50-66.

⁷² Gerard Genette, *Narrative Discourse*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1980). 6-12, 45.

And not because of an abundant overflowing or a free, anarchic and unclassifiable productivity, but because of the trait of participation itself”⁷³

Derrida explains his reasoning with an example of novels that announce on their cover that they are novels. In the case of cookbooks, Derrida would categorize the 1864 Poetic Cook-Book, as a cookbook merely due to the mark of its name, and belonging to the genre of culinary literature. However, the mark “Cook-Book” does not categorically signify that it was a fundraiser for the community or the first community cookbook written in lyrical formatting; therefore, the mark of ‘cookbook’ is loose in the certain genre it signifies. In fact, over the last two centuries, cookbook genres and forms have evolved from aesthetics to necessity to functionality, back to aesthetics. As Derrida suggests with his theory, genres are fluid, and culinary literature is no exception.

Nevertheless, I find that one can begin to lay a foundation of the simplest taxonomies of cookbooks with three key formats: reference books, instructional manuals, and aesthetic journals. Every genre goes through phases or cycles of popularity, sometimes becoming dormant for a period rather than disappearing altogether; these cycles and transformation of genres can be seen in response to the political, social, and economic conditions, and alter with time, space, and place. Genres from particular eras reflect the values which were dominant of the time, suggesting that a genre embodies the moral values of culture. Thus, showing signs of a social-cultural structuralism approach which is more concerned with how genres shape specific actions, identifications, and representations. As Todorov puts it,

⁷³ Jacques Derrida. “The Law of Genre.” Trans. Avital Ronell. *Critical Inquiry*. (Autumn 1980). V.,7. 66.

Like any other institution, genres bring to light the constitutive features of the society to which they belong;” as such, “a society chooses and codifies the [speech] acts that correspond most closely to its ideology; that is why the existence of certain genres in one society, and their absence in another, are revelatory of that ideology”⁷⁴

For example, in *Gone with the Wind* Scarlett O’Hara and her Mammy are archetypal representations of the Southern United States, characterized by a convention of the Plantation South closely codified social norms before the Civil Rights Movement. Branching off structuralism and positioned within cultural studies the constitutive features of the society, as such, allowing the ability to choose the framework due to the apriori of social practices, or what Solomon refers to as ‘recurrent patterns of meaning’ in values of the time.⁷⁵ As Frye explains,

the purpose of criticism by genre is not so much to classify as to clarify such traditions and affinities, thereby bringing out a larger number of literary relationships that would not be noticed as long as there were no context established for them.⁷⁶

Taking all of this into consideration, the defining of the term genre may not seem arduous, yet the polysemic nature of the term keeps it an abstract concept. One theorist's genre may be another's sub-genre, and what one considers a thematic grouping may be categorized differently by another, making it is easy to underplay the rhetorical influence,

⁷⁴ Todorov Tzvetan. *Genres in Discourse*, translated by Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). 161-162.

⁷⁵ Stanley J. Solomon. Extract from *Beyond Formula: American Film Genres*. In Oliver Boyd-Barrett & Chris Newbold (Eds.) *Approaches to Media: A Reader*. (London: Arnold, ([1976] 1995), 456.

⁷⁶ Herman Northrop Frye. *Anatomy of Criticism*. (New Jersey: Princeton U. Press, 1957.) 47-48.

as some are looser, more open-ended in their conventions than others. “Genres are essentially literary institutions, or social contracts between a writer and a specific public, whose function is to specify the proper use of a particular cultural artifact.”⁷⁷ From this approach it makes more sense to think of genres of as a rhetorical criticism tool, intended to communicate successfully in particular contexts and to operate to reinforce communities' identities and to legitimate particular communication practices.

Rhetorical criticism, since at least the work of Black and Bitzer, has recognized,

From day to day, year to year, comparable situations occur, prompting comparable responses; hence rhetorical forms are born and a special vocabulary, grammar, and style are established...The situation recurs and because we experience situations, and the rhetorical responses to them, a form of discourse is not only established but comes to have a power of its own—the tradition itself tends to function as a constraint upon any new response in the form.⁷⁸

In this passage, Bitzer not only describes the rhetorical power forms such as genre, he also follows Black’s notions that rhetorical conventions have a power of their own.

Campbell and Jamieson extend Black and Bitzer’s work claiming, “rhetorical forms that establish genres are stylistic and substantive responses to perceived situational demands.”⁷⁹ They define a rhetorical genre as a “group of acts unified by a constellation of forms that recurs in each of its members,” but what is accurately distinctive in their

⁷⁷ Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as A Social Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 106.

⁷⁸ Lloyd Bitzer, “The Rhetorical Situation,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 1, no. 1 (January 1968): 309. (emphasis added).

⁷⁹ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson *Form and Genre: Shaping Rhetorical Action*. (The Speech Communication Association. Falls Church, VA., 1978), 452.

account is that genres' are "bound together by an internal dynamic."⁸⁰ What's more, Campbell and Jamieson posit that genres not only creates an inductive alignment of meaning and action; they also function as an artifact on how individuals and society respond to place, space, and time, or how rhetoric develops in time. As Campbell and Jamieson explain,

The critic who classifies a rhetorical artifact as generically akin to a class of similar artifacts has identified an undercurrent of history rather than comprehended an act isolated in time". As such, "the existence of the recurrent provides insight into the human condition."⁸¹

Carolyn Miller draws on the work of Black, Bitzer, Campbell and Jamieson, along with work in social phenomenology to arrive at the understanding that genres should focus not so much on strict forms or taxonomies but "on the [social] action it is used to accomplish."⁸² For Miller, it is important in genre criticism to understand the repetition of convention, while rejecting the tendency of society to sustain repetition based on exigency. As Miller explains, "Exigence is a form of social knowledge—a mutual construing of objects, events, interests, and purposes that not only links them but makes them what they are: an objectified social need."⁸³ As an example, Miller uses the story of a young girl being enamored by princesses, encounters a young boy dressed in a princess costume, and would not concede that the 'princess' was indeed a boy. Her socially

⁸⁰ Ibid., 458.

⁸¹ Kohr Campbell and Jamieson, *Form and Genre: Shaping Rhetorical Action*. 458.

⁸² Carolyn R. Miller. "Genre as Social Action." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 70 (May 1984): 151-167.

⁸³ Ibid.157.

learned gender roles were already formed by objects, persons, and events she had encountered. Miller posits that this is why genres not only provide typified actions in situations but also function as artifacts that tell us how a culture defines and configures ways of acting. Ultimately, Miller concludes that as “a recurrent, significant action, a genre embodies an aspect of cultural rationality” and “serves as an index to cultural patterns.”⁸⁴ Therefore, genres are instruments of persuasion which help reproduce dominant ideologies or beliefs (such as princesses are girls).

How we define genre depends on our lens, it is the audience that shapes that lens and makes sense of the specific texts. Not discounting form per se, but a close consideration of “the interplay of generic constraints and the particular historical situations of which rhetorical genres evolve and in which they operate” is key.⁸⁵ Genres need to be studied as historical phenomena, demonstrating the evolution of conventions within each genre. All genres go through phases or cycles of popularity, sometimes becoming dormant for a period rather than disappearing altogether. Genres from particular eras reflect the values, which were dominant of the time, suggesting that themes identified, embody the rhetoric of place.

With three standard methodological approaches to genre criticism: aesthetic, ritual, and ideological, I felt that a genre criticism methodology that incorporates both an ideological and ritual approach was the most appropriate for community cookbooks. By definition an ideological approach focuses on how ideas, roles, norms are expressed in text using a semiotic/structure analysis. A ritual approach emphasizes mythic, cultural-

⁸⁴ Ibid., 165.

⁸⁵ Stephen Lucas. "Genre Criticism and Historical Context: The Case of George Washington's First Inaugural Address." (*Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 51, 1986) 345-370.

typal features, and focuses on the enduring or changing cultural tensions, rules, roles, and efficacy of social myths.⁸⁶ An aesthetic approach focuses on form, style, and innovation, looking at structures and ignoring syntactical features, providing limited insight into the rhetorical force. One can see, simply by understanding the author's intent and the audience of the era that cookbooks serve both an overall purpose and have a unique theme that molds cultural ideas and tastes. Those purposes, with the addition of historical changes, suggest that cookbook genres and forms have evolved from aesthetics to necessity to functionality, back to aesthetics over the last two centuries. Humans are pattern-seeking beings; we like to create order out of the chaos of the universe. However, when we forget that our order is imposed, often arbitrarily, over a universe of unique experiences, the merit of the individual gets lost. If a system of classification, like genre, is then used to assign value judgments, we allow our preconceptions about the whole to influence our opinion of the individual. Genre is useful as long as we remember that it is a helpful tool, to be reassessed and scrutinized, and to weigh works on their unique merit as well as their place within the genre. In delineating genre themes, the occurrence of inclusions and exclusions based on particular perceived values were privileged over others, but this preference reflects the current theoretical argument that genres are codes constructed from, as well as speaking to, historical exigency. Genre is not simply "given" by the culture of an era; rather, it is a constant process of negotiation and change. It is important to recognize not only the social nature of the text, but the role of economic, political, and technological factors as well as the changing audience.

⁸⁶ Rick Altman. "A Semantic/Syntactic Approach to Film Genre." *Film Genre Reader II*. Ed. Barry Keith Grant. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995. 26–40.

For this thesis, I chose a methodology of genre criticism to analyze illustrations, recipes, and narratives contained within the pages of the three cookbooks to gain a clearer picture of geographical, anthropological, sociological, and cultural thematic elements that shaped Charleston, South Carolina over a 50 year period, and continues to influence the larger ideology, ‘Southernness.’

CHAPTER III : ANALYSIS

A Taste of Charleston

Her culture like her streets is flower scented. But this is no simple culture. It is a complex outgrowth of a long, slow mixture of peoples, and its natural beauty of the blue bay and crystal skies is aglow with rich memories of gracious living...cooking here is not a necessity, but an art.

~Woodward, *200 years of Charleston Cooking*⁸⁷

As John T. Edge and his colleagues at the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi note, recipes say more about a place and the people who inhabit it than any essay ever could.⁸⁸ By reflecting the role that community cookbooks play in creating a sense of place, this analysis explores five genre themes that demonstrate the powerful, but often subtle ways in which Southern women shaped Charleston socially and culturally. With that said, no two researchers will agree on just how many themes there are nor label the discourse in the same way. Regardless, I hope to show that these underlying messages convey the sense of Southernness adopted today.

Served Uptown Down South : 200 Years of Charleston Cooking

Beginning with the oldest of the three cookbooks, *200 years of Charleston Cooking* published in 1930 and compiled by a Charlestonian grand dame Mrs. Blanche

⁸⁷ Rhett, Gay and Woodward. *200 years of Charleston cooking*. ix.

⁸⁸ Joseph M. Flora, Lucinda Hardwick MacKethan, and Todd W. Taylor, *The Companion to Southern Literature*, (Louisiana State University Press 2001), 304.

Rhett, the cookbook reinterpreted receipts for more “modern times.”⁸⁹ In the aftermath of World War I and the 1920s, Charleston like many other cities had political, social, and cultural tensions that gripped a rapidly modernizing America. Unique to the introduction in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking* is the foreword from the author who elucidated the rationale behind the cookbook and gave a brief history of prominent Charlestonian families of the era.

So [Woodward] said to Mrs. Rhett, ‘It’s a pity that food like this cannot be eaten in the north. I’d like to send some of these recipes to my friends.’ [Mrs. Rhett] replied with quick enthusiasm, ‘You write books, why don’t you make a book of our recipes? I will get you the recipes from my friends and from my own household.’⁹⁰

And so it was during one particular luncheon, Rhett proposed that Woodward write a book from the family recipes that she had indulged in during her stay offering to gather more recipes from her prestigious (not admittedly) friends. With that promise privileged families contributed their secret recipes, ones that had been treasured closely and only passed from mother to daughter to cook never published much less shared among themselves. Woodward remarked,

[I]t is said of Charleston ladies that their names appear in Charleston newspapers only three times in their lives – when they are born, when they are married, and when they die. No social function of importance except a wedding or a funeral is ever mentioned in any of its newspapers. You look vain in their columns for the

⁸⁹ Rhett, Gay and Woodward. *200 years of Charleston cooking*. x.

⁹⁰ Ibid, xii.

doings of names of great tradition. The esoteric cooking, the stately dinner, are therefore kept close and quiet.⁹¹

Noting the importance of documenting the private lives of the prominent females Charlestonians of the early 20th century, Woodward also let her reader know the importance of kinship. These were not just any recipes, they were secret family recipes, all of which shared an ancestral kinship that had been passed down from generation to generation since the Colonial and Plantation Eras. As such, kinship often dictates either a convergence of or divergence from the normative culture, and with an understanding of each particular kinship's influence on place, one can fully understand any other aspect of that culture.

This predominate theme of ancestral or descent kinship is seen throughout the cookbook in Woodward's "explanatory matter" and in many recipe signature lines. Some of the recipe signature lines were as simple as, "The book was handed down to my grandmother, Mrs. P.C. Kirk, Loch Dhu Plantation, Upper St John's, Berkeley County, S.C." from a recipe for Noyan and similarly, "Grandma's Own, Birdfield Plantation, South Carolina" from a Spice Cake recipe without a signature.⁹² It was in Woodward's authored text, or 'explanatory matter' where the deep history of unilineal descent groups (descent traced to both parents) of multiple generations developed in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. Impressed with the lineage of the contributors to the recipe book, Woodward noted, "[t]hese recipes are bound up not only in a long history, but in a

⁹¹ Ibid., 273.

⁹² Rhett, Woodward, and Gay. *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, 143.

spectacular story of the state of South Carolina.”⁹³ With this said, Woodward now had the ability to shape her ‘story’ for her audience of multiple generations of Charlestonians.

The families with strongest ties to the history of Charleston were identified by their sir names of Rhett, Simon, Harleston, Heyward, and Pennington and the frequency in which the names appeared. The first mention of an ancestral tie by Woodward, noted the compilers’ importance to the history of Charleston, was the history of Colonel William Rhett, a British-born plantation owner, who according to legend captured the pirate, Stede Bonnet.⁹⁴ As the story goes, Mrs. Blanche Rhett resided in the house, with the “distinguished history of the Rhett family.”⁹⁵

In the oldest part of the city, a small house has dared to have a wild and colorful history...it is said, Stede Bonnet’s pirates used to meet. Over 200 years ago their meetings came to an end when they were captured by Colonel William Rhett.⁹⁶ Interestingly, this was not the only family name tied to pirate raids during Colonial and Pre-Revolutionary times. Patience Pennington (nee Alston), notable author of *The Woman Rice Planter*, whose “family [was]surrounded by glamour,” had ties to Aaron Burr’s daughter Theodosia Alton (nee Burr), rumored to have been captured by pirates, but hoped to have simply been lost at sea.⁹⁷ This recitation ties both families to Colonial and European ancestry, making one draw the conclusion that descent was necessary to

⁹³ Ibid., 144.

⁹⁴ Ibid., x.

⁹⁵ Ibid., xii.

⁹⁶ Ibid., x.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 88.

Charlestonian aristocracy at the time of publishing, either from a mother's lineage (matrilineal) or father's lineage (patrilineal) or both (unilineal).

Similarly noteworthy are the number of recipes from families having connections to the Plantation Era with the recipe signature including the name of the Plantation, and the descendant name, such as the three page recipe for "Wedding Cake" submitted by Bluff Plantation descendant Miss Charlotte Ball or the "Sweet Potato Pone IV" with a signature that reads, "from an old kitchen notebook of Bossis Plantation" submitted by Mary Leize Simons.⁹⁸ Harleston and Simons family names were affiliated with Bossis Plantation, an exemplary plantation of hospitality, well known for the matriarch, Miss Elizabeth Harleston. Apparently, the story goes that Nicholas Harleston built the Plantation in 1736, a century before Miss Elizabeth was born, but it was Miss Elizabeth that created the "culinary glory" that gave Bossis Plantation its fame. From Woodward's narrative, it can be concluded that Miss Elizabeth did not have children of her own, due to her title, and that she passed her recipe book to her next of kin, her niece, further demonstrating the importance of the matrilineal kinship in cookbooks. In the Breads Chapter, Woodward writes that Harleston's handwritten recipe book was left to her niece, in 1887, and she, in turn, bequeathed it to her daughter, Elizabeth Harleston Fraser, Mrs. Theodore J. Simons, Sr. who now owns it."⁹⁹ Using this chain of names Woodward validates once again the importance of lineage to the Charleston community, and with the inclusion of the term niece, she further shows the matrilineal descendant kinship as seen in early handwritten cookbooks. Not only did over 50 of the Bossis Plantation recipes get

⁹⁸ Ibid.,105, 179.

⁹⁹ Ibid.,143.

included, but an image of the original handwritten recipe book was included as well, signifying a visuality of authenticity of said recipes, but even more significantly, the treasure of artifacts that represent the ancestral kinship of these documents. Later, in the Dessert Chapter, Woodward explains further about the matrilineal descendants of Miss Elizabeth Harleston by saying, “With generous hospitality [Miss Elizabeth Harleston’s] great niece, Mrs. Simons, brings the ancient enchantment into modern northern kitchens by allowing us to copy some of her best recipes from the handwritten recipe book.”¹⁰⁰

However, the Bossis Plantation matriarch’s recipes, although numerous in count, were not the only plantation recipes included, eleven others were included, further noting the importance of the Plantation Era’s lineage and kinship to Charleston’s society. One can identify that the Dockon and Wappaolah Plantations honored the family name of Heyward, through the signature line of “Cooter ‘Terrapin’ Stew” submitted Fannie Fergusen Heyward, Dockon Plantation, Cooper River and “Eggs Fricassee” by the signature of Panchita Heyward Gimball’s, Wappaolah Plantation, Cooper River, and “Scrapple” submitted by Marie Heyward, Wappaolah Plantation, Cooper River.¹⁰¹ But it is the connection that Woodward identifies between Thomas Heyward, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the more notable Heyward, DuBose Heyward, the author of “Porgy,” a novel at the time of publish based on the real-life Gullah man, Samuel Smalls, that records the importance of tying oneself to clan or kin lineage in 1930.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 167.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 39, 61.

¹⁰² This book would become the musical, *Porgy and Bess*. The folk opera of *Porgy and Bess* tells the story of Porgy, a disabled street-beggar living in the slums of Charleston, South Carolina that attempts to rescue Bess from the slums of the area. *Porgy and Bess* was first performed in Boston on September 30,

This extensive list of privileged historical names denotes the importance of kinship within this society during the early 20th century, showing that the sum of its parts, the region in which it was created, express the chorus of familial voices within. With multiple references in Woodward's narrative to historically famous descendants and strong ties to the Plantation Era, one can see that *200 Years of Charleston Cooking* valued descendant kinship which organize societal structures, influencing not only foodways but crucial to the public understanding of status and prominence in Charleston.

Understanding the extent of these familial networks, and the centrality of women to the discourse of the cookbook, allows one to see how a collective identity figured alongside kinship and social status.

Upon further analysis, one can see hints of the social significance of kinship in the cookbook, allowing the reader to infer that the 'in-crowd' of Charleston in the late 1920s needed to have Colonial or Plantation Era blood coursing through their veins. Therefore, the next most logical theme analyzed was a socio-cultural theme that demonstrates the heavy influence of familial connection to social stratification and segregation of Charleston. With such strong ties to kinship relating back to the power of Plantation households, it is only natural that literature confirmed how socio-cultural identity and norms guided a privileged hierarchy that was racially and ethnically divided.

One particular example seen in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, was the reference to the St. Cecelia Ball, a private music organization that held "the" annual social event, inviting only the most affluent to be members and attend the event.

According to Woodward,

1935, and featured an entire cast of classically trained African-American singers—a daring artistic choice at the time.

The Society elects its members; names must be offered at the annual meeting by a letter presented by a member. If the man's father or grandfather, or any of his immediate kindred, have belonged before him, there is little doubt that he will be chosen. Nevertheless, blackballs (two suffice to exclude) have fallen, when applicant was a notoriously unworthy scion of his family tree. If a new resident or family recently brought into notice, there will be inquiry, perhaps hesitation, and a good backing will be desirable. But if he be of character and standing calculated to make his membership acceptable to the society, he will be elected – unless he has some adversary; then he may fail. The presenter of such a one will make careful examination into public feeling before subjecting his friend to mortification and will withhold the letter if in doubt. When a man is elected, the names of the ladies of his household are at once put upon 'the list' and remain there forever. Only death or removal from the city erases them, - change of fortune affects them not at all. To be dropped from the St. Cecelia is awful possibility sometimes hinted at but which (as far as known) has never come to pass. Pity the Charleston girl of social aspirations who cannot go to the St. Cecelia Ball.¹⁰³

In writing about the St. Cecelia Ball, whose "ritual is formal even in these times of freedom," one gains insight into the social hierarchy of Charleston during the early 20th century. Charleston appeared to be influenced by the privilege of particular families, or connections to that family that could enable one to become a member of the community,

¹⁰³ Rhett, Woodward, and Gay. *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, 13.

moreover, without any ancestral connection or a strong affinity kinship (one of marriage), one might find themselves shunned by the aristocratic class of the era.

Another implied aristocratic privilege of the families with Colonial descent found in the ‘explanatory matter’ was Presidential visits,

In the high-ceilinged dining room of Mrs. Goodwyn Rhett’s house President Taft ate the same kind of good things that President George Washington ate in his day.

And until now the secret recipes of these things have been held closely because they are clannish about their ways in the old city. ¹⁰⁴

In mentioning this particular event, Woodward again gives clues to the power of the clannish, or kin behaviors of the privileged in Charleston, in so much that these families still had ties to “royalty” or presidential families, worthy of social visits. On one particular visit, Mrs. Rhett’s butler, William Deas, created and prepared, ‘She’-Crab Soup for President Taft and his wife. In the explanatory matter of the recipe, Woodward writes,

‘She’-Crab Soup belongs especially to the Rhett family and has been served by Mrs. Rhett for presidents and princes. It is prepared always now by Mrs. Rhett’s able butler, William Deas, who is one of the greatest cooks of the world.¹⁰⁵

The inclusion of Deas’ infamous ‘She-Crab’ Soup recipe, was foretelling how the help’s (or servant) recipes were not necessarily their creations. Instead, they were ascribed to their bosses’ family name, again signifying a demarcation of caste or class. Throughout much of the ‘explanatory matter,’ Woodward exemplifies the social stratification of Charleston by talking about the ‘help,’ who are responsible for the majority of the preparation and cooking, yet do not get the credit for the recipes. Despite that Woodward

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 223.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 2.

speaks highly of the remarkable talents of Mr. William Deas and other Gullah people that daily contribute to the foodways of Charleston in the homes of the privileged.

However, it is not only in Woodward's 'explanatory matter' that one finds social stratification, but it is also in the recipes themselves. For example, in the 'She'- Crab recipe, one finds sherry and crab caviar added, all of which one would assume to be pricey ingredients as they were added to "richen" the taste of the basic recipe published in *The Carolina Housewife* when Rhett's Butler prepared it for President Taft. Similarly, Old Plantation recipes such as the Wedding Cake Recipe, submitted by Miss Charlotte Ball of the Bluff Plantation, called for an array of expensive food items, such as 1 ½ pounds of butter, sugar, and flour, 8 eggs, ½ cup of sherry, 1 cup of coffee, rose extract, and over 5 pounds of raisins, currants, and almonds, all of which were expensive items in the early 1900s, suggesting that this recipe was only for the wealthy, dating back to the gluttony of the Plantation Era.¹⁰⁶ Woodward even notes on one Lady Baltimore Cake recipe, "by no stretch of the imagination could this cake be called economical, but its goodness makes one willing to forget its eight eggs!"¹⁰⁷ On the flip side, Woodward observed that Rhett's cook, Sally Washington's repertoire was simpler, only suited for daily, not celebratory events like Deas, and could be more easily reproduced by others.

Her cooking was of a kind to make one speculate as to whether she was a genius in her own right or whether Charleston was gifted by gods. Her cooking was simple...it can be prepared in any household.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 179.

¹⁰⁷ Rhett, Woodward, and Gay. *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. 175.

¹⁰⁸ Richard Osbourne Cummings. *The American and His Food; a History of Food Habits in the United States* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

In contrast to the many decadent cake recipes, Washington's Prune Cake, referred to as a small cake, although still "overflowed square loaf pan" of the test kitchen, called for two eggs, three tablespoons of butter, one cup of sugar, and less than a pound of prunes. Notably baked with fewer eggs, butter, and sugar and using only prunes, all of which were 'simpler' ingredients. One can also note that number of Dea's and William's recipes included (22 and 4 respectively) makes clear that a socio-cultural hierarchy existed within foodways, allowing one the ability to outline the contrast of the two classes through recipes used by each, significant in showing the haves, and have nots of a past era, either subconsciously or consciously.

In like manner, socio-cultural hierarchies can also be seen in the images in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, giving clues to Charleston as an integrated society that has moved beyond the guilt and horror of the "War Between the States." The visuality in the cookbook, best-represented as the acceptance of a blending of cultures, with the first photograph included of two black children wearing traditional West African head baskets filled with local fruits and vegetables to sell on all the gentrified addresses, home to many prominent wealthy Charlestonians during the early 20th century. Other illustrations included more Gullah images: the beloved Honey Man, Maum Cloe, and another local legend, the Potato Man. The placement of these images among the many recipes that had been prepared in the kitchens by the Gullah "help" can be interpreted as Woodward's attempt to converge the cultures through her discourse. She also used local "huckster" or street vendor narrative to note their significance to not only the agricultural economy but also to the culture of the city.¹⁰⁹In addition to the images of the Gullah huckster, who

¹⁰⁹ Carol Sears Botsch and Robert E. Botsch, "Timeline," *African-Americans and South Carolina: History, Politics, and Culture*, October 12, 1997. With over 39% of the agricultural output, Gullah hucksters were vital to the Charleston economy.

were a signature of the city and a cultural institution of the past, Woodward shares four of their stories, both for nostalgic purposes and to what appears as hints of an acculturation of Charleston. As Woodward notes, “the honey man belongs in Charleston,” even if not one single recipe in the dessert section calls for honey.

One could conclude that Woodward was alluding that Charleston in post-War times had signs of acculturation even within a society built upon strong familial social stratification, making it possible for the reader to connect foodways to socio-cultural progress. The blending of the West Indies and Colonial foodways are witnessed in the recipes, images, and daily life of Charlestonians in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. For that reason, the next theme that can be directly tied to progress is a habitus theme.

Habitus, or the aspects of culture that are anchored in the daily practices of individuals, groups, and societies, operated beneath the level of rational ideology. As other themes have revealed, the habits of the Charlestonian in the early 1900’s were driven by the clannish behaviors and socio-cultural hierarchies of the time, as most of the “haves” had servants or paid help like Williams and Deas, which can be traced to learned behaviors passed down from generation to generation from centuries of privilege and habit, not innate behaviors.¹¹⁰ Woodward shares how Charleston cooking and hospitality parallels French cooking, mainly due to the history of the Huguenots, who fled from France to Charleston, and their influence on the cuisine.¹¹¹ Ultimately, tying European

¹¹⁰ According to Bourdieu, many people try to attribute innate, or natural exigencies to culturally learned habits. Habitus is anchored in daily practices of learned skills, styles, tastes, and other non-discursive knowledges that stem from implied norms of a culture, or "go without saying" for a specific group. Pierre Bourdieu. *The Logic of Practice*. (Polity Press, 1990.) 66-67.

¹¹¹ Rhett, Woodward, and Gay. *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. ix.

foodways and hospitality to Charleston in the cookbook. In her forward, Woodward notes,

In Charleston they still eat dinner at three o'clock in the afternoon. In the days of King George, before the Revolution, elegant people served dinner at three o'clock and Charleston does not like change. By good fortune it is not only the dinner hour which has been preserved, but the secrets of those good things which they ate at their spacious dinners.¹¹²

This passage infers that Charleston has clung to the habits of their ancestors, whether for nostalgic or habitual reasons is not clear. Nonetheless, this passage can be seen to support the idea Charleston continued to prefer the dining habits of the Colonial and Plantation Eras. Woodward further explains in the forward,

The Huguenots have left a deep impression, not only in the architecture and the many French names but in the kitchen and on the cooking. Later the Negro used her clever mixing spoon in these French recipes, so that what you eat in Charleston today is a slowly ripened mixture of French and Negro cooking.¹¹³

Moreover, showing this acculturation of daily practices among the privileged and their staff. As noted in one 'explanatory matter,' Gullah families often worked together, "[s]he and her three daughters had enough energy and character to supply several families."

As explained in the last theme, Woodward gave accolades to the Gullah and West African influence on Charleston cooking, however, to address the elephant in the room

¹¹² Ibid., 1

¹¹³ Ibid., ix.

(or text in this case), throughout the text of *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, she did use the term ‘Negro’ with or without a capital N, which according to the New York Times stylebook out in 1930, was the preferred reference to U.S citizens of African descent, not to demean or cast them in an unfavorable/inferior light. Furthermore, there are some passages in which Woodward describes the Gullah people using the term negro or Negro as a non-pejorative denotative term. Examples include her description of the huckster song in the early mornings, “instead sweet singing slips between the pages of your dreams and you wake to hear a soft negro voice intoning on the streets a song about ‘She-Crab;”¹¹⁴ her description of the beautiful landscape, “waters...rich in fish, so that each morning from island and bay and river come negroes bearing baskets – shrimp man and the crab man, the fish man, and the oyster man, each signing a song about his wares;”¹¹⁵ and her description of the art of cooking and frying, “preserved by a few Negroes, mostly very old” and “in all stories about negroes is the sizzling sound of frying fish, the inviting smell and delicious taste.”¹¹⁶ All of which allows one to concluded that Woodward did not consider the language denigrating to a person of color. Even her slightly, fictive description of Sally Washington, “one of those round jolly looking Negroes, round-eyed, round-bodied and round in disposition,”was not apparently intended to defame or demean Washington.¹¹⁷ The discourse used by Woodward was typical of the era, and the dispositions of an elitist society; one that appeared to be attempting to acculturate with

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 41.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 1.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 34.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 46.

the majority population, or Gullah peoples who at the time comprised over 60 percent of the population of the islands, bay and river lands. In another example, Woodward, in her story of Dr. E.C. Adams, whose famous sketches were titled *Nigger to Nigger*, a clearly derogatory term today, gives credit to Tad, the butler, for the inspiration behind the art. Also, Woodward comments that Tad has “so many talents that one does not know which to mention first...he sings; he dances; he has an almost telepathic understanding of the human mind, whether it be that of a white or of a black. And beside all these things he cooks.”¹¹⁸ In the same narrative, Woodward describes, the Adam’s home,

There were a dozen Negroes around the place, serving, cooking, singing and dancing, and every few minutes Dr. Adams would shout into the kitchen: “Stop that cooking and come in and sing something!” So the Negroes would shift back and forth, to their own perfect delight, from cooking to dancing, from singing to serving.¹¹⁹

Although it is unclear as to whether this was the writing of an author of perpetuating ‘Lost Cause’ fiction or the reality of a dinner party, a reader can only assume that it is the truth from Woodward’s ethnographic experience. Another example:

In the long slim islands that separate Charleston from the sea there are few white people. Almost the entire population is colored. These Negroes are so out of touch with the world that it is almost impossible to understand their talk. They speak a dialect called “gullah,” a broken-down English with a touch of Huguenot French and Africa Negro. It is these colored folk who especially cherish okra in every

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 71.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 71.

form. You never see a cabin on the islands which has not its patch of okra nearby.¹²⁰

Here we see the harsh reality of rural society, and poor education and exposure to cultural influence beyond the islands for the majority of the Gullah people, allowing Woodward to give a fuller picture of Charleston's urban and rural landscapes.¹²¹

One "huckster" tale that showed the influence of the 'Lost Cause' literature was the Peanut man. An iconic figure of the early morning, as "[e]very child knew him," shared his tale of two slaves which Woodward transcribed into original Gullah language, similar to the popular Br'er Rabbit tales of the late 19th century.¹²² Although these tales are considered racially sensitive materials today, it seemed that the Peanut Man thought it folklore, not pejorative literature. "Is yo' going to make a story 'bout me, in a book? She told him that she would make a story about him, but could not promise that it would ever be a book. "Misssu, I know a good tale 'about two slavery niggars. Want to hear dat to? And so he told his story."

With all of this said, it is reasonable to infer that Woodward's writing was not intending to be racist, or denigrating. None of her language, as explained earlier was meant to belittle the Gullah culture, or people, instead, it was merely the habits of the time with the intent to promote and preserve a heavily influential biculturalism of the South. All of this reinforces the idea that Woodward, a northerner, was promoting the

¹²⁰ Ibid., 118.

¹²¹ With rural blacks outnumbering the Charleston population by more than double in the early 20th century, they provided significant agricultural output that impacted the economy of the city.

¹²² Rhett, Woodward, and Gay. 200 Years of Charleston Cooking. 79.

blending the two cultures in Charleston during the early 1930s through the genre of domestic literature.

Another disposition covered in the text unrelated to Gullah peoples, but worth mentioning is the laws of Prohibition. This is particularly interesting habitus referenced in the recipes, especially in an era of newly empowered women supporting temperance, with most of their literature promoting abstinence. Woodward notes, “In the historic city, it is assumed that drinks will be served even if forbidden as was during prohibition and the publishing of this cookbook.” In fact, she excuses the inclusion of alcoholic recipes several more times: once in the Salads and Relishes, “[a]lthough the Herald-Tribune Institute was unable to test this recipe for prohibition reasons; it is included because it belongs here,” and again in Desserts, “[o]bvious reasons prevent our testing this recipe in the Prohibition Year of Our Lord 1930, but if the ingredients were available, we feel confident that this would make a mincemeat which one would be glad to risk dreams of many grandmothers to eat!”¹²³ The social power of the Plantation Era, with its heavy alcohol consumption and entertaining, influenced the culture and foodways in Charleston, and as Woodward noted, was not going to change; therefore, Woodward could not eliminate it without revising tradition and heritage, which further supports the legitimacy of *200 Year of Charleston Cooking* and Woodward’s accuracy of the habits of Charlestonians found in the text.

History and memories of the past commonly serve to legitimate a present making nostalgia another key theme identified, just as much as beliefs, objects, or traditions

¹²³ Ibid.,269.

transmitted by a previous generation to be performed in the present.¹²⁴ As research has shown, recipes and cookbooks have been depicted as key nostalgic stimuli as food is implicated in memory.¹²⁵ Sociological or shared memory emerges from societies as a critical norm that creates both identity and social systems. With some recipes contributed similar to the alcoholic recipes, especially confections of Old Plantation days, one sees the traditions of the “dear, dead days” and Pre-Revolutionary European Foodways in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*.¹²⁶

Especially just before and after the Revolutionary War, the connection between South Carolina and Paris was surprisingly close. Many Charlestonians knew the famous Mme. De Genlis. Her writings filled some ninety volumes. Though she was the “governor” of children of Louis Phillipe, she was an active revolutionist. And besides that, she conducted a house famous for its hospitality and its fine food. She had a busy and vivid life. And to some Charlestonians in Paris, she gave a recipe which is used in South Carolina to this day.¹²⁷

In fact, so popular are ties to the European and Planation Era recipes, hospitality and traditions, that many recipes in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking* were tie backs to the “times of flourishing hospitality” of the “fifties,” or 1850s to Woodward’s readers. With a few recipes reprinted from prized 19th-century cookbooks, *The Carolina Housewife*

¹²⁴ Andrew F. Smith *Eating History Thirty Turning Points in the Making of American Cuisine*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.)

¹²⁵ Sutton. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*. (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2001).

¹²⁶ Rhett, Woodward, and Gay. *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. 80.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, xv.

and *The Southern Cook Book*, both out of print by 1930, Woodward kept “history” within the pages of *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. Many recipes were “rich in suggestion, but poor in precision” according to Lettie Gay, the home economist that tested all the recipes, allowing recipes to be modernized by the New York test kitchen while others remained in their original form to preserve heritage or tradition.¹²⁸ Examples of historic recipes that were left in original receipt format include, “Pine Bark Stew”, submitted by Theodore A. Simons, that “has been used for many years at Otranto Club,” and four Terrapin Stews or Turtle Stews, sharing a rich history in the Lowcountry marshes and Gullah community, all submitted by sisters living in surrounding Plantation’s along the Cooper River. “[These] recipe[s] you may never use unless you have a most elaborate household and live in a neighborhood where terrapin is common. It is included here partly because of its historical interest.”¹²⁹ These recipes were included only for their historical documentation, refined by 300 years of use in white households, rarely cooked by 1930, as “the art of cooking calabash is preserved by a few Negroes, most very old,” and few no longer with us but in memory.¹³⁰ The most interesting historic recipe included was “Scrapple,” describe by Lettie Gay as a molded food made from hog head, liver, and feet, mixed with corn meal mush. “When we first looked at the scrapple after it had been allowed to cool, we were most unfavorably impressed. It had a grayish look and seemed most uninviting. One taste changed our feeling toward it entirely! This is a most delish dish.” A British dish in composition, preparation, and taste, similar to white pudding, and according to Gay, capable of competing with French fois gras. The

¹²⁸ Ibid., xvi.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 33.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 41.

inclusion of this dish is reminiscent of early settlers to the Carolinas, continues to be served despite its unpalatable appearance. Other recipes included substitutions for traditional ingredients, like lemon butter instead of jelly in the traditional British Jellyroll Cake. Woodward writes, “[a]lthough jelly is traditional for rolled cake, this lemon butter is a Charleston suggestion which almost surpasses the jelly! If you feel, however, that lemon butter would be out of place in a “jelly roll,” try it as a cake filling. The amount given will cover two layers.”¹³¹ Dessert recipes seemed to be the most nostalgic, especially in preserving hospitality and manners of a bygone era. With over 50 bakery recipes submitted by Bossis Plantation’s Miss Harleston, and “with generous hospitality” of her great niece, Woodward included the confectionery recipes from Harleston’s “old fashioned pointed handwrit[ten]” recipe book.¹³² These rich and gluttonous cakes and confections directly link to the Plantation era, holding steady to the tradition of hospitality even 65 years later. “Each year at Christmas time hundreds of white boxes go out of Charleston to all parts of the country bearing the round, the tall, the light, the fragile, the ineffable Lady Baltimore cake,” the same gluttonous and decadent cake described in the socio-cultural theme, but not baked at home, instead ordered from a confectioner.¹³³ As noted earlier, this recipe was not economical and reserved only for special occasions like holidays and weddings, two fundamentally nostalgic times.

¹³¹ Ibid., 201.

¹³² Ibid., 167.

¹³³ The Lady Baltimore cake has rumored ties to Alicia Rhett Mayberry and author Owen Wister, who named the cake Lady Baltimore after a literary reference to a post-Civil War female character living in a fictive Southern city while learning societal manners.

Many was the wedding conducted through the decades on The Bluff Plantation. And many a mountainous cake was made there and carried elsewhere for other brides, brides in pantalets and brides in hoop skirts and brides in bustles. And now here is the recipe for this famous wedding cake, ready for brides of today.¹³⁴

In the explanatory matter of this recipe, “Wedding Cake” submitted by Mary Leize Simons, Woodward also notes, “In the plantation house at The Bluff there was a room known as ‘Traveler’s Joy,’ where tired travelers were put up overnight when the weather was too bad to cross the river. Such travelers were always taken in and treated as expected guests.”¹³⁵ Through this analysis, one sees that nostalgia, or the memories of the past, evokes a sense of hospitality in Charleston. This romanticized notion of history was a way of life created during the Plantation Era, for those who had plenty and those who had nothing. This sharing of home, food, and comforts were tied to nostalgic ideologies of the old plantation era, when life seemed simpler, all guests were treated like kin, desserts were bountiful, and brides wore traditional attire of the time.¹³⁶

Not only can nostalgia be seen in the recipes and literary writings of Woodward, but also in the images of the hucksters and their songs, both contributing to the preservation of Gullah culture in Charleston. Woodward notes, “The town is full of survivals of the past. However, with the coming of concrete roads and tourists, there is a fear that that past may disappear. With real sorrow, Charleston saw the passing of the Honey Man.” After the destruction of the city in the late 1800s, it was the crooning of

¹³⁴ Rhett, Woodward, and Gay. *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. 178.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 177.

¹³⁶ Ferris. *The Edible South: The Power of Food and the Making of an American Region*.

the early morning song of the hucksters that signified to locals that things were back to normal with the soundscape of the city.¹³⁷ Each song of the huckster was a signature of the city, a memorial to an earlier era in Charleston that preserved a disappearing dialect and cityscape. These city criers, memorialized British and Antebellum agrarian societies, forming a semiotic identity for Charleston. Examples include The Honey Man Song,

Honey, Honey, Honey,

I'se got honey,

You got honey? Yes, ma'am, I'se got honey.

How's you got honey?

I'se got 'em in de comb.

Honey! Honey! Honey!¹³⁸

The Honey Man was clad in all white, a stark contrast to his skin. He was known for changing his songs in a similar fashion to the enslaved work songs of the Plantation.

Another example from the Shrimp Man,

Oh, lady, I yo'want to see somethin' fine,

Jes' look in dis li'l green cyaht ob mine,

An' you will see de tender, pure raw s'rimp.

Oh, lady, if yo'want to tas'e somethin' sweet,

Jes' take a li'l onion an'a li'l piece o'meat

An mix'em wid yo'tender, pure, raw s'rimp.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Rhett, Woodward, and Gay. 200 Years of Charleston Cooking. 223-224.

¹³⁸ Ibid.,224.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 17.

He was known for his early morning cries, awakening the city in which Shrimp with Grits was a tradition for breakfast. And lastly, the Peanut Man, whose songs were rich with slave spiritual verse, reminiscing about the children being taken back to the homeland.

I'm so glad, I'm so glad
An'I hope de time will come
An' I hope I shall de dere,
To see de old ship o' Zion
Takin' de little chillun home.¹⁴⁰

Both the texts and the melody of the huckster songs, draw upon and reinforce a memory of work songs and spiritual songs, triggering emotions and recollections of a past.

Woodward's inclusion of nostalgia in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking* ties the Gullah community to the development of the culture of Charleston. With the tightly held secrets of the aristocratic society, an acculturation of the Gullah peoples, and a highly romanticized ideal of the Antebellum South, Woodward advances the memorialization of traditions to influence the future with the nostalgic, romanticized imagery and hospitality of a bygone era through the inclusion of historical recipes, ingredients, and folklore.

In an analysis of any coastal cookbook, one would be remiss not to mention the history of seafood and fresh shellfish from surrounding waters. According to Woodward, "You cannot, outside of South Carolina, get drum roe from Beaufort. You cannot get Folly Island clams, or stone crab, or the Edisto River Brim of unforgettable flavor."¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 79-80.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 32.

As with any place, the geography, or physical features of the area, such as the terrain, climate, and flora and fauna influence traditional foodways of the region, and aid in the development of distinct preferences and aversions within. Woodward first captures the topographical theme analyzed with the passage,

Charleston sits down in its marshes by the sea, the old dreaming city. Lazy rivers slip by on each side, and along their banks sleep silent old plantation houses.

Everywhere you look there is water. Between the city and the sea lie strips of small islands with white, wide, sandy beaches.¹⁴²

Many recipes within *200 Years of Charleston Cooking* provide a glimpse of how foodways have been created through location, developing a sense of place with the locals. “You can understand why Charleston cooks have been so clever in preparing the shellfish from surrounding waters, why they were so especially clever with the rice which was grown nearby and with the wild birds which are profuse in their marshes.”¹⁴³

Specifically, in the folklore shared in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, one can see how legend created traditional foodway habits from the land. One legend Woodward shares was how Charleston accidentally became wealthy on rice crops. The story goes that a storm-tossed a ship filled with rice landed in the marshes spilling seeds that grew in abundance thus propagating in the Low Country marshes. Woodward writes, a ship from a faraway land was blown off course and landed in Charleston for repairs, and in gratitude, the captain of the ship gave a Charlestonian resident “a small package of rough rice for seed.”¹⁴⁴ Supposedly, the resident planted it “in the proper marshy soil and there

¹⁴² Ibid., 17.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 254.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 144.

sprang up a crop so large that he was able to supply the whole colony.”¹⁴⁵Not only, according to this legend, did the “romantic accident” turn out to be a miraculously successful experiment but this encounter sealed the future fate of the place: “Thus from this storm-tossed ship grew the enormous rice wealth of South Carolina.”¹⁴⁶Rice, with strong folkloric ties to the marshy waters, and coupled with the abundance of shrimp, sold by the early morning hucksters became a staple breakfast for Charlestonians, a ritual that exists still today. Woodward writes about one elderly man that professes that as far back as he can remember he has eaten shrimp and hominy for breakfast during shrimp season and shrimp salad on Sundays and has never tired of it.

Other crops were “grown easily and profitable in the flats lands surrounding the area,” due to the influx of “traders from the West Indies, and ...Charleston’s earliest settlers from the Barbadoes.”¹⁴⁷ These include coconuts, okra, and sweet potatoes.

Another legend Woodward shares,

There is a story that okra is one of the few vegetables brought from Africa, and that the words okra and buckra (meaning white man) are among the very few African words that have been preserved. ...It is these colored folk who especially cherish okra in every form. You never see a cabin in the islands which has not its patch of okra nearby.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 44.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 44.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.,254.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 118.

There are noticeable patterns and hallmarks of Gullah cooking that is inextricably tied to land, sea, and seasons. Ingredients like fresh garden vegetables, rice, benne seeds, and local seafood dishes such as pilau, a one pot rice meal with okra, shrimp and grits, and boiled shellfish and sausage. These foods hold a prestigious spot in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. According to Woodward, “A pilau is a rice dish of amazing variations. It can be rich or parsimonious as you will. Rice its main ingredient, which is only fitting in a country where so much rice was grown.”¹⁴⁹ And if you ask for potatoes in the South, you get sweet potatoes, or yams according to Woodward. When you want the white tuber of the North, you must ask for Irish potatoes. “[B]ut once you have tasted some of Charleston’s sweet potato dishes you will never again even think of white potatoes.”¹⁵⁰ These are just a few of the local ingredients that influenced Charleston cooking with coastal cuisine heavily influenced by the forced immigration from Africa and the West Indies during the pre-Civil War era.

The entire cookbook is organized around a topographical theme, laid out on the table of contents. The first section is soups, with the likes of Shrimp and Crab, and canapés using Oysters. This is followed by a Shellfish and Fish section as the main, or dominate local ingredient. Subsequently, pilaus and other main courses follow, as well as an entire section devoted to sweet potatoes. Plus, there are three segments, over 150 pages, dedicated to bakery and confections. The book concludes with beverages, both alcoholic, even if only by suggestion, and non-alcoholic for big parties and hot summer days. It can be inferred from the text that the order of appearance of recipes indicates the abundance and significance of local ingredients, inferring strong agrarian ties to the

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 42.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 100.

Plantation Era as well as the coastal marshes that supplied and influenced Charleston foodways.

Topography does not simply impact the agricultural rural and seashores of the region, the urban areas with their Italian craftsmanship and the colonial architecture also develop a sense of place. “At the side of this old house is a tiny alley along a brick wall. You go down that alley, and you are suddenly in an Italian courtyard with grass growing between flags. Before you is a house of old brick and handsome ironwork.”¹⁵¹ The Italian ironwork that is exclusive to the Lowcountry, and as Woodward suggests, to only the Charlestonian elite, for “if, for example, you should do down there and try to buy a bit of the lacelike old iron work which Italian craftsmen designed for the planters in the days of their wealth, you would be asked, “Are you going to use it in Charleston? If you say no, you cannot buy it.”¹⁵² Furthermore, as Woodward introduces Charleston’s “gracious living” and opulence she includes images, through her wording, or explanatory matter, writing about the architecture of the Plantations that sit stately along the river, a few miles away from the city center. Ophir, one of the many plantations, now used as a club, stands “among its live oaks, is a beautiful example of colonial architecture. A place of joyous activity before the Civil War, it descended, like so many southern plantations, into silence, until recently when it again became the scene of activity.” Alternatively, the Bossis’ Plantation’s columned porches, where one can see moss-hung trees along the Cooper River that “meander[s] lazily on its way to Charleston.” Through vivid imagery, folklore, and recipes, Woodward paints the picture of the landscape for Charlestonians during the early 20th century, seemingly at times like a far cry from the reality of

¹⁵¹ Ibid., x.

¹⁵² Ibid., 224.

urbanization and the industrial revolution. Or did Charleston's strong sense of nostalgia and serene topography persevere the ideologies of the past?

Using the five themes of kinship, socio-cultural, habitus, nostalgia, and topography, one can begin to notice a construction or remembrance of an idyllic lifestyle for Southerners living in Charleston through *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. Notably, a particular lifestyle can be seen through the daily habits, connections, status, and landscape of the place, all of which tie back to an era that was terribly nostalgic for many Southerners, and impacted their identity since their immigration to the 'new world.'

Gullah Haint Blue : *Charleston Receipts*

The second Charlestonian cookbook analyzed, *Charleston Receipts*, first published in 1950, is the oldest Junior League cookbook still in print. There is no other Junior League cookbook more celebrated than *Charleston Receipts*, written just before the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement in Spring of 1951. Historically interesting, and unlike any other cookbooks of that time, it is an artifact that chronicles the relationships between whites and blacks in 1950s South Carolina. The original compilers, Mrs. Thomas A. Huguenin, or Mary Vereen Huguenin, and Mrs. Arthur J. Stoney, or Anne Montague Stoney collected recipes from other prominent white women in Charleston. As sustainers or members that had reached 40 years old and had served their time as volunteers in the community they placed emphasis on the nostalgia of a bygone era. Using the nostalgic term *receipts*, the compilers, specifically wanted receipts that had "been tucked away, maybe never published," pushing them to reach beyond their kin and into the Junior League membership community.¹⁵³ Unique to its introduction is a

¹⁵³ "Vereen Cohen," interview by Kate Medley and Sara Wood, Oral Histories, March 7, 2015, <https://www.southernfoodways.org/interview/vereen-cohen/>.

poem. As previously mention, the term receipts was used instead of recipe. On the second page of the cookbook, a short poem appeared explaining the usage of the nostalgic term, receipts.

Receipt vs. Recipe

Throughout this book, as you will see,
We never mention recipe, -
The reason being that we felt,
(Though well aware how it is spelt),
That it is modern and not meet
To use in place of old receipt
To designate time-honored dishes
According to ancestral wishes.¹⁵⁴

With the use of poetry, reaching back to the late 18th Century, *Charleston Receipts* “reflect[s] the nostalgia for the Old-South that prevailed among Lowcountry aristocrats during the postwar (Civil War) era” with timeless and colorful recipes influenced by the history of the Gullah people, poetic verse in the text that strangely mingled language and cultures of two resilient peoples, and the use of visuality to manufacture a myth about the South, this cookbook is a collection that reveals the heritage of the Lowcountry.

The dominant theme in this cookbook was Southern heritage, tradition, or nostalgia, specifically Charlestonian. The first place one notices a sense of nostalgia in *Charleston Receipts* is in the images. Similar to the *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, before any recipes, the book begins with an illustration by Alfred Huty of two Gullah

¹⁵⁴ Mary Vereen Huguenin and Anne Montague Stoney. *Charleston Receipts*. (Charleston, SC: League, 1950.) 4.

Flower Hucksters with baskets on their head, a scene familiar to the streets of Charleston up until the early 20th century. Hutty, along with Alice R. Huger Smith, and Anna Heyward Taylor, have artwork between the pages of recipes in *Charleston Receipts*. All of these artists were driving forces of the Charleston Renaissance, a boom in the arts, literature, and historic preservation in Charleston between WWI and WWII in hopes to spur tourism.¹⁵⁵ Hutty, known for ink and watercolors of historical landmarks and Lowcountry Gullah people, has five images within the pages. As mentioned, his first image in the books is of two Gullah flower women with traditional baskets on their heads. Other illustrations of Hutty include *Casting for Shrimp*, *Phoebe Passes My Gate*, *Old Saint Andrews Church*, and *Figs*, all of which depict a historical account of life in Charleston in the past with a focus on Gullah people. Smith's artwork included in *Charleston Receipts*, is two watercolors printed in black and white, depicting one rural scene, *The Winter Vegetable Garden*, and a cityscape, a *View on Church Street*, showing her interest in recording the disappearing ways of life with industrialism erasing the agrarian culture. Born into an aristocratic family (Ravenel), Smith was best-known for her series watercolors that illustrated life on a Carolina rice plantation in the 1850s.¹⁵⁶ Taylor's work included *Harvesting Rice*, and *July in Charleston*, both focusing on the city's tradespeople and hucksters. Her work, *Harvesting Rice*, represented Charleston artists at the NY World's Fair in 1939. The use of all of these artist's images infer that the Junior League of Charleston contributed to the persistence of the Charleston Renaissance; however, some critics feel that the nostalgic tone of the imagery used during the

¹⁵⁵ Martha R. Severens, *The Charleston Renaissance* (Spartanburg, SC: Saraland Press, 1998).

¹⁵⁶ Adam Parker. *The quandary of Alice Ravenel Huger Smith*. (Evening Post Industries, June 2015). Web.

Renaissance hovers between “eulogy and travelogue,” and at times glosses over the racism and poverty of the area.¹⁵⁷

Another image seen in the header of every page is a silhouette drawing of a domestic servant. There appear to be five different pictures of servants or maids performing domestic duties: serving tea, serving wine, serving something on platters, folding napkins, and kneading bread; however, due to the printing capabilities of the time it is unclear precisely what they are doing and their specific race. They appear to be Victorian silhouettes of maids, not the archetypal image of a mammy prevalent in Southern literature and cooking ephemeral from 1930-1950, inferring that the Junior League might not have been intending to perpetuating the fictive visuality of the Lost Cause literature popular in Southern literature to ease the horrors of the past; instead perhaps, these women were looking to converge the two cultures that resided within Charleston and its outlying islands or at least, attempting to preserve the authentic image of the Gullah population, not the mythical mammy image.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Stephanie E. Yuhl *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston*. (University of North Carolina Press, 2005.) 155.

¹⁵⁸ The mammy image was a robust black woman with a scarf on her head, not the white bonnet or hat customarily worn by European maids. The image of the Mammy is one of the most widely known and easily recognized stereotypes in American history. First mentioned in a travel narrative in 1810, the word "mammy" has been associated with a slave female taking care of white children for centuries. With many depictions featuring the Mammy with her signature wide grin and large, white, shining teeth, the Mammy portrayed the image of constant contentment, thus serving as an important symbol to past and present slave owners to avoid the suggestion of maltreatment. Usually with an obese or robust figure, the Mammy was viewed as comedic, due to her betrayal of the common standards of beauty for women with a thin frame. Also, in relation to the concept of beauty, extremely large breasts and buttocks became common physical features of the Mammy. While these features are often viewed as the physical attributes which help to attract men, in the case of the Mammy, these features of exaggerated femininity merely helped to add to the comedic nature and encourage others to harshly critique and mock the Mammy. According to Wallace-Sander's analysis of the Mammy figure, the body of the Mammy acts as a "tendon between the races, connecting the muscle of African American slave labor with the skeletal power structure of white southern aristocracy" Depicted often holding or caring for the children of her white master, the Mammy was placed in the precarious position of nurturing both her own black children and their future owners. Kimberly Wallace-Sanders, *Mammy: A Century of Race, Gender, and Southern Memory*. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008.)3-4.

Furthermore, each chapter of *Charleston Receipts* begins with a poem, idiomatic expression or cry of one of the Gullah hucksters. The inclusion of the heritage of a dying language tells the reader that privileged women in Charleston during the 1950s were attempting to preserve a part of history and used domestic literature as an art form of the Charleston Renaissance. A few of the examples, include “Ef yuh teck a heapa haa’d likker, yuh gwine tink deep en’talk strong,” an idiom that spoke of temperance and the ability of alcohol to influence the opinion if too much was imbibed at the introduction of the Beverage section.¹⁵⁹Or, “...w’en de preachuh eat to de ‘oomna house, him fuh hyam de bes! Nuttin’ but de bes fuh suit!” an another idiom that began the Dessert section, and spoke of hospitality with clergy, and always serving the best the house has in stock to the guests. In fact, each idiom or quote used at the beginning of a chapter reflects either an old lesson on kitchen manners and hospitality or tips about ingredients and a woman’s role in household management.

A few recipes evoked a sense of nostalgia, one from Colonel Aiken Simons’ for “Mint Julep,” not in typical 20th-century formatting and giving not only the ingredients but how to serve the with joy of “Julep Artifex,” or craftsmanship. Junior League contributor, Miss Ellen Parker, submitted a recipe for The Flip, “this refreshing drink was in vogue in England in the 18th century and was brought to Carolina when settled by the Lords Proprietors. The South Carolina Society of Colonial Dames owns a Flip bowl glass. It is of glass, small at the bottom and gradually widens at the top. It holds about a quart.”¹⁶⁰These glasses were hand blown glass, either plain or with ornate etchings,

¹⁵⁹ Huguenin and Stoney, *Charleston Receipts*. 13.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

having aristocratic ties. Other recipes include corn meal cakes, as “fried fish, cornmeal cakes, and hot coffee, are a coastal tradition according to Mrs. Ross Hanahan, Jr. who submitted her family corn meal cakes recipe¹⁶¹ Also, a traditional recipe from Mrs. Taft Walker for hush puppies, a recipe whose “name originated around the campfire when they were tossed to the hounds to keep them quiet,” not only showed a sense of nostalgia, but a little war history.¹⁶² According to Mrs. Herbert Ravenel Sass in her Crisp Waffles recipe, “these crisp waffles of the days before the War delighted the people of “ Look Back To Glory.” Waffles cooked with hominy, lend to a nostalgia for war rations and economy, serving both as a reminder and a reminiscence to a previous time. Lastly, one traditional colonial recipe, “Eve’s pudding and the Christmas Plum Pudding,” was kept in poetic form, lending a sense of nostalgia of Victorian fireside poetry,

If you want a good pudding mind what you are taught,
Take of eggs six in number when bought for a groat,
Of the fruit with which Eve her husband did cozen
Well pared and well chopped at least half a dozen.
Six ounces of bread, let Moll eat the crust,
And crumble the other as fine as the dust.
Six ounces of currant from the stones you must sort
Lest you break out your teeth and spoil all the sport.
Six ounces of sugar won’t make it too sweet,
Some salt and some nutmeg will make it complete.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 202.

¹⁶² Ibid., 203.

Three hours let it boil without hast or flutter

But Adam won't eat it without wine and butter.¹⁶³

While we do not usually think of recipes as literary works, once again the Charleston Renaissance's influence is seen in poetic recipes like Eve's plum pudding. The inclusion of poetic recipes in a 1950s cookbook brings a confluence of nostalgias, sentiments, and familial ties to the changing landscape of urban Charleston. It appeared that as more changes occurred, the recipes and traditions of families clung to the past, especially during times of celebration. Numerous recipes within the Cake, Candies and Cookies sections immortalized Southern confections, such as Mrs. Howard Read's Lady Baltimore Cake recipe¹⁶⁴ that revered a past of glutton and abundance, or Mrs. Louis Y Dawson, Jr.'s Scones that "our Grandmothers loved to make, not too sweet, not too hearty, but just right as a morsel of goodness to go with the hospitable gesture of a cup of tea and a good gossip,"¹⁶⁵ or Miss Ellen Parker's Peach Leather and Groundnut Cakes recipes that harken back to Colonial times, both favorite confections of Charleston and made and sold by "our Maumas on street corners or on the Battery on July 4th and other special occasions."¹⁶⁶

Also, in keeping with the nostalgia of the "picturesque [Maumas, or Mammies], with their turbaned heads, waving a short fly brush made of dried grasses," *Charleston Receipts*, included some huckster songs to help preserve the past cries of the street

¹⁶³ Ibid., 223.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 278.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 312.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 291.

vendors. Once again, as in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, the Shrimp Man and Fish (Porgy) Man songs were included to begin the Seafood section; moreover, in *Charleston Receipts*, the cry of the Vegetable huckster was included to introduce the Vegetable Section,

I's got okra, tomata an sweet puhtatuh!

Sooo-op! Carrot! Carrot!

Fresh Cabbage! Veg-e-tubble!

Veg-e-tubble man!¹⁶⁷

This harkening back to the songs of the hucksters, allowed the Junior League sustainers to reminisce about the days of their ancestral kin, bringing readers full circle back to the importance of kinship in Charleston that still existed in 1950.

In the *Charleston Receipts* many family names of old Charleston appeared, including Rhett, and Simons, with multiple references to “my great-grandmother,” “my grandmother,” “my father” and “my aunts” in either the title of the receipt or the signature line, were noted, allowing one to see that kinship remained a theme in 1950. In fact, there seemed to be a strong desire to denote that the recipe was directly from a member of one’s family, for instance in Elizabeth O’Neill Verner’s Beef a la Mode, “My father’s method, which he brought back from France, where he was educated;” Louis Y. Dawson, Jr.’s Otranto Pine Park Stew, “as told me by my father;” Mrs. Lionel K. Legge’s Soused Fish, “[t]his is from an old book of Maria Bachman, the wife of my great-grandfather, the Rev. John Bachman;”¹⁶⁸ and Mrs. M. B. Alexander’s Hogs Head Cheese,

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 17.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 93.

“ [t]his receipt has been handed down through generations of the Huger family and is a favorite with old Charlestonians.”¹⁶⁹ Moreover, demonstrating the importance of family ties to old Charlestonian names for these two female compilers. However, with over half of the recipes using family names that have connections through marriage, this cookbook kinship theme is more affinity kinship based. Affinity kinship can be distinguished from ancestral, as the kinship is based on the result of marriage. For example, one can trace the old colonial name Rhett, to Mrs. C. O. Sparkman (Mary Rhett Simons) through the recipe, “Aunt Blanche’s She-Crab Soup;” it oddly eliminated the roe that William Deas added in the 1930s, unless the cook assumed it, an italicized note read, “as given to me by my aunt Mrs. R. Goodwyn Rhett.”¹⁷⁰ The Simonds, a name that can then be traced to the Waring, Chisolm, and Stevens family names with recipes submitted by four women, nee Simonds. Mary Rhett Simonds, also submitted some receipts from Mrs. Alston Pringle, whose “reputation as a fine cook was so well established that it is still spoken of almost reverentially;” however, through the analysis of the signatures lines it cannot be confirmed that Simonds had a family tie to Pringle family.¹⁷¹ Many signature lines in this cookbook tie over half of the family names together, allowing the inference that in Charleston, the choice of partners was limited to suitable persons from specific social circles, which is the case in many class and caste based societies.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 112.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 46.

¹⁷¹ Given that Mrs. Elizabeth Alston Pringle (Patience Pennington) authored the book, *A Woman Rice Planter*, with the Pringle family name, she might have an affinity kinship to the Ravenel Family which she co-authored with Alice Ravenel Huger. No research could be found to help defend this claim.

As noted earlier, there was a key effort from the compilers in collecting receipts that had never been given in previous community cookbooks, such as *The Carolina Housewife*, *The Southern Cook Book*, and *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. One such family recipe, according to Vereen Coen, daughter of Mary Vereen Huguenin, was of the Simons family, as Luke Simons held dearly to his family recipe until he was finally convinced to give it to Mary Vereen for the cookbook.¹⁷² The recipe was for his famous Benne Seed Cocktails, or “original benne seed biscuit of which the New York Times says, ‘a cocktail biscuit that should revolutionize cocktail parties.’”¹⁷³ Of course, there are multiple Simons family recipes, submitted by ten different Simons family members, including but not solely, Mr. R. Bentham Simons, Mrs. Thaddaeus Street (Mary Leize Simons) and Miss Katherine Drayton Mayrant Simons; However, it is one specific recipe using Captain S.G. Stoney’s Claret Sanger, that gives matrilineal descent to the Simons, as the signature line reads, Mrs. Albert Simons (Harriet Stoney), thereby revealing this affinity kinship to the sir name Stoney.¹⁷⁴ With that said, several more signature lines include the family tree of the Stoney family, Mr. S. David Stoney; Mr. Samuel Gaillard Stoney; Mrs. Augustine T.S. Stoney (Louisa Jenkins) or sometimes referred to as (Loulie Jenkins); Mrs. William Popham (Louisa Stoney); Mrs. Arthur J. Stoney (Anne Montague) and Mrs. P. Stoney (Beverly DuBose). With the exception of Mrs. William Popham, nee Louisa Stoney, all of the others are wives of the men, and while their children would have a blood kinship, the others held the prestige of kinship through

¹⁷² "Vereen Cohen," interview by Kate Medley and Sara Wood, Oral Histories, March 7, 2015, , <https://www.southernfoodways.org/interview/vereen-coen/>.

¹⁷³ Huguenin and Stoney. *Charleston Receipts*. 29.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*,21.

marriage. The same goes for two Simons family recipes, Mrs. R. Bentham Simons (E. Marion Small) and Mrs. Theodore J. Simons (Laura Douglas) both demonstrating an affinity kinship with the Simons family. Other names that had affinity kinship to the Simon family name include, Waring, Street, Marshal and Hastie; and one could tie the Stoney family name to Hastie, Popham, Waring, and Street. Mary Vereen Huguenin, the other compiler's roots can be traced only through her husband's lineage, as she was born in a privileged Georgia Huguenot family. Another Huguenin that contributed, include Mrs. Jack Mayback (Lavinia Huguenin); Mrs. Cornelius Huguenin (Evelyn Anderson); with that said, several other names can be tied to the Huguenin family name, including, Bailey and Fraser. Although one can assume that there are descent kinships among both, further genealogical research would need to be performed to find the specific "blood lines." It can be confirmed that an affinity kinship was prevalent in gathering previously unpublished receipts.

With roughly 295 individual contributors, over half of which were related by affinity kinship, the other half were by membership to the Junior League. According to Vereen Coen, "The Junior League in the 1950s was not just learning to volunteer, but to be congenial and dependable, it [was] about making friends in the community... The congeniality that comes through cooking is just fantastic. It can't be matched anywhere."¹⁷⁵ One can see new fictive kinships developing, as there were several submitters that weren't related to the old Charleston family names. A particularly interesting one, was what could be assumed, two unmarried sisters, Miss Sallie and Miss Martha Carrington, perhaps joining the Junior League and a fictive kinship of women on

¹⁷⁵ "Vereen Coen," interview by Kate Medley and Sara Wood, Oral Histories, March 7, 2015, <https://www.southernfoodways.org/interview/vereen-coen/>.

the chance of marrying into an old Charleston family. The Junior League, a social membership has always been an avenue to propagate fictive kinship, such as the sense of sisterhood in a sorority. This membership or sisterhood facilitates close bonds that are beneficial in navigating caste societies, especially during times of economic hardship or social change. Other examples of fictive, or voluntary kinship in the text included, references to community members in the text, such as, “[u]ntil Mrs. S. James O’Hear gave me this receipt, I had always thought channel bass a rather uninteresting fish to eat, but now I no longer give my catch away,” and “the famous Theus family of bakers”, who came from New Orleans in the late 19th century to open a confection store.¹⁷⁶ These are also a fictive kinship, based on voluntary affiliations that created a bond, or friendship, or more public identification defined by socio-cultural ties.

As a historically dominate organizational force in socio-cultural norms of Charleston and numerous other established cities, the Charleston Junior League maintained a privileged hierarchy that continued racially and ethnically divided society during the era beginning the Civil Right Movement. With limited references to the white, elite status, and a more focus on the blending of the Gullah culture with language and images, *Charleston Receipts*, implies the historical hierarchy within an affinity kinship in poetic form in the forward,

There was a time when folks had cooks,
Who never did depend on books
To learn the art of cooking.
The help knew all the tunes by ear,

¹⁷⁶ Huguenin and Stoney. *Charleston Receipts*. 94, 290.

And no one dared to interfere;
They brooked no overlooking.
But times have changed, for worse we fear,
Housewives handle the kitchen ware,
And must learn how to cook...¹⁷⁷

This doomsday vision of a housewife in the kitchen hinted at the changing socio-cultural upper class and a leveling of society through the notion of learning the art of cooking. Along with this forward, a few recipes hinted at a past of privilege, one being Mrs. Ralph Hanson nee Rutledge's receipt for "Rum Punch", stating at the beginning of the recipe, "this was the punch my father made for all the debutante parties of my generation"¹⁷⁸This textual reference makes a note of the familial and affinity tradition of introducing a young lady into society during a ball or debut, after being recommended by a distinguished committee or sponsored by an established member of elite society, reserved for only the most privileged and connected. Another is Mrs. Eugene Greer's Pineapple Fritter Recipe that stated, "these fritters are a specialty at the old Caesar's Head Hotel, Caesar's Head, South Carolina, where many Charlestonians summer." This Hotel was a summer resort for affluent South Carolina families to vacation in the summers, (similar to the Catskill resorts in the movie *Dirty Dancing*, 1987). Elizabeth O'Neill Verner's Beef a la Mode submitted noted her father's privileged education as indicated, "my father's method, which he brought back from France where he was educated."¹⁷⁹A

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 7.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 18.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 103.

recipe from the Governor of South Carolina for Shrimp Pie, a casserole was also included.

In an interview by Southern Alliance Foodways with Vereen Coen, she said that *Charleston Receipts* was written primarily for people who did not know how to read, cooks in the kitchens, or ‘the help.’¹⁸⁰ History tells us that “soul food” was established during American slavery, as many slaves were given only the “leftover” and “undesirable” cuts of meat, often relying on their creativity and skills in the kitchen to feed their families.¹⁸¹ It was after emancipation, and during the Depression Era that kitchen help or Gullah people of Charleston introduced wild game to the privileged table.¹⁸² Soul foods such as opossum, rabbit, squirrel and waterfowl found their way into *Charleston Receipts*. This lends to the idea that *Charleston Receipts*’ compilers thought it necessary to include recipes of the rural islands that surrounded Charleston.

Another cultural change that is seen through recipes is the prevalence of international cuisine. Evidence of international cuisine entering into Charleston’s dominantly French and West Indies cuisine, can be seen within recipes included such as Mrs. Walter Coleman Spaghetti with Beef recipe, J.S. Maturo’s Meatless Spaghetti Sauce, and Mrs. John E. Florence’s Beef Stroganoff. One particular recipe submitted by Mrs. Louis Y. Dawson stated, “During WWII my husband, Colonel Louis Dawson, Jr. was stationed in China. He had the pleasure of attending a dinner given by Madame Kung (one of the Soong sisters). He enjoyed so much the “Sweet and Sour Pork” which was

¹⁸⁰ "Vereen Cohen," interview by Kate Medley and Sara Wood, Oral Histories, March 7, 2015, <https://www.southernfoodways.org/interview/vereen-coen/>.

¹⁸¹ Ferris. *The Edible South: The Power of Food and the Making of an American Region*. Kindle

¹⁸² Ibid. Kindle.

served, that he asked a friend, General Ho Shi Lo, to obtain the receipt for him.” Only through speculation can determine how Italian, German, and Chinese dishes came to Charleston, it can be seen that these new cuisines were emerging and that war had again altered the foodscape of Charleston and the South.

With that said, several recipes and text within the pages of *Charleston Receipts* shared a blending of socio-cultural foods, which represented all of Charleston’s population. Hoppin’ John, according to Mrs. W. H. Barnwell, “is eaten in the stateliest of Charleston houses, and in the humblest of cabins, and always on New Year’s Day.”¹⁸³ Not uncommon for all classes in Charleston is shrimp for breakfast with hominy. According to *Charleston Receipts*, shrimp prepared in various ways have long been a breakfast favorite in the coastal region, and they are always served with hominy, or grits with recipes handed down for generations.¹⁸⁴ The simplest recipe is sautéed shrimp with butter, or more expensive versions use bacon fat, onion, green pepper, Worcestershire, and catsup.¹⁸⁵

It was not frequently used for dinner, but was often on the supper table, either cooked in the same manner, or more often in the form of fried hominy, baked hominy or “Awendaw” These concoctions were usually made from the hominy left “in the pot” after breakfast and were served for the evening meal with ham, shrimp, crab or the like. Hominy is still used a great deal in Charleston and its vicinity...¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Huguenin and Stoney. *Charleston Receipts*.159

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 68.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 68-79.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.,153.

Hominy and shrimp wasn't a class or race food, instead it was a Charlestonian food by the 1950's, and *Charleston Receipts* certainly chronicled the socio-cultural relationships between whites and blacks, poor and wealthy of 1950's South Carolina by not only showing the juxtaposition of race and class but paid tribute to an oppressed group of people in way that didn't challenge the social order in existence.

According to legend among descendants of negro slaves along the coast of Charleston, benne is a good luck plant for those who eat thereof or plant in their gardens; It was originally brought in by the slaves from West Africa to this Coastal Region.¹⁸⁷

With only two references to the term, negro and slavery in *Charleston Receipts*, one can assume that the Junior League's position on the marginalizing term was to erase it from the habitus of the elite. Through the use of more colloquial terms, such as Mauma, and Dah, the Junior League appeared to promote a more congenial relationship with Gullah people of Charleston. In fact, at the beginning of the Cake Chapter, there is text that is a conversation between a Gullah cook and the lady of the house, in the Gullah verse,

“No, Ma'am, I ain fuh measure. I jes' judge by my own repinion, I teck muh flour en' much brown sugah, en' two-t'ree glub uh muhlassis.”

“What do you mean by glub?”

“You know de soun' muhlassis meck w'en 'e com fum de jug?’ Glub! Glub!¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 292.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.,275.

In this text, the lady of the house is turning to her Gullah kitchen help to get instructions on how to cook in her kitchen, as in the past, she had relied on the cook to do it all; not only showing a congeniality between them, but a budding middle class that had to learn to cook for themselves with the help of their cooks. In that same section, just after the Gullah verse, a poem inferred how a Gullah cook's expertise in the kitchen is hard to learn but worthwhile, "then old Maria follows me with a hand that's deft and a smile of glee. With a touch as light as an angel's kiss, she stirs in a little of that or this, with lavish seasoning 'to taste' and calm indifference to waste. Though her method is all a grave mistake, the result is always a super-cake!"

With a changing economy, and a growing middle class, the habitus of the Charleston society was altering. As mentioned before, economy and leisure played a major role in the habits of Charlestonians of the mid-century. With the advancing industrialization, a more leisure habitus developed as kitchens were no longer restricted by daily shopping and cooking, most evident in the addition of an Ice Cream Chapter in *Charleston Receipts*. At the beginning of the chapter, a poem told of summertime in Charleston and its leisurely pace, "[d]ress coolly then, and bow the blinds against the heat and gleam; and leisurely consume a dish of frosty fig ice cream."¹⁸⁹ Several recipes across the sweets chapters supported a leisurely habitus, such as Angel Ice Box Cake submitted by Mrs. Joseph Henry Moore, Refrigerator Rolls submitted by Mrs. T. Ladson Webb, Jr. and Never Fail Icing (Seven Minutes) submitted by Mrs. Jack T. Walker. Not only were canapes needing shortcuts as previously mentioned, but traditional recipes were being altered according to the modern conveniences as, "[w]'en you ain' got time

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 251

fuh tarry, bus' open a can!" In the Appendix of *Charleston Receipts*, there were seven pages of short-cut receipts submitted for traditional dishes like Crab Soup, using canned soup in combination with fresh crab meat and sherry; frozen pie crust to make Benne Seed Wafers, eliminating the tedious task of rolling; Quick Hoppin' John using a can of field peas, not dried peas that took hours to soften; and a few cake recipes using store-bought Sponge or Angel Food Cakes as a base with sweetened whip creams as frosting.

Likewise, there were a number of recipes that demonstrated a budding middle class and society that was impacted by the economies of the past, such as Chipped Beef and Cream Cheese Spread submitted by Mrs. M. B. Alexander, using the popular depression dried meat of the WWII that was affordable and easy to use; Mock Pate de Foie Gras Canapé submitted by Miss I. L. Dawson, substituting common chicken livers for expensive duck liver; and a number of eggless, milkless, and butterless cakes, a far cry from the indulgence of the Plantation Era. Many of these receipts called for cheaper, more processed substitutes like mayonnaise and shortening. However, it was the Canapes, which suggested the middle-class leisure culture the most.¹⁹⁰ There are 18 easy suggestions such as peanut butter covered in chutney, or oysters and chicken livers wrapped in bacon, and canned deviled ham mixed with chopped hard-cooked egg and horseradish, all of which were easy and inexpensive to prepare.

In the first section or Beverages section, there was an explanatory matter that stated,

In adapting the punch formulas to modern use, the following comments may prove helpful. The unit of measure designated herein is the quart, most of the

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 41.

spirits used by our ancestors were imported in casks and bottled in this country in quarts. (The contents of the cask were partially aged by the rolling in the holds of sailing ships – even our domestic liquors were shipped around the Horn for “improvement.) Now most spirits, imported and domestic, come in fifths.¹⁹¹

Other equivalents were not so clearly stated in the recipes or explanatory matter; therefore, in the Appendix, *Charleston Receipts* continued to aid in the change of habitus of industrialism by including tables for measurement equivalents that converted pounds to more convenient and modern serving sizes, such as 16 Egg yolks equaled about one cup of eggs, and two cups of crab meat equaled one pound, or four gills equaled one pint, all of which had become antiquated units of measurement. Even oven temperatures were defined in *Charleston Receipts*, with notes of what each temperature equated to in layman’s terms.¹⁹² These conversion charts can be viewed as modern times calling for a change in habitus, requiring a new set of skills and conveniences for those learning to cook without the aid of their help.

There were also 51 “Helpful Cooking Hints” at the end of the cookbook that taught the 1950s female or their help tricks of the trade learned from years of trial and error. Tips such as “11. Cut down odor of cabbage, cauliflower, etc. when cooking by adding a little vinegar to cooking water,” or “25. Sprinkle salt in frying pan before frying meat to prevent fat from splashing,” which once again supported that a burgeoning middle class was developing that needed to be told what to expect, instead of learning at the skirt of their Maums.¹⁹³ Also in the Appendix were menus, both for the nostalgia of

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 13.

¹⁹² Ibid., 351.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 354-356

“early English custom[s],” and “sparing hours of painful thinking!”¹⁹⁴ Leisure time versus domesticity was an important habitus of the 1950s socialite, especially without any help in the kitchen. All of which, again, alluded to the past while showing the habitus of the mid-century, influenced by industrialization that no longer restricted Charleston to an agrarian society, showing both how history influences the present and stems from the past while changing the habitus of the public.

Charleston deeply rooted in tradition, cannot escape its agrarian roots with its penchant for home grown vegetables, seafood, and wild game as evident in *Charleston Receipts*, with numerous recipes calling for the naturally abundant local game, seafood, and plants, showing how food can create a sense of place through topography. Recipes chosen for *Charleston Receipts* showcase the local foods that have established themselves as staples in a Charleston kitchen, rooted in agrarian history and laid out in order of importance similar to *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*. The cookbook is organized once again by topographical themes, only this time, beverages sought an earlier position, most likely due to the lift on the prohibition of alcoholic beverages. Seafood held a predominate position with their section, focusing on the local coastal seafood: Shrimp, Crab, and Oysters. Shrimp recipes filled the majority of the pages, from Shrimp and Grits to short-cuts for Shrimp Croquettes. One can note that shrimp “has long been a favorite”; and of course, everyone in Charleston knows how to “pick a shrimp ... you “pull, peel, pinch”- you pull off the heads, peel the shell off the body, and pinch shrimp

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 357 Temperatures were noted to aid in the teaching of the equivalents of modern technological temperature vs. sage knowledge of temperatures. For example, “250degrees equaled very slow heat, 300 slow, 325 moderately slow, 350 moderate, 375 moderately hot, 450 to 500 degrees was very hot.”

out of the tail.”¹⁹⁵ Apparently, each surrounding island in the local area has its specialty dish for shrimp: in Charleston, it’s Shrimp Pie, with bread crumbs, tomato juice, hot sauce and Worcestershire; in Edisto, it’s another Shrimp Pie, with breadcrumbs, milk, parsley, sherry, and nutmeg; in Beaufort, it’s Stewed Shrimp, with vinegar, butter and good old salt and pepper; on Sullivan’s Island, it’s Shrimp sautéed in a frying pan with bacon, onion, cracker crumbs, sherry, and served over rice; and on James Island it is a casserole with rice, eggs, and milk. Three other sections were devoted to the agrarian roots of Plantations, including the Game, Hominy and Rice, and the Vegetable sections. In the Game section recipes from some Plantations such as Lavington Plantation Roasted Wild Duck submitted by Mrs. David Maybank and Halidon Hill Potted Birds presented by Mrs. Thomas A. Huguenin, otherwise known as the Mary Vereen, one of the compilers still showcased the influence of an agrarian culture. In the Hominy and Rice section recipes such as Pressure Cooked Hominy submitted by Mrs. Louis. T. Parker gave a “modern way of cooking an old favorite.” In the Vegetable section, one recipe, alluding to the more foraging nature of poorer rural island people was submitted by Mrs. John T. Jenkins, in poetically written, for a wild weed, or Chainey Briar. It begins,

In tangles, wild asparagus grows.
Its rightful name nobody knows
Who isn't Charleston's son or daughter
Or never tasted Goose Creek water.
Mature, its tough as chicken wire;
When young, no spinach can aspire

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 67.

To equal tender “Chainey Briar!”¹⁹⁶

Many vegetable recipes selected use local vegetables such as asparagus, sweet potatoes, green beans, spinach, and guinea squash (eggplant); yet, milled corn remained a stand out with a full 20-page section of recipes for hominy and rice, both holding legendary status with local Lowcountry inhabitants.

Legends continue regarding Charleston being the birthplace of rice in America. In *Charleston Receipts*, the Junior League’s legend goes,

The first seed was brought to the province of Carolina about 1685. This rice had been raised in Madagascar, and a ship sailing from that island put into the port of Charles Town when in distress. The captain of the ship, John Thurber, made the acquaintance of Dr. Henry Woodward, one of the leading citizens. He gave Dr. Woodward a small quantity of rice, less than a bushel. This started the rice industry, which flourished for over two centuries. These seeds were cultivated, due to the soil and climate, to the highest perfection, and became world famous as Carolina Gold Rice.¹⁹⁷

The cookbook reveals the significance of Benne Seed to the West African culture brought to Charleston by the enslaved, “[a]ccording to legend among descendants of negro slaves along the coast of Charleston, benne is a good luck plant for those who eat thereof or plant in their gardens.”¹⁹⁸ They informed the readers that the Benne Seed is characteristic of Charleston as it can be used in seafood recipes, green salads, and bread, specifically

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 171.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 157.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 292.

due to its topographic prevalence and cultural preference in Charleston.¹⁹⁹ Another plant grown in the area, is Cassina, or the Christmas Berry Bush, providing a “delicious native” drink that compares well to imported teas if properly brewed.²⁰⁰ The tradition of drinking tea stems from the 19th Century English aristocracy, but it was the native Indians that taught the Colonialist to brew the tea. It was up until the 1920’s that Cassina Tea substituted for tea, as Cassina tea was stigmatized because of its association with poor rural people, not aristocracy. All of these recipes, along with over 100-pages of desserts in *Charleston Receipts*, emphasized a topographical agrarian culture that had sustained Charleston, setting them apart from their northern Colonial counterparts.

In *Charleston Receipts* it can be seen how a rural Plantation life was being replaced with an urban lifestyle as many of the contributor's used city landmarks to name their recipes, and ultimately forging a historical area bound by landmarks within Charleston. For instance, St. Philip’s Church Street, named originally for the site of St. Philip's Church, changed to simply Church Street when it extended the length of the town.²⁰¹ Meeting Street, a crossroad of Market Street, stands on the land donated for a city market in the late 1800s, a landmark still standing today. Tradd Street, a historically aristocratic street marks the corner of Tradd and Meeting, where early deeds refer to Tradd as "the little street that runs from Cooper River past Mr. Tradd's house,” and Legare Street, named after a Huguenot silversmith who owned considerable real estate on

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 220.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 27.

²⁰¹ "CCPL - Charleston County Public Library - South, Carolina," CCPL - Charleston County Public Library - South, Carolina. Retrieved from <http://www.ccpl.org/content.asp?id=15623>.

the corner of Tradd and Legare.²⁰² Through the use of street names in submitted recipes, a reader can visualize the layout of towns, drawing on history, and historical geography, and if nothing else, one can document the importance of ancestry and history preservation.

Notwithstanding, it is not only in the recipes in *Charleston Receipts* that one can witness the importance of Charleston's oldest buildings and streets, as a number of illustrations emphasize the history and urban topography of a culture that was modernizing. The second illustration in the cookbook is a sketch of the Miles Brewton House by Mark Young. The mansion built by a local slave trader, rice plantation owner, and local merchant, is a prime example of a Georgian Palladian architectural style, with its distinctive two-story portico and menacing ironwork that was erected as a barrier during the slave revolts. Ironwork, as seen in the sketch *Sword Gate* by Julia Homer Wilson, showcases the works of art of the blacksmiths of Charleston along Tradd Street, emphasizing wealth and history. The third illustration in the cookbook is by Alfred Hutton, who depicts the oldest surviving church structure south of Virginia, showing its strength to withstand Charleston's turbulent history of conflict and revolution as it was built in 1706 to serve planters and their slaves during the heyday of rice and indigo. The next church to be depicted in the artwork was St. Philip's Church, drawn by Elizabeth O'Neill Verner. St. Philip's served both as architecture of sophistication, and a lighthouse to guide mariners into the harbor. It is one of only two in the United States to have served such a function. Lastly, St. Michael's Church, also a sketch by Verner, reminds Charleston of the "Four Corners of Law," as it stands at an intersection with the

²⁰² Ibid., Retrieved from <http://www.ccpl.org/content.asp?id=15684>.

courthouse (county law), the city hall (city law), the U.S. Post Office (federal law), and of course, the church (God's law). The visuality of the historical landmarks chosen for *Charleston Receipts* can all be seen to note the strength of a city to maintain a sense of heritage from its topographical identity.

Once again the five themes of domestic literature can be witnessed in *Charleston Receipts*, offering a slightly different sense of place for Charlestonians by mid-century. One can begin to see the changes within the habitus, kinship, and socio-cultural ideologies alongside a longing to maintain a heritage that doesn't forget the agrarian past but embraces more urban living.

Stuck in Pluff Mud : *Charleston Receipts Repeats*

The last cookbook to be analyzed is *Charleston Receipts Repeats*, debuted in 1986, and is also still in print. This cookbook was the sequel to *Charleston Receipts*, said to be picking up right where the original left off, highlighting the landscape and abundance of "fresh seafood, and game, garden-grown vegetable and succulent fruits while keeping efficiency in mind."²⁰³ Orchestrated by the Co-chairmen, Eunice S. Logan, and Elizabeth L. Speights, and 24 other committee members, with a few repeating surnames from *Charleston Receipts*, including Alexander, Parker, and Waring, *Charleston Receipts Repeats* focused on the changing lifestyle of the American middle-class, while reflecting the "sophisticated elegance that has marked Charleston through its 300-year history." The 1980s saw a rise in popular culture that created a fundamental change in lifestyle constructed through expediency, materialism, and consumerism. Community cookbooks were no exception, once compiled and tested in the homes of the compilers,

²⁰³ *Charleston Receipts Repeats: Recipes*. Charleston, SC: League, 1986. 3

then sent to a local printer, now Junior League committees turned to Favorite Recipes Press, for collecting, editing, and testing recipes as well as designing and printing the cookbook, thus giving *Charleston Receipts Repeats* a conventional community cookbook format. With the unique inclusion of community recipes and menu suggestions from local restaurants and chefs, the dominant theme of this book, without a doubt, was habitus. The change in the dispositions and attitudes of the “yuppie” generation was evident in the inclusion of menus and recipes from restaurants, the efficiency of the recipes, and the assimilation of a younger generation. Within *Charleston Receipts Repeats*, the Junior League states, “a new dimension is added to Lowcountry cookbooks – a collection of recipes that celebrates an abundance of fresh seafood and game, garden-grown vegetables, and succulent fruits while keeping efficiency in mind.” However, each theme can be witnessed throughout, no matter how subtle or blatant to the reader.

One of the more obvious signs of a change in habitus is in the structure of the recipe. At the top of every recipe, just below the name is a summary of the convenience of preparation, the skill set required, the serving size, and the cook time. One example, Ham Roll-Ups, a “no last-minute fuss” recipe, the header reads, on the left: “Average, Prepare Ahead, Freezes Well” and the right: “Serves:6, Freeze:10 minutes.” In contrast, Garlic Chicken Rollups header reads, on the left: “Complicated, May Prepare Ahead, Freezes Well” and the right: “Serves 8, Bake:15 minutes at 400 degrees.”²⁰⁴ The headers reveal the differing habitus that had evolved by 1986: complicated, easy, and quick. For instance, there were three recipes for Eggplant or Guinea Squash as it was once referred to in previous eras. In “Meatless Moussaka (Baked Eggplant) ‘worth all the time and

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 11.

effort,” was considered complicated to cook and prepare; whereas, “Wadmalaw Island Eggplant Pie, ‘great to take out of the freezer’ was a prepare ahead and easy recipe.”²⁰⁵ Of course, an even simpler and quicker recipe was included in the cookbook, “Easy Eggplant” could be served immediately, needing only 10 minutes to cook. Obvious to the reader is the varying degrees of domesticity of the submitters, notably some still clung to the habitus of the past while others were changing with the cultural trends.

Numerous recipe side notes allude to the continuing growth of the middle class and its obsession with mass consumption and culture. Text such as, “so very easy,”²⁰⁶ “good and easy,”²⁰⁷ “simple and good,”²⁰⁸ “[f]or those in a hurry,”²⁰⁹ “well worth the time,”²¹⁰ and, “perfect for those who plan ahead,”²¹¹ all of which demonstrates a new domestic culture that sought more leisure time, and less time performing the kitchen duties of the past.²¹² In the early 20th Century domesticity was a time consuming and arduous task, carried out by servants of the elites; as the middle and working class grew, more women were in the kitchen themselves while trying to maintain their leisurely lifestyle. The recipes within *Charleston Receipts Repeats* recognized that the working middle-class female could limit her time in the kitchen by preparing ahead or take a few

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 227.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 52.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 34.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 159.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 188.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 183.

²¹¹ Ibid., 33.

²¹² Ibid., 135.

shortcuts and still appear to be domestic, without the aid of paid help. A prime example is a recipe for Light Bread (No Knead), demonstrating how bread making, an aesthetic pleasure for domestics of the past, requiring time and patience, joined the ranks of the easy, refrigerated and prepared ahead.

With modern conveniences for the kitchen rapidly developing since the early half of the 20th century, *Charleston Receipt Repeats* emphasized preparation in advance and the use of refrigeration and freezing in the recipes. Many recipes touted “batter will keep several days in refrigerator,” “batter will keep up to 1 ½ weeks in refrigerator,” “batter keeps 1 to 2 months in refrigerator” or even “freeze this and enjoy again and again.”²¹³ Another technology reared its head with one recipe in the cookbook, Microwave Fish Henri, “Quick” 12-16 minutes.²¹⁴ Microwave cooking, a luxury in the mid-century saw budding growth during the next three decades due to its popularity of convenience and affordability by the 1980s.

While refrigeration and freezing were a featured habitus of *Charleston Receipt Repeats*, another trend that showcased modern conveniences was the use of commercialized prepacked products with brand names in the recipes, all of which were either canned or pre-packaged and used to speed up the slower cooking processes of the past. Recipes used ingredients such as “Knorr vegetable soup mix” used in a sandwich to give it flavor and additional vegetables.²¹⁵ Other name brand ingredients found in recipes include Crisco, a shortening touted as healthier and more economical than butter; Heinz

²¹³ Ibid., 86, 82, 43.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 195.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 50.

57, a table sauce that added flavor to meats and game; and Tang, a powdered drink popularized by NASA.²¹⁶ In *Charleston Receipts Repeats*, nothing seemed sacred to the habits of the bygone era, as even the decadent desserts of the past were influenced. One recipe for Gateau Chocolat Au Rhum, a classic, decadent French cake brought to Charleston via the Huguenots, used a box devil foods cake mix, removing all of the old fashioned habitus of domesticity and replacing it with convenience and economics. As Charleston grappled with a growing population, a larger middle class and working society, eagerly awaited the next “new trend” to maintain the ideal that their socio-cultural lifestyles had not changed.

In fact, one habitus that had never been in cookbooks in Charleston’s past can be seen within the pages of *Charleston Receipts Repeats* was reduced calorie recipes. As society became more urbanized, easy and quick foods became more prevalent thus causing more sedentary lifestyles, making obesity a social conversation. Three recipes clearly noted low calories or diet worthiness, while a number of others simply cut down on butter, eggs, sugar, and fat within the ingredients. The more obvious recipes were, Fresh Stuffed Mushrooms, “low calorie,” Naked Chicken, “perfect for a diet – no skin, yet very moist,” and Sherried Custard, “a relatively low-calorie dessert.”²¹⁷

It was not just the recipes that indicated the changes of habitus that had occurred over the past 80 years, Artist Wm. Jameson, a local Carolinian, illustration depicted the change as well. One image, in particular, demonstrated the leisure lifestyle demanded by the masses by the last quarter of the 20th century. With a descriptive text that read, “It’s

²¹⁶ Ibid., 70, 134, 283.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 265, 19.

time for crabbing, swimming, and sunning. It's time for sitting on the porch and watching tensions disappear," this illustration depicted beach life, where the living is easy and the middle-class vacation.²¹⁸ Jameson illustration depicted a traditional Carolinian vacation at the beach with umbrellas, lawn chairs and a cooler – a leisure lifestyle for the working class.

It was also through the lens of the artist, in four illustrations, that clearly identifies the Lowcountry through its topography. These illustrations, coupled with descriptive passages provide visuality of the polarity of Charleston, an urbanized cityscape that continues to be influenced by a long agrarian history. One illustration that demonstrates the juxtaposition is the illustration of a church spires aside a modern bridge that crosses the Cooper River. The passage written on the reverse states, "It's a city associated with traditions and history. It attracts thousands of people each year to see its graceful beauty and pre-Revolutionary charm. But it's also city keeping pace with the 20th century." Another example is a bird's-eye view of the tropical clay roof tops with the beautiful blue-gray water in the distance, reminiscent of European history. In the passage on the back of the third illustration, it is remarked, "The rooftops reflect the intimacy of a European city and the stout independent feeling that makes Charleston. The indifferent architectural forms blend into a kaleidoscope of beauty."²¹⁹ Notwithstanding, Charleston still holds a cityscape that evokes a sense of European ancestry for its people. This ties the modern landscape and urbanization of Charleston to its ancestral heritage. Another illustration involves, a lone hunter and his dog stand along the marshy fields of the sea

²¹⁸ Ibid., 54B.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 218B

islands and coastal area of the Lowcountry. Again, the passage compliments the illustration, noting that,

There's a side of the Lowcountry best seen by boat. It's unspoiled beauty of the tidal islands, the wide expanses of marsh and the tall stands of trees that probably looked the same as when Indian inhabited the areas. It's fertile nesting ground for shorebirds and marine creatures. It's a haven for deer and raccoons. And it's vast enough to allow hunting and fishing as well as superb nature watching.²²⁰

Lastly, the first illustration that begins the cookbook references the flora and fauna of a Charlestonian side-porch, a porch built to provide a cool breeze in the crowded urban housing, a reprieve similar to the Plantation porches of yesteryear. The soft watercolor image is a gathering of locals that live on the gentrified streets that the prominent families once lived. The porch gathering is surrounded by lush foliage of the landscape peeking through the columns of the side-porch and sunny hanging baskets of flowers on the traditional urban side porch of a Charleston home while an all-white crowd of locals enjoys a cocktail. On the reverse, a passage tells of the idyllic modern landscape of the urbanized South,

In spring, they enjoy the casual elegance of outside entertaining beneath the drooping wisteria and overlooking the gardens filled with azaleas in full bloom. It becomes clear why Charleston single houses were so designed. The long porches catch the prevailing breeze and carry garden scents up to the house.²²¹

²²⁰ Ibid., 90B.

²²¹ Ibid., 6A.

All of these images harken back to another era through a visuality of landscape and architecture of a historic city, tying Charleston's identity to its topography of natural abundance and urbanization.

Of course, many recipes use local city landmarks and locations that are reminiscent of yesteryear such as "Wapoo Creek Shrimp" or "Tradd Street Shrimp," one the geographic location of which locales caught the crustaceans, and the other the infamous huckster street.²²² Other notable streets mentioned in recipe titles include a Legare Street, Smith Street, Church Street, Orange Street, and Lasden, all of which reflect the modern lifestyles of Charleston while respecting the character and significance of the city's historic past.²²³ Each of the locations anchor the people of Charleston, by holding onto traditions of the past while embracing newer trends entering the landscape.

One such trend at the time of *Charleston Receipts Repeats* publication was the revitalization of downtown Charleston by Gov. Joe Riley who took the worn down city and created a prosperous tourist spot filled with restaurants that showcased the local farmers, artisans, and fishermen by bringing the farm back to the table. Therefore, it is only logical that the Junior League, a catalyst for lasting community change, included 20 pages of recipes from over 25 restaurants, most of them new to the landscape of the city. The oldest restaurant contributing a recipe was The Colony House, a restaurant opened in the 1950s at 35 Prioleau St., a part of the Charleston's downtown considered slightly North of Broad Street, contributing two Lowcountry traditional dishes, "Privateer Low Country Crabcakes" and "Oysters And Shrimp 'Colony House.'"²²⁴ Another mid-century

²²² Ibid., 177.

²²³ Ibid., 26, 36,80, 239.

²²⁴ Ibid., 327.

institution contributing was Perdita's, opened in 1953 and considered a landmark institution for Charleston, formerly a Bordello during the Revolutionary War, it served fine French cuisine with a heavy influence from local sources, such as "Baked Crabmeat Remick."²²⁵ Several newer restaurants contributed, such as Robert's of Charleston, with a singing chef that opened in 1976 near the newly renovated City Market, who shared their recipes for "Duckling Oriental" and "Chocolate Grand Mariner Gateau," and 82 Queen whose vision was to focus on fresh, local cuisine and gracious hospitality, opened in 1982 in a garden courtyard in the Historic French Quarter, offering their recipes for "Oysters Elizabeth" and "Strawberry Banana Pie."²²⁶ Of course, others contributed their local dishes, but as restaurant frequently do, many of them have closed their doors to make way for newer, trendier locations to open.

With a huge demographic change and gentrification of the city after 1980, Charleston moved toward more fictive nostalgia, rather than the authentic echoes of the past. It is not as if nostalgia in *Charleston Receipts Repeats* is missing; it is simply diminished from the cookbooks of the past that created a softer side to the horrors of the Plantation Era. One reference to the bygone era is noted within a descriptive text and illustration of Charlestonians enjoying "what they like best – enjoying good food and drink with good friends... or sipping lemonade on the joggling board."²²⁷ This illustrates

²²⁵ Ibid., 342.

²²⁶ Ibid., 326. Robert's of Charleston, opened in 1976 by singing opera and show tunes while they ate. The restaurateur recently retired. Jeff Allen. "After 33 Years, Robert Dickson Hangs up His Toque." *Charleston City Paper*. Feb 27, 2010.

²²⁷ Ibid., 6B The Huger Family's Scottish ancestors sent a model of a joggling board for exercise to help the family matriarch's rheumatism. By the 1800s, the joggling boards were commonplace on the Lowcountry porches. Susannah Smith Miles. *Joggling Board*. Charlestonmag.com. October 2013.

the longing for the slow southern, lazy days of family and friends gathering on the front porch that has been replaced working parents, latchkey kids, and the rush of more urban norms. One other illustration and its descriptive text provide a glimpse of traditions that have prevailed in more contemporary times. The illustration of the famous ironworks gate of the Sword House adorned with holiday wreaths, signifies a nostalgia for holiday hospitality and heritage, as “[w]hen holidays come, entertaining is elegant and formal. There is an air of gentility and refinement that pervades the season.”²²⁸ It can be seen that visuality of decorations on the exterior of the home precipitates nostalgic desires, while recreating an experience and fulfilling a yearning of rituals that links us to our ancestors, explaining how holidays can be a way to reflect on meaningful relationships, rituals, and memories. However, it is in the recipes themselves in *Charleston Receipts Repeats* that one sees significant nostalgia.

In *Charleston Receipts Repeats* favorite recipes for the holidays were noted as, for Thanksgiving: Sweet Potato Souffle, “delicious with Thanksgiving turkey” and Plantation Oyster Pie, “a Thanksgiving Family Favorite;”²²⁹ and for Christmas: “Christmas Chocolate Amaretto Truffles, A Christmas favorite;”²³⁰ “Butter Cookies, great for the holidays;”²³¹ “Date Loaf Candy, great for Christmas gifts;”²³² “Cranberry Chutney, a

²²⁸ Ibid., 314B. Many of the iron gates were manufactured by Christopher Werner, who was hired to produce a "pair" of gates for the new police station, and Werner made what he understood that to mean: two matching sets of gates—two left panels and two right panels. The city had intended only one set of gates - that is, a single left and single right panel. Werner sold the duplicate set to George Hopley who had them installed at his house. Today, that Citadel has the other pair. Mary Ellen Ziegler. "Mates of Sword Gates in Use at the Citadel" (*Charleston News & Courier*. May 15, 1967) B-1.

²²⁹ Ibid., 197.

²³⁰ Ibid., 287.

²³¹ Ibid., 293.

²³² Ibid., 292.

perfect holiday gift”;²³³and “Brandied Cranberries, an easy Christmas gift²³⁴ This tradition of sharing food and holiday gatherings stems back to the Plantation Era where food was plentiful, hospitality a given and Plantation were decorated during the holidays to show wealth or the return of a loved one from war. Holiday recipes were not the only nostalgic recipes, others stretched further back in history and ancestry, such as Old English recipes that include, Windward Islands Rum Drink, “this is served throughout the West Indies”;²³⁵ or Scots Eggs, “Very British – a picnic favorite”;²³⁶ Boiled Custard, “our version of an old favorite”;²³⁷ or the recipe for English Trifle, “beautiful and delicious.”²³⁸Even recipes stimulating a past from the Junior League history, with several recent favorites from *Charleston Receipts*, such as Shrimp Mold,²³⁹ Shrimp Pilau,²⁴⁰ Red Rice,²⁴¹ Charlotte Russe,²⁴² Simple Southern Brownies²⁴³ and Chopped Artichoke Pickles,²⁴⁴along with several traditional Lowcountry favorites, like Cheese Bennes,²⁴⁵

²³³ Ibid., 317.

²³⁴ Ibid., 318.

²³⁵ Ibid., 38.

²³⁶ Ibid., 59.

²³⁷ Ibid., 265.

²³⁸ Ibid., 269.

²³⁹ Ibid., 24.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 203.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 256.

²⁴² Ibid., 261.

²⁴³ Ibid., 297.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 320.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 69.

Awendaw,²⁴⁶ Pickled Okra,²⁴⁷ and Zucchini Tomato Vegetable Casserole,²⁴⁸ Cinnamon Chicken²⁴⁹ and Fried Venison,²⁵⁰ all of which touted descriptions of “an old favorite,” or “a favorite from *Charleston Receipts* that cannot be improved.”²⁵¹ These recipes functioned in *Charleston Receipts Repeats* as an extension of the emotions evoked by certain moments frozen in time and offered the Junior League a powerful motivator in constructing the past that memory has created through the passing of history, both fictive and authentic.

With less than a third of the names having affinity kinship, and less than a dozen Old Charleston names appearing, a fictive kinship theme is evident in *Charleston Receipts Repeats*. The first hint one can see that the Junior League of Charleston propagated a fictive community kinship among the members and their families are the acknowledgment and information pages for the charity. An introductory paragraph notes,

The Junior League of Charleston, Inc., is an organization of women committed to promoting voluntarism and to improving the community is exclusively educational and charitable. The Junior League of Charleston, Inc., reaches out to women of women of all races, religions, and national origins who demonstrate an interest in and commitment to voluntarism.²⁵²

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 260.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 319.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 242.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 115.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 160.

²⁵¹ Ibid., 297.

²⁵² Ibid., 4.

With that said, there are still a few references to family, or ancestral kinship within the recipes and text, such as “A long time family secret,” from a Spinach Puffs receipt, submitted by Mrs. J. Michael Grayson (Hope Gazes); “Family Fare,” from Aunt Liz’s Chicken Spaghetti Casserole, submitted by Mrs. Charles E. Bennett, Jr. (Fran Seabrook); and “My father’s version, learned many years ago” from Seafood Coquille Robert submitted by Mrs. Gilbert Baldwin, Jr. (Constance Montague). There were a number of recipes that used endearing familial terms in the title, such as, “My Mother’s Waffles;” “Aunt Hassies Salad Dressing;” “Gran’s Chipped Beef;” “Mama’s Ice Box Cookies;” and “Sis’ Meringues.” All of which note the importance of family, but not necessarily the ancestral kinship of a sir or family name. A few recipes that could be tied directly to the family via the signature, “Mary Blackwell Quail” submitted by Mrs. Ivan V, Anderson, nee Josephine Blackwell, and Franz Wittes, Deviled Crab, submitted by Mrs. Bisell J. Witte (Linda Burton). These two suggest strong family ancestral ties for both families. While a couple others listed the siblings, or the matrilineal descent directly in the signature line, “Celia’s Chocolate Bread Pudding,” had Mrs. Thomas Waring (Janice Duffie) and Mrs. Robert Beretta (Randolph Waring) listed, and “Caviar Pie” had Mrs. Richard Hutson (Anne Smith), Mrs. Joseph Shisko (Sallie Smith), and Mrs. Bucknum (Jane Smith). However, it is unclear if the submitters chose to do this, or if Favorite Recipes Press, did this upon compiling the recipes for print.

For the most part, over two-thirds of the recipes were submitted by fictive kinship affiliations. There were a number of recipes that had a name in the title, but no direct way to affiliate them, except fictively (assumably) through the community as a friend, or another female, such as Mrs. Larry J. Collins’ (Elizabeth Bamberg) “Myra’s Marinated Mushrooms;” Mrs. John Langley’s (Hibernia “Mac” Cuthbert) “Edna’s Cheese Puffs;”

Mrs. Edgar S. Jaycock's (Lucia Harrison) "Emma's Sweet Potato Rolls;" Mrs. Thomas W. Alexander's (Patricia Cochrane) "Lib's Oyster Pie;" Mr. Craig Bennett's "Miss Tillie Finley's Fudge Brownies;" and Mrs. William R. Gideon's (Ann Weaver) James' Homemade Chocolate Ice Cream. One could assume that these are recipes of either the black help of the earlier eras, who have been given accolades, or a family friend, or relative. One thing that is for certain is that the women of the Junior League of Charleston, felt some kinship to the recipes to share them with the community, further deducing that a fictive kinship with friends, distant relatives, and butlers and housemaids was customary.

Though the Junior League has become increasingly diverse in recent years, the cookbooks like *Charleston Receipts Repeats* were compiled by an elite membership, some of whom learned to cook at the knees of black servants. While this fact is not acknowledged in the text, it can be seen in *Charleston Receipts Repeats* faintly. The aristocratic past faintly appeared in a few recipes, and one descriptive text. that revered "grand gatherings with silver trays, white coated butlers, and sumptuous hors d'oeuvres." A few recipes indicated wealth including ingredients such as caviar, crab, and lobster, using phrases like "delicious and elegant"²⁵³; "[a] beautiful dish";²⁵⁴ "[g]reat and very elegant hor d'oeuvre to keep on hand for unexpected company";²⁵⁵ or "beautiful first course."²⁵⁶ Phrase of elegance and first courses indicate a time-honored socio-cultural etiquette that still existed in the late 20th century.

²⁵³ Ibid.,23.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.,30.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.,31.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.,47.

Furthermore, no mention of any derogatory racial terms in *Charleston Receipts Repeats* feigns that Charleston had moved past segregation and racism. Critics would say that *Charleston Receipts Repeats* time-honored recipes had erased the Gullah culture prevalent in *Charleston Receipts*. Only one illustration suggested a Lowcountry Gullah population enjoying what appears to be an oyster or clam back at the shores of the mouth of a waterbed. The absence of the Gullah voice is ironic in *Charleston Receipts Repeats*, due to Charleston's population being two-thirds black at the time of publishing even as a number of tourists and college graduates were moving to Charleston. This urbanization pushed the Gullah population back to the sea islands and the north shore, just like abolition had done many years ago.

As the Gullah population receded a more diverse population grew, bringing with it a socio-cultural change for Charleston. Recipes from Hispanic, Asian, Italian, German, and Greek cultures had come to Charleston, either by way of exposure through travel or through perhaps an affinity kinship with the locals. With new laws in immigration after 1965 vanquishing quotas and more permissive sponsorships, the nation experienced a shift in immigration patterns. Charleston was no exception. Many wealthy out-of-towners purchased and renovated some the city's grand old houses, bringing progressive views and culture awareness with them. Certainly for some, immigration brings a blending of cultures, like colonial days, hinting at nostalgia; however, the larger impact can be seen in the change of the socio-cultural identities of the blended cultures that were created by this influx of immigrants. With 20 Italian "esque" recipes in *Charleston Receipts Repeats*, a heavy influx of Italian American can be identified. Lowcountry

adaptations of Italian dishes include an entire section of pasta dishes, Italian Fish Stew,²⁵⁷ Spinach and Ham in a Lasagna, Vegetarian Spaghetti that “even the Italians rave!” and a Chocolate Chip Tortoni.²⁵⁸ *Charleston Receipt Repeats* also included six German recipes, allowing one to suspect that WWII also heavily influenced Southern foodways with recipes from soldiers returning from the war bringing their new cravings for “European” foods that had become a part of their rituals and everyday life. Not only did Charleston see pasta, and heavy red sauces, but strudels and stroganoff.²⁵⁹ Six recipes indicated a Hispanic influence on Charleston, hot and cold “Taco Dip,”²⁶⁰ “Squash and Zucchini Casserole,”²⁶¹ Gazpacho,²⁶² “Chicken Portuguese,”²⁶³ and Mexican Fudge, a spicier fudge than traditional.²⁶⁴ Even Greek traditions appeared with Feta Cheese Spread,²⁶⁵ Tabbouleh Salad²⁶⁶ Moussaka, eggplant²⁶⁷ and Easy Baklava, and two others.²⁶⁸ Last, but not least, Asian fare also appeared, with sweet and sour sauces combined with rice,

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 44.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 275.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 286.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 32-33.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 239.

²⁶² Ibid., 48.

²⁶³ Ibid., 128.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 288.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 96.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 103.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 143.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 266.

and pork;²⁶⁹ or savory and stir fried rice.²⁷⁰ Each of these recipes was altered to suit the Southern tastes of Charlestonians, making these modified cultural foods the new “authentic.”

All changes seen throughout the five themes in *Charleston Receipts Repeats* are a reflection of the larger social change of urbanization. As rituals of leisure and urbanization became more prominent, Charlestonians got more and more of what they needed at stores rather than from local farmers and fisherman, making them think of themselves more and more like middle-class consumers. The community saw more impersonal relations, and the eradication of a distinctive American culture become a dizzying mix of media hype and nonstop consuming that impacted Charlestonian ways of life.

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 124, 154.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 258-259.

CHAPTER IV : RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Stick A Fork in It

*“Writing clear, concise, and objective history is like ‘trying to nail jelly to a wall
~ Peter Novick²⁷¹*

Food, more than literature, religion, and politics, is the language of a community. Food, like the indulgent Lady Baltimore cake popular during the 1950s, or the Infamous She-Crab Soup dating back to the early 1900s, made with the local catch of the day and a little sherry, help mark the passage of time while simultaneously providing a comfort of continuity amid change. Every city has foodscape or a social construction that relates food to a specific place, people, and meaning. This simple act of everyday living is mediated through social mores, cultural institutions, and symbolic boundaries. That said, the rhetoric of place is either “bound to a physical place imbued with domestic notions of privacy, identity, and family or conceived of as a broader geographical place in terms of locality, region, or nation.”²⁷² In this thesis, I argue that community cookbooks, specifically *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, *Charleston Receipts* and *Charleston Receipt Repeats* can be understood as “a text in which people undertake to describe themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them.”²⁷³ The

²⁷¹ Peter Novick. *That noble dream: the “objectivity question” and the American Historical Profession.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1988.)

²⁷² Oliver De Maret and Anneke Geyzen. "Tastes of Homes: Exploring Food and Place in Twentieth-Century Europe." *Food and Foodways* 23, no. 1-2 (2015): 1-13.

²⁷³ Mary Louise Pratt. “Introduction – Criticism in Arts of the Contact Zone.” *Imperial Eyes.* (New York: Taylor and Francis Press. 1992), 471.

three cookbooks reviewed were published during the height of a renaissance in Southern literature in a colonial city that has undergone drastic changes due to war, cultural assimilation, and gentrification, making them exemplars for how the colonial elite shaped the sense of what it means to be Southern. Examined through the lens of a genre study of five themes: kinship, socio-cultural, habitus, nostalgia, and topography, this analysis traced the influences of these themes in constructing a sense of place that serves as a window into everyday living, and generates an awareness of the blending of cultures that created the elusive term, “Southernness.”

The three community cookbooks examined, all offer insight into a blending of cultures, not only representing foodways of Charleston but shaping the region in the image of their compilers: Rhett, a colonial dame and her family, attempting to preserve an elitist status among Charlestonians; Huguenin and Stoney, two upper middle class 1950s women attempting to change the marginalization of minorities and preserve sense of nostalgia; and a league of women, the Junior League, banded together in a fictive kinship to change the habitus of the Charlestonian women. These cookbooks were more than simple instruction manuals, evolving into engaging and pleasurable text that use memory, humor, and nostalgia to convey distinct cultural ideas about time, place, and space.

One of the difficulties in assessing the impact of the rhetoric within the pages of these cookbooks and determining if they did, in fact, influence the ideologies was that the Charleston’s landscape changed dramatically over the course of 50 years. Several chronological factors that attribute to these changes in lifestyles include warfare, urbanization, and technology. History has suggested that war has equalizing effects on

society and allows for the shifting of values, attitudes, and behaviors of people. For Charleston, anti-slavery, women's and labor movements of the early 20th century all played a noteworthy role in implanting values such as equality and socio-cultural assimilation. In *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, one can note the author's intent to romanticize the South through folk culture and situate the recipes among personal anecdotes and familiar cultural ideals to appeal to the everyday living of wealthy Charlestonian families who made up the dominant population at the time. Charleston continued to cling to its colonial and plantation identities while valuing ancestral kinship over fictive. Minorities were blending into the daily habitus of Charlestonian culture, albeit still marginalized by the socio-cultural norms of the era. By 1950, Charleston remained segregated with its Gullah population living as satellites on rural islands near old Plantation homes. Many old Charlestonians referred to the Civil War as the "War of the Northern Aggression," a term coined during the Jim Crow era to soften the guilt of the war.²⁷⁴ At this time the number of the original families and the Gullah population that established the area lived in genteel poverty due to the Great Depression. Yet, these Charlestonian blue blood families and the Gullah help worked in tandem to throw the party of the year, keep their silver polished, and serve soup fit for the President of the United States as the locals refused to let Charleston's colonial authenticity be erased. Weary from the strain of repeated wartimes; Charlestonians turned toward their culinary traditions for a return to the good life.

²⁷⁴ Andy Hall. "*War of Northern Aggression, 'Cont.*". *Dead Confederates: A Civil War Blog*. [A] modern term, one that first starts appearing in newspapers in the mid-1950s, often in conjunction with the Civil War Centennial or, more disturbingly, as part of the rhetoric wielded by segregationists against the federal courts.

In *Charleston Receipts*, many of the recipes from *200 Years of Charleston Cooking* were revised to reflect the modern day conveniences, although some were kept in their original form for posterity. Most striking in the text was that the Gullah culture was highlighted in an attempt to preserve the folk culture that was dominant in creating the cuisine of the area. Of course, some could view this as the exploitation of the real-life black domestics of the Jim Crow era; however, the Junior League of Charleston notes in its 25th reprint of *Charleston Receipts*, that Gullah phrases and idioms “added a distinct flavor” to the cookbook due to their contributions from the Lowcountry cooks and butlers; moreover, preserving heritage, and a dying language of the area.²⁷⁵

By the 1980’s, the Junior League was in its 25th reprint of *Charleston Receipts*, and *Charleston Receipts Repeats* was published as a more modern domestic literature. Using a publisher that removed significant folk culture, this newer Junior League cookbook was a “cookie cutter” fundraising cookbook, erasing many of the tried and true recipes and most of the traditional culture of old Charlestonian cookbooks. With a focus more on the topography and less on the socio-cultural habitus, *Charleston Receipts Repeats* erased the majority of the nostalgia, socio-cultural and habitus norms of the genre. From this, one can still speculate that the compilers of *Charleston Receipts* had indeed accomplished their task of blending the two cultures in a city that was surviving gentrification and urbanization while a strong middle-class was pervading. The newly published Junior League cookbook didn’t replace the original as anticipated, *Charleston Receipts* remained in print, and continues to be printed. Its timeless, classic appeal gave a broader perspective on Charleston identity, making it noteworthy that a sense of place or

²⁷⁵ Huguenin and Stoney. *Charleston Receipts*,.5.

belonging doesn't change depending on what's currently popular, instead, one can note that a sense of place can last forever, it is timeless.

Yet, one can notice within each text that modern conveniences of urbanization and the standard of living for Charlestonians altered as the years passed. By the early 1900s, with more residential choices beyond the Old Plantation homes, old Charlestonian families moved to the city and surrounding coastal lands, forming satellites of elite Southerners. These wealthy families as noted in *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, created urban neighborhoods in Charleston by building mansions on large plots of coastal land at the edges of the city; moreover, creating opportunities for a new middle class of employees in business and industry. As the middle class grew in Charleston, tenement houses and the poor were pushed farther north and into the local islands creating a change in the dynamics of the topography. Yet, the abundant seafood and vegetable crops of the surrounding islands gave ample opportunity for the integration of the rural Gullah population that could assimilate through domestic and trade jobs; many earning notoriety among the wealthy. Likewise, mass consumerism transformed the Southern home from a site of production to consumption, reducing the need for Charlestonian households to cook from scratch. Ultimately causing cooking to become a tedious task and waste of valuable time as one witnesses later in *Charleston Receipts* and *Charleston Receipts Repeats*, with one hinting at the change in the habitus and the other having numerous references to leisure. As these changing technologies occurred, the rhetoric within each cookbook changed the socio-cultural and the habitus of the populations living in the area.

Throughout the 50 years, Charleston cookbooks as a genre imposed ideals through the culinary culture of their times. In *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, women were expected to know how to “run a kitchen staff,” not necessarily how to cook. In fact,

many recipes submitted by the lady of the house and attributed to her in the signatures were cooked and perfected by the Gullah help. Mary Vereen Cohen, daughter of the compiler, notes that *Charleston Receipts* was written for women and their help.²⁷⁶ Yet, by the early 1950's less Charlestonian women could afford help, except for special occasions, for daily meals they were expected to be able to cook for themselves with the assistance of refrigeration and easy prep. The rhetoric within the pages indicates that the majority of the women were actually doing the cooking and learning how to be a "Southerner," or at least a Charlestonian while getting a history lesson in the Gullah culture and its influences on the cuisine. The eighties brought speedy meals, with an emphasis on getting out of the kitchen and having more leisure time as hinted in the mid-century *Charleston Receipts* cookbook. Recipes emphasized ease and relied heavily on brand name products and prepackaged foods, definitely giving a rhetoric of Southern gentility with modernity. Tried and true family recipes had crossed the bridge from kin to community. The text of *Charleston Receipts Repeats* articulated the anxiety of a middle-class female having to cook for her family without the aid of any servants, and instead using the expertise of her community. Also by this time leisure had infiltrate rural areas with agrarian life permeated by urban values of industrialization, thus creating a middle class with modern agrarian heritage.

The three cookbooks analyzed reveal a complicated timeline, offering vivid examples of what one can appropriately term as culture with meaning. They represented what was being cooked, who was cooking it and upheld domestic ideologies of Charlestonians. As popular female literary genres, community cookbooks responded to

²⁷⁶ "Vereen Cohen," interview by Kate Medley and Sara Wood, Oral Histories, March 7, 2015, <https://www.southernfoodways.org/interview/vereen-coen/>.

the signs of their times, influencing gender roles, cooking methods, food ingredients and the culture of Charleston. They spoke to affluent Charlestonians, then eventually gave rise to the prominent middle-class identity. As daily life changed for Charlestonians one can see the reflection within the pages of the community cookbooks.

Geographically, Charleston, South Carolina's oldest city, resides in a region touted for quintessential Lowcountry cuisine, from Shrimp 'n Grits to Smoked Pork Belly with collard greens. People that visit come for the food that grandma used to cook. Its City Market is in the heart of downtown and has been a cornerstone of the city center since the 1800s. This string of buildings, once a location that slaves were sold to Plantation owners, stands a reminder of an unforgotten past. Charleston is a story of survival while clinging to the vestiges of the past. The city has experienced a series of degradation, endured fires, earthquakes, and upheaval. Challenges that have destroyed or at least diminished other small Southern enclaves seem to strengthen Charleston's resolve. Charlestonians are not simply residents of the city; they've got it in their blood. Urbanization certainly impacted the region, but the distinctive local character is remarkably well preserved within the pages of the community cookbooks.

A local character, specifically the foodscape, is well preserved in the families that built the town. It can be tasted, smelled and seen throughout each of the cookbooks as they promote a culinary character by way of place-making. Food connects those proud of the authenticity of their cuisine, and as such it promotes a feeling of belonging that can intensify community assimilation. As seen in all three cookbooks, local ingredients and comfort foods of the area are repeated in each text. In *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, one first sees a recipe for 'She'-Crab Soup, which is subsequently seen in both *Charleston Receipts* and *Charleston Receipts Repeats*. Of course, each book shares the

influence of the technology of the era and differing styles on how to prepare the dish. Nonetheless, the recipe itself creates a sense of place or belonging for those that know how to cook it and those that have eaten it. No authentic community cookbook would be complete without sharing dishes from the local abundance of seafood in the area, or a tale about the local Hucksters that sold them on the streets. These recipes are the foods from a place; a cuisine that is undeniably Charlestonian. “[A] cuisine requires a population that eats that cuisine with sufficient frequency to consider themselves expert on it. They all believe, and care that they believe, that they know what it consists of, how it is made, and how it should taste.”²⁷⁷ Geographers, anthropologists, sociologists, and historians have all looked at the use of place in parallel to a feeling of belonging. Interestingly, the use of place entails a process of meaning making whereby place-bound norms and feelings of belonging are influenced through groups that identify with a particular locale, calling it “home.” Those with ancestral ties, colonial or Gullah, relate to their feelings of belonging to Charleston through the cultural, topographical, and habitus of the area and era.

Lowcountry cooking, a timeless cuisine in the United States, has its English, French, Mediterranean, Caribbean, and West African influences and is the very way Charleston has kept its authenticity. It is this authenticity of place that makes the three community cookbooks construct cultural values into Southern ideals. Community cookbooks address the ways that place becomes value-laden, and constructs kinships that are connected to the geographic location and the people resisting its destruction. The three cookbooks demonstrate the understanding of a singular rhetoric of family values

²⁷⁷ Sidney Mintz. *Tasting Food: Tasting Freedom* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

that have built a city, more importantly, showcasing that a rhetoric of kinship that may be successful at deploying social action.

For me these texts demonstrate the ability of community discourse to reinvent itself while providing a cultural basis for values and provide a “canon” and common stories, that do not put constraints on the kind of knowledge that can be attained through the genre of domestic literature. The three cookbooks, *200 Years of Charleston Cooking*, *Charleston Receipts*, and *Charleston Receipt Repeats* are classic examples of how women continually remove constraints on knowledge and stimulate a discourse that impacts a wider audience. Each of the cookbooks compilers efforts represented and shaped Charleston to be the die-hard Southern city it is today. While certainly not neutral and objective at all times, these women manufactured how to know a place through its people, cuisine, and land. The visuality, discourse, and folklore within each community cookbook symbolize change while co-existing with the struggle to retain the “Southernness” of the Old South. It can be seen that these examples of domestic literature drove mythological tales of yesteryear into a rising middle-class ideology. As the “Southernness” became a powerful tool for identification, these cookbooks each crafted a discourse tethered to memories and romantic images of a mythic South, using the rhetorical power of place. From Huckster songs to images of the urban cityscapes, these Southern belles, created a sense of stability in a rapidly changing America.²⁷⁸

“Southernness,” the distinct identity of the southern United States, was created, recreated, and performed through the pages of these cookbooks. Charleston, a place of multiple Antebellum plantations, and the site of the first shots of the Civil War, lays

²⁷⁸ Ferris. *The Edible South: The Power of Food and the Making of an American Region*. Kindle

claim to the most popular landmarks of the area, allowing for the imaginary of the Lowcountry to be promoted by the socially elite, those regarded as “uptown,” or aristocracy of the city as can be seen throughout the kinship theme. The three chosen cookbooks reflect the region's changing fortunes, based on the bounty of native habitat – shrimp, crab, Carolina Gold, benne seeds, and those borrowed from early English Settlers, French Huguenots, and forcibly from imported West Indian and West African slaves. They construct a place where the foodways have contested and multiple histories, offering an appearance that obscures much of the conflict and oppression through a geography of hospitality, elegance, and genteel pastoralism. Furthermore, they demonstrate that no other culture has had such a profound impact on Southern food as the Charleston Gullah culture which has preserved their heritage more than any other slave culture in the US, due to high levels of black land ownership, and the rural nature of the geography that allowed more autonomy to many emancipated Gullah peoples. Southern food cannot be separated from its geographic referents and agrarian heritage. These community cookbooks drive the change in habitus, both culturally and socially, acting as reminders of the past while documenting progress and change toward a future. These workhorses of Americana speak volumes as rich sources of the discourse of place, as they become vehicles for sharing local narratives, communicating regional identity and reaffirming ties with a sense of place. "Communities are distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined." ²⁷⁹

Legends, such as the sound of the Huckster cry, abound in the Lowcountry; as the effects of the past continue to preserve and construct the present. Rituals, including foods

²⁷⁹ Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991). 5-7.

and drinks that remain the same across time are potent memory cues, that connect the community. This nostalgia bolsters a sense of place by reminding people that they can break barriers and injustices to create bonds that tether one to a notion of “home” in times of hardship. Recipes themselves are indeed folklore, passed down orally from generation to generation demonstrating strong sense of family; however, the legend that accompanies the recipes in each cookbook is often more fabricated versus adhering to any folkloric motifs; therefore, further research is needed in the additional analysis of folklorist motifs into the method to determine if the narrative is indeed folklore, not fake-lore, a term intended to denigrate the commercialized construction of myth.²⁸⁰

All five of the genre themes discussed in this paper contribute to “Southernness.” The texts, to a degree, rhetorically enforce cultural stereotypes while seeking to affirm the identity of Southernness. Any successful rhetoric operates both by calling an identity into being and also indicating that certain place, time and space are inherent. Everybody belongs somewhere, may it be to a group, an ethnicity, a place, neighborhood, nation or a home. Belonging is a dynamic process. While Charleston has changed from decade to decade, many things remain the same. All Southerners participate in a sense of place through the solidarity of their community, something which is created from the cohesion, connection, and lifestyles of a region or locale.

As with most research, limitations exist. Further studies are needed to understand the complexity of genre criticism as a tool that reaches beyond standard a priori textual

²⁸⁰ Dorson, Richard M. *American Folklore*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977). 214-224.

analysis. This will require the efforts of scholars in multiple disciplines, for genre has become a “boundary object,” taking on different functions and meanings in different theoretical and disciplinary contexts.²⁸¹ As historical and political conditions change, there is no guarantee that one scholar will find the same meaning or find meaning at all within their analysis. What I have tried to do with this research is show other scholars how a genre study of domestic literature serves as a rhetorical artifact that influences daily domestic life and ultimately influences a sense of place. As Miller concludes genres “serves as an index to cultural patterns.”²⁸² Seeing a text through rhetorical actions provides “the keys to understanding how to participate in the actions of a community.” Genres, as a “boundary object” are “typified rhetorical actions based in recurrent situations,” that “change, evolve, and decay.”²⁸³ Yet, as noted earlier, history is illusory, and change evokes genres and vice versa.

Rhetorical theory, alongside cultural and geography theories have the opportunity to inform each other in an attempt to more comprehensively investigate and understand the meaning of the sense of place, and how it is tied to representations of the larger identities within a region. While rhetoric has not explicitly theorized or differentiated between place and space, this analysis of Charleston community cookbooks suggest that time, place, and space can be seen as a force behind identity formation. These cookbooks, their compilers, and submitters reify locality to aid in the shaping of a centralized identity. Rhetoric has the potential to empower a community’s residents to engage each

²⁸¹ Susan Star and James Griesemer. "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39". *Social Studies of Science*. 1989. **19** (3): 387–420.

²⁸² Miller. “Genre as Social Action.” 165.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 165.

other in sense making that allows for new social constructs, habitus and kinship to develop. Through my analysis I saw how these discursive artifacts fostered an ongoing sense of place that inevitably invigorated a notion of “Southernness.” The strategic and mindful use of recipes, folklore, and images of the locals enabled a loose construct of the term “Southernness” to emerge within the boundaries of Charleston and ultimately influence a larger audience. Viewing foodways and domestic literature as rhetorical addresses the ways that place and space become value-laden and imagined in terms of a nation, region, or city. Within in foodways, home or a sense of place as imagined has contributed to feelings of belonging and a sense that intrinsically links one to a particular space. Bill Neal southern foodie and chef, believes that “true southerners hold historical and cultural bonds to heart, above geography; they remain southern wherever they are—and their food is part of their cultural identity – or “Southernness.”²⁸⁴ Community cookbooks construct these bonds. They do so in various ways, but they all attempt, consciously or unconsciously, to link people to a space. As soon as one can relate to the identity that is being presented in the community cookbook, then that cookbook becomes meaningful, and in meaning rhetoric can be found.

²⁸⁴ Neal, Bill. Bill Neal's Southern Cooking (The University of North Carolina Press, 2000). Kindle Edition. 218-220.

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