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Dining with John and Catharine Butler before the Close of the Eighteenth Century

Eva MacDonald and Suzanne Needs-Howarth

The partial excavation of the homestead of Colonel John Butler in the town of Niagara-on-the-Lake has afforded the opportunity to explore the daily activities of one Loyalist family after the establishment of the British colony of Upper Canada in the 1780s. In particular, the large collection of zooarchaeological material (over 14,500 specimens) can provide information about the availability of wild animal species, as well as the types of domestic animals that the Butlers kept on their farm. Butchering marks provide further insight into the types of meat cuts used in cooking meals for the family and guests. These are compared and contrasted with the ceramic and glass vessels, so that these analyses can be brought together to paint a picture of what it might have been like to dine with John and Catharine Butler before the close of the 18th century.

La fouille partielle de la propriété familiale du colonel John Butler dans la petite ville de Niagara-on-the-Lake a permis d'explorer les activités quotidiennes d'une famille de Loyalistes après que la colonie Britannique du Haut-Canada ait été établie dans les années 1780. On remarque en particulier l'imposante collection de matériel zooarchéologique, représentant plus de 14 500 spécimens. L'étude de cette collection permet d'obtenir de l'information sur la disponibilité des espèces d'animaux sauvages ainsi que les types d'animaux domestiques que la famille Butler gardait sur la ferme. Des marques de boucherie nous permettent de connaître les coupes de viande utilisées pour les repas de la famille et de leurs invités. Le matériel zooarchéologique a ensuite été comparé aux contenants de céramique et de verre. Interprétées conjointement, ces analyses dressent un portrait nous permettant d'imaginer l'heure du repas chez John et Catharine Butler avant la fin du XVIIIe siècle.

Introduction

The disruption that the Revolutionary War brought to the Butler family was over by 1784. Colonel John Butler's celebrated rangers, who fought on the side of the Crown, had been disbanded. Newark, settled on the west side of the Niagara River under Butler's supervision (today known as Niagara-on-the-Lake), was four years old, and John Butler was reunited with his wife, Catharine, and their youngest children, who were held hostage during the war (Ormsby 1991: 15). It was the wish of government officials like Frederick Haldimand that the new Loyalist society of Upper Canada be founded on a military hierarchy, with lands of the rank-and-file soldiers grouped around the holdings of their former officers (W. Wilson 1991: 46). Thus, the Butler home comprised a 500 ac. farm on Two Mile Creek (FIG. 1). As the former commander of Loyalist forces at Niagara, Butler was called upon to provide leadership in the new society, and he gained a measure of public standing through his participation in the affairs of the fledgling province of Ontario as a judge for the Nassau District Court of Common Pleas, as a justice of the peace, and as the local superintendent of

the Indian Department (W. Wilson 1991: 53). Catharine died in 1793, and John died in 1796. Accounts of the skirmishes that took place on the farm during the War of 1812 indicate that their son Johnson Butler was the next occupant of their house, although it was his brother Andrew who inherited a 100 ac. parcel including the home. The home was destroyed when the American occupiers of Niagara retreated in December of 1813, and the site was never reoccupied (Archaeological Services, Inc. [ASI] 2011: 10–13).

In 1999, a portion of Colonel John Butler's homestead was salvage excavated in advance of the development of a residential subdivision. First, 361 m² of topsoil were hand-excavated, yielding 80% of the artifact assemblage. The features (FIG. 2) were excavated after the balance of the topsoil had been removed by machine. The first structure that sheltered the Butler family was probably a log cabin, the location of which was marked by a subfloor pit (Feature 7) that was backfilled with a substantial amount of midden material (n=10,698 artifacts) after a larger frame home was built 10 m to the south (FIG. 2). In particular, the excavation of the dry-laid stone foundation demonstrated



Figure 1. Location of the Butler Homestead site (AhGs-18). (Map by Archaeological Services Inc., 2011.)

that the second Butler home was modest and “organic” in form, having evolved over time and not conforming to any particular architectural style (FIG. 2). It certainly was not in the grand style of Johnson Hall, the New York State home of the Butler family patron Sir William Johnson (Huey and Pulis 1997: 25–39). The variation in wall construction between shallow red shale and more substantial fieldstone, even within the same part of the structure, is noteworthy. The use of loose stone for foundations appears to be a hallmark of early buildings in Ontario, because the Government House and other pre-War of 1812 buildings at Fort York (Webb 1994), and the first Parliament of Upper Canada (Dieterman and Williamson 2001) were also constructed in this manner.

The substantial assemblage of more than 106,000 artifacts, including 50,082 ceramic sherds (ASI 2011: 24), affords an opportunity to examine the daily life of two generations of this important Loyalist family. Although the assemblage spans the period between 1784 and 1813, the daily marketing activities and provisions available to Johnson Butler’s family would not have differed much from those of his parents, given the slow growth of Upper Canada’s population and mercantile infrastructure during the pioneer period up until the end of the War of 1812. Growth and changes in the rural economy did not come

until significant numbers of British immigrants began to arrive after 1815 (Wood 2000: 28, 51). It is obvious from the material culture recovered at the Butler Homestead site that, as important figures in colonial society and as members of the middle class in their new home, John and Catharine Butler regularly entertained guests on a relatively grand scale. The Georgian meal system, to which the Butlers conformed, reinforced social ties and displayed the wealth of the hosts through the table setting and the meals chosen. While few settlers could afford to buy the best wares on offer in the local shops (Wilson 1975: 216), the Butlers owned expensive ceramics, such as Chinese export porcelain, black basalt, and *rosso antico* (ASI 2011: table 2), the latter of which had been developed by Wedgwood for tea and coffee services (Kaellgren 2009: 17). The Butler site also yielded the largest analyzed zooarchaeological assemblage ($n=14,616$) from a domestic site in rural Ontario. The objectives of the analysis were to establish what taxa were present and in which proportions (based on bone counts), and to estimate the minimum number of individuals (MNI, based on element duplication, side, portion present, and state of epiphyseal fusion), age at death (based on known biological-age range in months of tooth eruption and epiphyseal fusion), and the body portions present (Needs-Howarth 2010a).

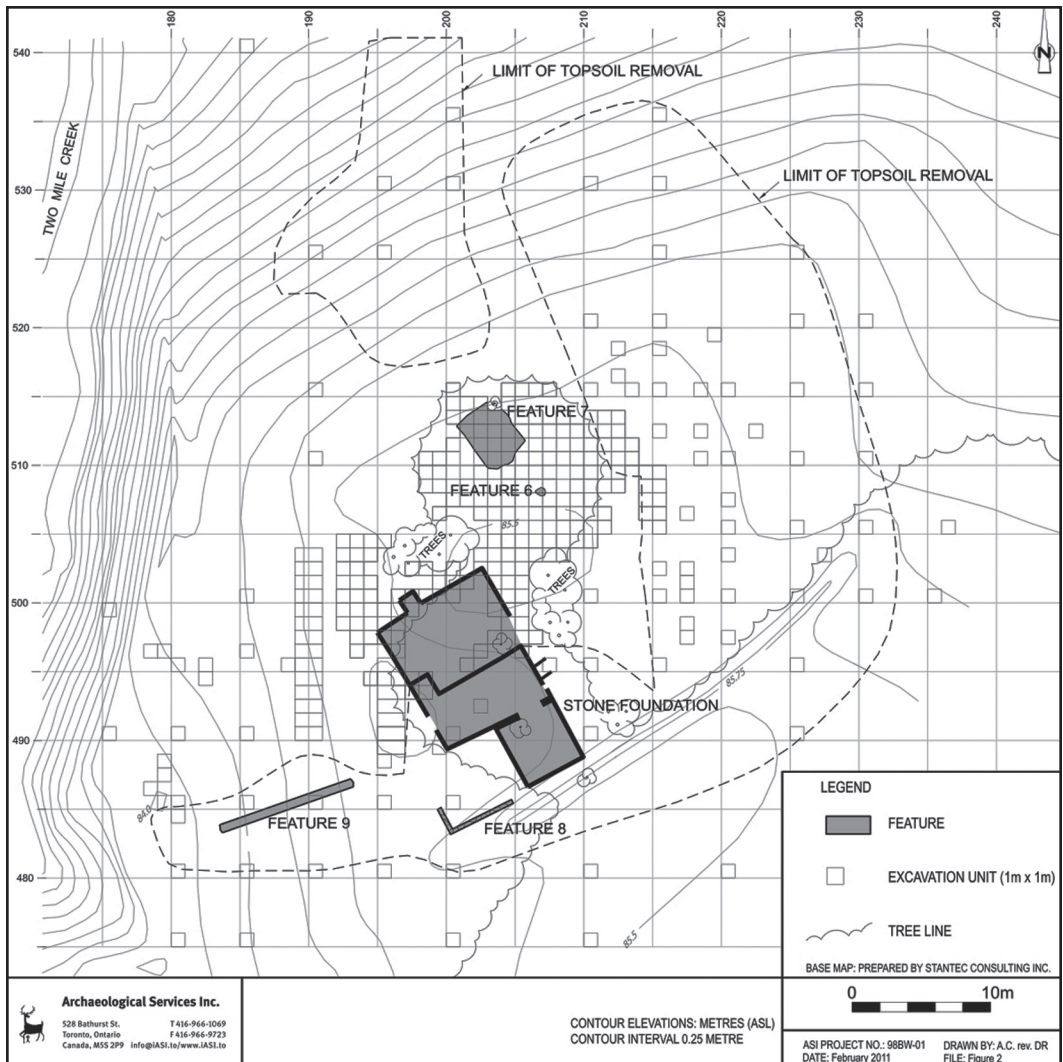


Figure 2. Butler Homestead settlement pattern. (Map by Archaeological Services Inc., 2011.)

The Georgian Dinner

What would it have been like to dine with John and Catharine Butler before the close of the 18th century? A hypothetical meal can be reconstructed from the zooarchaeological data displaying evidence of meat cuts that can be linked to the recipes and ingredients found in 18th-century cookbooks. Hannah Glasse's *Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* was first published in England in 1747, and, because of its popularity, it appeared in numerous revised editions sold in both England and the colonies. Indeed, Thomas Jefferson owned a copy, and

recipes attributed to Mrs. Glasse made their way into the cookery manuscripts of Jefferson's granddaughters (Hess 1997: v). One edition used in this analysis (Glasse 1774) was published ten years before the initial Butler site occupation, while the other is an 1805 American edition that might have been familiar to Johnson Butler's family (Glasse 1805). It is interesting to note that while a number of Glasse's most famous recipes were omitted from the American edition, this edition did not include any new recipes, and both the 1774 and 1805 editions contain recipes no older than the mid-18th century (Hess 1997: viii).

Glasse's cookbook is particularly useful because it provides suggested menus that assist in the recreation of a fine Georgian dinner, with its multiple prepared foods and several courses. The serving dishes were to be laid out correctly and symmetrically on a long, rectangular table, and many 18th-century cookery books provided diagrams. The host and hostess undertook the carving and serving of the top and bottom dishes, with the guests helping themselves and their neighbors to the dishes that were near to them (Stead 1985: 17).

Three courses were expected at middle-class tables. The first course always consisted of meats (roasted, boiled, stewed, and fried), some of which were accompanied by sauces. If soup was on the bill of fare, a tureen of soup was placed on the table as part of the meat course. The soup was served first, and then the tureen was removed, with a serving dish containing fish replacing it. After this, the meat was served (Stead 1985: 15). When the first course was removed, a second was put in its place, not always with an equal number of dishes, but always symmetrically placed. These were lighter dishes of meat and fish, contrasted with sweet pies, puddings, and tarts. Small side dishes of pickles and condiments stayed on the table throughout both courses. The tablecloth was removed for the final dessert course of jellies, sweetmeats, fruits, nuts, and cheese (Stead 1985: 15).

Until the iron cooking stove was adopted for culinary practice in Ontario in the second quarter of the 19th century, the standard way to cook food was "down hearth," over an open fire. In this respect, practices in Upper Canada differed from those of England. There, the iron grate with its coal fuel was standard in kitchens from 1700 onward (Stead 1985: 7). Both facilities were conducive to roasting, which was the most favored way of cooking meat, with boiling the second choice, and stewing also popular (Stead 1985: 7). Baking was done in a separate masonry chamber built into the fireplace. Those who lacked a masonry oven could bake in portable ovens lined with tin and put close to the fire, or in covered pots that could be banked with wood coals, known in North America as Dutch ovens or bake kettles (Stead 1985: x, 9).

The majority of people of English ancestry preferred plain foods, either roasted or boiled,

be they meat or sweet puddings and pies. Those who wished to be fashionable incorporated French cookery practices, which required a more extensive set of basic utensils (Stead 1985: 10) and placed more emphasis on vegetables, as well as on ragouts or fricassees, which were referred to as "made" dishes in the recipe books (Thick 1998: 28–29).

Meal times changed during the 18th century. Dinner, which was the principal hot meal of the day, came later for the British middle classes, so that by the late 18th century it was at 3 or 4 P.M., three hours later than the dinner hour of the 1600s (Brears 2004: 87). This was supplemented by the addition of a tea meal, which comprised a light repast served in the early evening with tea as the beverage (Wilson 2004: xiii). The adoption of coffee, chocolate, and tea by English cuisine in the late 17th century necessitated new, special vessel forms, such as cups, pots, kettles, and urns. The taking of tea became an elegant ceremony at which the mistress of the house could show off her best china (Stead 1985: 22).

Setting the Table

So, what would a meal served to guests at the Butler house have looked like? With respect to the Butler ceramic assemblage, the minimum number of food- and beverage-related vessels, based on unique rim profiles, ware type, and decoration, is 251; of these, 221 are refined tea- and tablewares (ASI 2011: table 2). The presence of 12 meat dishes, both flat platters for roasts (FIG. 3) and deep dishes to hold ragouts, as well as one sauceboat, indicates that the Butler family was equipped to serve dinners to its guests in the classic Georgian style. No soup plates or tureens were identified, so it would seem that the formality of starting with a soup was not practiced. The food was accompanied by wine, served in stemmed drinking glasses, as evinced by the 15 unique stems in the glass tableware assemblage. Catharine Butler also could hold elegant tea parties using delicate porcelain tea bowls and saucers with fashionable rococo fluted bodies, enamel flowers, and gilt accents (FIG. 4). A sterling -silver teaspoon, with a London hallmark dating to 1792, further emphasizes the quality of the table settings.

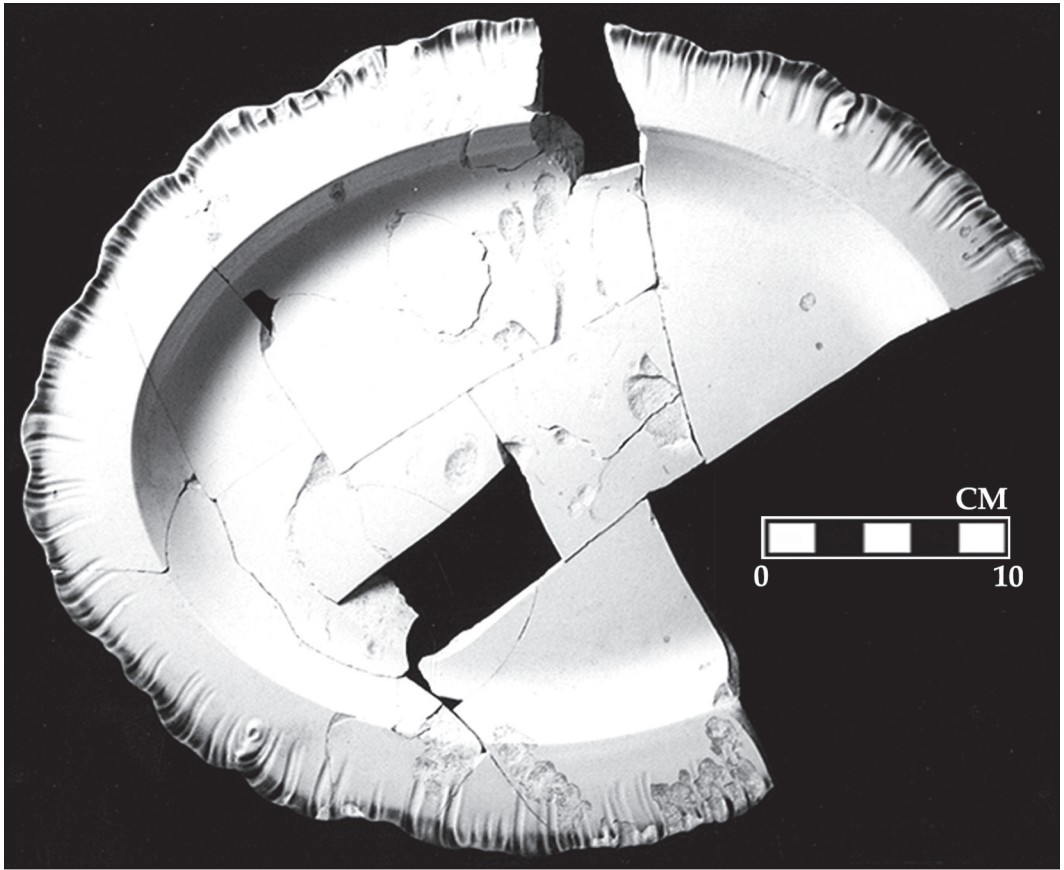


Figure 3. Reconstructed pearlware meat dish found in the builder's trench of the stone foundation. (Photo by Archaeological Services Inc., 2011.)

Analysis of the Provisions

Provisioning would not have been a problem, given the town of Newark's merchant links, both to Albany and the eastern seaboard, and to Montreal and the Atlantic world through the fur trade, which was still important, albeit diminishing, at the close of the 18th century (Duncan 1991). Barrels of salt cod, liquor of all types, spices, and citrus fruit could be obtained to complement what was grown in the garden and raised on the farm. Livestock was a valuable asset in the pioneer settlement, and John Butler's will specified that his granddaughter Catharine Butler was to inherit all the cattle from his farm (Hunter 1921: 332). The origin of the livestock is not known, although it most certainly did not come from the Mohawk Valley, as Butler's property there was confiscated during the

American Revolution. The British government did supply the colonists with provisions to bolster the new settlement, and Butler's official survey, conducted in 1782, enumerated horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs (Cruikshank 1893: 111).

The faunal inventory includes 39 unique taxa (TAB. 1), including the three major domesticates, cow, pig, and sheep, as well as a wide variety of wild species, especially deer and sturgeon. Sheep was positively identified, but goat was not. The fact that many elements of sheep and goat are difficult to distinguish osteologically (Boessneck 1969; Prummel and Frisch 1986) has resulted in numerous *Ovis aries*/*Capra hircus* identifications. Additionally, the difficulties in separating sheep/goat from deer, based on post-cervical vertebrae and some incomplete elements (see e.g., Chavez 2008) have resulted in numerous "Artiodactyla sheep/deer size" identifications.

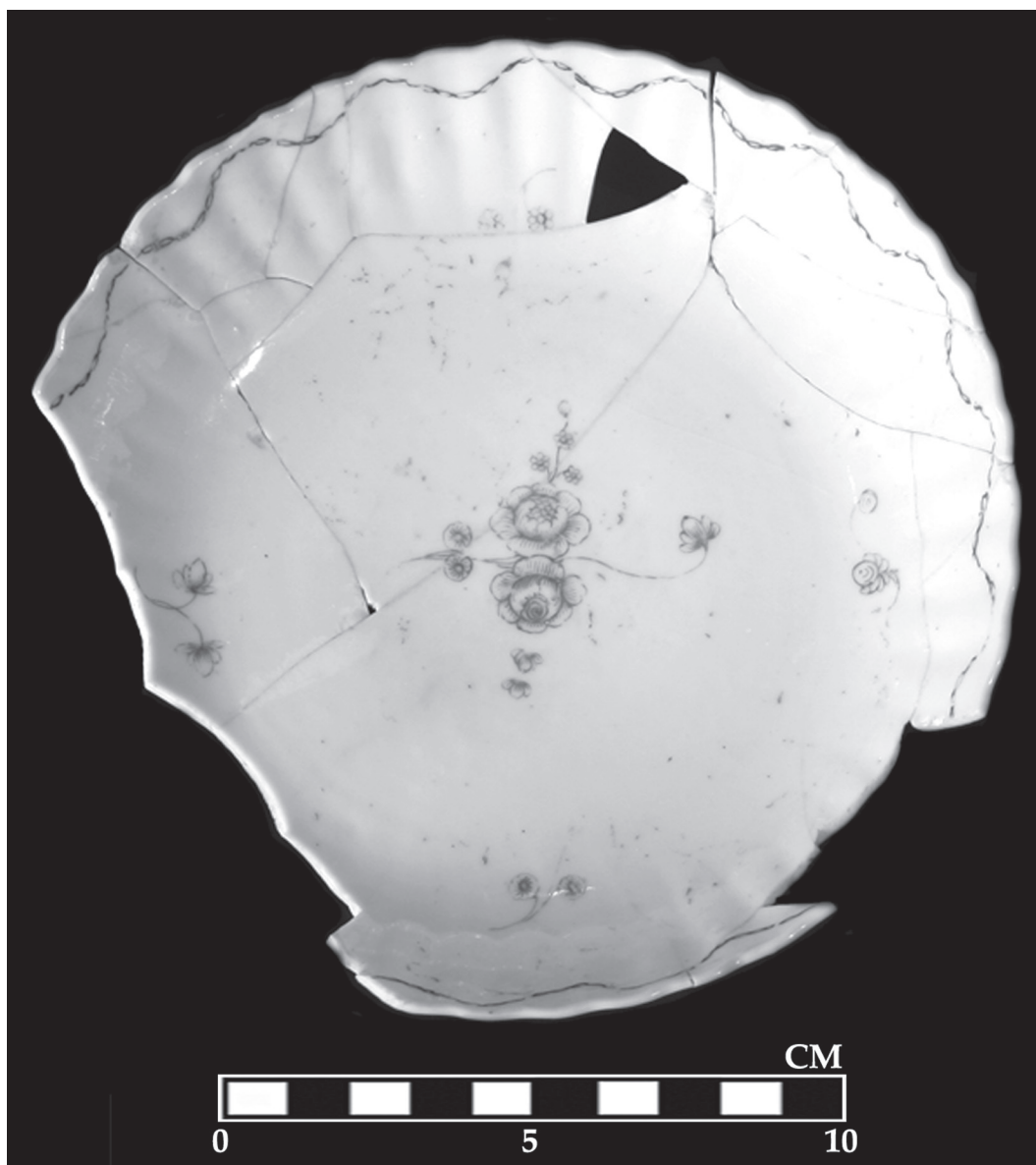


Figure 4. Reconstructed porcelain saucer with a rococo fluted body and enamel flowers with gilt accents. (Photo by Archaeological Services Inc., 2011.)

Two sections of cattle cranium from Feature 7 had attached horn cores (MNI=1). While sexing cattle based on horn cores is problematic (Sykes and Symmons 2007), this find does narrow down the breed options to those in which at least one of the sexes carried horns. Five items identified as cow were complete enough for osteometry (TAB. 2). It is interesting to note that the measurements exceed the ranges recorded

for cattle prior to 1850 in Annapolis, Maryland (Reitz and Ruff 1994), and fall within the ranges for cattle from Quebec (Cossette and Horard-Herbin 2003). The sample size of measurable bones is far too small, however, to allow for any statistically valid conclusions.

The task of characterizing the meals, as represented by the meat cuts in the Butler faunal assemblage, is complicated by the

Table 1. Zooarchaeological findings summarized as NISP and MNI.

Taxon	Common name	NISP	% of class	% of total	MNI
Bivalvia	Clams	38	100.0	—	2
Total Bivalvia		38	—	0.3	—
Gastropoda	Snails [likely intrusive land snail]	18	100.0	—	[not calculated]
Total Gastropoda		18	—	0.1	—
Actinopterygii	Ray-finned fishes	152	59.6	—	—
<i>Acipenser fulvescens</i>	Lake sturgeon	50	19.6	—	1
<i>Coregonus</i> sp.	Whitefishes	5	2.0	—	1
Gadidae	Cods	4	1.6	—	—
<i>Lota lota</i>	Burbot	1	0.4	—	1
Cypriniformes	Minnows/suckers	1	0.4	—	—
Catostomidae	Suckers	3	1.2	—	—
<i>Catostomus catostomus</i>	Longnose sucker	1	0.4	—	1
Ictaluridae	Bullhead catfishes	6	2.4	—	—
<i>Ameiurus</i> sp.	Black, yellow, or brown bullhead	5	2.0	—	1
Perciformes	Perch-like fishes	5	2.0	—	—
Centrarchidae	Sunfishes	4	1.6	—	—
<i>Micropterus</i> sp.	Small- or largemouth bass	6	2.4	—	1
<i>Sander</i> sp.	Walleye or sauger	4	1.6	—	1
<i>Aplodinotus grunniens</i>	Freshwater drum	8	3.1	—	1
Total Actinopterygii		255	—	1.7	—
Anura	Frogs and toads [likely intrusive]	35	100.0	—	[not calculated]
Total Amphibia		35	—	0.2	—
Testudines	Turtles	6	75.0	—	—
<i>Chelydra serpentina</i>	Snapping turtle	2	25.0	—	1
Total Reptilia		8	—	0.1	—
Aves	Birds	19	3.2	—	—
Aves pigeon size	Birds	73	12.3	—	—
Aves chicken/duck size	Birds	280	47.2	—	—
Aves goose/turkey size	Birds	48	8.1	—	—
Aves song-bird size	Birds	5	0.8	—	—
<i>Botaurus lentiginosus</i>	American bittern	4	0.7	—	1
Anatidae goose size	Ducks, geese, and swans	4	0.7	—	1
Anatidae duck size	Ducks, geese, and swans	61	10.3	—	—
<i>Anas</i> sp.	Dabbling ducks	6	1.0	—	—
<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>	Mallard	4	0.7	—	2
<i>Mergus/Lophodytes</i> sp.	Merganser	1	0.2	—	1
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	Red junglefowl [here: chicken]	54	9.1	—	4

Table 1. Zooarchaeological findings summarized as NISP and MNI (*continued*).

Taxon	Common name	NISP	% of class	% of total	MNI
<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	Wild turkey [here: wild or domesticated turkey]	13	2.2	—	2
Columbidae	Pigeons	9	1.5	—	1
<i>Ectopistes migratorius</i>	Passenger pigeon	12	2.0	—	2
Total Aves		593	—	4.1	—
Aves or Mammalia	Birds or mammals	98	100.0	—	—
Total Aves/Mammalia		98	—	0.7	—
Mammalia	Mammals	2	0.0	—	—
Mammalia mouse size	Mammals	2	0.0	—	—
Mammalia squirrel size	Mammals	58	0.4	—	—
Mammalia squirrel to beaver size	Mammals	85	0.6	—	—
Mammalia beaver / dog size	Mammals	6	0.0	—	—
Mammalia dog to deer size	Mammals	10,117	74.7	—	—
Mammalia pig / sheep / goat size	Mammals	1,516	11.2	—	—
Mammalia cow / horse size	Mammals	799	5.9	—	—
<i>Oryctolagus cuniculus</i>	European rabbit	1	0.0	—	1
<i>Tamias striatus</i>	Eastern chipmunk	1	0.0	—	1
<i>Sciurus carolinensis</i>	Gray squirrel	53	0.4	—	5
<i>Castor canadensis</i>	American beaver	2	0.0	—	1
<i>Rattus norvegicus</i>	Norway rat	2	0.0	—	1
<i>Ondatra zibethicus</i>	Muskrat	12	0.1	—	3
<i>Microtus pennsylvanicus</i>	Meadow vole	3	0.0	—	3
Canidae	Coyotes, dogs, foxes, jackals, wolves	2	0.0	—	1
Canidae/Ursidae	Canids or bears	1	0.0	—	—
<i>Ursus americanus</i>	American black bear	2	0.0	—	1
<i>Procyon lotor</i>	Raccoon	11	0.1	—	2
<i>Mephitis mephitis</i>	Striped skunk	2	0.0	—	1
<i>Felis catus</i>	Domestic cat	3	0.0	—	1
<i>Equus caballus</i>	Horse	1	0.0	—	1
Artiodactyla sheep / deer size	Even-toed ungulates	51	0.4	—	—
Artiodactyla cow size	Even-toed ungulates	11	0.1	—	—
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Pig	415	3.1	—	8
Cervidae deer / wapiti size	Cervids	2	0.0	—	—

Table 1. Zooarchaeological findings summarized as NISP and MNI (*continued*).

Taxon	Common name	NISP	% of class	% of total	MNI
Cervidae wapiti/moose size	Cervids	1	0.0	—	1
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	White-tailed deer	52	0.4	—	7
<i>Bos taurus</i>	Domestic cattle	260	1.9	—	6
<i>Ovis aries</i>	Domestic sheep	8	0.1	—	3
<i>Ovis aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i>	Domestic sheep or goat	56	0.4	—	—
Total Mammalia		13,537	—	92.6	—
Class unknown		34	—	—	—
Total unknown		34	—	0.2	—
Total		14,616	—	100.0	—
Note: Taxonomy follows < http://www.ITIS.gov >. MNI was calculated on unique taxa; in some cases, a higher-level taxonomic identification added additional individuals.					

relatively low frequency of butchered bone (TAB. 3), because it is only when a bone has been cut that it can be assigned to a secondary meat cut with any degree of confidence. The low frequency of butchering cuts effected with a cleaver is partly a function of the fact that there is a high frequency of teeth and incomplete head and foot elements that do not exhibit butchering marks (nor would that be expected for those elements). These portions of the body are often the byproducts of primary butchering, for study purposes defined as the cuts that reduce the carcass of large mammals, such as pigs, cows, and sheep, into a headless and footless torso that can be split down the middle along the vertebrae and further subdivided. Secondary cuts are those cuts made to divide the primary cuts into smaller units of meat. Tertiary cuts divide the secondary cuts into meal-size or even plate-size portions. In the absence of cut marks on the bone, or when the bone could not be assigned to a position in a series, bones were assigned to the most specific

primary, secondary, or tertiary butchering cut that could have accommodated that bone. When cut marks were present, the bone could often be equated with a specific meat cut shown on butchering diagrams used during the 19th century (De Voe 1867; Schulz and Gust 1983; Szuter 1996), as summarized and confirmed zooarchaeologically by James (1997) for four 19th-century Ontario rural domestic sites. For example, a complete sheep scapula would be classified as a shoulder cut (secondary cut), but a sheep scapula that was cut more or less on the horizontal plane would equate to a shoulder blade chop (tertiary/table cut).

The heads and the feet, especially of cows and sheep, are often considered primary butchering waste during the 19th century, but an examination of 18th-century cookbooks shows that these portions were used extensively in Georgian cooking. We do not know whether the butchering units detailed by James (1997) for the 19th century were employed in the 18th century. It seems safe to assume that

Table 2. Cow osteometry, following Angela von den Driesch (1976).

Provenience	Element	Side	Measurement to nearest 0.1 mm
Feature 17 (fill)	Humerus Bd	Right	85.0
Feature 17 (fill)	Radio-ulna Bd	Right	78.0
Feature 9 (fill)	Tibia Bd	Left	61.8
Unit 513N-201E (topsoil)	Tibia Bd	Left	67.7 (minimum)
Feature 9 (fill)	Calcaneus GL	Right	144.9

Table 3. Comparison of frequency of cut-bone NISP at three Ontario domestic sites. Cartwright is a late 18th- to early 19th-century mansion in what is now Kingston, Ontario; the Ste. Famille Separate School collection pertains to late 19th-century row housing in LeBreton Flats, Ottawa.

	Butler* (AhGs-18)			Cartwright† (BbGc-92)			Ste. Famille Separate School‡ (BiFw-88)		
Taxon	NISP	No. cut	% cut	NISP	No. cut	% cut	NISP	No. cut	% cut
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	415	9	2	95	19	20	667	251	38
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	52	7	13	23	9	39	—	—	—
<i>Bos taurus</i>	260	26	10	796	522	66	585	438	75
<i>Ovis aries</i> , <i>O. aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i>	64	5	8	306	108	35	360	205	57
*Needs-Howarth (2010b). †Needs-Howarth (2009). ‡Needs-Howarth (2010a).									

the long bones included in a particular, named, meat cut (e.g., “ham” or “loin”) would be the same, but we are on less-certain ground regarding inclusion of adjacent bones, including carpals, tarsals, metacarpals, metatarsals, and phalanges. In the case of the deer bones, the presence of the head and feet indicates that whole animals were brought back to the Butler farm to be butchered. There are several possible sources for this venison. Because John Butler was an Indian agent, it is likely that native people came to the homestead to conduct business. They may have brought deer with them for their own consumption or to give or trade to the Butlers. Alternatively, the deer may have been hunted or otherwise directly obtained by the Butlers. Venison was a highly valued meat source in the Georgian era, and period cookbooks present many recipes for its enjoyment.

Table 4 lists the meat cuts that are represented in the Butler faunal assemblage, together with recipes from Hannah Glasse’s cookbook that might have incorporated those cuts. Specific elements can be equated with meat cuts depending upon the portion and the evidence for butchering. The exercise of comparing recipes to faunal elements was particularly useful, because it brought to our attention elements and species that might not immediately be thought of as belonging to a meal, like the American bittern, a member of the bird family that includes herons. Hannah Glasse (1774: 336) advised that heron should be served with salt, but not sauce. Thus, from the analysis of the preceding evidence, a hypothetical meal

can be reconstructed—although it must be noted that, because of various pre-excavation taphonomic factors, it is unlikely that our excavated assemblage contains all the bone waste that was originally deposited.

A Meal at John and Catharine Butler’s House

Our hypothetical dinner party may have started with ten dishes laid on the table as the first course. If it were late October, a roast of venison prepared on a spit might sit at the top of the table. The roast would come from the haunch, as determined by two partial innominate bones and two cut lumbar vertebrae adjacent in the vertebral series (the sacral vertebrae are missing). At the bottom of the table might sit a baked leg of beef dressed with a wine-and-mustard sauce. Numerous glass mustard bottles were found at the Butler site (FIG. 5), and their shape indicates they held the London type of mustard popular with the British military (Jones and Smith 1985). One of the bottles was imported from the mill of Rhodes and Kemeys of Sparta, New York, which was in business ca. 1796 to 1819 (Horne 1976: 25). It should be noted that a second commercially prepared foodstuff, peppermint essence, was also identified from two fragments of a square bottle with embossed lettering. After it was patented in 1762, it was used both as a flavoring agent and as a medicinal remedy for indigestion (Jones 1981).

A variety of contrasting fish dishes were possible, since numerous freshwater fish taxa were identified in the faunal assemblage, including whitefish, suckers, bullheads, sunfishes,

Table 4: Faunal evidence for provisions in Glasse (1774) recipes.

	Taxon and meat cut (where applicable)	Elements expected and faunal evidence	Hannah Glasse 1774 recipe reference and page no.
FISH	Sturgeon	Dermal bones (waste) (n=5) Scutes (waste) (n=44)	181 To roast a fillet of sturgeon ... 181 To boil sturgeon ...
	Gadidae	Vertebrae (waste) (n=4)	225 To make a salt fish pie ...
BIRD	Bittern	Post-cranial bones (n=4)	336 To dismember a heron ... in this manner likewise a bittern, using no sauce but salt
	Duck (<i>A. platyrynchos</i> and Anatidae duck size)	Post-cranial bones (n=63; MNI=5)	79 To boil a duck with onions 78 To dress a wild duck the best way
	Chicken	Post-cranial bones (n=53; MNI=4)	101 To make a curry the Indian way ... take two chickens 71 To force a fowl 8 To make egg sauce for roasted chickens 75 To broil chickens served with sauce
	Turkey	Post-cranial bones (n=13; MNI=2)	68 To stew a turkey in celery-sauce 66 To roast a turkey 70 To stew a turkey brown
	Pigeon (<i>E. migratorius</i> and Columbidae)	Post-cranial bones (n=20; MNI=2)	3 To roast ... and when they are enough lay them in the dish, and they will swim with gravy 89 Pigeons in pimlico ... makes a fine dish for a first course 89 To jugg pigeons 90 To stew pigeons
MAMMAL	Pork		
	Chine	Vertebrae (n=1) [could also be loin]	60 To stuff a chine of pork ... make a stuffing of the fat leaf of pork ... have mustard in a cup
	Loin	Thoracic vertebrae 3–14 (n=1) [could also be chine]	101 to dress a loin of pork with onions ... stir in the mustard ... lay the pork in a dish and the onions in a bason
	Hams	Distal femur (n=6; MNE=2) Proximal tibia and proximal fibula (n=6)	258 To make pork hams you must take a fat hind-quarter of pork and cut off a fine ham ...
	Feet	?Carpals (n=2) ?Tarsals (n=2) ?Metacarpal (n=1) ?Metatarsal (n=5; MNE=2) ?Metapodial (n=12; MNE=3) ?Phalanges (n=12; MNE=2)	25 To ragoo hogs feet ... boil them until tender then cut into long thin slices ... add a good deal of mustard ... they make a very pretty dish fried with butter and mustard ...
	Venison		
	Hindquarter (haunch)	Lumbar vertebra (split) (n=4; MNE=2) Sacrum (not present) Innominate (n=2) Femur (n=5; MNE=2)	10 To roast venison. Take a haunch and split it ...

Table 4: Faunal evidence for provisions in Glasse (1774) recipes (*continued*).

	Taxon and meat cut (where applicable)	Elements expected and faunal evidence	Hannah Glasse 1774 recipe reference and page no.
MAMMAL	Beef		
	Calf's head (veal)	Cranium (n=1 excl. loose teeth)	26 To hash a calf's head 27 To bake a calf's head 52 To stew a calf or sheep's head ... 142 To make a calf's head pie
	Foreshank	Radius/ulna (n=3; one is slice, shank cross-cut) Distal humerus (n=1)	18 To bake a leg of beef ... baked meat is added to saucepan with gravy, wine, mustard etc to fla- vour ... it is a pretty dish
	Sirloin	Ilium (not present) Sacrum and sacral vertebrae (n=1)	39 To dress a fillet of beef ... it is the inside of a sirloin ... have a little good gravy in a dish and sweet sauce in a cup ... 14 Of roasting, boiling. ... If beef ... be sure to paper the top ... [no specific cut directed]
	Round or buttock; rump roast	Innominate (n=1) Proximal femur (not present)	33 To ragoo a piece of beef ... the rump does well, cut off the bone nicely ... when the meat is tender and the sauce thick lay your meat in a dish and pour the sauce over
	Round; round steak	Femur (slice) (n=1?); cleaver cut distally only)	136 A beef steak pudding ... take fine rump steaks
	Mutton		
	Head	Cranium (n=3 excl. loose teeth; MNE=3)	52 To stew a calf or sheeps head ... 99 Sheep's head makes a good broth for Scotch barley soup; head must be chopped to pieces
	Breast	Ventral ribs	31 To collar a breast of mutton
	Shoulder	Scapula (n=5; MNE=3; 3 are blade chops) Proximal humerus (not present)	73 Mutton chops in disguise 45 A shoulder of mutton in epi- gram
	Loin	Lumbar vertebra (split) (n=1)	50 Baked mutton chops ... take a loin and cut into steaks ... 100 Mutton kebob'd ... take a loin
	Hind quarter	Tibia (n=5; MNE=2) [could also be full leg] Femur (n=3; MNE=2) [could also be full leg]	10 To roast mutton venison fashion. Take a hind quarter of fat mutton ...
	Full leg	Femur (n=3; MNE=2) [could also be hind quarter] Tibia (n=5; MNE=2) [could also be hind quarter] ?Metatarsal (n=3)	12 A leg of mutton six pounds will take an hour at a quick fire ...
Notes: Elements included in meat cuts for pig, cow, and sheep are based on James (1997). Alternate meat cuts for items that do not exhibit cut marks and/or could not be assigned to position are indicated in square brackets. Elements whose inclusion in a particular meat cut is uncertain are preceded by a question mark (see text for explanation). MNI/MNE is 1, unless otherwise indicated.			

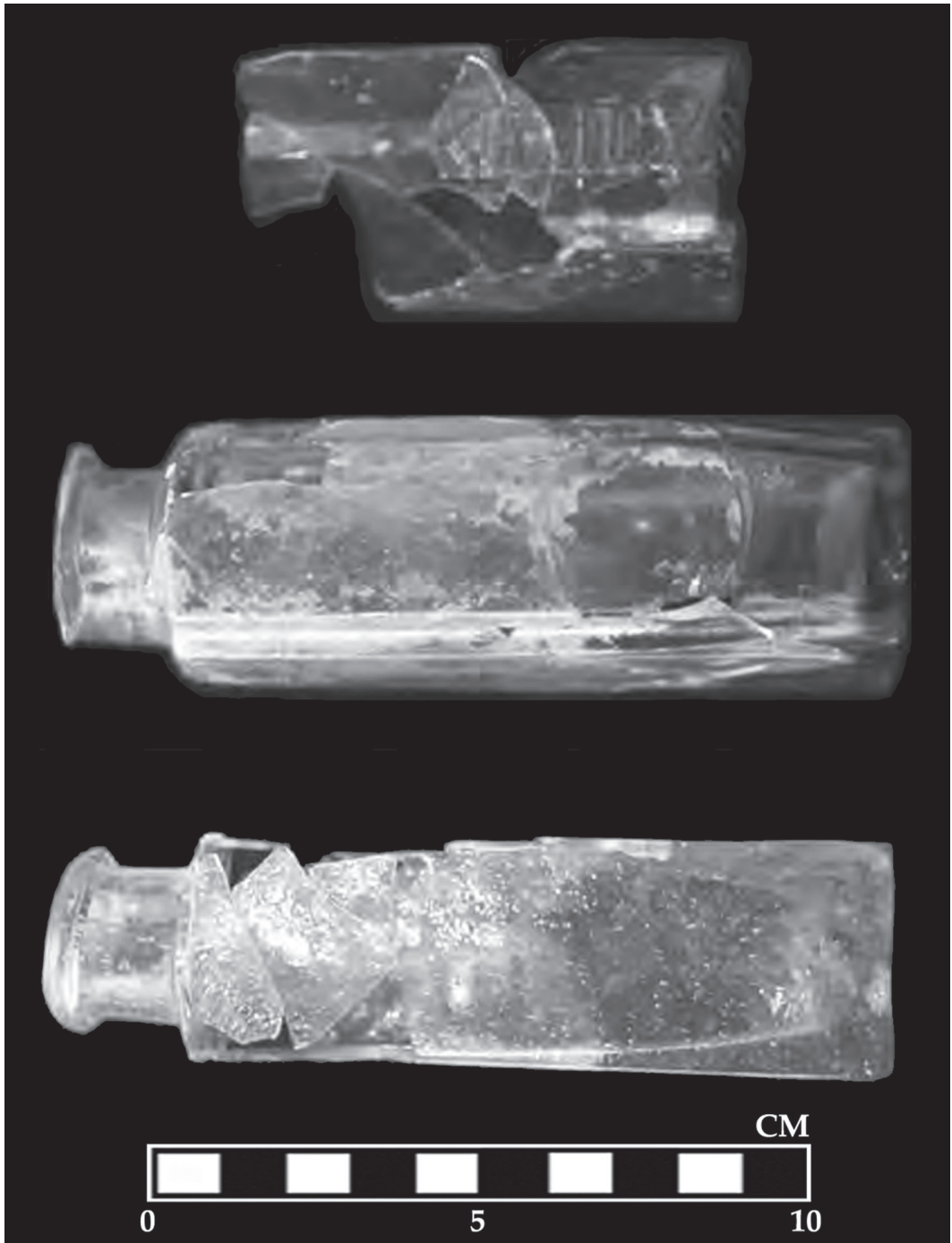


Figure 5. A variety of mustard bottles, including one with the horizontal embossed letters: KEMEYS (*top*). (Photo by Archaeological Services Inc., 2011.)

bass, walleye or sauger, and drum. These were probably caught recreationally either in Lake Ontario—especially whitefish, walleye, and drum (Scott and Crossman 1973: 269–277, 767–774, 812–816)—in the Niagara River and its adjacent wetlands, or in Two Mile Creek. The assemblage also included some bones of marine fish, in the form of four vertebrae of the cod family (Gadidae) that are not burbot. These likely represent preserved (that is, salted) fish, since fresh cod or haddock would not stay fresh for long while being transported from the eastern seaboard under 18th-century conditions. Unfortunately, within the family Gadidae, vertebral identifications below the level of family are hampered by the osteological similarities among different marine members of the family (see e.g., Colley 1989) so it is not certain which species is represented.

A side dish might comprise “pigeons in pimlico,” which Hannah Glasse advised would make a fine first course (Glasse 1774: 89). Twelve bones were positively identified as passenger pigeon (*Ectopistes migratorius*), whereas a further nine were identified only to family Columbidae. In this time and place, the word “pigeon” could refer to either a rock dove (*Columba livia*), mourning dove (*Zenaida macroura*), or passenger pigeon. Rock dove was first introduced in 1606 at Port-Royal, Nova Scotia (Schorger 1952), and it certainly was a possibility by this time in the Niagara area. Also included in this course would be a home-prepared ham, as evinced by the residual foot bones that could have come from butchering a fat hindquarter of pork to make the ham.

Most certainly during the second course, roasted fowl, including turkey and wild duck, would have been placed at the top and bottom of the table. When Elizabeth Simcoe was resident in Upper Canada with her husband, the lieutenant governor, she remarked that the wild ducks there were better than any she had tasted in England because they had fed on wild rice (Innis 1965: 109). Mrs. Glasse advised that wild duck should be roasted as simply as possible, with no stuffing, and dressed with lemon and its own gravy (Glasse 1774: 78). Side dishes might have included a ragout of hog’s feet fried in butter and served in a mustard sauce, and boiled sturgeon. Sturgeon accounts for 20% of the fish assemblage bone count. These

bones may, however, represent only a single fish, as each sturgeon has five rows of bony scutes that survive well archaeologically. In that sense, archaeological sturgeon remains are not comparable to those of other fish (Needs-Howarth 2001). The remaining dishes would have comprised a variety of seasonal fruits and vegetables, such as stewed pears, mushrooms, apple tart, sliced pippin apples in syrup, and sweet custards and jellies. The custard might have been baked in one of two buff earthenware dishes decorated with trailed slip motifs that link them to a tradition of local ceramic production in the northeastern U.S. that goes back to the early 18th century (Stone, Little, and Israel 1973; Hamell 1974; Bower 1985).

The meal would not be complete until the tablecloth was removed and the final dishes were placed on the table. Very few of these dishes would have left a signature in the faunal assemblage because meat was eschewed in favor of shellfish; offal, such as sweetbreads; and small game birds served with a variety of vegetables and sweet dishes during the third course. Nevertheless, one specimen in the assemblage could be evidence of a delicacy purposefully snared, as opposed to being the unfortunate victim of a marauding cat: a bird of songbird size. This is the conclusion drawn after reading the sample menu provided by Mrs. Glasse for October (1805: 313), which includes pigs’ ears and larks, and serves as a reminder that it is important to contextualize archaeological data because of changes in human foodways over time.

Conclusion

The preceding has outlined a fictional dinner party held at 4 P.M. in the home of John and Catharine Butler, in the town of Newark, Upper Canada, before the close of the 18th century. In linking the zooarchaeological data to the ceramic vessel forms and comparing them with contemporary recipes and cooking practices, this study contributes to a body of literature based on an anthropological approach to the meaning of food that goes back to Otto’s (1984) study of the Cannon’s Point Plantation. Thirty years later, it is an approach that is still underused, but that can provide a satisfying holistic explanation of a culture’s foodways (Landon 2005: 25).

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