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# White Christmas Pie, 'smooth as monumental alabaster' The Past and Future Politics of Shakespearean Cookbooks

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Abstract

The article interrogates As You Like It (AYLI), the 1959 cookbook produced by the Seton Guild of Hyattsville, Maryland, as a case study for how the occasional deployment of Shakespearean aesthetics and references across charitable fundraiser cookbooks curates political agendas that ostracize those who do not belong to the communities of (mostly white, upper-class) women who compiled them. Through analysis of the bibliographical elements of the Seton Guild's AYLI, the article shows how the fragmentary reading methods of the cookbook genre, paired with frequent detached quotation from Shakespeare's plays - especially those thematically concerned with race - work to detach and distance the white women contributors from the book's non-American contributors, contributors of color, and the lower-class women their charitable efforts purported to help. It also shows how such cookbooks are important material objects in the history of Shakespearean reception in part because they restore their women compilers to conversations around book history, bibliography, gendered editorial labor, and Shakespearean reception in our work, while simultaneously prompting interrogation of their complicity in the marginalization and erasure of other cultures and communities.

Keywords: Charity, Cookbooks, Fundraising, Shakespeare, Whiteness

#### 1. Introduction

In 1959, the Seton Guild of Hyattsville, Maryland, compiled a fundraiser cookbook bearing the title *As You Like It* (henceforth *AYLI*), with a black and blue illustration of Shakespeare holding platters of food and drink adorning the comb-bound cover (see Seton Guild 1959). Members of the Guild and their connec-

<sup>1</sup> I am particularly indebted to Allison Fulton, Yasmine Hachimi and Robin Kello for their depth of engagement with this piece in its various stages of development.

tions, including many celebrities and politicians' wives, contributed hundreds of recipes to the book, a microcosmic representation of mid-century American cuisine reliant upon pounds of margarine, tinned seafood, Jello, and other such delicacies. The Guild created the *AYLI* cookbook to raise funds for the Catholic charity St. Ann's Infant and Maternity Home, which has historically supported mothers and children in crisis.<sup>2</sup> As a fundraising mechanism for their philanthropic efforts, the Seton Guild's *AYLI* follows in the tradition of Shakespeare-themed fundraising cookbooks produced as early as 1908 and continuing into the present.<sup>3</sup>

While similar cookbooks pun on the titles of Shakespeare's works but otherwise disregard them, the Seton Guild's *AYLI* leverages Shakespearean aesthetics throughout the book in its usage of black-letter typography, illustrations that evoke performance, and quotations from Shakespeare's works. While some quotations, printed at the end of recipes and in the same typeface, seem unaffiliated with the recipes at hand, others occasionally offer commentary. For example, Bette Sawyer's 'Wild Rice Casserole' (Seton Guild 1959, 32), which contains herbs like oregano, thyme, and marjoram, is followed by a quote from *Richard III*: 'Small herbs have grace' (2.4.13). <sup>4</sup> The quotation reminds readers that fresh herbs, a seemingly small addition to a recipe, enhance taste. In this instance, the line is divorced from its meaning within the context of the play and utilized solely as a descriptor of the food. This detached method of quoting Shakespeare establishes a connection among Shakespearean language, recipe, and edible product without necessarily engaging with the play's content.

Despite this detachment and in the context of other aesthetic references to Shakespeare's England in the cookbook's layout and other design components, the book invites readers to draw connections among plots, characters and the recipes to which the quotations are attached. Because their typographical placement sometimes suggests that the quotations are intended to describe the recipe or finished food product, as in the case of *Richard III's* herbs, quotations from plays like *Othello*, one of the most-cited plays in the entire cookbook, take on troubling resonances when read within the context of the cookbook's layout. For instance, Frances R. Norton's 'White Christmas Pie', made more 'attractive' with the addition of shredded coconut to its top (Seton Guild 1959, 52), is paired with the quotation 'And smooth as monumental alabaster' (5.2.5), taken from the moment in the play when Othello, standing over Desdemona's bed as he prepares to strangle her, determines that he will not shed her blood 'nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow' (5.2.3-4). Norton's claim that the whiteness of the coconut increases the attractiveness of the pie simultaneously emphasizes its appearance and associates that appearance with race and violence, for anyone who understands the original context of the quotation: an example of the white feminist politics of detachment that undergirds the entirety of the cookbook.

Cookbooks are meant to be read in a fragmented fashion, and the Seton Guild contributors' use of Shakespearean quotation in this manner encourages their readers to approach Shakespeare's plays with a similarly detached method of reading. As Kennan Ferguson argues, the non-linear approach to reading inherent in the cookbook genre subtly 'entice[s] rather than enforce[s]'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> St. Ann's Infant and Maternity Home has rebranded as the St. Ann's Center for Children, Youth, and Families. From its inception, the Center has prioritized caring for vulnerable women and children of all backgrounds and identities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See the appendix for a non-comprehensive list of Shakespeare-themed cookbooks published from 1908 to the present.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bette Sawyer, wife of Nevada governor Grant Sawyer, is credited as Mrs. Grant Sawyer. All direct quotations from Shakespeare's plays were checked against the Folger Shakespeare Library's digital editions: <a href="https://www.folger.edu/explore/shakespeares-works/all-works/">https://www.folger.edu/explore/shakespeares-works/all-works/</a>, accessed 1 December 2024.

Frances R. Norton is credited as Mrs. Frances R. Norton and affiliated with the Seton Guild in her attribution.

instruction and guidance, challenging notions of authority and how political agendas operate (2020, 6). Therefore, although the Seton Guild's *AYLI* and its purported philanthropic purpose may seem apolitical, the bibliographical elements of the genre that encourage fragmentary reading of both the recipes and Shakespearean quotation curate a particular political agenda: a non-intersectional white feminism that others those who do not belong to the community of white women who assembled it.

This agenda is made especially apparent through the cookbook's engagement with Shake-speare's plays that are thematically concerned with race, detaching quotations from them without providing textual context and linking them to food. In the case of *Othello*, quotations like the one affiliated with Norton's 'alabaster' pie proliferate in the section on desserts in particular, associating *Othello*'s longstanding participation in race-making with sweet comestibles – a troubling association that, as scholars like Kim F. Hall have shown, has existed for centuries and that has implicated white upper-class women in the oppression of enslaved peoples in the American colonies through their normalization of increased sugar consumption in Britain (Hall 2009; Shahani 2020). Continuing in a similar tradition of detachment, the contributors to the Seton Guild's *AYLI* curate their white feminist agenda via fragmented, out-of-context engagement with Shakespeare.

When read alongside the fragmented manner in which the contributors engage Shakespeare's plays, the cookbook's generic features such as layout, paratextual elements, aesthetics, and typography – work to detach and distance the white women editors and contributors of the Seton Guild's AYLI from the book's non-American contributors and contributors of color, as well as the lower-class women their charitable efforts were designed to help. We might see the Seton Guild's contributors as participating in a long history of Shakespearean editing done by women (see Yarn 2021), but in this case their editorial work funded philanthropic efforts with complex social effects. Such cookbooks are thus important material objects in the history of Shakespearean reception, in part because they not only utilize Shakespearean aesthetics for financial gain during a time of political and social upheaval in America – in particular, the Cold War and burgeoning Civil Rights movement – but because they edit and present Shakespeare's works in bite-sized and at times problematic snippets for public consumption. Ultimately, the present essay demonstrates how we can include these women who have been otherwise excluded from conversations around book history, bibliography, gendered editorial labor and Shakespearean reception in our work, while simultaneously interrogating their complicity in the marginalization and erasure of other cultures and communities.

## 2. The Politics of the Cookbook

Fundraiser cookbooks, which have existed since the mid-nineteenth century in America, engender politics in insidious ways (see Hall 1996; Theophano 2002, Ch. 7; Chaudhuri 2011; Goldstein 2013; Shahani 2020). They embody the ideologies of the communities that produce them and can become class markers through the types of recipes included, the class status of the contributors, or cultural references meant to signal a certain erudition to visitors in the home. In a primarily white organization like the Seton Guild, compiling a cookbook has the potential to stratify national, racial, and class boundaries regardless of Shakespearean engagement simply because of who is invited to contribute, what kinds of recipes are included, and how recipes and their ingredients are presented to readers (are 'ethnic' ingredients Americanized? Are non-English names translated into English? How are recipes attributed?).

Western cookbooks, including fundraiser books like the Seton Guild's *AYLI*, are inherently political and have been since their inception. As many Premodern Critical Race Studies (PCRS)

scholars have shown, the early modern period was a period of race-making, one defined by the twin projects of colonization and the establishment of racial differences, and textual genres from domestic manuals to plays were not immune from participation in those projects (see Hendricks 2019). Ayanna Thompson argues that Shakespeare and race 'grew up as contemporaries', noting that even the naming of the Globe Theatre is evidence that 'the larger world was a part of [Shakespeare's] creative consciousness', as it was part of British consciousness more generally (2021, 5). Even in the domestic sphere, Hall (1996) argues, early modern white women were enabled by household manuals and other similar genres to integrate and normalize foreign ingredients and domestic practices into their homes; as a result, these women contributed directly to the oppression of enslaved and Indigenous peoples in the Caribbean and Americas who supplied their ingredients and methods even as the books they wrote and used actively erased the 'other' against which their new national identity was built.<sup>6</sup> In the centuries since, Western cookbooks have similarly worked to obscure their inherent politics of domesticity, nationalism, language, community and race. Ferguson argues that the genre's gendered 'practicality' readily obscures its politics: cooking has been historically linked with women's domestic labor, and because that labor is often separated from more public and masculinized methods of knowledge production and consumption, cookbooks also appear divorced from their own politics (2020, 14).

Cookbooks also have a longstanding history of use beyond fundraising for establishing and perpetuating community ideologies and producing or replicating national and ethnic boundaries. In their production, transmission and use, cookbooks 'politicize those aspects of our lives that we usually neglect to see as political: taste, production, family, collectivity, and imagination' (Ferguson 2020, 18). Cookbooks enable participation in the marking of social class, visible in the creation of Shakespeare-themed cookbooks that share titles with his plays. Compilers of cookbooks with Shakespearean references seem to utilize his work in a similar manner to other cultural allusions to the playwright and his work in popular culture: often when Shakespeare is referenced in television shows and films, the allusions create meaning through an appeal to broad audiences interested in a particular type of historical or class aesthetic because of Shakespeare's cultural capital. In the case of cookbooks like the Seton Guild's AYLI, Shakespearean references similarly become a touchstone for educated women of higher classes looking to cultivate or raise their social status. Use of Shakespeare alongside a variety of famous recipe contributors to market the book thus renders the Seton Guild's AYLI a 'collector's item',

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For more on the particular impact of the spice trade in early modern England and its literary output, see Shahani 2014; see also Crosby 1972; Roy 2010; Earle 2013; Dolan 2020; Shahani 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> There are a number of other scholars working to elevate the voices of women excluded from the literary and historical canon via their creation and use of recipe books. Notable work in this area includes Wall 2002; Applebaum 2006; Munroe 2008; DiMeo and Pennell 2013; Wall 2015; Leong 2018; Bittel, Leong and von Oertzen 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The David Walker Lupton African American Cookbook Collection at the University of Alabama is an excellent example of how cookbooks, when read against and alongside one another with their cultural and political weight in mind, can yield an immense amount of knowledge about cultural histories. The collection contains nearly five hundred cookbooks produced by African American writers and their communities, including the first cookbook with recipes by an African American (published in 1827). For more contextual information on the collection, see <a href="https://www.lib.ua.edu/collections/the-david-walker-lupton-african-american-cookbook-collection/">https://www.lib.ua.edu/collections/the-david-walker-lupton-african-american-cookbook-collection/</a>, accessed 1 December 2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Douglas Lanier argues that 'Shakespop', or moments when Shakespeare appears in popular culture, can even function parodically while also suggesting that Shakespeare is 'a valuable aesthetic touchstone or ethical resource' (2002, 17-18). While the cookbooks I discuss here do not seem to parody Shakespeare, the tension Lanier outlines here is visible in other cookbooks, like *As You Spice It,* which simultaneously fantasize about an accessible, popular Shakespeare while also portraying a certain reverence for his position in western culture. See also Hodgdon 1998 and Corredera 2022.

to use the Guild's phrasing on an *As You Like It*-themed fundraiser luncheon menu.<sup>10</sup> Framing the book in this way encourages potential readers to contribute funds to support the Guild's activities and feel like they have received something of value in return.

While the Seton Guild and many other philanthropic organizations that compiled Shake-speare-themed fundraiser cookbooks in no way centered all of their activities around Shake-speare, their public-facing use of his work as a signal of erudition and social class follows in the tradition of white women's Shakespeare clubs. As Katherine West Scheil outlines, as far back as the turn of the century in America, white women in particular established and participated in clubs centered around the study of Shakespeare's work to facilitate social activism in a manner less threatening to patriarchal power structures. This was a possibility due to Shakespeare's prominence in the educational curriculum. White women's Shakespeare club activities thus resulted in the founding and completion of many public programs and community spaces like libraries and gardens (Scheil 2012, 10-13). Yet, despite these clear commitments to philanthropy, community support and social activism, many of these activities primarily benefitted white communities. For instance, before widespread desegregation in the 1960s, white women's Shakespeare club activities, which included the building of kindergartens and public restrooms, would have only benefitted white communities to the detriment of communities of color.

While other women's clubs like the Seton Guild were not necessarily organized around the study of Shakespeare, their use of the playwright to market fundraiser cookbooks and events leverages his cultural capital in a manner similarly empowering to their philanthropic goals. And, like the Shakespeare clubs whose community activism further stratified cultural and racial boundaries, the Seton Guild's AYLI compilers' appreciation for and deference to Shakespearean authority translates to a furtherance of nationalist and classist goals. This is a common result of the public deployment of Shakespeare and Shakespearean aesthetics. Arthur L. Little, Jr. has argued that, since Shakespeare contributed to the development of whiteness as a cultural and social concept, white people have utilized his image and work to establish and uphold social hierarchies on the basis of class and race, a process perpetuated through the educational system's commitment to training students to defer to Shakespearean authority (2023, 7). It is for this reason that Farah Karim-Cooper encourages scholars and the public alike to remove Shakespeare from his pedestal, 'look him dead in the eye', and examine his complicity in establishing and upholding white supremacy through the study of his works, the period in which he wrote, and how both participate in race-making (2023, 5). And because Shakespeare and his works have been historically wielded by many as a symbol of power, erudition and social class, we must acknowledge how the white women compilers of Shakespearean fundraiser cookbooks like the Seton Guild's AYLI subtly establish a white feminist and nationalistic approach to class and race.

Because of this deference to the playwright and his cultural authority, women's detached and fragmented usage of Shakespeare and Shakespearean aesthetics in their fundraiser cook-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Seton Guild (2014), 'Luncheon at the Silver Fox, December 10, 1959', *Facebook*, 10 July, <a href="https://www.facebook.com/TheSetonGuild/photos/pb.100083283709342.-2207520000/362598113891080/?type=3">https://www.facebook.com/TheSetonGuild/photos/pb.100083283709342.-2207520000/362598113891080/?type=3</a>, accessed 1 December 2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In contrast to clubs run and attended primarily by white women, Black women's clubs – more difficult to trace due to an absence of records – often engaged Shakespeare's work not as a primary activity or mode of activism, but instead as a method of what Scheil refers to as 'racial uplift through agendas of cultural education' (2016, 106). According to Scheil, Black club women were more likely to pursue social reform activities than white club women whose focus was the study of Shakespeare.

books softens their political engagement by creating plausible deniability about their subtle perpetuation of classist, nationalist, and racist behaviors. For instance, in the 1989 Cooking with Shakespeare by Annette Francis and Paula Hober (developed for wholesale fundraising efforts by theatrical organizations, schools, and businesses), Shakespearean references are aimed at an erudite audience interested in the appearance of higher class status through association with England's most famous playwright. Some of the Shakespearean references across this cookbook rely on wordplay to establish a conceptual relationship between the recipes and Shakespeare's plays. For example, 'Cordial Cordelia' and 'Watercressida Soup' pun on character names, while other recipe titles utilize alliteration and/or near-rhymes: 'Asparagus Arviragus', 'Custard Costard', and 'Prunes Pompey', among others. Some, however, are much less obvious: 'Meat Balls Caliban' is an oddity among the cleverly titled recipes. Why not 'Meat Balls Miranda', to preserve the habit of alliteration (Francis and Hober 1989, 4-5)? This recipe alludes to one of Shakespeare's more commonly racialized characters, Caliban from *The Tempest*, an Indigenous man whom Prospero enslaves after invading his island. 12 The recipe is comprised primarily of beef, veal, bacon and pork with minimal other ingredients; together, the name and ingredients link Caliban with a carnivorous appetite at odds with Prospero's perceived decorum. And while The Tempest itself certainly works to 'other' Caliban through his association with the wildness and strangeness of the island, Cooking with Shakespeare here more clearly and directly associates Caliban with racist tropes through the recipe itself and its name, reinforcing his 'otherness' both via his relationship with the island in *The Tempest* and his indirect portrayal in the printed pages of Cooking with Shakespeare.

Not every Shakespearean fundraiser cookbook embodies classist, racist and nationalistic politics in this way. However, Shakespeare-themed cookbooks have been repeatedly designed, published, and circulated in the United States and United Kingdom, with at least twenty-five distinct volumes published since the early twentieth century. The vast majority of these books have been published since the 1950s, many to fundraise for organizations like Zeta Phi Eta professional speech fraternity (1974), the all-girls preparatory academy Holton-Arms School of Bethesda, Maryland (1979), and the Guild of the Utah Shakespearean Festival (1993). This widespread popularity, paired with the inherently political nature of the cookbook as a genre, renders these texts important material in the history of Shakespearean reception, deserving of scholarly attention. With this in mind, I will now turn to the Seton Guild's *AYLI* as a case study demonstrating how a book historical and bibliographical approach to the cookbook and its usage of Shakespeare can reveal the book's white feminist politics.

## 3. The Seton Guild As You Like It

Founded in 1953 and active until at least 2019, the Seton Guild was, like many women's clubs, organized by and for (primarily well-off white) women with the aim of supporting a local charity: St. Ann's Center for Children, Youth, and Families. 13 However, that charitable support,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Characters like Caliban, Othello, Aaron the Moor, and Cleopatra are not the only evidence of Shakespeare's engagement with race: as Arthur L. Little, Jr., David Sterling Brown, Patricia Akhimie and others have argued, all of Shakespeare's plays are racialized in some sense, in part due to their direct engagement with and contributions to the formation of whiteness in the early modern period and beyond (see Little 2021; Brown, Akhimie, and Little 2022; Little 2023).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Into 2019, the Guild continued to host an Afternoon Tea and Basket Raffle to support St. Ann's High School and create gift bags to meet basic grooming and infant care needs of the young women coming to St. Ann's for as-

garnered in part by the sale of the *As You Like It* cookbook alongside other fundraisers like garden parties and luncheons, had harmful consequences for the people that the Guild and the Center purported to help. The Guild's mission statement articulates a desire to prepare young women for future participation in society as self-supporting individuals, a rather paternalistic goal, considering these young women were often unwed, low-income and single mothers seeking tangible and financial support for their families who were then either encouraged to place their children for adoption or live by the community rules established by the Center.

In recent years, a number of these women have come forward after experiencing decades of trauma at the hands of religious charities like St. Ann's, recounting stories of how nuns and other charity workers at these centers misled them to surrender their children for closed adoption during the period in which the Seton Guild AYLI was produced and sold. In 1992, former recipient of St. Ann's assistance Barbara Montgomery recounted to the Los Angeles Times that the nuns at St. Ann's insisted 'it would be selfish' to keep her baby in order to urge her to sign away her parental rights:

Every May 7 since 1965, I've thought about this child. For 27 years I've seen a baby in my mind, a baby who is now a man ... I was told that I'd forget the experience, that I'd have other children and go on with life. What happened is I've never had other children and I've never forgotten the experience. (Dreyfous 1992)

Montgomery is one of dozens of women who have advocated for the government to intervene in opening adoption records to adult adoptees for family reunification through Catholic Mothers for Truth and Transparency, having also signed an open letter to the Connecticut General Assembly during the 2021 consideration of House Bill 6105: An Act Concerning Access to Original Birth Certificates by Adult Adopted Persons. The women articulate the trauma they have endured at the hands of Catholic charities including St. Ann's:

When we found ourselves pregnant—and for most of us, unwed—we were blamed wholly for our situation ... Many of us were sent away to Catholic maternity homes where we were stripped of our identities and forced into silence. We were gaslighted by Catholic authorities to believe we deserved the shame and humiliation they bestowed upon us, gaslighted to believe we were not good or strong enough to keep our babies, that we didn't love them unless we gave them up. By the time this heinous system was done with us, it had accomplished exactly what it had set out to do: render us powerless, alone, and broken to the point where we had no other choice but to relinquish our babies. ('Catholic Mothers for Truth & Transparency' 2021, n.p.)

The stories of Montgomery and the 44 other signers of the open letter are stark reminders of the role that charitable fundraisers, including the Seton Guild's *AYLI* and affiliated events, can play in the perpetuation of harm against less privileged individuals and communities.

The legacy of the Seton Guild's *AYLI* is thus one of loss, as it was compiled, published, and marketed – using Shakespeare's work and the aesthetics of the period in which he wrote – with the express purpose of raising funds for one of the charities named as having inflicted such traumatic experiences upon young women and their families. Its publication in 1959 was paired with two other *As You Like It* themed fundraiser events for the Guild and its work in

sistance. While the Guild seems to have either dissolved or slowed their operations during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, the effects of its existence upon St. Ann's remain visible as the Center continues its work with young families to this day. The Seton Guild website is, at the time of this writing, accessible only via the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine; the group's Facebook page has not been updated since October 2019.

support of St. Ann's: a luncheon on 10 December featuring dishes from the cookbook on the menu, and a festival and fashion show on 4 June 1960 at the French Embassy in Washington, D.C. The menus and invitations coordinate aesthetically with the cookbook's appearance: each includes black, white, and blue line drawings of theatrically dressed characters in pantaloons, ruffs, and pointed-toe shoes, and each leverages a nostalgia for the 'old world' with its use of a black-letter typeface for aesthetic emphasis.

The bolded variation on Monotype Engravers Old English Regular mimics the black-letter fonts common in printing of Shakespeare's day, functioning in much the same way as it has since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: black-letter fonts were used in the early modern period across a range of genres and contexts, but as Zachary Lesser argues, its usage lent texts an antiquated gravitas that deeply connected the font to traditional ideals of 'Englishness' what Lesser calls 'typographic nostalgia' (2006, 107). The typeface's usage in the early modern period was popular in authoritative documents from the government and the church, but has drawn the attention of historians due to the ways these texts reflect a nostalgia for a certain type of white, Christian Englishness. Black letter's association with tradition has persisted into the present day, and in the case of the Seton Guild's AYLI, this 'Old English' font is primarily utilized for headings and paratexts, such as the title of the book and the prayer printed on the page opposite the copyright information, while the remainder of the book is printed in a more accessible Garamond Bold (recipes) and similar italic font (Shakespearean quotations). The prominent use of black letter, in combination with the Shakespearean references and images, functions as a marketing strategy grounded in a form of nationalism that trades in nostalgia for the traditions and aesthetics of an imagined 'old world'. The typographic design of the material text thus functions as a direct appeal to an audience that values the cultivation of their own erudition and class status through domestic and charitable work. That appeal will entice them to purchase the book to support the philanthropic cause of the Guild.

The language used to advertise the cookbooks at these events also subtly highlights the class status of the women contributors and Guild members, distancing them from the recipients of their charity. Whether all of the contributors to the book were members of the Seton Guild themselves is unclear, 14 but the Guild members who compiled the book clearly maintained and exploited their connections with the upper echelons of mid-century American society to produce, market and sell the book and fund their work with St. Ann's. The 1959 luncheon menu describes the Seton Guild's AYLI as 'The 'Who's Who' Cook Book' and 'A Collector's Item', selling each copy for \$3.00 at the front door. Other than Seton Guild members from the D.C. area and a number of established restaurants from across the U.S., contributors include many people who might be considered the 'who's who' of the decade: actresses Shirley Booth and Rosalind Russell, opera star Lily Pons, manager of the National Theater Scott Kirkpatrick and Alice Elizabeth (Concklin) Snyder, close personal friend of Dwight and Mamie Eisenhower. Each attribution made in the book includes the contributor's name in the upper left-hand corner of the recipe, followed by a qualifier: the majority of contributors are noted to be wives of politicians and their close connections, their own names subsumed by the names and positions of their husbands; for example, Alice Snyder is credited as 'Mrs. Howard McC. Snyder, Wife of General Snyder, President Eisenhower's Physician' (Seton Guild 1959, 102).<sup>15</sup> While these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The Guild does not seem to keep records in a publicly-accessible location nor do they have a method of contacting former members now that the organization is no longer active.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> While the women of the Seton Guild cookbook often choose to represent themselves using their husbands' names, titles, or affiliations, I here name them directly as a feminist act to ensure their contributions (both positive and negative) to American society, the Seton Guild, and the cookbook itself are rightfully acknowledged.

attribution conventions are not unusual for the period, especially given that women gained status and financial security through their marriages, the effect emphasizes their celebrity, social status, and political connection – contrasting them to those receiving their charity.

Even the production process of the Seton Guild's *AYLI* emphasizes the political and social connections of the book's compilers and the Guild itself. The cookbook was printed by the McArdle Printing Company in Silver Spring, Maryland, a suburb of D.C. The printer is identifiable only by the presence of their union label or 'bug' and the number '31' designating their shop on the copyright page, which notes they were a member of the Allied Printing Trades Council Union in D.C. during this time. Steve Nobles, current president of the Printing, Packaging, and Production Workers Union of North America (which has absorbed the Allied Printing Trades Council Union) has confirmed that the bug belongs to McArdle, noting that the company was initially owned by the Bureau of National Affairs (BNA) before Bloomberg acquired it in 2011. The BNA was long considered America's largest nonpartisan, independent publisher of news; its ownership of McArdle underscores the connections of the Seton Guild's members to the national printing and publishing market.

Further social and political connections are emphasized in the eighteen pages appearing before the indices featuring sixty-eight advertisements ranging from full-page spreads by the First National Bank of Washington, D.C. and Trans World Airlines (TWA) to half- and quarter-page ads from local grocers, furniture stores, restaurants, and car dealerships. Many of the advertisers in the book are also religiously affiliated, such as the Catholic Information Center and the Christ Child Opportunity Shop. These advertisements are effectively endorsements of the Guild's charity work from members of the community on both a local and national scale, and their existence is a clear demonstration of the cookbook creators' class connections. Such endorsements, while generating business for the companies advertised, also encourage buyer confidence, which in turn generates more profits from the book's sales to support the work of the Guild.

With the class status of the Seton Guild's membership conveyed by their connections to the BNA, the many local and national advertisers, and upper-class recipe contributors ranging from celebrities to American politicians and their wives, and with their own educational status reinforced through their evocation of nostalgia for the 'old world' of Shakespeare's day, the Shakespearean references themselves stand in stark relief. The references to his plays and sonnets proliferate from the title page, which, in the same Monotype Old English typeface as the title, quotes *Othello* with an incorrect act and scene attribution: 'Take note, take note, O world!' / Othello, Act II. Sc. 3.' (Seton Guild 1959, i). The quotation, paired with the title as the only printed text on the page, establishes from the cookbook's beginning that the Shakespearean quotations are meant to be consumed like the recipes in the book and as the compilers themselves have done: in a fragmented fashion, as 'you' (the reader) likes them.

The correct citation for the quotation is in fact 3.3.431, but its incorrect attribution establishes that the Shakespearean references and quotations throughout the book are not meant to be anything more than a marketing tactic and show of status. The compilers were not using Shakespeare to demonstrate their erudition or participate in a conversation about the playwright and his work: instead, they used Shakespeare to cultivate the 'appearance' of erudition in an effort to appeal to a specific class of consumer, one with the funds to support their work. The unusual choice to use an *Othello* quotation in this way, especially within the opening of a book named *As You Like It*, is ultimately characteristic of the cookbook, which then proceeds to place

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See Nobles 2024. For more on the Bloomberg acquisition of the BNA, see <a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/company/press/bloomberg-completes-acquisition-of-bna-2/">https://www.bloomberg.com/company/press/bloomberg-completes-acquisition-of-bna-2/</a>, accessed 1 December 2024.

detached quotations from Shakespeare's plays and poems on nearly every page to follow. Just over 350 recipes feature in the book, with about 127 quotations appearing across the book's 218 pages. Shakespeare's *As You Like It* only contributes six total quotations to the book, one of the least frequently cited plays in the entire collection despite sharing its title.

The mis-cited *Othello* quote on the cookbook's title page also establishes a connection between food and race due to the context of the quotation within the play itself. The cited line is uttered by Iago as he attempts to convince Othello that Desdemona has cheated on him with Cassio. Othello responds:

By the world, I think my wife be honest and think she is not. I think that thou art just and think thou art not. I'll have some proof! Her name, that was as fresh As Dian's visage, is now begrimed and black As mine own face... (3.3.438-443)

Othello's response to the rumors of Desdemona's infidelity associates purity and honesty with freshness and, by extension, whiteness, and dishonesty and an adulterous reputation with blackness – and Blackness<sup>17</sup> – which he directly associates with his own body. Desdemona's name is both pure and begrimed, white and black; and the effect of the speech situates Othello and Desdemona against one another in part due to the color of their skin and the moral associations of each.

On the surface, decontextualizing Iago's half-hearted 'attempt' to avoid disclosing his lie about Desdemona's infidelity to Othello and extracting it on the title page of the Seton Guild's AYLI seems merely to be a marketing tactic. It is one that encourages the same nonlinear reading patterns of the cookbook genre by suggesting that reading Shakespeare can be approached in the same fragmentary fashion as the recipes in the book itself. However, placing the quotation back within its original context stands as a stark reminder to 'take note' of how this fragmentation and decontextualization serves a greater purpose in the Seton Guild's AYLI: it both establishes and obscures the cookbook's white feminist politics that separate its compilers and readers from the recipients of their charity. By extension, it repeatedly fetishizes and suppresses those who do not serve the nationalistic or classist goals of the text.

The detached juxtaposition of Shakespeare's pastoral comedy via the book's title, and the tragedy of *Othello* via the title page's mis-cited quotation, encourages readers from the beginning to divorce the plots and characters of the plays from the allusions themselves, seeing them as nothing more than a thematic addition to the cookbook and mirroring the ways that recipes are presented within a cookbook's pages. This becomes a pattern over the course of the book: while some of the quotations seem to describe the recipes they are affiliated with, many have no obvious connection to the recipes with which they share page space. For instance, Florence Rhodes' recipe for a sweet almond dessert, 'Petit Fours Croissants Vanilla' (Seton Guild 1959, 39), has no apparent relation to the quotation from *A Comedy of Errors* it is paired with: 'We'll pluck a crow together' (3.1.120).<sup>18</sup> And Pat Nixon's contribution, 'Shrimp Superb', which contains ingredients like shrimp, boiled eggs, mayonnaise, butter, cheese, and potato chips,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Current usage, especially in the United States, favors capitalization of Black and Blackness when referring specifically to racial and/or cultural identities as well as specific histories and communities in the same manner as other such identifiers (e.g. Latinx, Native American, etc.).

<sup>18</sup> Mrs. Florence Rhodes is credited as herself and affiliated with her location only, Washington, D.C.

is followed by the first line of Sonnet 18: 'Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?' (Seton Guild 1959, 26). 19 These odd pairings suggest that perhaps contributors were asked to identify a favorite Shakespeare quotation to include with their recipe; it is also possible that the book's editors, Verna Hickenlooper and Elizabeth Gruenther, added the quotations before publication. 20 That the quotations are sporadically placed in the page layouts according to no specific pattern – not even as page filler – suggests the former: some pages lack any quotation at all while others include multiple references, regardless of how much white space is available on the page. Ultimately, the choices made visible in these quotation placements signal that the Shakespearean reference, while still conveying appreciation for the playwright's work, is meant to establish class status through the appearance of erudition as opposed to an actual understanding of the play. This enables the contributors to lay claim to Shakespeare as white property and leverage him and his work for their project of charity, which by extension elevates their own appearance of social status.

At times, this appeal to class and erudition is precisely what results in troubling connotations. Here I return to the example with which I opened this essay, Frances R. Norton's 'White Christmas Pie' (Seton Guild 1959, 52), which is paired with an *Othello* quotation one can only presume is in fact meant to describe its texture: 'And smooth as monumental alabaster' (5.2.5). The ingredients in Norton's pie suggest that the finished product is likely alabaster in color – light-colored ingredients include shredded coconut, gelatin, milk, sugar, vanilla, and whipping cream – but pairing this quotation with the recipe results in rather sinister connotations when read in context. Othello's monologue before he smothers Desdemona, in which this quotation appears, yet again draws direct attention to race as Othello juxtaposes his own Blackness against Desdemona's 'alabaster' skin:

Yet I'll not shed her blood, Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow, And smooth as monumental alabaster. Yet she must die, else she'll betray more men. (5.2.3-5)

Othello here suggests that Desdemona's whiteness is an external representation of her innocence and purity, a commonplace association in early modern England and Europe more broadly, and he thus refuses to murder her in a manner that would color her white skin. However, this turn of phrase, marked by 'yet', suggests that the whiteness giving her the appearance of innocence obscures her true character: this, too, is a commonplace association in the period, as evidenced by phrases and titles like *The White Devil*. Evoking Desdemona's whiteness as a marker of the pie's color in the way that Norton does thus situates the whiteness and attractiveness of the pie and its affiliation with a Christian holiday against Othello's dark skin, Moorish ethnicity, and the relationship between his identity and capacity for violence, glossing over his own conversion to Christianity in the process.

The othering of Othello by linking his race to food is a longstanding historical problem with the play, as Shahani has compellingly argued. Often applied to foods like coffee, chocolate, and cookies, Othello's name evokes 'his exotic role in the play – his thrilling traveler's tales, his dangerous yet alluring blackness, his tragic grandeur – all in one delectable serving' (2020, 81).

<sup>19</sup> Pat Nixon is credited as Mrs. Richard M. Nixon, Wife of the Vice President of The United States.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Verna A. Hickenlooper was the wife of Iowa governor Bourke B. Hickenlooper and is credited as Mrs. Bourke B. Hickenlooper. Elizabeth Mahoney Gruenther, wife of the Assistant to the Deputy Assistant to U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Homer H. Gruenther, is credited as Mrs. Homer Gruenther.

This history finds its roots in the early modern period, and even in broadside ballads spreading anti-coffee propaganda Othello's otherness is used to evoke 'conversion and contamination' (82). For instance, in *A broad-side against coffee; or, the marriage of the Turk* (1672), the ballad writer directly references Othello in the diatribe against coffee:

Which for a truth, and not a story tells, *No faith is to be kept with Infidels.*Sure he suspects, and shuns her as a Whore, And loves, and kills, like the *Venetian Moor* (Anonymous 1672, ll. 23-26)

The reference in this late seventeenth-century broadside establishes a longstanding history of using Othello and his Blackness to render foreign foods exotic, alluring, and dangerous. While the Seton Guild's *AYLI* does not so explicitly weaponize these racialized references to *Othello*, the manner in which they do reference the play – with detached quotations, with those most apparently connected to the recipes they are printed beside linking Blackness and whiteness to food for the purpose of commodifying their cookbook for charity – evokes a similar otherness grounded in racism. Furthermore, it functions as yet another moment in the long history of fetishistic consumption of racial and ethnic difference that is legitimized in part through a widespread cultural reverence for Shakespeare.

The Seton Guild's AYLI extends this othering behavior through the creation of an entire section of the book devoted to 'Diplomatic' recipes. The table of contents otherwise outlines sections based on food type: that is, breads, casseroles, desserts, salads and dressings, etc. The 'Diplomatic' section is the only one that uses a non-food identifier as its title, and the contributions are provided by foreign embassies and the wives of diplomats to the U.S. Unsurprisingly, most of the recipes in this section have been Americanized, with translated or equivalent American ingredients and dish titles listed. Only a handful of recipes include cultural ingredients: for example, Takako (Debuchi) Asakai's<sup>21</sup> recipe for Yakitori lists mirin, shoyu, and katakuri-ko (translated as 'Japanese cornstarch') as required ingredients (Seton Guild 1959, 84). For the most part, however, ingredients named in non-English languages are translated for American readers.

The most insidious way that the 'Diplomatic' section others non-American contributors to the cookbook is through its deployment of far more Shakespearean quotation than in the other sections of the book. Eight of the book's sections, including 'Appetizers', 'Salads and Dressings', and 'Casseroles', feature about five to eight pages of recipes with ten to sixteen Shakespeare quotes in each section. Two sections, 'Desserts' and 'Meat and Poultry', include eighteen quotes each across thirty-six pages. The 'Diplomatic' section, however, contains twenty-six pages of recipes contributed by foreign diplomats' wives, and this is where most, if not all, of the contributors of color across the entire cookbook appear, with their recipes understood as representative of their contributors' cultures. Proportionally, the amount of Shakespeare is the highest in this section of the book: there are thirty-nine quotations spread across the twenty-six pages. While we cannot know for sure whether the quotations were added by the contributors themselves or the editors, the effect of this structure upon readers is the same: the large and uneven proportion of Shakespeare quotations suggests that these recipes and their contributors require association with Shakespeare (and, by extension, the whiteness and elite class status he has come to represent) to legitimize their contributions and appeal to American readers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Wife of Japanese ambassador Kōchirō Asakai and daughter of former ambassador Debuchi Katsuji.

The cookbook's index likewise cordons off these contributors in the 'Diplomatic' section of the cookbook. The book contains two indices: the first organized by recipe type and title, and the second organized by contributor name. Hundreds of contributors are listed in alphabetical order by surname. However, the contributors to the 'Diplomatic' section, most of whom are named on the recipe page itself, following the same conventions as their American counterparts, are not named at all in the index. Rather, the index attributes each of their recipes to the embassy with which they are associated. For instance, Daw Mya Mya Win's recipe is listed in the contributor index under 'Burma, Embassy of the Union Of'. Like the collapsing of food and race via the deployment of *Othello* quotations in other sections, the recipe and its contributor are collapsed as these non-American women are referred to solely by the institution of their nationality, in contrast to the hundreds of white American women listed by name (even if only their husband's name) in the same index.

The Seton Guild's *AYLI* repeatedly others and objectifies its non-American contributors and contributors of color in this way, whether through its uncritical deployment of Shakespearean quotation or bibliographic design choices. The cookbook's politics of social class, gender, and race are thus reified through its engagement with Shakespeare and the formatting, typographic design, publication practices and other bibliographic components. These politics, as I have shown, are not benign, especially considering that in 1959 America was in the midst of the Cold War and the early stage of the burgeoning Civil Rights movement. The Seton Guild's white feminist deployment of textual elements and their deep reliance upon Shakespeare to sell their products and raise funds for charity are deeply intertwined with the political context in which the book was created, to the detriment of the communities they aimed to help.

### 4. Conclusion

The Seton Guild's AYLI has established a legacy of nearly invisible political engagement that can nonetheless be made visible through bibliographic and book historical methods and theories. Jennifer Park argues that 'The power of defining a legacy ... is the power to define the value of past, present, and future, and is used to determine who or what is allowed access: to knowledge, to resources, to community' (2023, 266), and to revisit cookbooks like the Seton Guild's AYLI as crucial points in the history of Shakespearean reception ensures that we are able to challenge the harms of this legacy while creating space for a more inclusive future of the field. By questioning their material components as well as how, by whom, and for what purposes they were compiled, published, and circulated, book historians and bibliographers can contribute to broader conversations about Shakespeare's legacy and the ways that he has historically and contemporarily been utilized in service of problematic political engagement. Brandi K. Adams argues that book historians in particular have an immense opportunity to ensure that we are thoroughly equipped to not only identify, but conscientiously draw attention to, the gaps in historical record, reception history, and other scholarship with the goal of ensuring that those who have remained 'in the shadows' can be brought to the center of conversations that have traditionally excluded them (2023, 84). This may require, as I demonstrate here, a willingness to let our scholarship settle in contradiction and complexity. In this instance, addressing how white women like the editors and contributors to the Seton Guild's AYLI may participate in the long but under-appreciated history of women editors of Shakespeare while also subtly perpetuating the harm of other marginalized people through the bibliographic obfuscation of their political engagement. This process enables us to pursue a future of the field that makes space for justice, equity, and reparation.

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Appendix: Shakespeare – Themed or – Affiliated Cookbook Titles

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