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THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF ALCOHOL IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
MARYLAND

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University of Delaware (Winterthur Program), 1987

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THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF ALCOHOL
IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MARYLAND

By
Bradley C. Brooks

A thesis paper submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

August 1987

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THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF ALCOHOL IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MARYLAND

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INTRODUCTION

In 1877, the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography published the journal of William Black, a native of Scotland, who in 1744 recorded his experiences while traveling from Virginia to Pennsylvania as a member of a commission on Indian affairs. Along the way he noted the entertainment that he and the group received. Indeed, his thoughts about receptions, dinners, teas, and the like constitute the larger part of the journal. Alonzo Brock, then secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, offered comments on Black's journal. He called it a "graphic portraiture of the social life of our ancestors," further noting:

It will be observed that the so-named "sociality" was a cherished and habitual feature of entertainment. The "cheerful glass" was not only indispensable [sic] at the domestic board, but appears to have been an essential even at State Councils; it was the symbol of welcome and its omission would have been considered a breach of the requirements of hospitality. Much deferential courtesy marked official intercourse . . . .

Brock recognized that the hospitality of his ancestors had symbolic content, and that that hospitality was marked by a set of prescribed behaviors that he termed
"deferential courtesy." Even so, he could not resist a quasi-moralistic statement on the amounts of alcohol consumed by the colonials.

Though our goodly ancestors . . . may now be considered as having been perchance somewhat o'er-partial to the flowing bowl, yet midst their pleasures, there appear to have been due consideration of the useful and ample attention to graver things.²

For the editor, and perhaps for the latter nineteenth century in general, the seemingly unrestrained drinking of the colonials was something of an embarrassment; entertainment and "sociality" were viewed as fundamentally incompatible with the goals dictated by the "useful" and "graver things." One is left with the thought that anything accomplished in such an atmosphere was done in spite of the temptations and debilitating effects of drinking and long nights of entertainment; it could not be acknowledged that the gaieties of the social life and the hard work of diplomacy and government might be integral parts of a larger whole.

Brock's ambivalence toward the drinking behavior of the colonials is characteristic of much writing on the topic. Images of the sparkling glass, the flowing bowl, and the groaning board which figure so prominently in our romanticized perceptions of colonial life reflect our desire to see the time as one when life's pace was more
relaxed, and suffused with an immediacy and vitality which have since disappeared, destroyed by the dehumanizing forces of modern life.

While feeling the attractions of past fellowship and hospitality, many have evinced a degree of embarrassment about the alcoholic indulgences of the past, and have become, like Alonzo Brock, apologists for what are perceived as unacceptable levels of colonial inebriety. Both impulses, the antiquarian/romantic and the moralistic, preclude an informed understanding of past drinking behaviors by emphasizing the observer's identification with the present. Historical analysis, like ethnographic analysis, can proceed fruitfully only when the scholar tempers his observations with an awareness of cultural relativism, enabling the actions of others, past or present, to be read non-judgmentally.

It is unfortunate that examinations of human behavior are often lacking in material culture scholarship. Objects and activities are too often described as functioning only in social, political, or economic frameworks, while their expressive content remains unexplored. The work of anthropologists like Clifford Geertz and folklorists like Henry Glassie have demonstrated that the fabric of experience is a complex interweaving of
man, object, and activity, any one of these elements having meaning on various levels. In the study of historical cultures, the student of material culture must be cautious not to study objects to the detriment of his understanding of activities of which they were once part. This essay, then, will proceed more along the lines of historical ethnography in an attempt to recreate more fully the cultural context for drinking in colonial America.

Recent anthropological research into the nature of drinking behaviors suggests that this is perhaps the only viable avenue of inquiry for a project of this type. Cross-cultural research into the significance of drinking and drunkenness have concluded that related behaviors are largely, if not entirely, culturally and situationally determined. As Craig MacAndrews pointed out in Drunken Department,

alcohol is a predictable, relatively harmless, ... sensorimotor incompetence producer, [and] it remains for societies but to "declare" [the effects] its ingestion produces.4

In short, people react to alcohol with learned responses. From this twentieth-century perspective, the physiological effects of alcohol are "simple"; they are elaborated and given meaning by cultural context, a context difficult, perhaps impossible, to reconstruct from objects alone.

This essay inclines to historical ethnography for
another reason. The nature of any study of alcoholic beverages and related behaviors is partly dictated by the nature of the subject. Liquors are consumable, perishable. This presents something of a paradox: a study of furnishing can begin with the furniture, but a study of drinking cannot begin with the drink, for it has passed entirely out of existence, surviving only inasmuch as related artifacts and their usages have been preserved, or as the beverages and customs themselves have been recorded, most often in documentary form. As the anthropologists have suggested, the meaning of drink is largely external to itself; it inheres in culture and is made manifest in the drinking.

This suggests the necessity to discover meanings that underlay specific actions. Material objects hold important information, but it would be difficult, if not counter-productive, to begin this study with objects. As Rhys Isaac has observed in The Transformation of Virginia, society is not primarily a material entity. It is rather to be understood as a dynamic product of the activities of its members -- a product profoundly shaped by the images the participants have of their own and others' performances.5

This essay will employ documents both to uncover the cultural background of drinking behaviors, and to provide accounts of those behaviors.6 The former will
involve the use of sources that might be termed "medical history" as a means to reconstruct the system of symbols and metaphor that powerfully shaped behaviors. The latter, specific instances of drinking behaviors, will be illustrated by sources including satiric poetry and drinking club records, whose literary borrowings often include satire. Ebenezer Cook's *The Sot-Weed Factor* and Alexander Hamilton's *The History of the Tuesday Club* have both been studied and explicated as literature, but their elements of satire do not render them unsuitable as evidence for this study. Satire depends for its effects upon exaggerating certain aspects of whatever is being lampooned, but this by no means negates the validity or importance of the subject. In the case of *The Sot-Weed Factor*, it is not the satire itself, but the form that it takes that is significant to this essay. *The History of the Tuesday Club*, while self-consciously literary, is not fictional, and can be read as an account of actual events.

It is hoped that when an adequate cultural context is developed for the drinking behaviors of the past, they will emerge with meanings of their own, meanings that coincide with what is already known about colonial society. If this essay can do that, if it can explicate the drinking habits of the past in such a way as to make them no longer appear aberrant, excessive and alien to twentieth century
experience, it will have succeeded in its task.
CHAPTER 1
ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES IN COLONIAL MARYLAND

The array of beverages available in America —
cider, beer, ale, wines, and spirits — did more than slake
the thirst of the colonists. The drinks were surrounded by
and consumed with an awareness of sets of meanings which we
must seek to reconstruct to understand them and the
behaviors that their ingestion produced in a cultural
context. Perhaps the most obvious of these layers of
meaning was that of status and hierarchy. As with almost
any category of material goods, the rarity and expense of
certain beverages types restricted their consumption to
certain classes of society. These beverages, in
combination with appropriate appurtenances and rituals of
consumption, made them emblems of status or group identity,
just as were stylish architecture, furniture, or any of the
classes of objects commonly studied under the material
culture rubric.

To understand the basis of beverages' meaning as
indicators of power and wealth, we must briefly discuss the
nature and varieties of liquors, and how they were made.
The alcoholic beverages available in eighteenth-century
Maryland were of two basic types: fermented and distilled. These two broad categories reflect the nature of the biological and chemical processes employed to produce them, rather than cultural preferences or environmental necessities. Among the fermented beverages were all manner of beers and ales, as well and wines and cider. Beer and ale were made by cooking a mash of malted grain to produce a liquid called wort. The action of yeast on the sugars in the wort would produce alcohol. The English were proud of their beer and ale; the best of which were brewed from malted barley. Other grains could be used as well, but their products were not so highly favored.

Some areas in the colonies, notably Philadelphia, enjoyed a good reputation as brewing centers, but Maryland and the southern colonies did not. This has been ascribed to the relatively decentralized nature of planter society, and its resulting inability to support brewing on a commercial scale, as well as to climate and the scarcity and expense of traditional ingredients. As a result, beer and ale in the traditional styles were something of a luxury, either imported or made from imported ingredients. The author of The London and Country Brewer stated:

I lately had an information from a Person who lived six years at South Carolina, . . . that they have no Malt Liquor, but what comes from London or Bristol at 10d per bottle.
As late as the 1770's, English malt beverages were in sufficient demand to warrant their importation to Annapolis. An invoice dated 25 August 1772 in the record book of Lancelot Jacques, an Annapolis merchant, included "72 Doz fine old porter bottled" at a cost of L 21.12.0, or 6d per bottle.®

For many Maryland colonists, the alternative to the impracticality or expense of malt beverages was cider or perry, the fermented juice of apples or pears, respectively. Simpler than either malt beverages or wines, making cider required no cooking of ingredients, none of the specialized skills of viticulture, nor the intensive labor of the grape harvest and vintage.

John Oldmixon, in The British Empire in America (1741), wrote of the Marylanders:

Their common Drink is Cyder, which is very good; and where it is rightly order'd, not inferior to the best white Wine.®

The comparison of cider's taste to that of white wine was not unprecedented. To achieve the appearance, flavor, and strength of wine were the goals of the serious ciderist. The instructional literature on the subject dating from the later seventeenth century always emphasized cider's potential to equal or surpass imported wines in quality, and by doing so, to provide a domestic alternative to
them.® Cyder, A Poem, published in 1708, a versified treatise on the subject, posed the question,

Why, in quest
Of Foreign Vintage, insincere, mixt,
Traverse th' extreamest World? why tempt the Rage
Of the Rough Ocean? when our native Glebe
Imparts from bounteous Womb, annual recruits
of Wine delectable, that surmounts Gallic
or Latin Grapes . . . .

Again and again, the authors claimed that cider could be as good as wine, and had been proved so by comparison.®

Cider was presented as the wine of the hard-working, patriotic Englishman, a virtuous and healthful beverage which could help win the struggle against encroaching foreign luxury, an image similar to that which arose later in the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign of William Henry Harrison.

The putative wholesomeness of cider went beyond its taste and nationalistic overtones. Ideally a domestic product made by or near the consumer, it was pure, not subject to adulteration by vintners as wines were.® Cider was considered to be a beverage appropriate for those who lived in hot climates of Maryland and the South, a belief which may have contributed to its popularity. Cider's properties were such as could "coole a hot liver and stomacke, [and] temper the heate of boyling and cholericke bloud . . . ."®
As was implied by the literature on cider, wine was surrounded by an entirely different set of connotations and circumstances. Vineyards and wineries required large investments of capital and labor, specialized skills, and a long-term commitment, but even more serious impediments to viticulture in eighteenth century America were European grape varieties' high susceptibility to disease and the tendency of native varieties to produce inferior wines.\textsuperscript{14} Oldmixon noted the state of viticulture in Maryland without comment: "There's plenty of good Grapes growing wild in the Woods but no Improvement is made of them."\textsuperscript{15}

The result of these hindrances to colonial wine making was that wine had to be imported. The English had been importing for centuries, so this was no new state of affairs for colonial society, but the trans-Atlantic journey added more difficulties to the already complicated problem of procuring wine from distant producers. By the eighteenth century, the wine-growing regions of Europe were long established: France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the Wine Islands, particularly Madeira, to name a few. The produce of these vineyards came to the colonies with varying degrees of difficulty. Many wines lacked the strength and body necessary to survive the Atlantic crossing without spoiling. Wine merchants and their clients were keenly aware of the dangers, and had to gamble
on a wine's potential based on its color and flavor. The Annapolis firm of Wallace, Johnson, and Muir wrote its Bordeaux associate, Thomas Ridout, in January of 1783, requesting fifty-four cases of claret, "real good & well flavored & strong Bodied, that will bear the voyage . . ."16 The cooler months of the year were often preferred for shipping wines to lessen the chances of overheating.17

The heat and agitation of an ocean voyage might ruin Bordeaux, and many other light-bodied wines required great care in shipping.18 In contrast, the long-lived wines of Madeira were thought to improve with exposure to both heat and agitation, obviating the problems inherent in shipping lighter-bodied wines.19 Similar hardy wines, known by the generic name of Sack, were popular in England during seventeenth century, and colonists may have carried a taste for them to America.20 Madeira wines were further recommended to colonial Americans by virtue of their exemption from duties levied by the Navigation Act of 1663.21 These factors combined to give Madeira great popularity in the colonies, a popularity which lasted well into the nineteenth century.22

Men who had the means to buy in quantity most often bought their wine in casks called pipes, frequently having placed a standing annual order with the merchant of their
Because the wine was purchased in casks, it was necessary for the buyer to be familiar with a variety of procedures: fining, racking, bottling, and storage, for example. As a pipe of wine might easily cost L 30 Sterling during the second half of the eighteenth century, a cellar could represent a sizable investment whose management would not be left to chance any more than necessary.

If the making, purchase, and transport of wine were fraught with difficulty and uncertainty, spirits presented far fewer problems. Spirits were distilled from fermented saccharine solutions; these could be derived from grains, starches, fruits, or sugar cane. The process of distillation relied on alcohol's low boiling point to separate it from the water and other constituents in the solution. In an alembic, or still, a gourd-shaped vessel most often made of copper, the fermented solution was boiled, and the rising alcohol vapor was collected and condensed in a coiled tube, or worm, to become the basis of the spirit. With their high alcohol content, distilled beverages contained a natural preservative, making them safe to ship and store.

Rum, brandy, arrack, and gin were among the possibilities for colonists who desired distilled spirits. Rum was by far the most popular of these, a by-product of
the molasses that figured so prominently in the voluminous colonial trade with the West Indies. Because it could be made from molasses as well as from fresh sugar cane, rum could be distilled very cheaply in the colonies. A "common use" of rum was as an ingredient in punch, a mixture of spirits, water, citrus juice, and spices, thought to have originated in India and subsequently brought to England in the seventeenth century by seafaring men.25

Although rum was cheap and popular, other spirits were available as well. French brandy was highly esteemed and expensive, as was arrack, an East Indian 

Liquor [made] out of Rice, Sugar, and Dates, ... a kind of Aqua Vitae ... more pleasant than any we have in Europe.26

Some beverages appertained to the higher classes, others to the lower. Of Maryland colonists, Oldmixon wrote:

Their drink is according to their circumstances; the Gentlemen brew small Beer with English Malt; strong Beer they have from England; as also French wine and Brandy, with which they make Punch; or with Rum from the Charibbee Islands, or Spirits of their own distilling, from Apples, Peaches, etc. Madeira wine is the most common and the most noble of all their Strong Drinks. The Poor brew their beer with Melasses and Bran, or Indian Corn dried in a Stove.27

A complex group of associations went into forming this hierarchy. The French wine desired by the Chesapeake gentleman had been the Englishman's wine of choice for centuries, wars, duties and prohibitions notwithstanding.28
Any wine, French or otherwise, when safely stored in a colonial cellar, represented a triumph over time, distance, and weather, as well as over the wines' uncertain keeping qualities and the unknowable vagaries of vintners and wine merchants. It showed that a man had mastered the elements, commanded the labor of others, and was able to store the result until he desired it.29

Wine stood at the top of the beverage hierarchy because it represented control over so many factors and variables. Spirits, whether imported arrack, New England rum, or peach brandy, were inherently less unpredictable than wines. Colonial society's distance from the English homeland caused some shifting in the ranking; traditional beer was now primarily a drink of the gentleman because of the difficulties encountered in the new environment. The poor were reduced to brewing with bran or Indian corn, or they accepted cider, the common beverage. In all these cases, beverages which were difficult to make, obtain, or keep conveyed an impression of higher status than those which were easily made with ingredients near at hand. The ability to "read" the meaning of a beverage in a social context required knowledge and connoisseurship. The ability to distinguish good beverages from bad, and to discriminate among grades of the better ones, was an acquired skill appropriate for gentlemen who took an
interest in pleasures of the table or in the business that was often conducted around it. The success of an entertainment might depend in part on the wines' quality.

The judgment of quality in beverages was not confined to wines. Any type of beverage could be judged on a relative scale. William Black noted in his journal that in Philadelphia he drank "the best Cask Cyder for the season that ever I did in America." The unstable nature of wines, combined with their expense, made them the object of more discussion and consideration. A man needed to be able to judge the condition and potential of a wine by tasting it. Would it age well? Did it require fining? Should it be bottled now or kept longer in cask? A complicated and uncertain task, to say the least. Charles Carroll, the barrister, wrote to the Madeira merchants Scott, Pringle, Cheap, and Co. on March 29, 1769:

I am now about Braking up the pipe of wine I recieved from you in 1767 the flavor of which I think Good in Kind. But I fear Tho I hope I may be mistaken it may be Rather too Hard for me as the very Dry Wine are [sic] in General Too Harsh for my Stomach which the Soft Silky Balsamic Wines suit better.

Here, as with his extensive orders for household goods, Charles Carroll gave articulate and detailed instructions to overseas merchants. The sophisticated language of the letter is suggestive of a certain level of connoisseurship; the desired wine was described in abstract and sensual
language evocative of images, textures, and fragrances. The wine was not to be merely sweet, but "Silky" and "Balsamic."

Carroll's orders for wine also demanded a high level of quality. Another letter to the same firm specified

a pipe of the Prime full kind and the oldest you Can Get . . . as I suppose the Longer it has been Kept in your Island the more it has improved . . . also a Quarter Cask of the best and Richest Malmsey.32

Charles Carroll was aware that men like William Black were able to judge his wines and entertainments, and hence the amount of effort and expense required to keep and present them. The open hospitality to the poor and transient which had been the moral obligation of a gentleman of earlier centuries had almost completely disappeared by the eighteenth century, replaced by private banquets where men entertained others of or near their standing, often with hopes of consolidating their own influence.33 In such a situation, knowledge of wines or other beverages could act as an effective weapon in the thrust-and-parry of a charged social encounter. The host could gauge the quantities and quality necessary to send the appropriate message to the guest, who, using the same knowledge, could read and react to those messages.34
The quality of beverages took on special meanings in the host-guest relationship; along with these meanings, and perhaps because of them, quality assumed significant meaning in the merchant-client relationship. The distant merchant was represented in the colonies largely by his goods, and by his customers, whose opinions might do much to further or hinder business.

The letters of the Madeira shipping concern of Lamar, Hill, Bisset and Co. do much to illuminate the nature of the eighteenth-century American wine trade, and the role that wine's quality played in maintaining the merchant-client relationship. The firm was begun in 1739 when Dr. Richard Hill, a descendant of a seventeenth-century English immigrant of the same name, fled to Madeira from his home on Maryland's South River to escape his creditors. Having been a merchant in Maryland before his exile, Hill used his skills and associations to begin a wine shipping firm. By the 1760's Dr. Richard Hill's son, Henry, and his two sons-in-law, Thomas Lamar and Robert Bisset, were in control of the business.

On the island of Madeira, grapes were grown and wines were made by the Portuguese inhabitants, who sold them to the predominantly English wine merchants. The merchants stored the wines in lodges, blending them to sell
as standard grades, or to suit the orders of individual clients.\textsuperscript{38} The business was highly competitive, and became more so as the eighteenth century progressed. Success depended on knowing the activities of one's competitors, recognizing the state of the world commodity market, securing good wines at low prices from the island's producers, and filling demand with a product of sufficient quality.

In a time before extensive advertising, the wine itself often had to convince the client that he had chosen his supplier wisely from among the wine merchants. If it did not, he could retract his annual order and offer negative comments about the wine to other prospective clients. Wine merchants with the means to do so used personal presence to assure clients of the product's quality. A series of letters written in 1763 by Robert Bisset in Madeira to Henry Hill in America illustrates this concern with quality and in maintaining personal contact with clients. Bisset noted in a letter that accompanied the shipment of two personal orders which wines he had used to make the blends, and asked of his brother-in-law,

\textit{If you should pass near one of these Gentleman's houses I wish you could taste the wine and advise me how they prove for I can assure you that they were not entirely to my liking \ldots}.\textsuperscript{39}

Bisset was so unsure of the wine's quality that he asked
his partner to corroborate his judgment and test the wine's keeping qualities. When a bad vintage lowered wine quality, obliging the firm to ship substandard wines, Bisset began to worry over their possible effects on the company's considerable trade in Boston.

I have only to mention . . . that our friend Newton is doing all he can to worm himself into the Business at Boston . . . . [I]t will be absolutely needful you take a jaunt there to preserve our old friends firm . . . . Contact with clients would allow Hill to gauge their reactions to the wines, and to judge the wines for himself, and to promote the interests of the firm directly. Bisset's next letter elaborated on the problems of competition and quality, and commented on the continual uncertainties which plagued the trade in perishable commodities.

I have . . . told you that Newton is endeavoring to worm himself into the Boston business . . . . I apprehend he will find no difficulty in doing it as they all complain of our wines and say that what Newton as shipped there is of a much better quality than ours . . . . [T]hey will have yet more reason to complain because of the wines I have so lately shipped, for some that remained good in the Lodges and escaped the hot weather have given up the Ghost since the heavy rains . . . .

Although Bisset was optimistic about the current vintage, he reminded Hill that it would be necessary to keep the Boston people in good humor until they receive their next year's supply . . . but in order to do this your presence will be needful among them.
The problems that men like Hill and Bisset constantly fought to overcome were precisely the reasons why wine conveyed social status so effectively. Wine communicated an important social message through a delicate language of taste, color, and odor; the wine, and hence its message, had to be carefully preserved from the time it entered the merchant's lodge until it was poured into a waiting glass. For this reason, merchants and clients alike took great interest in wine's quality and the nuances of its judgment.
CHAPTER 2
ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Alcoholic beverages in the eighteenth century had uses and meanings other than as status markers, although those were certainly important. Ebenezer Cook's satirical poem, The Sot-Weed Factor, of 1708 and the 1744 journal of William Black both place alcohol in contemporary social settings, allowing the analyst to observe its functions, status-marking and otherwise.

The contrasts in social status encountered by the narrator of The Sot-Weed Factor were certainly embellished for humorous effect, but the means he used to convey the contrast are telling in themselves. As he traveled through the Maryland countryside, the narrator had occasion to comment on the hospitality he received. Early in the poem, he stated that he would relate his "Entertainment by the way," and the first that he described was a meal with a common planter. Cider, mush, homony, bacon, and molasses constituted the fare, which was eaten in a small room meagerly furnished. In the room stood a chest, "Of all his furniture, the Best," from which the planter took a keg of rum after dinner. Lest the reader overlook the rusticity
of either planter or setting, he is told that both men drank straight from the rundlet, in quantities great enough to make one "sick at Heart."³

In contrast to the plain board provided by the planter, that of a "man of quality" seemed fairly to groan with edible and drinkable delicacies. "Wild Fowl," "Fish," "delicious Meats," "Venison," and "Turkies" were accompanied by "good Punch" and "Madera strong in flowing Bowls."⁴ For the narrator, the quality of the victuals provided was the primary literary means of representing and describing social position.

William Black's journal, written in May of 1744 when he accompanied a commission formed by Governor Gooch of Virginia to negotiate a treaty with the Iroquois, recorded a series of engagements much more homogeneous with respect to social class than those related in The Sot-Weed Factor. As the Virginia commission traveled north to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, they were to join with commissioners from Maryland and Pennsylvania. During the northward journey, the commission was lavishly entertained by social and governmental figures, and Black's well-detailed narrative provides an unusually clear picture of social practices among the wealthier classes. A close reading of some incidents in Black's journal will provide
examples of the uses of wine and drink in a social context, where it acted as an adjunct to behaviors that served to delineate or reinforce the social order.

One of the frequent uses of wine or punch was as a sort of liquid salutation, a symbol of greeting, of welcome, and of hospitality. One day into the voyage, on the eighteenth of May, the ship Margaret in which the commission was sailing anchored at Annapolis, and its passengers disembarked.

[The Commissioners, &c., went on Shoar, and was very kindly Received at the Landing Place, by several Gentlemen of Distinction of that Province, and conducted to the first Tavern in Town, where they welcomed the Commissioners, and the Gentlemen of their Levee to Annapolis, with a Bowl of Punch and a Glass of Wine, and afterwards waited on us to the House of the Honorable Edward Jennings, Esq., Secretary of the Province, where we din'd very Sumptuously.

On the following day, the company was to dine at the house of Maryland's governor, Thomas Bladen, where they were received by his Excellency and his lady in the Hall, where we were an hour Entertain'd by them, with some Glasses of Punch in the intervals of the Discourse . . . .

After a dinner described as "Splendent" and "Elegant," the company withdrew to the Room in which we were first Received, where the Glass was pushed briskly round, sparkling with the Choicest Wines, of which the table was Replenished with a Variety of Sorts . . . .
Later in the journal, as the commissioners and their retinue continued their journey into the province of Pennsylvania, the entertainments they were offered closely resembled those they had had in Maryland. At their first reception in Pennsylvania, they found waiting . . . Richard Peters, Esqr. Secretary of the Province, Robert Strettell, Andrew Hamilton, and several other Gentlemen of Philadelphia, who received us very kindly, and welcomed us into their Province with a Bowl of fine Lemon Punch big enough to have swummed half a dozen young Geese; after pouring four or five Glasses of this down our throats . . . .

The company made its way into Philadelphia proper where they were led to the governor's house, being the first on that Side of Town which we enter'd, the Secretary Introduced the Commissioners and next their Levee to his Hounor, who came to his gate where he received us with Great Civility and bid us all heartily welcome to Philadelphia, after this Ceremony was over, he led the way to the Hall, where we was presented with a Glass of Wine . . . .

The commissioners were well pleased with the welcome provided by the governor. The next letter they posted to the governor of Virginia stated,

We arrived here [Philadelphia] in the evening of yesterday, this day we were an hour with the Governor, who uses us with great kindness . . . .

The commissioners' welcome by the governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania display similar patterns, and vary in a predictable way. In Annapolis, the group was
Received by his Excellency and his Lady in the Hall, where [they] were an hour Entertained by them, with some Glasses of Punch . . . .

As at the later reception at the governor's house in Philadelphia, the initial indoor reception took place in the "hall." Whether Black meant "hall" in the sense of "passage" is unclear, but he certainly referred to a public reception space.

In Philadelphia, the reception was much the same, except that the governor himself "came to his gate" to receive his guests, certainly a mark of his high esteem for the commissioners, a gesture perhaps prompted by the distance they had travelled. The governor acknowledged that distance by traveling farther himself to greet the visitors.11

Two days later, the commissioners and their levee dined at the governor's house, where

The Entertainment was very Grand, and consisted of many Dishes Substantial as well as Curious, with a very fine Collation; after Dinner, the Table was immediately furnished with as great plenty of the Choicest Wines as it was before with the best of Victuals; the Glass went briskly round, sometimes with sparkling Champaign, and sometimes Rich Madeira, Claret, or whatever the drinker pleas'd.12

The thing which is perhaps most striking about these passages is the intimacy with which alcoholic beverages were
associated with welcomes. On these and other occasions, Black and his associates were regaled with a drink of some kind almost immediately upon their arrival at the home of the receiving dignitary. Mark Girouard, in *Life in the English Country House*, explains a phenomenon he terms the "axis of honour" which is helpful in understanding the dynamics of social intercourse recorded in Black's observations. According to Girouard, one could judge his relationship with another by the extent to which he was permitted to penetrate the private spaces of a house, or conversely, by how far out the occupant came to make his greeting. In this scheme, architecture becomes both a gauge and a regulator of social interaction, with the social activity orchestrated by and appropriate to the space in which it occurs.

Reduced to its simplest, the commission's reception at the home of Pennsylvania's governor could be described as a greeting, followed by a procession into the house, and then by the presentation of wine. Black noted that the proceedings were materially regulated by architecture (the gate and the hall) and by the wine. How did these elements relate to one another in the symbolic ritual of greeting and hospitality? By going to the gate, the governor went to the outer limit of his domestic domain, a point of greater vulnerability than
a doorway or an interior room, to greet the guests. He then led the visitors to the house's interior and gave them wine. The latter of these actions was essentially an extension of the former; the glass of wine served as the vehicle to transform the relationships between the groups from one of civility to one of hospitality. Just as the gate and the doorway marked the company's progression into successively more intimate spaces, and hence more intimate relationships with the governor, the wine marked their admission into a relationship with a spiritual aspect, a relationship bound by the mutual obligations of hospitality.

In Annapolis and in Philadelphia, a welcoming reception with punch or wine preceded a much more elaborate mid-day dinner which then concluded with a course of various wines. In the case of the former, "an hour" separated the two events; in the latter, two days intervened. In each case, the invitation to the state dinner was received at least a day in advance. In each case, alcoholic beverages were served to begin and to end the event. The wine and punch initiated the hospitable relationships and were, in the literal sense, the ultimate gift of hospitality bestowed upon the guests.

Gifts of alcohol framed the acts of hospitality
bestowed upon the commissioners. Just like the decorative
details of architecture, those gifts helped to order and
give meaning to experience by setting them apart and
emphasizing that which they surrounded. Gifts of wine,
like doorways, communicated to guests what they should
expect of their hosts. Used this way, alcoholic beverages
reinforced social expectations and social order.

William Black's journal not only contains
descriptions of alcohol's uses in socially controlled
domestic contexts, it also contains observations on uses of
alcohol which he found disturbing. One such instance
centered on the use of alcoholic beverages for the purchase
of popular political support.

After the mid-day dinner hosted by Governor Bladen
in Annapolis, "the company broke up, and from thence went
to the Stadt-house" to witness a debate in progress. The
proceedings of the Assembly were less than orderly. Black
was distressed by what he saw there.

Order and Decorum, which Justly Regulated is
always a great Addition to the Augustness, as
well as Honor and Credit, of any Public Body, was
not to be Observed in this House; Nothing but a
Confus'd Multitude, and the Greater part of the
Meaner Sort.15

Black was disturbed by the sort of social levelling
he perceived in colonial government and politics, a
levelling that he explicitly related to the ease with which political influence could be gained through treating at elections and public assemblies. In language revealing of his Scottish origin, Black condemned a social order which put it in the Power of Every Pretender that enjoys Estate Enough to Enable him to make a few Entertainments or Barbecues to manipulate constituents in his favor. Black understood treating and electioneering to be integral to the workings of a society at once deferential and paternalistic. He understood the degree to which such treating served to demonstrate the gentlemanly "liberality" of the candidate and define the obligations owed him by those who partook of his generosity. As a Briton, Black was familiar with such practices of electioneering, which had penetrated so deeply into English politics as to become the subject of extensive graphic and literary satire. What Black objected to was such treating by the "meaner Sort." To Black it was inappropriate to simply buy votes for personal advancement. The hospitality of election treating signified a relationship of reciprocal obligations. The candidate should have more in view than simply "his own Advantage" or "Self Interest." He should be a "true Patriot, a Lover of his Country, and a Real Honest man" prepared and able to give more than liquor in return for votes. In short, he should hold up his end of the paternalistic bargain. If he
did not, then the social system, the "Order and Decorum," would disappear, and society would become a "Confus'd Multitude," as had the state assembly. In a situation such as Black perceived in Maryland, the alcoholic gifts that were so common a feature of mid-eighteenth century electioneering no longer served to support a just social order, but to subvert it.

Just as Black saw Maryland's influence-buying practices as too democratic, and hence dangerous, he saw the resulting drinking and drunkenness as disorderly and disruptive.

If a Man makes them Drunk twice or thrice a Year, this Injury is a kindness which they never forget, and he is sure of their hearts and their hands, for having so Generously Robb'd them of their time, their Innocence, and their Senses.19

It would be easy to interpret as ironical Black's acceptance and hearty approval of the generous and liberally alcoholic entertainment he had received at the table of the governor on the same day he so soundly condemned the freely flowing liquor of local politicking, but to do so would be to entirely miss the significance of his remarks. The governor's hospitality extended to the commissioners supported Black's vision of a properly aristocratic and patriarchal social order; the liberality of upstart planters did not. In the latter case, liquor served to idle hands that should be productive, amounting
to "Injury" to the moral character of the revelers, and ultimately helped to elect unqualified men to the state assembly, in contrast to the governor's dinner, which was emblematic of "the Great Plenty of the Country," and an orderly "Neatness."²⁰

In his account of the Maryland legislature, Black cited alcoholic liberality as an underlying cause of disorder. The disturbances at a court day described in The Sot-Weed Factor had alcoholic excess as their more immediate cause. While waiting for court to begin, the poet

\begin{verbatim}
sat like others on the ground
Carousing Punch in open Air,
Till Cryer did the Court Declare;
The planting rabble being met
Their Drunken Worships likewise set . . . ²¹
\end{verbatim}

At the conclusion of the court session, the narrator sought lodgings at an inn

\begin{verbatim}
which at a little distance lay;
Where all things were in such Confusion,
I thought the World at its Conclusion;
A Herd of Planters on the Ground
O'er-whelmed with Punch, dead drunk we found; . . .
A few whose Heads by frequent use,
Could Better spare the potent Juice,
Gravely debated state affairs.²²
\end{verbatim}

The narrator of the poem simply noted the alcoholic excesses of planter society without discussing the factors which caused it, as Black had done. It is notable, however, that the satiric portrayal and the historical
narrative essentially corroborate one another.

William Black's comments on his experiences describe other patterns related to drinking; the rituals of the tea table and of the drinking club also received his close attention, and the contrasts between them will provide insights on the structures that governed them. Rodris Roth observed in her work on the use of tea in the American colonies, "young men and women enjoyed the sociability of teatime, for it provided an opportunity to get acquainted." Such was certainly the case with Black during his stay in Philadelphia, where his encounters with young women at the tea table were frequent and, presumably, enjoyable. During an afternoon visit to the home of James Logan:

the Tea Table was Set, and one of his Daughters presented herself in Order to fill out the Fashionable Water, . . . I declare I burnt my Lips more than once, being quite thoughtless of the Warmness of my Tea, entirely Lost in Contemplating her Beauties.

Likewise, Black found the tea table of Miss Hettie Levy quite agreeable, both for her company and for that of Miss Molly Stamper, whom Black also found to be quite attractive. His experiences at the tea table closely parallel the pattern described by Roth: the tea party was an activity over which a female generally presided, and one in which members of both sexes participated. For Black,
the tea table was a socially acceptable place to enjoy the company of attractive females while engaging in seemingly perfunctory "Agreeable Discourse, such as is Commonly brought up on such Occasions."^27

In contrast to the mixed gender quality of the tea table, drinking activities (of alcohol) described in Black's journal appear to have been more male-oriented and male-dominated. While women (the wives of the governors) were noted as present for the receptions and entertainment of the commissioners in both Annapolis and Philadelphia, Black perceived the dinners as extensions of male hospitality. In Annapolis, the state dinner was held at "the Governor's"; in Philadelphia, Black stated that the commissioners "Dine[d] with him [the governor]." Social clubs were also emphatically male.^28 While in Philadelphia, Black was entertained by two clubs, the "Governor's Clubb, . . . a Select Number of Gentlemen," and the "Beef-stake Clubb," a "certain Number of Gentlemen."^29 Both these clubs were defined by Black in terms of their maleness; both chose for their beverages wine and punch.

Judging from Black's journal, the male gender was identified with alcohol not only in social bodies and large gatherings; bachelorhood was associated with a greater degree of alcoholic freedom than was the matrimonial state.
During his stay in Philadelphia, Black lodged with an acquaintance who "kept Batchelor House, and Consequently [had] more Freedom, than when a Wife and Children is to be Conform'd to." Black promised to be "no Stranger" to his friend while in Philadelphia, "as he kept a Glass of Good Wine, and was as free of it as an Apple-tree of its Fruit on a Windy Day." 30 This freedom afforded by bachelor lodgings drew similar comments from Black elsewhere. Only once does Black mention drinking wine in mixed company outside of a dinner-and-dessert situation; this occurred on an instance when his arrival was too late for the customary late-afternoon tea hour. 31

It is apparent from Black's comments in his journal that the hospitality of the tea table was feminine in character, while the more alcoholic entertainments of the state table, the club, and the private home were male dominated. Gallantry and the exchange of pleasantries occupied the former, while the latter served as the arena in which matters of politics and diplomacy were discussed, and entertainment was a means to establish and maintain status and power, or to reaffirm male community.

In Black's mind, it was proper for these two sets of drinking behaviors to be separate; he was quick to comment when he thought the boundary had been transgressed.
On an evening while the commissioners were being entertained in Philadelphia, Black was returning from a social engagement when

I was met by a Woman tolerably well dress'd, and seem'd a good likely Person to Appearance, but very Much in Liquor.... She on my coming up, look'd me right in the Face, which caused me to make a stop.... I had curiosity enough to turn her round to have a better view; on which I made the Discovery of her being in a Condition, which of all others, least becomes the Sex...in my Sleep (I thought so much of this Drunken Woman) that I Dream'd of her all the Night.32

Black's observations on this incident reveal that alcohol and its effects were not thought permissible for anyone at any time. Although Black obviously saw no harm in taking a "cheerful Glass," passing it "briskly round," even to the point where liquor might cause the company to become "very Jovial," Black's internalized rules that judged drunken behavior did not apply equally to men and women.33 Issues of gender had much to do with what was deemed acceptable with regard to alcohol, and had significant influence on the nature of drinking behavior itself.

Before we can begin to come to an understanding of eighteenth century society's expectations for drinking behaviors, we must attempt to understand alcohol as it was understood in that society. To do so will involve investigating its place in an extensive set of symbolic and
metaphoric meanings which underlay contemporary beliefs and observable behaviors.
CHAPTER 3
PSYCHOLOGY AND PHYSIOLOGY OF DRINKING AND DRUNKENNESS

One of greatest influences on the cosmology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was an elemental theory which had its origin in Aristotelian philosophy. The elements--earth, air, fire, and water--were thought to compose all bodies in varying proportion, and each of these was controlled by corresponding planets and constellations. Each element had characteristic properties: earth was cold and dry, air was warm and moist, fire was warm and dry, and water was cold and moist. Thus, the physical properties of a body would reveal the elements of which it was composed.

Largely through the influence of the works of the ancient physician Galen, elemental theory formed the basis of medical and cosmological theory throughout the eighteenth century, with lingering influence well into the nineteenth century in the sciences of physiognomy and phrenology. Galenic medical theory posited that illness was the result of an imbalance of the four bodily humors, each of which corresponded to one of the four elements: black bile to earth, blood to air, yellow bile to fire, and
phlegm to water. The task of the physician was to restore balance by removing excesses or correcting deficiencies. Drugs at the physician's disposal were classified as to their elemental properties and the degree to which they possessed those properties. Thus, a sickness perceived to be caused by an excess of dryness and heat could be cured by administering a drug which was cold and moist.

While it was of great significance in medicine, the influence of elemental theory, or the doctrine of the four humors, went far beyond, forming the basis of a cosmological system whose branches reached into many aspects of human existence. One of these conceptual subsidiaries was the doctrine of the four temperaments, which proposed that human personalities, or complexions, were determined by the elements which in turn were related to the influence of the stars and planets. There was a temperament which corresponded to each element, just as there was a humor which corresponded. A predominance of one of the humors would produce a characteristic temperament. Black bile was thus related to the melancholic temperament, blood to the sanguine, yellow bile to the choleric, and phlegm to the phlegmatic.

Each of the temperaments was marked by personality traits suggested by the nature of the predominant element.
and humor. Those of melancholic and phlegmatic complexions, dominated by the heavier and colder elements of earth and water, were thought to be slower, quieter, and less lively. The man of melancholy complexion refused "sport and ease, and company," and was "studious," "solitary," and "pensive." He was "suspicious in his nature, and mistrustful," likely to carry "secret hate to others." He was "slow, heavy, and restrained." The phlegmatic complexion, linked to water, "not altogether so [heavy] as earth," produced a personality given to "ease . . . rest and sloth," with "dead . . . spirits" and "dull . . . senses." Complementing their characters, such persons tended to be "fat and square."

In contrast to the generally lethargic tendencies of the melancholic and phlegmatic temperaments were the "lighter" choleric and sanguine. Like the fire which was the elemental basis of their characters, choleric individuals strove "continually . . . upwards," and were "on little cause to anger great inclin'd." Fire's proclivity to rise was associated with vaunting ambition and aspiring thoughts in choleric individuals. The choleric man was likely to be "violent, boisterous, arrogant, bold and fierce." In all, it was a complexion "most pernicious." The sanguine temperament stood apart from all the others. Dominated by air, a "pleasant
element" which "tend[ed] upward moderately," and by blood, men of sanguine complexion were "temperate, modest, gracious, princely, gentle and merry." They were "fit for all company . . . not apt to take offense," and "love[d] Wine, and Women, and all recreation." By all accounts, the sanguine was the most noble, the most pleasant; it was "the best of Temperaments."

It is significant that the sanguine man, full of blood, was "prone . . . to wine." The analogy and connection between blood and wine in the elemental cosmology was deep and multi-faceted. Most apparent, of course, was wine's place in the Christian communion, where it literally became, or was at least a metaphor for, the blood of Christ. Even outside the church, blood and wine partook of each other's substance and identity.

Health writers used the processes of fermentation, clarification, and distillation to describe the generation and movement of blood and "spirits" in the body.

The stomach therefore is that vessel of nature, wherein not only the matter put into it is concocted and digested; but also it is the same which separateth the tartarous feces, and whatsoever is excremental therein . . . . At length after much purifying, the blood is clensed, being the red fountaine, and the original of the spirits of our life; even like as wine which thoroughly fined is preferred before all others, which serve for the nourishing and restoring of our life . . . . For by the clensing of wine, wee know the vitall Anatomie of our
Here the purification of blood in the human system is compared to the fining of wine. The "spirits of our life" is a reference to the natural, vital, and animal spirits which were central to Renaissance physiology. These spirits were thought to control bodily movement, an idea bearing direct resemblance to the modern concept of nerve impulses.

"[T]he nerves act only by the spirits contained in the brain; and the brain receives the spirits immediately from the blood, that passes continually through the heart, which heats and rarifies it so, that, being straight conveyed to the brain, a certain fluid juice is there produced, called Animal spirits. The brain . . . sends . . . these spirits to other parts by nerves, . . . that convey them to the muscles, in proportion to their need for the Action to which they are called."11

In 1706, Daniel Duncan, a Scots physician with French university training, explained the refinement of spirits within the human body by comparison to the processes of fermentation and distillation.

For the Spirits, Natural, Vital and Animal, are but one and the same Spirit, which take their different names from the several conditions through which they pass . . . . The first answers to the Spirit of Mustum, or new Wine. The second is like the Spirit of Wine which is not yet distill'd: And the third is the same Spirit which natural Chymistry hath already distilled in the Animated Limbick whereof the Head is Top."14

In this analysis, animal spirits rose to the brain
in exactly the same way that alcohol vapors rise to the top of a still, there to say until needed to set the body in motion.

The "Analogie and resemblance which [wine] hath with . . . blood" was not only abstract and illustrative, but practical as well. Because wine and blood were perceived to be so nearly alike in substance, drinking wine was a logical way to strengthen the blood. Tobias Whitaker, in The Tree of Humane Life, or the Bloud of the Grape (London, 1638), expressed the belief that many foods, such as milk, eggs, corn, and fruit bred "little bloud, or vitious bloud, or no bloud at all; But wine, especially Claret or red, is sanguified before it be taken." (p. 30) "There is no drink more homogeneal to the blood than Wine," wrote John Worlidge, a widely read and respected agricultural writer in Vinetum Britannicum, or a Treatise of Cider. Although some health writers were very specific concerning the types of wine best suited to individual complexions and disorders, the general message was that wine was good for the blood.

Aside from stimulating the production of blood, wine was thought to be healthful in broad terms.

Wine temperately taken, refresheth the heart and spirits, tempereth the humors, ingendreth good blood, breaketh flegme, conserveth nature, and maketh it merry, as the Princely Prophet speaks,
Wine rejoiceth the heart of man.\textsuperscript{17}

Wine was refreshing, stimulating to the production and circulation of blood and spirits, and thereby promoted health and happiness generally.

Along with his abundant supply of good blood, and the resulting ruddy complexion, the man of sanguine temperament was distinguished by his inclination to venery, a trait often symbolized in emblematic portrayals of the type by a goat.\textsuperscript{18} Just as wine was identified with blood, so were blood and wine identified with sexual desire by virtue of their shared connection with heat. Procreation and sexuality were essentially hot. Heat was the motivating quality behind conception and the generation of species. Because this was true of plants as well as of animals, wine could convey a "two-fold heat" to the drinker. The vine itself was a link in the generational chain, sprung from a seed which was "the instrument by which a power received from the plant . . . by a vitall heate; begetteth another like itself." The grapes were the product of the sun's heat. Both the "animal and elementary heat" became properties of the wine.\textsuperscript{19} Because of wine's association with blood, this heat was easily transferred. It added "heate to [the] blood" (Peacham, \textit{Minerva}, 191) and dispersed "natural heat over the whole body."\textsuperscript{20} This heat became manifest in sexual desire. Daniel Duncan's
Wholesome Advice contains numerous aphorisms that emphasize the relationship between heat, blood, and desire:

Those that are full of good Blood, and Hot, are fit for Procreation . . . Bacchus and Venus agree very well, nay help one another . . . you never meet her a'most, but shees accompany'd by Bacchus, who warms her with inflaming liquor.

The hottest Animals are the most amorous; Love is nothing but a Fire kindled in the Blood of Animals. 21

Like drinking wine, engaging in sexual activity was thought to have healthful and beneficial effects.

Neither Wine, nor Venery, can hurt, debilitate, and weaken the body, for both rightly used are profitable, the one to preserve the individual, the other to propogate the species, and Venus as well as vinum, both exhilerate the mind, cheare the spirits, refrigerate the body, and cause sleep. 22

It is important not only that sexual activity was beneficial, but also that its benefits were very similar to those effected by wine. "Of Venus, or the act of generation," one author noted:

[I]t procureth appetite to meate, and helpeth digestion, it maketh the body more light and nimble, it purgeth flegme, it quickeneth the mind, it refresheth wit, reneweth the senses, and driveth away sadnesse, madnesse, anger, melancholy . . . . 23

Another account of the qualities of wine bears a striking resemblance:

It [wine] is a great increaser of the vital spirits, a wonderful restorer of all powers and actions of the body; it greatly helpeth nutrition, . . . strengtheneth the naturall heate, . . . taketh away sadnesse, and other

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Wine and desire, both products and producers of heat, had similar effects on the human organism. Both were benign stimulants of the body and mind. A man thus stimulated would be "fit for all company," as was the typical sanguine character. He would be happy, mirthful, and inclined to enjoy the company of others. Being adequately supplied with animal spirits, he would be lively and animated, his conversation would be witty and interesting. Mirth, "rarely alone, but in good Fellowship," promoted health as well as good company, and its powers to do so, like those of sex, were comparable to the effects of wine. "Mirth enlargeth the heart, and disperseth much natural heate with the bloud."[Mirth] maketh a man look sweetly ... free from musing, as being not able to hold still his feete, or his hand at his girdle; but being in continuall motion, turning his face suddenly upon him with whom he talketh...always laughing, with a contentment. Mirth, like the wine and sex that promoted them, were stimulators and preservers of good health.

Francis Beaumont, Elizabethan dramatist and poet, wrote:

'Tis mirth that fills the veins with blood,
More than wine, or sleep, or food;
Let each man keep his heart at ease;
No man dies of that disease!
He that would his body keep
From diseases, must not weep;
But whoever laughs and sings,
Never he his body brings
Into fevers, gouts, or rheums,
Or lingeringly his lungs consumes; . . . .29

Mirth, desire, and wine merged in their effects, just as they coincided in the temperament of a man of sanguine complexion. The sanguine man, the man of blood, was associated with all three, for all were associated with blood, the humoral basis of his character.

Because it was the most highly regarded, the sanguine complexion was an ideal to be desired and emulated. To have such a character insured happiness, enjoyment, and success in society; the sanguine man was eminently likable. An abundant supply of healthy blood was the key to the virtues of the sanguine temperament, and wine could produce that abundance. Drinking provided a point of entry to sanguinity, both humoral and temperamental; it provided a means for a man to approach an ideal—an ideal which found clear expression in the male convivial club.

The sanguine-tempered convivial ideal was thoroughly male. It was not deemed appropriate for women to disport themselves in the same way that was expected of men. The popular and long-lived conduct manual, Richard Allestre'e's The Ladies Calling, noted that women who compleat the demonstration [of assuming the
habits of men] by . . . Drinking . . . a vice detestable in all, but prodigious in women, . . . put a double violence upon their nature, the one in the intemperance, the other in the immodesty; and tho they may take their immediate copy from men . . . they outdo their Exemplar and draw near the original; nothing human being so much a beast as a drunken woman.30

Another author expounded the same opinion more concisely: "[I]t is as odious for a Woman to be Drunk once a year, as for a Man once a Week." Allestree's commentary calls female drunkenness a "violence" against "nature," an inversion of order which occurred when a woman with sufficient temerity or insufficient discretion took on male characteristics by drinking too much. She transgressed against nature and became a "beast." To continue in that path would reduce a woman to a wanton temptress whose freely expressed sexuality would threaten kinship networks and weaken society. "She who is first a prostitute to Wine, will soon be to Lust also." The prescribed sexual standards for the proper woman were "severly scrupulous;" she should "never . . . admit so much as a thought" of marital infidelity.32 The rhetoric employed by seventeenth-century prescriptive authors recalls in its vehemence William Black's moral outrage and mental agitation at seeing a drunken woman on the streets of Philadelphia, and was derived, in all likelihood, from the same sources.
The same "nature" that proclaimed male drinking and the sexual desire that it stimulated to be beneficial did not permit women to participate equally in those benefits. The reason for this lay is the perceived elemental differences between the sexes. The humoral-temperamental constitution of women was not the same as that of men and their experience of the world therefore differed as well. Women were reckoned among those colder bodies that are particularly influenced by the Moon, so that they seem to bear a great resemblance to her in her vicissitudes and changes . . . .

Women's greater coldness associated them with the melancholic and phlegmatic temperaments, both incompatible with the sanguine ideal. That coldness had its origin in female physiology, specifically in the reproductive organs. The uterus, or matrix, was thought to be essentially cold, a quality which influenced other organs, and so dominated the female temperament generally. The uterus was "a cold, nervous, and bloodlesse part," which had a "Sympathie with the liver." In Galenic physiology, the liver was the seat of blood production, "the first instrument of sanguification, . . . the author of the bloud." The uterus was "the cause of all those diseases which happen to women," often generating from "grosse vapours," "putrefaction" of the menstrual blood causing "heaviness of
minde, and dulnesse of spirit," attributes of the melancholic and phlegmatic temperaments. Because of the uterus's coldness, its tendency to dysfunction, its connection with the liver, "sanguification was perverted," preventing women from enjoying the benefits of a pure sanguine temperament.

As interpreted by male authors of medical and prescriptive literature, the elemental and temperamental differences between the sexes formed the basis for different sets of behavioral expectations. Primary among desirable feminine qualities were modesty and meekness, in contrast to the boldness and vivacity which marked the sanguine man. Male authors reserved for themselves and their sex a dominant position in society, a predisposition to more desirable temperaments, and an enhanced capacity to partake of the benefits of alcohol. The dichotomy of personality structures defined by the doctrines of the humors and the temperaments found expression in the male club experience; the sanguine temperament and its attributes provide a way to understand the drinking behavior of eighteenth-century club members. In the closely controlled situation of the gentleman's club, many of the mitigating factors present in society at large were filtered out, and the desire to participate in an ideal could be indulged. Club members were free to become actors
in the ritualized re-creation of an ideal of male temperament that conformed to standards promulgated by other men in medical and prescriptive literature. United in the convivial experience, men became what they wanted and what they were expected to become.
CHAPTER 4
DRINKING IN THE GENTLEMAN'S CLUB

The effects of alcohol on the eighteenth-century drinker's deportment were at least partly determined by contemporary physiological and chemical theory. The means by which the body was affected by alcohol were explained by the same theories and language that explained the humors and the temperaments. The doctrine of the humors and their qualities of heat and cold, moisture and dryness predicted that wine would warm and nourish the blood, stimulating behaviors that aligned with the ideal of sanguine temperament. Those behaviors properly prepared a man to participate in the activities of his club in the expected convivial manner, and in turn signified that he was affected by the liquor in the expected way.

The human body was conceived and described in figurative language consistent with Galenic theory, and it was through these metaphoric mechanisms that alcohol was perceived to affect the human organism. In this system of thought, the body was a furnace and an alembic; it functioned exactly like a still, which performed its function by means of heat and cold, qualities of primary
importance in the elemental cosmology.

Distillation is the Art of separating or drawing off the Spiritous ... Part of a mixt Body from the grosser ... Parts, by means of Fire, and condensing them again by Cold.¹

The body-as-furnace metaphor was extensively developed by Daniel Duncan in his Wholesome Advice of 1706:

The name of Chymistry signifies the melting of Bodies by Fire. In this respect, the Stomach is as a Vial standing upon the Bowels as ... upon a hot Dunghil; the Nutriments are the Ingredients to be digested; the lower part of the Belly is the Ash-Pan of the Furnace; the upper Part of the Belly is the Hearth upon which the Stomach is placed as a vessel for Digestion; the Breast is the Cucurbite of the Alembick; the Blood contained in it is the liquor that is distilled there, the Head is the Top of the Alembick; and the Animal Spirit which is form'd there is like an Essence that by Distillation ... is drawn from the Blood.²

Not only was the "furnace of [the] Body" like a still,³ the still itself was like a body, generally anthropomorphic, its parts designated by corresponding terminology. "The common Alembic consists principally of two Parts the lower called the Body, and the upper termed the Head." The head of the still had a nose, the "End which is [fitted] into the worm."⁴

Given this close functional and linguistic association between the human body and a still, it is not surprising that alcohol's effect (drunkenness) was thought to be caused by the accumulation of vapors in the head. Wine, containing what we know today to be alcoholic
spirits, then called spirits of wine, was intimately linked to blood and animal spirits, and promoted the production of both. Alcoholic and animal spirits were both conveyed to the brain by the alembic of the body, in the same way that brandy was distilled from wine. Alexander Hamilton, like Daniel Duncan, a physician with Scottish origins, founder of the Tuesday Club and author of its History, described the effects of alcohol using the same images and metaphors as the prescriptive and physiological authors:

> [T]he Spirit of wine and brandy, of Rum, Whisky and Such liquors ... very often gives a philip to the [animal spirits]... [T]his is what is always used in those assemblies called Clubs, and when it first arises to the Alembic of the head, it Surprisingly produces good humor, makes the dumb to talk; the morose good natured and merry, the mistuned musical, the enmy a friend ...

This was the relationship between the drinker and the drink in the male convivial clubs of eighteenth-century Annapolis considered in this essay: the Tuesday Club and the Homony Club. The drinking man literally functioned like an alembic, and like an alembic, he produced a volatile spirit which was manifested as conviviality. Alcohol banished the undesirable influences of phlegm and melancholy, making a man good natured and merry, an embodiment of the sanguine ideal. Other men did not have temperaments appropriate for these activities. In Hamilton's words, such men had
Sculls . . . as empty as dried Gourds . . . for all the world, like retorts Set in Snow where they remain till the Greek kalends, before any volatile Spirit will sublime . . . .

The conversation of such men "Consisted Chiefly of trite thread bare observations," the "Sublimest pitch of [their] mirth [did not] go beyond an affected horse laugh." Men who did not incline to clubbing, or who criticised it, betrayed in their behavior a coldness antithetical to the glowing warmth of sanguinity; they were alembics without fire, men without life.

Because this convivial fire was stoked with alcohol, it is important to examine types of beverages, as well as ways in which they were consumed. Consider the club's drinking rituals as having both structure and meaning. The structure of the activities was supported by a variety of beverages and artifacts, such as wine, punch, bottles, decanters, bowls, and drinking glasses, and by recurring patterned units of speech and action, such as toasts and songs. All these elements combined to provide the actors of club ritual with a diversified and elaborate vehicle for framing expression and meaning, much of it derived from the metaphoric relationships between blood and wine, and between body and still.

Although most of the discussion to this point has been centered on wine as the means to enhance the drinker's
temperament, it is wrong to assume that wine was used exclusively in clubs, though it may have been preferred. Wine and punch appear to have been the favored beverages of the Tuesday and Homony Clubs, and seem to have been thought more convivial than beer, which in contrast

very much deaden[ed] and flatten[ed] the animal spirits . . . being a Sleepy Phlematic Guzzle, [it brought] on a hebetude and dullness, or a Stupidity peculiar to those hum-drums Clubs, . . . who Immerged in beer and tobacco, [sat] whole nights and days together in a State of torpor or perfect inactivity.\footnote{8}

The songs and poems of both clubs show a greater fondness for "generous wine and punch of Lemon."\footnote{9} "It is beef and good Wine the glad spirit inspire/At once feasting body and mind," wrote one member of the Homony Club in a song.\footnote{10} Punch had comparable virtues. It was "much extoll'd by many . . . modern Bowzers, as a most beatific liquor, exactly like the Nectar of the Gods [it] furbished up the wit and humor."\footnote{11} Here can be seen a merging of identities; the effects of punch were the same as those of wine, even though punch was made with distilled liquor. Both promoted conviviality and sanguinity.

The vessels used to serve and consume alcohol, another element in the drinking of ritual, contributed to conviviality, apart from alcohol's purely physiological effects. Whether served from a common bowl, or drunk from a bowl or glass passed from hand to hand, punch emphasized
the unity of the group by providing a material focus for its activity. Likewise, a wine bottle or decanter passed from hand to hand around a table, providing individual servings, stimulated interaction between participants in the drinking ritual. Of the occasion of the Tuesday Club's first meeting, Hamilton wrote, "The punch [being] made, and the pipes fairly Set agoing, after two or three rounds of the punch bow, [the members] applied themselves to make and pass Some wholesome Laws . . . ." The significance and symbolic nature of drinking vessels in club activities was further emphasized by the Tuesday Club's procession to mark the occasion of a new member's induction, during which a bowl of punch was carried at the head of a line of members, each shouldering his pipe. The common bottle, glass, or bowl dictated certain patterns of behavior and mediated interactions. The Tuesday Club induction ceremony acknowledged the important roles played by both liquor and vessel in creating and maintaining an appropriate convivial atmosphere.

The structure of club activities and the goals toward which they worked were influenced and facilitated not only by objects and the liquor that was consumed, but also by the forms of consumption employed by the clubs. Competitive drinking and toasting are two such forms referred to in the club records. Prescriptive authors...
abhorred alcoholic excesses, particularly those that resulted from competitive drinking or long rounds of toasts. Wine and other liquors were gifts from God, as was all the bounty of the earth, and to use them wastefully or to excess was to fail in the Christian duty of stewardship, of caring for God's creation so that it could be passed unspoiled to future generations.

And ouyr owne longings, rather leave unfill'd
Than suffer any portion to be spill'd;
For what we marre, shall to account be layd,
And, what we wisely spend, shall be repayd. 15

Henry Peacham, in *The Compleat Gentleman*, wrote that men's inclination to "invent new and damnable kinds of carroweing" such as drinking contests led to "quarrelling, reviling, and . . . execrable murthers." 16 Hamilton, describing the types of clubs that existed in Annapolis before the advent of the Tuesday Club, noted that there were clubs devoted to competitive drinking. These were called the Royalist Clubs, . . . the reigns of these monarchs were Commonly very Short, . . . they might perhaps hold on an hour or two . . . they acquired their Royalty through conquest, he who could drink off a large bowl of punch at a draught, being Immediately Crowned king of the Club, . . . till another drank off a larger, so that, in one night, you might See all the members . . . crowned king, each in his turn, and each in his turn fall flat under the table . . . . 17

Hamilton observed, as had Peacham, that an evening spent in this manner often ended with brawling. Drinking to insensibility was not the aim of either the Tuesday Club or
the Homony Club, although mere drunkenness was probably not uncommon. By heading straight for alcoholic oblivion, Royalist Club members were unable to enjoy the enlivened sociability that was the club ideal. Thus, from Hamilton's viewpoint, their liquor was wasted in a practical rather than in a moral sense.

Toasting, even more highly charged with moral and religious implications, was a form of consumption common to both the Tuesday Club and the Homony Club. Because food and wine were gifts from God, their proper use was the increasing of His glory, not wastefulness or blasphemy.

Claret-wine being moderately drunke, forceth the soule to partake with the body, so that both ... full of animal spirits, might ioyne in one pleasing sound, for the glorifying of their soveraigne Benefactor. 18

Food and drink, as God's gifts, had a holiness which they conferred on every instance of their consumption. In theory, at least, every table was God's table, and every meal a Holy Communion. 19 To make a secular toast with wine that came to one's hand through the grace of God was to fail to return thanks for blessings received, and came dangerously close to subverting the function of prayer.

The anonymous author of The Great Evil of Health-Drinking, published in London in 1684, provided an extensive commentary on this topic. Drinking to another's
health was not necessarily a "prophaning of Cups," so long as it expressed an appropriate reverence.

mutual, sober communicative Drinking, is an expression of Friendship and Confederacy; it is not unlawful to express that Friendship and Love by Words or Signs. I may wish him any Grace or Mercy from God. But when that which is intended is the gratification of the Flesh, and the Health is but a pretence for it, it cannot be excused or defended.

When merely an incitement to drunkenness, toasting was profligate and blasphemous, an evil and inverted shadow of the holy mysteries of prayer and communion.

I have thought it to be some kind of Pagan Sacrifice, and to imply a prayer. It is also an honorative and memorative Rite and Ceremony. Healthing implies praying; if men were called upon to pray without drinking, how would Healthers Be?

A round of drunken secular toasts, with its "ceremonious mist," invoked and received the blessing of the devil.

For the prescriptive writer discussing the secular toast, the sanctity of the content, the drink itself, was incongruous with the profanity of the form.

It is difficult to imagine that the members of the Tuesday and Homony Clubs made and drank their toasts in open defiance of such strict religious doctrine, gaily paving their paths to damnation. More likely, they regarded their activities as wholly secular, or at least as sanctioned by other scripture less rigidly dogmatic, just as did Henry Peacham in the Compleat Gentleman.
Neither desire I, you should be so abstemious, as not to remember a friend with a hearty draught, since wine was created to make the heart merry; for what is the life of man if want wine? The prescriptive literature emphasized two-fold need for moderation. Excess was a sin from a religious standpoint, and a dangerous threat to one's reputation from a secular standpoint. The club member, acting in the secular realm, exercised a situational prescribed moderation so as not to transgress the boundaries of conviviality.

The custom of toasting, as practised by the Tuesday Club and Homony Club, invites further investigation on the level of social function. As a form of ritual, the toast was a means to stimulate group activity and to heighten awareness of group unity. A round of toasts was a self-perpetuating series of mutual obligations. A toast or sentiment was proposed, and then drunk by the company with the expectation that another, possibly related, toast would follow, group responding to individual and individual responding to group. The sentiment expressed in the toast might reflect an interest in group unity, as did the one set down in the Homony Club rules as the first to be given at every meeting by the club president: "Prosperity to the Homony Club." By drinking to corporate success and individuals' healths, club members strengthened group identity and acknowledged individual interests.
The meaning of the toast as presented in its words, whether explicit or implicit, is as significant as the form itself. Bawdy and witty toasts made use of two groups of content important in the club context, providing clues to significant aspects of the male convivial experience.

Bawdy toasts constituted one group of sentiments given in the club context. Club members naturally inclined to ribaldry; elemental and physiological theory predicted that the heat of alcoholic liquors would transfer to the drinker, inciting a state of heightened sexual arousal, which was signified in turn by salacious talk, innuendo, and toasts. By extension, this speech was also "heated" and potentially dangerous to the spiritual well-being of both speaker and listener.28 Richard Allestree's condemnation of lewd and licentious speech is marked by images of heat. "How does their immodest and obscene talk disperse and scatter their own impure fires, to the inflaming of others?"29 These uncontrolled fires, like those induced by over-consumption of alcohol, could lead to a conflagration of the body, and certainly foreshadowed the flames of hell which awaited men who persisted in drunkenness and foul speech.30 Even though prescriptive writers railed against obscenity, it was a strong feature of drinking behavior in the eighteenth century. Bawdiness, like toasting, fitted easily into the secular activities of
the drinking club, where it was accepted as an effect of drinking alcohol, and was therefore expected by club members and society in general.

Bawdy talk and toasts served several functions in the male drinking club. They indicated a strong shift in the drinkers' temperament toward the sanguine, and demonstrated the healthy libido characteristic of that complexion. By objectifying women in bawdy toasts, songs, poems, or talk, club members gave expression to the exclusively male quality of the proceedings. As they drank more and became more sanguine, club members also became more male; alcohol purged melancholic and phlegmatic influences thought to pertain more to women. As communal virility rose to a peak, so did sexual desire. The rules of the Homony Club acknowledged this progression. "Prosperity to the Homony Club" was to be the first toast of the evening; "Wives and sweethearts" was to be the last.31

Records of both the Tuesday Club and the Homony Club indicate that it was not unusual for members to seek sexual activity after club proceedings ended, or even to leave the club while in session for a rendezvous. During one meeting of the Tuesday Club, some discourse concerning the Ladies, put the members... into an amorous vein... after the
dismissing of the Club, [three members] went in pursuit of some Fair Nymphs, who that night were assembled at a dance . . . but what their adventures and exploits were we Shall not relate here, . . . amours, [and] trifles, properly belong to Romances and Novels . . . .

"Discourse concerning the Ladies" varied considerably in its explicitness in the club, and it sometimes signified more than a characteristically sanguine desire. Because alcohol was a "refreshment that invigorat[ed] the mind," club members experienced an enhanced intellectual capacity as well as increased sexual appetite. The records of both Annapolis clubs attest to this. Both contain numerous references to classical learning and languages.

The refreshed mental state of club members was conducive to the display not only of learning and ability to reason, but also of wit and humor. The exchange of repartee, like bawdiness, demonstrated that the drinkers were experiencing the desired and expected effects of their liquor. Wit was sometimes competitive as members strove to excel in poems or riddles.

Richard Allestree's condemnation of oaths and obscenity recognized that such exchanges invited competitive escalation, possibly resulting in an "affected and studied variety," a phrase that aptly describes many
of the bawdy toasts of the Annapolis clubs. A toast or jest both bawdy and witty, as many were, evinced intellect and libido simultaneously, providing members both amusement and material for competitive witticisms. Alexander Hamilton, writing of the Red House Club, a predecessor of the Tuesday Club, noted of its members that:

Bawdy they did not often touch upon, and when they did it was very cleanly wrapt, so that it scarce would have tickled the ears of a vestal, and, that was Generally, when it grew very late, and they had drunk so liberally, that Bacchus began to introduce Venus by toasting the ladies all round . . . the worst discourse . . . that passed among them, was Such a Lady, and Such a Gentleman Mounted upon her . . . 36

"Cleanly wrapt' probably meant that the bawdy was veiled in double entendre or innuendo. In the Red House Club, as in the Tuesday Club, the words and actions most explicitly betraying sexual arousal came after an extended period of drinking, not before. In anticipation of such lewdness, the rules of the Homony Club declared that:

in order to preserve the dignity and decency of the club, . . . any member giving such a sentimental toast that he could not explain, or, explaining, it should prove unfit to be heard by the chaste ears of this society, shall be punished as the President shall think proper . . . 37

The rule, although tongue-in-cheek, was not without purpose. It imposed what was to the members a pleasing semantic complexity on the content of toasts or sentiments. Superficially, it appears to have guarded against
obscenity, but its function was to insure that club members exercised their refreshed and enhanced wit in both the creation of ribald quips and in their defense against mock charges of impropriety. The union of bawdiness and wit in the double-entendre expressed ideal sanguinity more effectively than unveiled vulgarity would have done.\footnote{38}

That the club regulated such a point demonstrates its perception that, in their case, drinking was something more than overindulgence and indicates their desire for a particular quality of experience. Alexander Hamilton's condemnation of competitive drinking stems from the identical impetus. By raising their activities to the level of sanguine conviviality, members of the Annapolis clubs were able to avoid, at least in their own eyes, the moral stigma attached to the sins of gluttony and lust.

A particular incident in the Homony Club illustrates the complexities possible in a single toast and the discussion surrounding it, and also shows how bawdiness and wit fit together in the club context. At a club meeting, William Stewart, a merchant,

to the astonishment of the Club, when called upon by the President for a toast, gave one of such a nature, that either he could not, or was ashamed to explain, for which the said Mr. William Stewart now lies under the censure of the Society \ldots\footnote{39}

The toast that Stewart gave was "the miller's music." At
the lengthy mock trial which ensued, it was charged that Stewart,

moved and instigated by the vanity of his mind and the immorality of his Behavior, a Toast did give of an evil tendency, and ambiguous meaning . . . .

A phrase so seemingly innocuous as "the miller's music" was interpreted by the members as an obscene double-entendre. Stewart, in defense of the sentiment, asserted that his words were offensive neither in themselves nor in their implied meaning, that he referred only to the

prosperity promised by the sounds of industry.

Who I beg to ask is he that does not love to have Grist brought to his mill? Every new Customer is grist to the merchant, a fresh client to the Lawyer, and an added taxable to the Clergyman, and I doubt not but the liberal of all these professions will be ready to own, that the report of such acquisitions is music to their Ears, and why not an added bag to our poor miller? Is not the phrase I just now used of bringing Grist to the mill a metaphorical Proverb in daily use, and applied not to the Miller alone but to all Professions . . . .

Stewart's defense counsel

further alleged that millers had ever been a merry and musical set of Fellows, and that no music ever pleased their ears so much as the opening of their sluices and the grinding of their stones . . . .

If Stewart's defense was soundly grounded in proverbial wisdom, so was the club's accusation. The miller's reputation for dishonesty, lewdness, and cuckold-
making was at least as old as Chaucer, and any suggestion of mill or miller had endless bawdy implications, none of them lost on the members of the Homony Club. They fully understood both sides of the exchange, and so took great pleasure in the extended verbal play afforded by the mock trial. Eventually, Stewart was found guilty; he had planted in the toast meanings and associations which he knew his fellows would seize upon. He knew as well as any of the members that the miller's music was sexual intercourse.

Bawdiness and wit both signified that club members were properly engaged in the sanguine temperament, that they were on common cognitive ground with their fellows. The elemental cosmology that predicted club behaviors gave structure to the male-female relationships in general. When club members made toasts that praised sexual pleasure or that objectified women in the coarsest way, not only were they defining their own present state, but also reiterating and reinforcing cultural concepts that dictated female inferiority and submission. Male behavior in the drinking club context offers an admittedly distorted view of sexual relationships, and perhaps of moral issues as well. As one views men through their own eyes, enacting rituals of their maleness, such biases are inevitable, but they are not necessarily hindrances. By learning more
about how men thought of themselves, one can have a greater understanding of the dynamics that shaped human interactions in the larger society.
CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion of drinking behaviors in the context of male convivial clubs has limitations which prevent extending its conclusions to encompass drinking in all eighteenth-century contexts. Certainly the membership of clubs, which included ministers, merchants, and legislatures, cannot be thought representative of society as a whole. The behavior of tradesmen and farmers while under the influence of alcohol may well have differed significantly from that of club members. Men who belonged to such clubs probably reacted differently to alcohol when outside the club room. If one accepts Rhys Isaac's and Dell Upton's analogy of social behavior to drama, adapted specifically to players and settings, one would reasonably expect the players to act differently when on a different stage, surrounded by different props.

The influences that shaped club behavior were numerous, and not all of them have been examined here. Certainly it would be simplistic to interpret club meetings as nothing more than a kind of Bacchic worship, divorced from the world at large. Club members who held prominent
places in society did not shed their professional identities on club nights. Club activities provided a forum for the discussion of business and politics, just as did the state dinners and entertainments recorded by William Black. In the convivial atmosphere of the club meeting, however, those topics were often veiled in humor and satire, which served to defuse potential disagreements and conflicts.

These limitations of scope, while excluding broad generalizations on the drinking behaviors of eighteenth-century society, permit the drama of the club drinking ritual to be examined in detail and with clarity. With that examination comes an understanding of the cultural fabric which supported drinking behavior, which might otherwise seem random and disordered, at odds with the ideals of Enlightenment rationalism.

Among the multiple influences on the club members' behavior was one which may be termed aesthetic or metaphorical. Wine's resemblance to blood was the basis of an association so strong as to pervade thought, create belief, and shape behavior. In contemporary medical and physiological theory, blood was of great significance in maintaining health and in determining personality. From both viewpoints, sanguinity was entirely positive and
admirable. The blood of Christ's passion also shaped the meaning of wine and its place in society. Christ's blood of redemption, symbolized by communion wine served from God's table, like the wine of conviviality served from the table of hospitality, were God's gifts not to be taken in vain. These ideas gave power to strictures against gluttony, and led club members to give their activities at least a modicum of seemliness, even if it were only to veil obscenities behind the most obvious word play. Another aesthetic-metaphoric resemblance, that of the human body to the alembic, related the effects of alcohol on the human body directly to the simple physical process of distillation. Distilling became the basis of the medical model, which in turn predicted behavior.

The art and philosophy of classical antiquity prefigured these aesthetic relationships and laid the groundwork for eighteenth-century medical theory. The blood shed during a wine-induced Bacchic frenzy related both liquids to worship; Aristotelian cosmology underlay much eighteenth-century medical theory and practice. The words and actions of club members showed that they were influenced by, and sometimes even emulated classical models. Sprinklings of Greek and Latin in their conversations, and their quasi-Bacchic rituals demonstrated their participation in classically-derived cultural models.
on a conscious level. The group of cultural directives for drinking behavior, largely classical in origin, had been filtered, modified, and interpreted in many ways by the mid-eighteenth century, eventually entering Anglo-American culture at many levels. Consequently, those directives had power at many levels, from the scholarly to the popular, from the conscious to the unconscious. Some influences are thus obvious in club records, while others must be inferred.

To seek understanding of drinking behaviors in the gentleman's clubs of the eighteenth century, one must examine much larger systems of cosmology and belief. To assume that people act in accordance with belief is facile; one must determine the stuff of which beliefs are made. Eighteenth-century club members, like seventeenth-century New Englanders, "had absorbed a host of older beliefs" which informed their actions. This multitude of influences and beliefs represents the complexity and subtlety of culture, and demonstrates the necessity to examine closely even seemingly simple cultural phenomena.
Introduction


2. Ibid., 1:118.


6. In Isaac's "Discourse on Method," (in Transformation, 323-57), he discusses the sources of metaphorical structures, and suggests that the field of "medical history" might yield greater understanding of the "anatomical and physiological metaphors [which] entered into past people's understanding of their own world." Ibid., 349-50.

7. Ebenezer Cook, The Sot-Weed Factor; or, a Voyage to Maryland (1708: reprint, New York, 1865) (hereinafter Cook, Sot-Weed Factor). The form of the Tuesday Club materials used in this essay is Robert Micklus, "Dr. Alexander Hamilton's The History of the Tuesday Club" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1980). The
dissertation is primarily a transcription of Hamilton's manuscripts. The most complete scholarly treatment of Hamilton and the Tuesday Club is Elaine G. Breslaw, "Dr. Alexander Hamilton and the Enlightenment in Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1973).

8. Considering the work of Thomas Cradock, another eighteenth-century Maryland poet, David Skaggs writes, "[S]atire constituted a means of displaying a target and proposing a means for its reformation." David Curtis Skaggs, ed., The Poetic Writings of Thomas Cradock, 1718-1770 (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1983), 48. Another set of club records considered here is the Homony Club Record Book, Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. These records, like those of the Tuesday Club, are humorous and satiric, but their purportedly lesser literary value has left them in greater obscurity.

Chapter 1


2. "This grain [barley] is well known to exceed all others for making of Malts that produce those fine British Liquors, Beer and ale, which no other National can equalize . . . ." London and Country Brewer, 1:1.


8. Examples of contemporary treatises on the subject include John Evelyn, Sylva, or a Discourse of Forest Trees (London, 1664) (hereinafter cited as Evelyn, Sylva), and John Worlidge, Vinetum Britannicum: or A Treatise of Cider, 2nd ed. (London, 1678) (hereinafter cited as Worlidge, Vinetum Britannicum).


10. Evelyn, Sylva, 3-4.

11. According to Worlidge, enough cider could be made "not only to suffice our own Inhabitants, but yield a considerable supply to our Neighbors; to the great improvement of our Country, and the diminution of that unreasonable gain and avantage other Nations make by the trade hither of Drink only." Worlidge, Vinetum Britannicum, 11.

12. The rudiments of the vintner's trade, including methods for the clarification, preservation, imitation and adulteration of wines are included in books such as The Art and Mystery of Vintners and Wine Coopers (London, 1682), and Walter Charlton, Two Discourses. I. Concerning the Different Wits of Men. II. Of the Mystery of Vintners (London, 1669). Nearly identical methods and receipts are included in One Thousand Valuable Secrets in the Elegant and Useful Arts (Philadelphia, 1795), in Chapter XI, "Secrets Relative to Wine."


15. Oldmixon, British Empire, 1:343.


19. The aging potential of Madeira was well known by the eighteenth century. William Vaughan's *Directions for Health* (London, 1617) noted that those wines keep longest which "are most full of Spirits, as Canary, and such as our Merchants transport from Madera [sic] and other Spanish Islands." Ibid., 52. Sir Edward Barry's *Observations, Historical, Critical, and Medicinal on the Wines of the Ancients, and the Analogy Between Them and Modern Wines* (London, 1775) noted: "The greatest part of these wines are carried from thence [Madeira] to the East and West Indies, and are much improved by long voyages, and the heat of those climates . . . ." Ibid., 443.


22. Alexander Henderson, in *The History of Ancient and Modern Wines* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1824), wrote: "[0]ur American colonies, from the time of the Protectorate, were chiefly supplied with wines from Madeira . . . ." Ibid., 317. Large private wine cellars inventoried in the nineteenth century confirm Henderson's assessment of Madeira's popularity. As examples, see *Catalogue of John Vaughan's Wines*, a listing of an auction held on November 18, 1841, in the collection of the American Philosophical Society, and the inventory of Robert Oliver of Baltimore dated July 10, 1835, in the Maryland State Archives, Baltimore County Register of Wills, Inventories, 44:425. At the time of the inventory, Oliver's cellar contained 2,166 bottles of Madeira, valued at $1 each. His next largest stock of bottled wine was of claret, with 144 bottles.

23. In English wine measure, 1 pipe or butt contained 126 gallons; a hogshead contained 63 gallons. For a complete contemporary explanation of wine measures, see Charles Leadbetter, *The Royal Gauger, or, Gauging Made Easy*, 2nd ed. (London, 1743), 117.
24. For a thorough contemporary description of the processes and equipment of distillation, see Ambrose Cooper, The Complete Distiller (London, 1757).

25. Ibid., 82. John Worlidge, in Vinetum Britannicum, noted that "among those that frequent the sea, . . . a Bowl of Punch is an usual Beverage." Ibid., 10. Thomas Tyrone, in The Way to Health, Long Life, and Happiness, or, A Discourse on Temperance (London, 1683), remarked that too much punch was "very Inimical" to the health of sailors, not because of the rum, but because of the "fierce, sharp, and Astringent" nature of the lime juice which was a common ingredient. Ibid., 192. Cotton Mather wrote that the word punch was derived from "[t]he Indoustan Term for the Number Five, which . . . , is the number of its Ingredients . . . ." Cotton Mather, The Angel of Bethesda, ed. Gordon W. Jones (Barre, Massachusetts: The American Antiquarian Society, 1972), 257.


27. Oldmixon, British Empire, 1:428.


29. Susan Williams, Savory Suppers and Fashionable Feasts (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 107-12 (hereinafter cited as Williams, Savory Suppers). Williams discusses the ways in which imported and labor-intensive foods were used to convey status in the nineteenth century; the same arguments apply to wine.


32. Ibid., 184.

I am indebted to Robert St. George for bringing Heal's article to my attention.

34. For a discussion of competiveness and uncertainty in Chesapeake upper-class culture, see T.H. Breen, "Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling Among the Gentry of Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., 34 (April 1977):239-57. Marcel Mauss, The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), discusses prestation and hospitality as a means of maintaining prestige and power. Ibid., 35, 72. An interesting, if later (1838-1841), example of the competitive aspects of wine connoisseurship was the Vaughan Club of Philadelphia, named for its leading member, a wine merchant. The Club's meetings consisted of serial tastings of various wines brought by members, followed by discussion. Here wine took on a heightened importance as the focus of the proceedings, each member in turn acting as host while his wine was tasted and offered for the comment of other members. Vaughan Club Papers, American Philosophical Society, Miscellaneous Manuscript Collection.

35. Letters of the firm are preserved in several collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania: the Edward Wanton Smith Collection, the Smith Family Papers, and the Sarah A.G. Smith Collection.


40. Robert Bisset to Henry Hill, 12 November 1763, Sarah A.G. Smith Papers 6:81. The creation and maintenance of personal contacts was of great importance to the Hill firm from its beginning. Dr. Richard Hill wrote to his son
Richard in 1742: "I take very affectionately thy designing to York, Boston, and Virginia, to promote my interest, and hope thy journeys will be attended with success." Smith, *Letters of Dr. Richard Hill*, 30. By 1744, Hill had experienced notable success in the trade and noted in a letter to his son-in-law, Samuel Preston Moore: "[A]t New York, I have got footing by my son's means, and by the intercession of one Josias Jeffery, an old Maryland acquaintance. I have some interest in London, Liverpool, and Boston, which I have honestly cultivated . . . at the expense of writing almost a cart-load of letters . . . ." Ibid., 37-38.


Chapter 2

2. Ibid., 3.
3. Ibid., 6.
4. Ibid., 19-20.
6. Ibid., 1:126.
7. Ibid., 1:241-42.
8. Ibid., 1:243.
9. Ibid., 1:244.
10. Ibid., 1:126.
11. Williams, *Savory Suppers*, 30-32. A corollary discussion in Williams' book centers on the use of the more elaborate dress deemed appropriate for guests who were formally invited to late nineteenth-century dinner parties. The fancy clothing of the guest acknowledged the trouble and expense taken by the host.

14. Henry Glassie, *All Silver and No Brass: An Irish Christmas Mummimg* (1975; reprint, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 60-61. Glassie's discussion of traditional Irish Christmas mumming notes that the roving players generally used certain actions to separate the dramatic content of the story from the context of domestic life. By knocking on doors, framing themselves in doorways, and entering homes in procession, the mummers heightened the significance of their words and actions.


16. Ibid.


19. Ibid., 1:128.

20. Ibid., 1:126.


22. Ibid., 16.


28. Ibid., 1:126, 246.

29. Ibid., 1:245, 409.
Chapter 3


2. Galen's works, drawing on Aristotelian philosophy, heavily influenced the practice of medicine in early modern Europe and colonial America, and were disseminated in translations and adaptations such as Nicolas Culpeper, *Galen's Art of Physick* (London, 1652), and in the works of numerous other authors who drew on Galen as the leading authority on medical matters.

3. Elemental theory and the related doctrine of the four temperaments were fundamental to the medical and psychological thinking of the eighteenth century. Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy* (London, 1789), was a lengthy (5 volumes) explication of the notion that a man's personality could be ascertained entirely from his appearance. Lavater's work was an elaborate and systematic recapitulation of the writings of earlier philosophers, and had as its underlying concept that humans, like all physical bodies, were composed of the four elements. Because the properties of the elements were known, related aspects of personality could be deduced from appearance.


5. G. Paolo Lomazzo, *A Tracte Containing the Arts of Curious Paintinge, Carvinge, and Buildinge* (Oxford, 1598), 2:12, 13 (hereinafter cited as Lomazzo, *Tracte*). Because a person's elemental makeup was thought to contribute so greatly to his personality and appearance, it follows logically that a manual for artists would include
discussions of relevant matters in natural philosophy. Later works intended exclusively or largely for the use of artists continued to include such discussions. Charles LeBrun, A Method to Learn to Design the Passions (London, 1734) (hereinafter cited as LeBrun, Method), contains a lengthy explanation of the physiology of motion. The preface to Lavater's Essays stated that the work was "destined peculiarly to the instruction of Connoisseurs and Artists . . . ." (n.p.).


7. Lomazzo, Tracte, 2:13; Salerno, Englishman's Doctor, 36.


9. Salerno, Englishman's Doctor, 35.

10. Richard Saunders, Physiogonomie and Chironomancie, 2nd ed. (London, 1671), 171. The sanguine temperament had not always been considered the most noble. Among the ancient Greeks, melancholy was the temperament of the philosopher and the artist, while the man afflicted with too much blood was simply a fool. This shift is explained in detail in Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy; Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1964), 41-66.


14. Daniel Duncan, Wholesome Advice Against the Abuse of Hot Liquors, Particularly of Coffee, Chocolate, Tea, Brandy, and Strong-Waters (London, 1706), 54 (hereinafter cited as Duncan, Wholesome Advice). In Duncan's analogy, the three spirits are listed in order of increasing volatility and refinement, and are related in respective order to the spiritous content of must, wine, and brandy.


22. Whitaker, *Tree*, 58. While the use of the word "refrigerate" seems to contradict the relationship between wine, heat, and sex, it is certain that a release of ejaculate would have been thought cooling, and Whitaker may have employed "refrigerate" to imply preservation, or he may have referred to white wines, which were sometimes considered to have a cooling effect.


27. Vaughan, *Directions*, 279.


29. Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen. All in One Volume* (London, 1679),
55. The quotation is from *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, act 2, scene 1, and is spoken by a character named Old Merry-Thought.


33. Ibid., 1:73. Elsewhere, Allestree describes the "heated" condition of anger as unnatural for women: "Now nature hath befriended women with a more cool and temperat constitution, put less of fire and consequently of choler, in their compositions; so that their heats of that kind are adventitious and preternatural . . . ." Ibid., 1:43.


35. Ibid., 96.

36. Ibid., 2, 5.

37. Ibid., 3.

38. According to Allestree's, *The Ladies Calling*, the proper feminine attributes were modesty, meekness, compassion, affability, and piety. Modesty and meekness are discussed at length in 1:1-47.

Chapter 4


5. Robert Micklus, "Dr. Alexander Hamilton's The History of the Tuesday Club" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1980), 1:45 (hereinafter cited as Micklus, "Hamilton's History").

6. Ibid., 1:278. Hamilton's choice of words in this passage carries the linguistic complexity of the metaphor even further. Cucurbite, the technical term for the bellied part of an alembic, is rooted in the Latin cucurbita, gourd. See The Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "cucurbite."


8. Ibid., 1:297-98.

9. Ibid., 2:602.

10. Records of the Homony Club, 184, Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereinafter cited as Records of the Homony Club). The first verse of the song extols conviviality and emphasizes its separateness from women:

"Society charms all vexations in life,
While Mirth and good humor abound.
The false friend is forgot, and the dull peevish wife,
And the toast passes merrily round."


15. George Wither, A Collection of Emblemes Antient and Modern (London, 1635), 242. The passage is from the text accompanying the emblem "Temperance." This concern for waste is applied specifically to liquor in Richard Allestree, The Whole Duty of Man (London, 1663), 187: "[D]rink which is by God's providence intended for the refreshing and relieving of us is abused and mispent when
it is drunk beyond the measure which those ends require . . . ."


18. Vaughan, Directions, 41. Compare with 1 Cor. 10:31: "Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

19. The concept of secular communion is discussed in Glassie, Passing the Time, 470: "[U]ltimately the talent out of which tales are composed and the environment from which food is wrested were gifts from God. Though muffled, impure, and weak when compared to the priest's sacrament, the host's tea and tale have the same source." The "environment" as God's gift was also the emphasis of the seventeenth-century prescriptive authors.


21. Ibid., 40.

22. Ibid., 47, 68.

23. Ibid., 18. Elsewhere (ibid., 76), the author invokes the authority of scripture, quoting 1 Cor. 10:21: "Ye cannot be partakers of the Table of the Lord, and the Table of Devils: ye cannot drink the Cup of the Lord and the Cup of Devils."


25. "Above all, learn betimes to avoid excessive drinking, . . . remembering that hereby you become not fit for anything, having your reason degraded, your body distempered, your soul hazarded, your esteem and reputation abased, while you sit taking your unwholesome healths . . . ." Ibid., 271.

26. The reciprocity of toasting was one of its most objectionable features to many prescriptive authors, leading inevitably to excess:

It is an engagement to drinking . . . if you consider the Person that begins it . . . expects
to be pledged, so they that follow, hold it
civility to follow their Leader. . . . [H]e that
neglects, is called upon to do his duty; . . .
It is looked upon as a debt in the bond of
Civility and Courtship, and paid as duly How-do-
you; if one begins your health, you must thank
him, and call for him.

Great Evil, 91.

27. Records of the Homony Club, 2. The fact that
this point was legislated by the club suggests that the
president served as the symbolic host of club meetings,
graciously adding a wish of prosperity to his hospitality,
even though the club met in taverns and apparently paid for
meals as a group.

28. In his analysis of the power of the spoken word
in seventeenth-century New England, Robert St. George noted
that much of the invective directed toward women "stressed
bodily filth, sexual incontinency, and moral degeneracy." Robert Blair St. George, "'Heated' Speech and Literacy in
Seventeenth-Century New England" in David D. Hall and David
Grayson Allen, eds., Seventeenth-Century New England
(Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1984),
297. It is notable that this "heated" speech of aggression
often assumed an aspect of sexual innuendo, as sexuality
itself was so closely associated with heat.

29. Richard Allestree, The Gentleman's Calling
(London, 1696), 35 (hereinafter cited as Allestree,
Gentleman's Calling).

30. Daniel Duncan, in Whole Advice, expanded on the
dangers of overindulgence: "Our bodies are Piles easier to
be inflamed than any Touchwood whatsoever, . . .
Intemperance, like a Hellish Fury, comes with torch in hand
to reduce it into Ashes . . . ." Ibid., 166. Once again,
this metaphor corresponds exactly with the practices of
distillation. Amphrose Cooper in The Complete Distiller,
wrote: "All accidents [in distilling] are occasioned by
fire, their primary cause . . . ." Ibid., 33.


33. Whitaker, Tree, 33.
34. In the Tuesday Club, for example, individual members challenged the rest of the group to answer riddles as part of the prescribed order of a meeting. These were introduced on 16 January 1749/50. Micklus, "Hamilton's History," 2:603-04.

35. Allestree, Gentleman's Calling, 35.


38. Some examples of these toasts from the Records of the Homony Club include: "Upright men and downright women," ibid., 27, and "Four hams on one spit," ibid., 106. When challenged as to the meaning of the latter toast, the club member replied that he had not any ambiguous meaning, but wished to every individual present four hams of any kind, spitted for a pleasing repast." Ibid.

39. Ibid., 14.

40. Ibid., 19.

41. Ibid., 23.

42. Ibid., 26.


Conclusion.


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