

DARMMUSEUM

Lessons from the American Home

“Better than Boxed”: The Historic Cost of Cake

Contains content for 4th-12th grades

Summary: Students will read and discuss a recipe from 1840s. They will compare and tabulate prices from a table. Using wages, will determine how price compares to income in 1840s and 2020s. Read sources describing historic culture around cakes.

Learning Objectives:

- Use reading skills and intermediary math skills to determine the “cost” of baking a cake in the 1840s using quantitative and qualitative data and reasoning
- Foster historic empathy and appreciation for the relative ease of access in the modern day for simple luxuries
- Gain a more nuanced understanding of American Culture outside of major figures and events

Time:

Approximately 40 minutes. (scalable)

Program is modular and can be adjusted for classroom timing needs. Includes an optional homework assignment.

Required Materials:

- calculator (for educator, optionally for students)
- all other materials available in this lesson plan

Subjects and Standards of Learning:

Foodways, every-day history, 19th century, domestic life, economics, culinary history, sugar, labor



Skills, Sources, and Concepts	Examples
Compelling and Supporting Questions	How much did a cake cost in the 1840s compared to today? What might have affected the price change? Who could afford a cake then vs. now? What data is needed to determine “affordability”? What economic circumstances could lower the price? What cultural value was placed on cake?
Data Sources	Recipes, cost of goods, labor statistics, primary and secondary sources about cake and American culture
Key Concepts	American foodways, economic changes over time, how technological and economic progress affected the American home.
Key Strategies and Skills	Critical reading and thinking, reading tables and charts, collating data, reading technical instructions, applying interdisciplinary skills to history
Evidence-Backed Claims	Using atypical sources to make claims and arguments, using data to support arguments about larger trends and meaning, using interdisciplinary skills to create historical interpretations
Communication and Action	Recipes, history books, charts/tables, historic newspapers

Table of Contents

<i>Image Appendix</i>	11
<i>Student Materials</i>	13
<i>Works Cited/Additional Resources</i>	18

Lesson Outline

[Engage](#) [<5 minutes]

Goal: Get the students thinking about the cultural context of cake. Work through the ingredients and process of baking a cake.

To study food historically, you must look at the cake from different angles. Who, what, when, where, how, why? Who made cakes? What did they make it out of? When did they make it and eat it? Where did they make it and eat it? How did they make it and how much did it cost? Why did they make it?

This is a particular type of history, Foodways: the cultural, social, and economical practices relating to the production and consumption of food, the intersection of food in culture, traditions, and history. There is a whole profession dedicated just to studying the history of food.

Today we’re going to look at a historic recipe for cake and try to answer all those questions.

When do people eat cake? *Birthdays, retirements, anniversaries, holidays/parties, when they’re sad, when they’re happy or celebrating*

What are cakes made of? *Eggs, flower, sugar, fruit, nuts, eggs, icing, spices, carrots, etc. or you can get a boxed cake*

How do you make a cake? *You mix the ingredients, you put it in a pan, you bake it, you cool it, you decorate it, you eat it!*

We want to figure out how much a cake cost in the 1840s¹, what sources would we need to figure that out? *Recipe, prices*

[Explore – Source #1](#) [<10 Minutes]: *Domestic Cookery* (3rd edition, 1853), Elizabeth Ellicot Lea

¹ Why 1840s? For starters, this era marks a cultural and historical middle ground. This era represents America before mass industrialization, but after some industrialization has taken hold. The country is growing at this time due to the Mexican American War and immigration from Ireland and many other parts of the world. We’re seeing an America that’s different from the founding era but not so radically different as it is post-Civil War. Particularly with the history of refined sugar, this is right before/just as it is becoming a much more widely available commodity. As a culture we also tend to have a stronger historical imagining of “average” Americans in the early Republic vs. late nineteenth century, but we don’t tend to have as strong a conception during this skip-over era or when focusing too much on the political action and expansion during this era. There was also enough data for this era to make mathematically ethical claims of average prices and wages.

Goal: Students should be familiar with the recipe’s ingredients and be able to refer to it later. Older students should fully engage via discussion with the historical context of the recipe.

Have the students read Source #1. For younger students or time constraints, only have them read “Sponge Cake.” Discuss using sample questions.

Elizabeth Ellicott Lea, *Domestic Cookery: Useful Receipts [Recipes], and Hints to Young Housekeepers*, 1853 edition:

Elizabeth Ellicott Lea (1793-1858) was a member of the wealthy Ellicott family that lived in Maryland and Pennsylvania. She moved to Delaware when she married Thomas Lea, a wealthy flourmill owner and fellow Quaker. They moved to Sandy Spring, Maryland with their seven children. Due to their wealth and proximity to Baltimore, Mrs. Lea could acquire any number of fine ingredients. Her travels during her life rubbed up against folk traditions from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware. Her cookbook blends elements of folk cooking and upper-class cuisine. Lea dictated her cookbook to a live-in nurse, Rebecca Russell. Lea’s cookbook was published continuously from 1851 to 1879.

CAKES.

Remarks on Making and Baking Cake.

The materials for making cake should be of the best quality, as your success very much depends on it. Flour should be dried and sifted, sugar rolled fine [*sugar used to come in loaves, after purchasing would have the outer layer removed of all bugs and particles, and then boiled down or pounded and rolled into the right consistency*], spices pounded and sifted. Where brown sugar is used, it should be spread on a dish and dried before rolling it. I have known very good pound cake made with brown sugar also jumbles [a type of basic cookie] of &c. Persons that make their own butter sometimes use it fresh from the churn, which prevents the necessity of washing the salt out of it for cake [*butter was salted as a preservative, still used*], and it mixes more readily than hard butter. Currants should be picked over, washed and dried: raisins should be stemmed and stoned. When these preparations are made the day before, it is a great assistance. Eggs should be fresh, or they will not beat light: in beating the whites, take a broad flat dish, and beat them until you can hold the dish upside down; - this is a test of their lightness. A large bowl is best for mixing and beating cake. You must use your hand for mixing the sugar and butter, and as you add the other ingredients, you may take a large wooden spoon; beat it some time after all is mixed. The oven should be ready to bake immediately, as standing makes cake heavy. A brick oven [*brick ovens were a luxury as one needed to make bricks and construct it, dutch ovens are just beginning to see use*] is the most certain, - and over your pans of cake, you should spread several layers of newspaper, to prevent its browning too suddenly. Cake requires more time than bread: a large cake should stay in the oven from an hour and a half to two hours, turning and looking at it from time to time; when you think it is sufficiently baked, stick a broad knife right in the centre; if it is dry and free from dough when drawn out, the cake is likely to be done, though sometimes this is not a certain test, and you will have to draw a little from the centre of the cake with a knife. A brown straw will sometimes answer in a small cake instead of a knife. A large stone pan, with a cover, is best for keeping cake, or a large, covered bowl.

Icing for Cake.

Roll and sift a pound of loaf sugar; whip the whites of three eggs; put in the sugar gradually and beat it for half an hour; if it is so thick that it will not run, put in some rose water; let the cake be nearly cool; dry it in an oven that is nearly cool.

Sponge Cake.

Balance twelve fresh eggs with sugar, and six with flour; beat the eggs very light, the whites and the yolks separately; mix alternately the sugar and eggs and add the grated peel of a lemon; butter a large pan, or several small ones; add the flour just as it is put in the oven, stirring it just sufficiently to mix. Beating it after the flour is added makes it heavy; pour it in and put it to bake as soon as possible. This makes a good pudding [*any product mixed with grains, binders, and then baked/steamed/boiled was a pudding, some were savory sausages like black pudding, whereas others were sweet cake-like deserts*] with white sauce. One-half rice flour is an improvement.

Questions:

Is this a primary or secondary source?

Sensory engagement – what would this cake taste like, how big would it be, what would its texture be, what would it smell like? What could you add to this cake to make it taste better?

What requirements are there to be able to use this recipe? *Need access to ingredients, need to have the tools like pots, pans, and an oven, need to be able to read!*

Who is the recipe for? *Have them look at the title/subtitle*

Is this recipe hard to follow? What is it missing? What would make it easier to repeat? *There are no empirical or metric measurements. Most recipes passed down from word of mouth or were invented in a time before measuring cups. Measurements have to be described visually or relatively. Often cookbook writers assume some level of knowledge and will outright skip portions of a recipe that they deem unnecessary to explain. You can see a modern rendition of the sponge cake here:*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N4nvGZTC9RE> *its too long to show in class, but may help teachers and students understand how hard this cake must've been without cooking tools, and the level of complexity that Ellicot's recipe fails to mention.*

[Apply – Table #1 & 2](#) [<5 minutes]

Goal: Students engage basic math skills to add up the cost of making a cake from scratch.

Give the students time, or as a group add up the cost of purchasing the ingredients to make a cake. Remember that grocery items are sold by specific units (if you need six eggs, you'll still have to purchase a dozen). Once they reach an answer, reveal to them the correct answer. If there's time, proceed to Table #2. Feel free to jump ahead as appropriate.

Ingredient Prices, 1841-1851

Product	Average price, 1841-1851 (USD)
Sugar	.11/lb
Flour	.04/lb
Eggs	.23/doz
Butter	.24/lb
Lemons	.02ea .25/doz

Conversions

Product	Conversion
Sugar	1lb = 2 cups
Flour	1lb = 3 1/3 cups
Eggs	4 eggs = 1 cups

Answers: *(the students have a chart they can fill out to help keep track of/find the answers)*

Ingredients needed: 18 eggs (purchase 2 dozen), if equal parts dozen eggs and sugar, you need 3 cups or 1.5 pounds + six eggs with equal parts flours is 1.5 cups of flour or approximately half a pound. You also need one lemon and some butter.

If adding icing, you can use three eggs from the second dozen purchased (no extra cost) but will need an additional pound of sugar (assume it does not need rosewater).

You need to purchase-

2 lb-bags of sugar = .22

1 lb of butter = .24

1 lb bag of flour = .04

1 lemon = .02

2 dozen eggs = .46

Total Cost = 98 cents to make a cake

Apply – Table #3 [<5 Minutes]

Goal: Have students compare historical costs with modern equivalents. Help them rationalize reasons for the price change.

Reveal Table #3. Have instructor or students add up the cost of a cake adjusted for inflation.² Do the same thing for the modern day and/or, reveal price of box cake in 2022. Discuss with students why the prices are so different. Which price changed the most? Which stayed relatively the same? What would cause the price to lower? Or stay relatively the same?

Ingredients Adjusted for 2022

Product	1840's Price Adj. for Inflation (USD)	Approximate Price, 2022 (USD)
Sugar	3.96/lb	.19/lb
Flour	1.43/lb	.24/lb
Eggs	8.5/doz	1.84/doz
Butter	8.5/lb	2.92/lb
Lemons	.72ea 8.95/doz	.56ea 6.72/doz

Answer Key:

1845 Prices adjusted for inflation:

2 lbs of sugar = 7.92

1 lb of flour = 1.43

2 dozen eggs = 17

1 lb of butter = 8.5

1 lemon = .72

Total adj. for inflation = \$35.57

2022 Price equivalents:

2 lbs of sugar = .38

1 lb of flour = .24

2 dozen eggs = 3.68

1 lb of butter = 2.92

1 lemon = .56

2022 Total = \$7.78 (1.39 for box mix)

² What is currency inflation? Let's try to state it as simply as possible: Every year the Government must see how much currency is in circulation. What they try to do every year is print a little more money than last year. This drives prices a little up and brings the actual value of a dollar down. What you could buy for a dollar in 1840, now costs 1.03 in 1841 (typically the US. Dollar has inflated 3% on average). Sometimes this happens in a way that the government doesn't directly control like during economic disasters. Inflation and deflation used to happen unpredictably, but the United States Federal Reserve tries to control the system, so that there is a manageable amount of inflation every year. This encourages people to spend money. Since a dollar doesn't buy as much in 2021 as it did in 2020, I might as well spend or invest my dollar, to try to outpace inflation. Inflation is related to purchasing power: how much can you get for a single dollar. So even though butter looks cheaper than 1840s prices (.24 compared to 2.92), a dollar in 1840 could net you four pounds of butter. A dollar in 2022 could only get you a third of a pound. But I also have more dollars in 2022 than most people would have had in 1840. Therefore, we raise the 1840s prices according to avg. inflation. So, if butter inflated its price at the same rate as currency, roughly 3%, then it *should* be 8.5 dollars per pound but its not! Since butter has only increased to 2.92, it has inflated much less than currency, so it has gotten comparatively cheaper according to inflation.

*Cakes could be purchased for \$3 (almost 100\$), versus a grocery store cake anywhere between 5 and 15\$³. Read more in Source 3.

[Apply – Table #4](#) [<5 minutes]

Goal: Students will understand differences in labor wages historically and in the current day. They will establish context to determine whether a cake was “expensive.”

Have students compare and contrast changes in wages over occupational and chronological differences. Have them estimate the relative costs of baking a cake. How long would someone have to work to afford the ingredients in a cake? (*Historically it cost an entire day’s labor. Now it takes a little over an hour on minimum wage*). Problematize the provided information. What could have brought the price down? Does this information properly reveal the relative cost of a cake, its affordability? What other information would we need to discern the relative cost of a cake? (*You’d need all other household expenses, including the monthly cost of sustaining food, clothing, rent, taxes, etc. How much expendable income are people left with?*) How could someone be able to make a cake more affordable? *Farmers might able to make their own butter, or even produce their own eggs and flour.* What’s missing from this table, who has been left out? *The very wealthy/slave owners, global diversity, various extralegal occupations, piece work/labor of women and children.* You can also introduce the students to buying power: can you buy the same things for three dollars in the 1840s vs. today, if three dollars in 1840s equals 100 dollars in 2022, can you buy the same things? How many things can you buy for a dollar in the 1840s vs. the 2020s?

Income for skilled trades, 1840s and 2020s

Occupation	1840s Daily Wages (USD) Assuming a ten-hour day Adjusted for inflation	2020s Avg. Daily Wages in U.S. (USD) Assuming an eight-hour day Hourly
Shoemaker	1.33/day	21.89/hr
	48.79/day	175.12/day
Brewer	.66/day	19.23/hr
	24.21/day	153.84/day
Boat builders	1.33/day	16/hr
	48.79/day	128/day
Agricultural laborers	.66/day	14.74/hr

³ Laurin Todd, “From the New-York Mirror. Fifty Years Since.,” The Newport Mercury, February 8, 1840.

	24.21/day	117.92/day
Minimum wage	<i>There was no legally established minimum wage. Enslaved persons made no regular income.</i>	7.25/hr 58/day

Transition: What sort of events might be special enough to deserve a cake?

Elaborate – Source #2 [<5 minutes]

Goal: Understand how consumption of sugar and confectionery changed since the nineteenth century. Students should be able to extrapolate the culture around cakes in the 1840s.

Refined Tastes, by Wendy Woloson. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2002.

“Refined sugar entered American culture as a highly desirable product and therefore became a fitting repository of sentiment, a subject of consumer fantasies, and a signifier of social status. With the exception of a few other foodstuffs... most raw materials remained generic marketplace commodities and did not become such overt projections and subjects of consumer desire. During the nineteenth century, people not only made willing accommodations for sugar in their diets but also endowed it and things made from it with resonant cultural meanings. What is more, these meanings changed as refined sugar shifted from a rare and precious good to a prolific necessity.” 2

“Except for the birthday cake, which became popular after the turn of the century, the late nineteenth-century wedding cake was the only ceremonial cake to gain widespread acceptance in America.” 170

“By the beginning of the twentieth century...banquet and holiday cakes, closely related to the wedding cake, accompanied other important occasions... made for Thanksgiving, Washington’s Birthday, the Fourth of July, Mother’s Day, wedding anniversaries, and birthdays, these cakes marked individual and culturally important events.” 185

Is this a primary or secondary source?

What is the author trying to argue? Does it make sense that something would increase in value as it gets cheaper? Does something have to be rare to be valuable? What else would cause the mass consumption of sugar, or explain its valuation?

What is their timeline of comparison? What can you infer about cakes in our era (1845), vs. the timeline the author uses?

What evidence would the author need to support this claim? *Think about material history that could be evidenced: cake pans, prevalence of recipe books, mixing tools, etc.*

Do you agree with the argument being made? What cultural value do cakes have today? Are they a luxury?

Look back at the data you processed today, do your findings support or conflict with this secondary source? How?

Do you agree with the argument being made?

[Compare – Source #3](#) (Optional for all ages) [<5 minutes]

Goal: Students will look at an historical newspaper article complaining about how American society had changed since the founding of the country, which will also reveal more about the financial and social impact of baked goods.

Laurin Todd, “From the New-York Mirror. Fifty Years Since.,” *The Newport Mercury*, February 8, 1840.

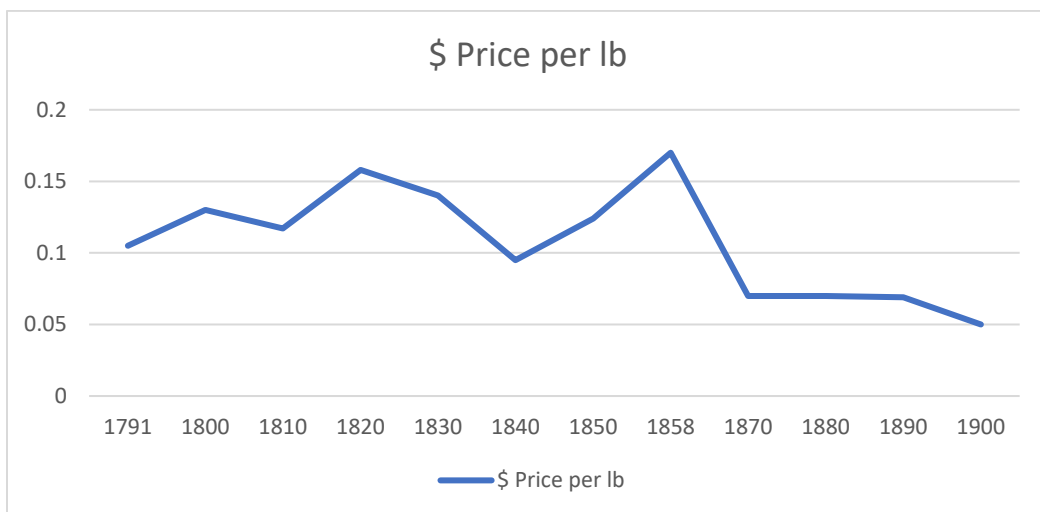
This newspaper article was written in 1840. The author is complaining about the ways American society had changed since the founding of the country fifty years ago.

When Washington was President his wife knit stockings in Philadelphia, and the mothers and daughters in New York made all the dough-nuts and cakes between Christmas and New Years – now the married ladies are too proud to make doughnuts; besides they don’t know how; so they e’en send to Madam Pompadour, or some other French cake-maker, and buy sponge cake or lady fingers for three dollars a pound [nearly a hundred dollars in today’s money]. In those days New-York was full of substantial comforts; now it is full of splendid misery.

What is the author trying to argue? Who or what does the author blame for the changes in society? How does this contribute to what we’ve learned about cakes so far? How does this compare to different sources we looked at today? Is it in support or conflict? Does this author offer us a definitive view of the time period? What other sources would we need to argue for or against this authors text? *Geographic variety, class and race diversity, we need to look at sources from Washington’s time to see if it really was similar or different, we need to look at how women thought of dough-nuts and cakes, etc. etc.* Is this source reliable? *No! All we can know for sure is how this author feels.*

[Elaborate – Table #5](#) (Optional for all ages) [<5 minutes]

Have the students look at the chart below. The price of sugar fluctuates but trends downwards. Think about what else you’ve learned about this year. What events might have caused the increase in sugar prices? *Haitian Revolution and French Revolution, Napoleonic Wars, Wars for Independence in South America, the American Civil War.*



Final Reflection [<5 minutes]

How does this change your view of the past? Does it affect how you view the present?

Why do you think it would be important to study Foodways?

What other foods do you think would give us valuable views of the past? Which food could help us learn the most about enslaved people, laborers, or wealthy elites? What’s a food you could study today that might reveal more about our culture?

Additional Work – Writing Assignment

1. Have the students pick their favorite food. Have them develop a short essay with sources on how that food came into being, and the culture that surrounds it. Older students should develop a hypothesis.
2. Have students create a DBQ based on a food source using this activity for a model. Have them find three sources on a food item: a recipe, a cultural relevancy, and some sort of data related to its consumption. Have them develop a question or questions that pull arguments out of their selected sources.
3. Have the students reflect on a food that’s important to their culture, have them write about how they make it, when/what for, and what emotional connection they have to it. Frame this assignment as creating a primary source.

Image Appendix

This are collections items from the DAR Museum. They can be used as additional visual aids.



Child's plate, pearlware, ca. 1840s.
61.128.

“My birthday is come, I have therefore to pray, that you will permit me a short time to play, if it's proper to grant my request.”



Cake mold, earthenware, mid to late 1800s. 61.128.

Can you guess what animal this would make a cake look like? It's got two big ears and a cotton tail.



(Below) Laurin Todd's Article in the *Newport Mercury*

(Above) The North Carolina period room using historical objects to depict a group of people having deserts in the 1840's. There a sugar frosted fruits, mouses, custards, cakes, and alcohol. This would have been very expensive and an over display of wealth. This also makes a display of the end results of chattel slavery. This group of people would have made their wealth off of the exploitation of enslaved Black Americans, and all the items in the room either came from an enslaved person or was cared for by an enslaved person. During this time there was a movement to create sources of sugar that were not harvested by enslaved people. While it didn't undermine the enslaved sugar industry, it gave many people the ability to access sweets without the bitter taste of slavery.

When Washington was President his wife knit stockings in Philadelphia, and the mothers and daughters in New-York made all the dough-nuts and cakes between Christmas and New Years —now the married ladies are too proud to make doughnuts ; besides, they don't know how ; so they e'en send to Madam Pompadour, or some other French cake-maker, and buy sponge -cake or lady fingers for three dollars a pound. In those days New-York was full of substantial comforts ; now it is full of splendid misery ; then there were no grey-headed spinsters (unless they were very grey indeed) for a man could get married for a dollar, and begin house keeping for twenty ; and in washing his cloths and cooking his vituals, the wife saved him more money than it took to support her. Now I

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“Better than Boxed”: The Cost of Cake in the 1840s

Source 1:

Elizabeth Ellicott Lea, *Domestic Cookery: Useful Receipts, and Hints to Young Housekeepers*, 1853 edition:

Elizabeth Ellicott Lea (1793-1858) was a member of the wealthy Ellicott family that lived in Maryland and Pennsylvania. She moved to Delaware when she married Thomas Lea, a wealthy flourmill owner and fellow Quaker. They moved to Sandy Spring, Maryland with their seven children. Due to their wealth and proximity to Baltimore, Mrs. Lea could acquire any number of fine ingredients. Her travels during her life rubbed up against folk traditions from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware. Her cookbook blends elements of folk cooking and upper-class cuisine. Lea dictated her cookbook to a live-in nurse, Rebecca Russell. Lea's cookbook was published continuously from 1851 to 1879.

CAKES.

Remarks on Making and Baking Cake.

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Icing for Cake.

Roll and sift a pound of loaf sugar; whip the whites of three eggs; put in the sugar gradually and beat it for half an hour; if it is so thick that it will not run, put in some rose water; let the cake be nearly cool; dry it in an oven that is nearly cool.

Sponge Cake.

Balance twelve fresh eggs with sugar, and six with flour; beat the eggs very light, the whites and the yolks separately; mix alternately the sugar and eggs and add the grated peel of a lemon; butter a large pan, or several small ones; add the flour just as it is put in the oven, stirring it just sufficiently to mix. Beating it after the flour is added makes it heavy; pour it in and put it to bake as soon as possible. This makes a good pudding with white sauce. One-half rice flour is an improvement.

Table 1 & 2:

Ingredient Prices, 1841-1851

Product	Average price, 1841-1851
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Conversions

Product	Conversion
Sugar	1lb = 2 cups
Flour	1lb = 3 1/3 cups
Eggs	4 eggs = 1 cups

Answers

Product	How much of it?	X What it costs	=Price to pay

Table 3:

Ingredients Adjusted for 2022

Product	1840’s Price Adj. for Inflation	Approximate Price, 2022
Sugar	3.96/lb	.19/lb
Flour	1.43/lb	.24/lb
Eggs	8.5/doz	1.84/doz
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Table 4:

Income for skilled trades, 1840s and 2020s

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Agricultural laborers	.66/day	14.74/hr
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Source 2:

Refined Tastes, by Wendy Woloson. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2002.

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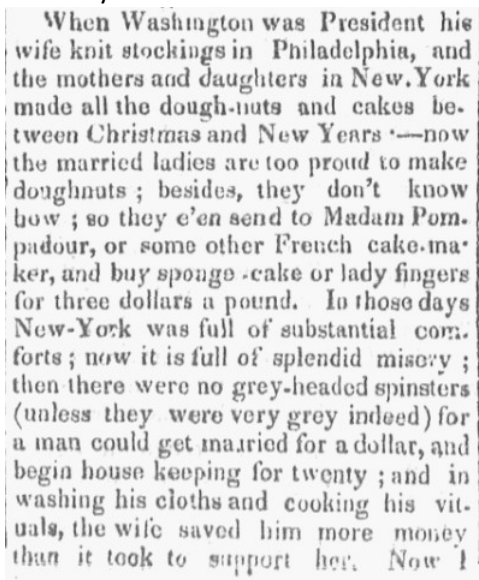
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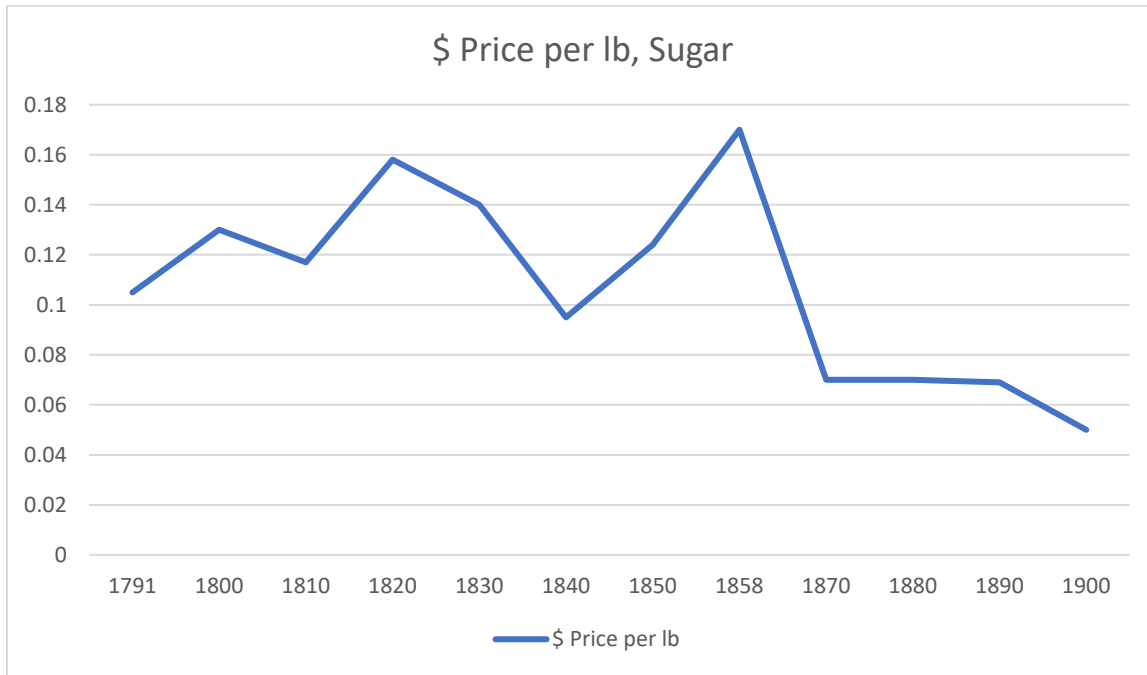
This newspaper article was written in 1840. The author is complaining about the ways American society had changed since the founding of the country fifty years ago.

When Washington was President his wife knit stockings in Philadelphia, and the mothers and daughters in New York made all the dough-nuts and cakes between Christmas and New Years – now the married ladies are too proud to make doughnuts; besides they don’t know how; so they e’en send to Madam Pompadour, or some other French cake-maker, and buy sponge cake or lady fingers for three dollars a pound [nearly a hundred dollars in today’s money]. In those days New-York was full of substantial comforts; now it is full of splendid misery.



When Washington was President his wife knit stockings in Philadelphia, and the mothers and daughters in New York made all the dough-nuts and cakes between Christmas and New Years —now the married ladies are too proud to make doughnuts ; besides, they don't know how ; so they e'en send to Madam Pompadour, or some other French cake-maker, and buy sponge -cake or lady fingers for three dollars a pound. In those days New-York was full of substantial comforts ; now it is full of splendid misery ; then there were no grey-headed spinsters (unless they were very grey indeed) for a man could get married for a dollar, and begin house keeping for twenty ; and in washing his cloths and cooking his vituals, the wife saved him more money than it took to support her. Now I

Table 5:



Works Cited and Additional Resources

Inflation was calculated using <https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1845?amount=1> and using the average inflation cost from 184-1850. The amount can fluctuate periodically. You can update the numbers as you see fit.

Prices of goods was taken from this resource. Prices could vary from region to region. When data was available, the price was averaged from 1841-1850. Wages were also taken from this resource and adjusted for inflation using the website above. Wages today was gathered from various resources across the internet. They are averages or approximations based on hourly rate or yearly income. Th project was going to include global averages, but there is so much disparity between regions due to exploitation and variances on labor laws.

Massachusetts, and Carroll Davidson Wright. *Comparative Wages, Prices, and Cost of Living: (From the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, for 1885)*. Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1889. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/005856297>.

For more on Elizabeth Ellicott Lea and her cookbook, see:

Weaver, William Woys, ed. *A Quaker Woman's Cookbook: The Domestic Cookery of Elizabeth Ellicott Lea*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

For more on consumption of sugar/sugary food and American culture, see:

Woloson, Wendy A. *Refined Tastes: Sugar, Confectionery, and Consumers in Nineteenth-Century America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002.

For a brief history of cakes, see:

Stradley, Linda. “History of Cakes.” What’s Cooking America, June 1, 2016. <https://whatscookingamerica.net/history/cakehistory.htm>.

For a brief history of American cakes, see this article with a terribly unoriginal title:

Martyris, Nina. “Make America Bake Again: A History Of Cake In The U.S.” *NPR*, November 7, 2016, sec. Food History & Culture. <https://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2016/11/07/501032393/make-america-bake-again-a-history-of-cake-in-the-u-s>.

Todd, Laurin. “From the New-York Mirror. Fifty Years Since.” *The Newport Mercury*. February 8, 1840.

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