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An investigation of Irish culinary history through manuscript cookbooks, with particular reference to the gentry of County Kilkenny (1714-1830)

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An Investigation of Irish Culinary History Through Manuscript Cookbooks, with Particular Reference to the Gentry of County Kilkenny (1714-1830)

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Submitted by

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Abstract

This thesis argues that Irish culinary manuscripts have a significant contribution to make to an understanding of Irish culinary history. It does so by identifying one particular manuscript, NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) as being representative of the genre but singular in terms of the archival and literary support available for an in-depth study. Analysis of the manuscript is undertaken using a methodology devised by the culinary historian Wheaton for researchers attending her workshops at Radcliffe College, Harvard. In these workshops Wheaton studies historic cookbooks to ascertain what these complex texts can reveal by breaking them down into five categories, that of the ingredients, the kitchen, the meal, the book and the worldview. This is the first time a manuscript, Irish or otherwise, has been the subject of Wheaton's structured approach. Irish authored cookbooks have a very slight presence in the historiography of cookbooks prior to the foundation of the Irish State. To date, four have been identified up to the start of the twentieth century. The book written by Ceres and Cole's assembled work are the only two for the period covered by this research. The culinary manuscripts are therefore the most valuable source for recorded recipes on the island. This research argues for the legitimacy of their inclusion in the historiography of the recipe in Ireland. It does so by discussing their contribution in the context of the relationship between manuscript and printed cookbook, by presenting the case for a broader engagement with pan-European culinary history and by demonstrating that the history of food in Ireland shows that the inhabitants of the island at every stage absorbed and adapted to external influences. The concluding argument questions the validity of an interpretation of the manuscripts as being colonial imports within the context of food history. The Royal Irish Academy have published two thematic volumes addressing what are identified as fundamental themes in Irish life; *Domestic Life in Ireland*, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 111C, and *Food and Drink in Ireland*, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 115C, confirming that the study of all aspects of culinary history on the island is now an important contributor to academic research. Assembled here for the first time is a database, Appendix One, of cookbooks published in Ireland before the extension of the copyright act to the country at the start of the nineteenth century. This is complementary to the database of manuscripts and selected source material in Appendix Seven. This brings together for the first time a listing of manuscripts across institutions in Ireland and beyond these shores. These databases along with the research

conducted for analysis of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) is the first to fully contextualise the manuscripts within Irish culinary history, and in so doing to legitimise their contribution to that history.

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Volume I

Declaration

I certify that this thesis, which I now submit for examination for the award of Ph.D. is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for postgraduate study by research of the Dublin Institute of Technology and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any Institute.

The work reported in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the Institute's guidelines for ethics in research.

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Introduction:

This research centers on a culinary manuscript, NLI MS 34,952 (Baker), dated 1810, held in the National Library of Ireland. The manuscript was compiled by Mrs Abraham Whyte Baker from her house at Ballaghtobin, also known as Ballytobin, near the medieval city of Kilkenny and the 'frontier town' of Carrick-on-Suir,[1] on the border of Co. Kilkenny and Co. Tipperary. While singular in many important respects, this manuscript is one of many such texts compiled by the gentry and elite of Ireland from the seventeenth century onward.

The Georgian period is regarded as commencing with the accession of George I in 1714 and spans the reigns of George I through to George IV.[2] The lifespans of both George IV (1762-1830) and William IV (1765-1837) coincide almost exactly with that of Mrs Baker (*ca.*1760-1832). Born during the seven years war of 1754-1763, Mrs Baker lived through the reign of three monarchs, and the American War of Independence. She was in her prime when the French Assembly passed the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789 and the Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815) were a backdrop to life in Ballaghtobin House as her son was growing up. The date she records on her manuscript of 1810 falls mid-point between the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, when Nelson defeated the Franco-Spanish fleet, and the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, when Napoleon was defeated by the Duke of Wellington. In Ireland she saw the rise of local militia and the Volunteers of 1778 and witnessed in some measure the United Irishmen rebellion of 1798.

Names that were no doubt familiar to Mrs Baker are familiar to our ears to this day — Wolfe Tone, Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Emmett, Humbert and Hoche, Cornwallis and Daniel O'Connell. What she thought of Grattan's Parliament and the Act of Union of 1800 is unrecorded. As is so much about her. During her lifetime there were twenty-nine lords lieutenant, the King's representative in Ireland and the focus of social life in Dublin, some more so than others. Four years before her death

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[1] L. M. Cullen, 'The Social and Economic Evolution of Kilkenny in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny: History and Society. Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1990), 273-288, 276.

[2] The period may also be considered to include the short reign of William IV from 1830-1837.

the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 was introduced which emancipated Roman Catholics in Britain and Ireland and repealed the last Penal Laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenting Protestants specific to this country. Mrs Baker married Abraham White Baker in 1778 and approximately three years later gave birth to her son, Abraham junior. In 1806 she celebrated his marriage to Charity Challoner, related to her through the Herbert family, and two years later she mourned the death of her own husband, whereupon Charity became the *châtelaine* of Ballaghtobin House. Charity's daughter Frances was a young lady of nineteen when her grandmother died in Kilkenny. Little is known of Charity and Abraham's son, a third Abraham. It could be said of Mrs Baker that she was a quintessential Irish Georgian.

The food historian Barbara Wheaton has been the honorary curator of the culinary collection at the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, for over twenty-five years.[3] During this time she has developed a searchable database, 'The Cook's Oracle', that establishes relationships among recipes in cookbooks from different historical periods. This database logs every recipe, ingredient and technique in historic cookbooks published across Europe and America.[4] In developing this database she has also devised a structured approach to studying cookbooks. This approach will be explored further in Chapter Five when discussion turns to NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). Steeped in culinary history and the importance of cookbooks to this history, Wheaton makes the observation that if one wants to understand how a culinary tradition is arrived at then one must study both the context and the particulars of the culture that has produced that tradition.[5] Cookbooks are the repositories of the particulars.[6] This is problematic in the case of Ireland. If one works backwards from the present, then the timeline of printed cookbooks is virtually extinguished at the start of the twentieth century. Irish cookbooks do not feature beyond this period with one or two exceptions that will be discussed in the body of this research. There is however another resource available to researchers to work with, and that is embodied in the tradition of storing and exchanging recipes in manuscript form that existed in

[3] The Schlesinger Library is home to the largest and most significant collection of documents covering women's lives and activities in the United States of America.
[4] Bee Wilson, *New York Times Magazine*, 'The Archive of Eating', 1 Nov., 2015.
[5] Barbara Wheaton, 'Finding Real Life in Cookbooks: The adventures of a culinary historian', *Humanities Research Group* 1998, Vol. 7, 2-15, 2.
[6] *Ibid.*

Ireland in the late seventeenth century through to the twentieth century, their demise almost coinciding with the rise of the printed cookbook.[7] A map of this thesis is framed by the core question regarding the contribution that these manuscripts compiled on the island of Ireland make to an understanding of Irish culinary history; are they capable of providing the information that a printed cookbook can? If one can establish *what* information they can yield, then the question as to *how* they contribute to Irish culinary history should be relatively straightforward. This is where Wheaton's use of the word 'context' above becomes important, as it is the historical context within which these recipe texts were assembled that is problematic. Food as represented in the manuscripts and the printed cookbooks of the twentieth century mediates 'the differences between the Anglo-Irish gentry and the Catholics who serve them'.[8] As Wheaton remarks, food carries a considerable freight of cultural meaning.[9] This research argues that the relationship between the history of the printed cookbook and the manuscript is witness to this considerable freight and is an important part of understanding Irish culinary history.

To answer the research question of what and how the manuscripts contribute to this history involved identifying an appropriate methodology, understanding and establishing a perspective on the history of food in Ireland leading up to the period under discussion, allied with a review of the historiography of the printed cookbook and of the manuscript as text and as an item of material culture. These questions determined how this research would be organised and is explained next in both narrative and in diagrammatic form.

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[7] The National Library of Ireland and the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland house the largest collection of manuscripts. Only two twentieth-century manuscripts have been sourced to date by this researcher in the National Library and one in the Public Records Office.

[8] Darra Goldstein, 'Foreword' in Máirtin Mac Con Iomaire and Eamon Maher (eds.), *'Tickling the Palate': Gastronomy in Irish Literature and Culture*, Vol. 57 Reimagining Ireland (Oxford, 2014), xi-xvii, xiii. Goldstein is referring specifically to Molly Keane's novel *Good Behaviour* (London, 1981). It is an observation that may be applied in the broader context. Keane also wrote under the pseudonym M.J. Farrell.

[9] Wheaton, 'Finding real life in cookbooks', 2.

Regarding cookbooks, Appadurai notes that while 'they usually belong to the humble literature of complex civilisations' they tell complex cultural tales.[10] This statement extends to the study of culinary manuscripts. Appadurai's descriptor and the issues surrounding it are discussed in Chapter One, which looks at the emergence of the academic discipline of food studies and culinary history and both how and why that discussion has been so often couched in apologetic language. The historiography of the discipline owes much to the rigor of anthropologists and historians of all schools and has, over the last several decades, established itself in an international context whereby it has reversed this process and now draws from these founding disciplines to make its own case.

The study of food and culinary history in Ireland has lagged somewhat behind international developments. However, this is changing rapidly as academics across disciplines have in recent years turned their attention to the analysis of how issues related to this area impact on and inform the study of social history, consumption, and re-formulation of archaeological practice. This research is not framed within the disciplines of archaeology, anthropology, social, economic or political history but within that of food history. In this research, literary and historical sources are drawn on in order to bring to life the narrative that is wrapped in recipe in Mrs Baker's manuscript. Beyond the strong archival support that reinforced the choice of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) as being worthy of intense scrutiny, the diary of Dorothea Herbert,[11] Mrs Baker's cousin, along with the novels and letters of Maria Edgeworth and other contemporary literary sources are of immense importance in recreating the history of how food was perceived and consumed during this period.[12] The stories embedded in food history have been accessed *via* many different academic pathways; sociologists, anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians of all persuasions have engaged with

[10] Arjun Appadurai, 'How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India', *Comparative Studies in History and Society*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (Jan., 1988), 3-24, 3.

[11] Dorothea Herbert, *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert* (Dublin, [London]2004 [1930]), with an introduction by Louis Cullen.

[12] Dorothy Cashman, '"That delicate sweetmeat, the Irish plum"; The Culinary World of Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)' in Mac Con Iomaire and Maher (eds.), *'Tickling the Palate'*, 15-34. A reference in Edgeworth's *The Absentee* to a named confectioner meant that a timeline of confectioners could be established from 1769 through to the mid-nineteenth century.

food history through their various disciplines. It is however through literature that this researcher has gained the most effective purchase on the stories and knowledge that culinary culture and food history embody. In his essay on the nineteenth century novel and Irish social history, Mac Donagh gives an eloquent defense of the use and place of literature in history making, specifically the novel, which he points out can 'yield insights and possibilities of recovering special portions of the past, for which we shall search in vain in any other matter'.[13]

In Ireland the study of food and culinary culture is kaleidoscopic in its academic narration. This is evident in Chapter Two, which seeks to put a historical perspective on the history of food on the island through a study of the pressures of conquest and colonisation through the centuries. The approach adopted here owes much to Laudan's magisterial perspective on the influence of empires on the development of culinary cultures.[14] Some aspects of culinary hegemony are obvious, however others are less so. Recipes, text for made dishes, and cuisine are linked.[15] However recipes travel through both oral transmission and text. It is correct, but not perhaps the full picture, that the manuscripts are examples of cultural importation of a style of dining of a colonial class as Shanahan has framed it.[16] However, this elite class was part of a larger trans-national cosmopolitan society that sought to emulate and match continental developments at the table. Arguably the same holds true today. In tandem with this, Chapter Two presents the evidence that this influence operated within another shell of historical events and empires, notably religious influences. Beyond this is the fact that Ireland shares climate and soil with its nearest neighbour.

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[13] Oliver MacDonagh, *The Nineteenth Century Novel and Irish Social History: Some Aspects*, O'Donnell Lecture, University College Cork, April 21 1970 (Dublin, 1970), 3. Rhona Richman Kenneally notes that Joe Lee makes a similar point in his observation that it 'is to the writers the historian must turn, as usual, for the larger truth'; J. J. Lee, *Ireland, 1912-1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge, 1989), 384, cited in R. Richman Kenneally, 'The Elusive Landscape of History: Food and Empowerment in Sebastian Barry's *Annie Dunne'* in Mac Con Iomaire and Maher (eds.), '*Tickling the Palate',* 79-98, 82.

[14] Rachel Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History* (Berkeley, 2013).

[15] Andrea Borghini, 'What is a Recipe?' in *Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics*, Vol.28, No. 3, 2015, 719-738, 21, describes recipes as 'ontological scaffolding without which it would be difficult to imagine our lives'.

[16] Madeline Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books as Archaeological Objects: Text and Food in the Early Modern World* (Maryland, 2014), 16.

As Allen stated, 'food, climate and people go together'.[17] There is a sharing of traditions between the island of Ireland and its nearest neighbours that are rooted through and beyond historical contingency. In his discussion of the English kitchen Jaine criticises those commentators who malign English cookery and deny its existence, 'that by dint of its derivative and imitative character it has lost all claim to discrete identity. This is of course absurd. If English people cook, the product must be English cookery'.[18] If Irish people cook, however that concept of Irishness is construed, the same argument holds true, although more complex now in the context of globalisation.

One of the tools of cooking is the cookbook and Chapter Three looks at cookbooks from incunabula through to fledgling Irish articulations. In narrating this history of the printed cookbook, attention is drawn to the importance of religious orders in the spread of culinary knowledge, to references to Ireland in text, and to perceptions about how certain foodstuffs were consumed on the island. Tenuous though some might view these references, it must be emphasised that assembling a narrative of the history of food in Ireland is in its infancy compared to other countries. Therefore, assembling historical detail, what will be referred to in the body of this research as 'counting bonnets', is of considerable importance.[19]

Printed cookbooks of Irish origin developed late in the historiography of the genre. With one or two notable exceptions Irish authored cookbooks did not go to print until the turn of the twentieth century, and an important issue is that they found their voice in the context of the emergence of the Irish State. The written recipes that preceded this are to be found in the culinary manuscripts, and nowhere else. Chapter Four examines the manuscripts as both text and objects of material culture. The problem of accessing the manuscripts both physically and in terms of interpreting their content is discussed here. The evidence is that the prime movers in manuscript

[17] Myrtle Allen, Statement at official opening of Ballymaloe Cookery School, Nov. 14, 1983. Mrs Allen's speech can be found on http://arrow.dit.ie/allen/2/
[18] Tom Jaine, 'The English Kitchen', in Eileen White (ed.) *The English Kitchen: Historical Essays.* Leeds Symposium on Food History, 'Food and Society' series (Totnes, 2007), 11-18, 11.
[19] Martyn J. Powell, *The Politics of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2005), 2.

recipe circulation were women. Where the authors of the manuscripts are unnamed, all that can be posited regarding gender is an educated guess. In her research on the artist Gabriel Münter, Vollman Bible uses a term that has resonance for an appreciation of the culinary manuscripts. The phrase she works with is 'the art of dailiness'.[20] This is something that Vickery alludes to when she points out that while those diaries and autobiographies recorded for posterity by notables such as Pepys, Evelyn and Boswell are in the public domain, this is in contrast to the unremarkable backdrop of home and household.[21] It is home and household, albeit gentry homes, that the manuscripts bear witness to. This is perhaps the main contributory factor to their relatively poor survival rate as archival documents. There are echoes of Deetz's memorable phrase, 'in small things forgotten'.[22] Chapter Four concludes with discussion of the Big House and the social milieu of ascendency Ireland as a backdrop to Mrs Baker's manuscript.

While the manuscripts may not be engaged in a grand narrative, the complexity of their content should not be underestimated. The culinary historian Wheaton likens historical cookbooks, and manuscripts, to magician's hats.[23] You reach in and know not what may emerge. To this end she has developed a framework for analysis to elucidate their content. This framework starts from a base of analysing ingredients and widens in scope through the kitchen, the meal, the book and finally the worldview embodied in the text. Chapter Five analyses Mrs Baker's manuscript using this 'structured approach'.[24] This is the first time a single manuscript, indeed a single Irish manuscript, has been subjected to such intense scrutiny. The choice of this manuscript was based on several considerations. The National Library holds an archive relating to

[20] Ann Vollmann Bible, 'Cakewalking into representation: Gabriel Münter's America travels (1898-1900) and the art of dailiness' (Massachusetts Institute of Technology Ph.D. thesis).
[21] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven, 2009), 56.
[22] James Deetz, *In Small things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life,* (New York, 1977). The phrase was recorded in an inventory in 1658, 'where at the end of a listing, the appraiser made a final entry: "In small things forgotten, eight shillings sixpence". In this he acknowledged things that he may have overlooked but nevertheless has value', Deetz, 4.
[23] Wheaton, 'Finding real life in cookbooks', 2.
[24] Barbara K. Wheaton, 'Reading Historic Cookbooks: A Structured Approach', an annual seminar conducted at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University.

the Baker family containing letters and inventories that pertain to the manuscript itself. Allied to this, Dorothea Herbert kept a diary for the period covered by the manuscript that sheds further light on the familial networks that were of such importance to Mrs Baker, and on culinary detail. And as remarked on above, literary intelligence and epistolary contributions regarding the period are significant and accessible.

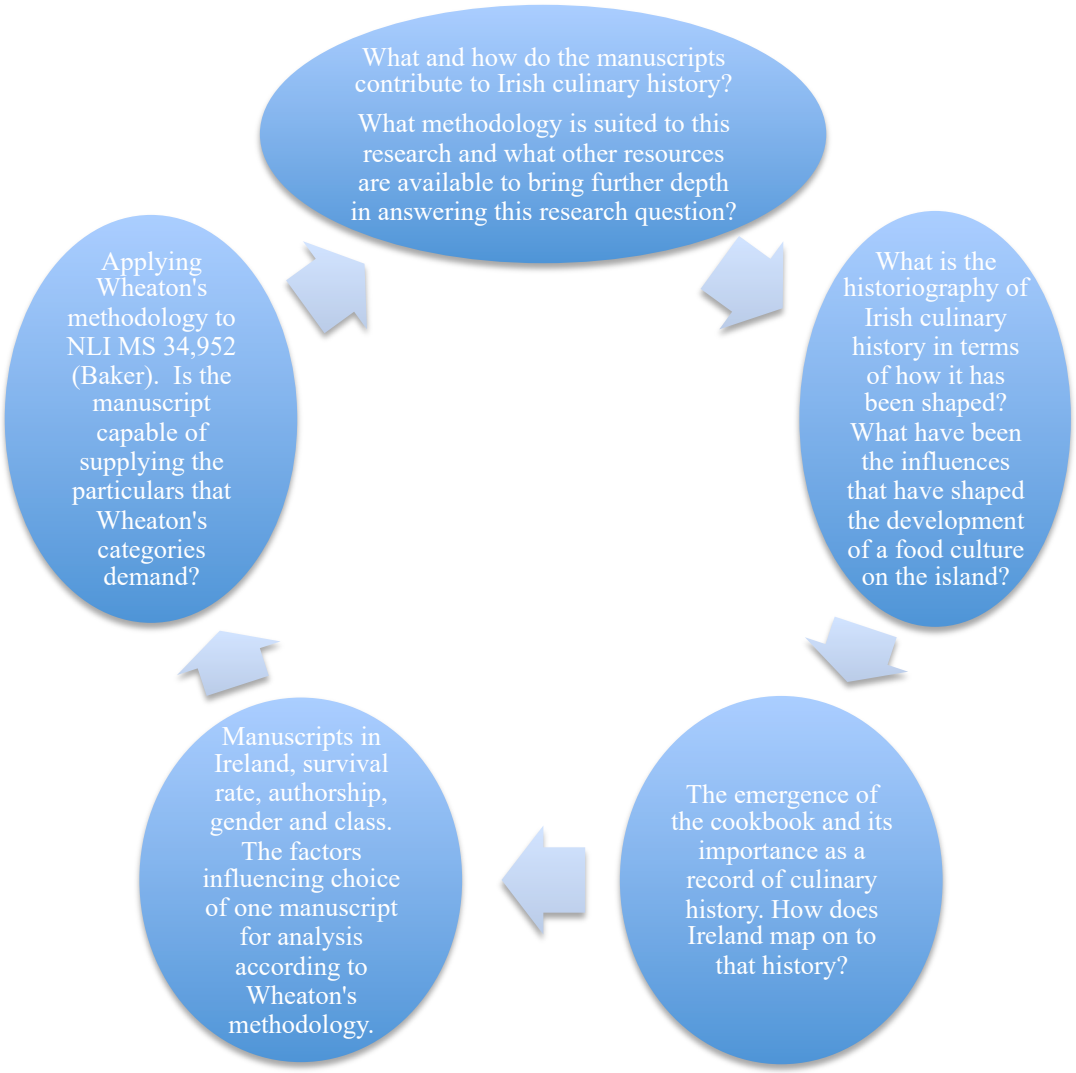
While scrutinising the manuscript makes for an interesting exercise in and of itself, the theoretical question behind this research is to establish what the manuscripts contribute to an understanding of Irish culinary history. To arrive at an answer involved posing many questions. In descriptive terms what are these manuscripts like as objects in themselves? As noted above they exist on two levels, both as text and as items of material culture, both as subject and object. As representational of the domestic sphere, how have they fared both in terms of academic and physical respect? Was the printed cookbook their nemesis or was there a more complex relationship between manuscript and print than would appear? How does this impact on the question of their contribution to culinary culture?

The written recipe in manuscript and printed form has a long and complex history. However, an Irish presence in that history has not been mapped to date. Nor has the history of the printed cookbook in Ireland been accorded much academic scrutiny. How the manuscripts fit into that history has been approached within the context of the specific research question that has been identified here. From early work conducted on the history of the printed cookbook in Ireland it would appear that the foundation of the state was a watershed moment.[25] Thereafter, there was a steady trickle culminating in a healthy market for the diverse range of Irish authored cookbooks evident today. If it is accepted that the best Irish cookbooks are engaged in the exercise of narrating a vision of modern Irish culinary culture, how do the manuscripts fit into that narrative both politically and in terms of culinary content? These are questions that Chapter Six addresses. It is through these questions that an assessment is made regarding what the manuscripts contribute to the map of Irish culinary history.

[25] Dorothy Cashman, 'An Exploratory Study of Irish Cookbooks' (unpublished Dublin Institute of Technology M.Sc. thesis, 2009).

Early on in this research an academic made a comment at a presentation by another researcher on the culinary manuscripts, to the effect that it was incomprehensible why anybody would preserve or keep, and by implication study, these manuscripts. The researcher was discussing the manuscripts from within an archaeological framework. There are three different ways that this question may be construed; that culinary content is unworthy of academic scrutiny, which has been discussed in Chapter One, that the manuscripts are overwhelmingly identified with the female sphere, and/or that they are textual representations of centuries of repression in Ireland, symbolised for so many by the 'Big House', all of which are issues that are woven through Chapters Three, Four and Five.

In discussing the manuscripts it may be wearing for the reader to remember the various manuscript numbers within the narrative so the practice is adopted here of designating Mrs Baker's manuscript as NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). This research has established that a manuscript in the Dublin City Library and Archive, Pearse Street, is an earlier manuscript compiled by Mrs Baker, with entries towards the back of the manuscript in a different hand which may be that of Mrs Baker's daughter-in-law, Charity. This manuscript is designated MS 162 (DCL). Other manuscript numbers are narrated in the bibliography.



A Map of the Research Questions

Limitations of the Research:

One of the ways of accessing culinary history is *via* the medium of the recipe and its embodied collected form, the cookbook. To date the first known Irish authored cookbook is that penned by the anonymous Ceres, published in 1767.[26] There is no history of recipe text, as distinct from descriptions of dishes, recorded before this date on the island, other than that found in the culinary manuscripts, the earliest of which

[26] Ceres, *The Lady's companion: or, accomplish'd director in the whole art of cookery…. By a lady* (Dublin, 1767).

date from the mid-seventeenth century.[27] Although grounded in early research on the history of the printed cookbook in Ireland and further touching on it in the conclusion, this is not a definitive history of the Irish cookbook. A comprehensive history of that remains to be done. While based on exhaustive study of Irish culinary manuscripts this research selects one manuscript for scrutiny according to Wheaton's methodology. Appendix Seven is an indicative list of further material that is available for research as an additional resource.[28] Wheaton points out that 'not all cookbooks are created equal. Some are considerably more pertinent to their times and informative for the modern reader than others'.[29] The aim of this research is to establish the contribution of the culinary manuscripts to Irish culinary history. The choice of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) for in-depth analysis was informed by the fact that, while representative of the general profile of the manuscripts, there was outstanding archival documentation and literary source material that could allow that question to be comprehensively interrogated.

As noted above, the milieu of the manuscripts, to a large extent, is that of what is often referred to as the Big House. As Carson notes the term is frequently a misnomer, some of the properties referred to in that way are relatively small, some palatial.[30] A comprehensive definition of those two culturally loaded words is beyond the remit of this research.[31] However Dooley's definition of a Big House as being 'the primary country residence of a landlord who held more than five hundred acres'[32] is one that sits comfortably with what is known about the Baker family and Ballaghtobin House. Regardless of the size, the style of cooking evidenced in the manuscripts is undoubtedly that of the gentry. This is both a limitation to this research and an

[27] The manuscript at Birr Castle belonging to the Parsons family is the oldest recorded to date; See Alison Rosse, 'Ireland, Birr Castle, Co. Offaly' in C. Anne Wilson (ed.) *Traditional Country House Cooking* (London, 1993), 107-123.
[28] See Madeline Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books as Archaeological Objects: Texts and Food in the Early Modern World* (Maryland, 2015). Shanahan provides a list of manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland as of 2014.
[29] Wheaton, 'Finding Real Life in Cookbooks', 3.
[30] Charles Carson, *Technology and the Big House in Ireland* (New York, 2009), preface.
[31] Jacqueline Genet (ed.) *The Big House in Ireland: Reality and Representation* (Kerry, 1991); Terence Dooley, *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland. A Study of Irish Landed Families 1860-1960* (Dublin, 2001); Terence Dooley, *The big houses and landed estates of Ireland: A research guide* (Dublin, 2007).
[32] Dooley, *The Decline of the Big House in Ireland,* 10.

opportunity for the future. It remains to be established how much culinary knowledge filtered down through those employed in these houses to the wider populace.[33] In addressing the research question an Irish presence in the wider European history of food has been mapped. As research tools develop exponentially with the aid of technology, and access to previously unknown text is facilitated through Google Books and other search engines, knowledge of Irish culinary history can only widen and deepen. Contemporary Irish interest in all things culinary is strong. This research provides robust academic context to this modern narrative.

A Guide to the Appendices: Bound as Volume II

Appendix One: Bibliography of Irish Printings, cookbooks and related material.

While Irish authored cookbooks are scarce before the twentieth century, Irish printed cookbooks were a feature of the book trade before the extension of the British copyright act to the island at the turn of the nineteenth century. While there are several bibliographies of cookbooks, none has specifically addressed this curious state of affairs in Ireland by assembling in one place the reprinted editions. As this research arose initially from a history of Irish authored cookbooks and discussion of cookbooks forms a very important section of this work, it seemed logical to assemble this specific bibliography. This appendix is built on the work of the outstanding bibliographies already assembled in the wider Anglophone world. It has been added to here with the aspiration that other researchers will augment it in the future.

Appendix Two: Narrative and family tree of Mrs. A. W. Baker, née Blunden, and Dorothea Herbert.

A self-explanatory appendix but one deemed necessary to an understanding of the relationship between the cousins. Family trees can be confusing and the Herbert one is no exception. The main characters are those highlighted in bold.

Appendix Three: A guide and narrative of the attributions in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker).

Mrs Baker's manuscript is notably dense in her recipe attributions. These references have been collated in this appendix along with a short individual narrative, where this

[33] *Ibid.,* 255. Carson notes that trades people made and repaired a wide range of equipment in their employ for the gentry, building up a considerable skill set.

was possible. This appendix brings the manuscript alive and is central to an understanding of the unique nature of Mrs Baker's text.

Appendix Four: The Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mrs Baker usually records social standing as a matter of course. This appendix provides a guide to the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage of Great Britain and Ireland. Precedence was an important fact of life in Georgian Ireland as noted in the appendix.

Appendix Five: Index of the recipes in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker), Vol. 1 correlated with Vol. II and MS 162 (DCL).

When commencing this research the second volume compiled by Mrs Baker was missing and remains so. However, what this research has discovered is the earlier manuscript in the Dublin City Library and Archive compiled by Mrs Baker which tallies remarkably with her recipes in the volume in the National Library and also fills in many of the gaps in knowledge regarding the missing Volume Two. Appendix Five reconciles the two manuscripts in terms of what MS 162 (DCL) contributed to NLI MS 34, 952 (Baker).

Appendix Six: NLI MS 34,952 (Baker).

This is the transcription of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker).

Appendix Seven: Listing of manuscripts and selected source material.

Extensive research was conducted to be confident that the most representative manuscript was selected for analysis. This appendix is to allow other researchers build on this process.

Glossary:

This is provided to explain items in the tables. Where terms used in the main body need explanation this is done in the footnotes.

Chapter One: *Annales* to Microhistory. The framing of an academic discourse for food history

1.1 Introduction:

This chapter charts the rise in status of food and culinary history as an academic discipline. Following on from research on the history of Irish cookbooks since the foundation of the Irish state,[34] this research into Irish culinary manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is situated within the academic discipline of food history, a relatively young discipline. In Ireland most research regarding food history has come from the more traditional academic disciplines and departments.[35] Sexton was an early academic researcher in the area, arriving at the topic from a background as a medievalist and historian.[36] Mac Con Iomaire's research is informed by his training in culinary arts, the first Irish researcher to arrive at the topic from within the discipline of food history.[37]

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[34] Cashman, 'An Exploratory Study of Irish Cookbooks' (unpublished Dublin Institute of Technology M.Sc. thesis, 2009).

[35] Louis M. Cullen, *The Emergence of Modern Ireland 1600-1900* (London, 1981); Patricia Lysaght, 'Continuity and change in the Irish diet' in Alexander Fenton and Eszter Kisbán (eds.), *Food in Change: Eating habits from the Middle Ages to the present day* (Edinburgh, 1986), 80-96; Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present, Second Edition* (Chicago, 1996); Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin, 2000 [1997]); Leslie A. Clarkson and Margaret E. Crawford, *Feast and Famine: Food and Nutrition in Ireland 1500-1900* (Oxford, 2001); Alison Fitzgerald, '"Taste in High Life". Dining in the Dublin Town House' in Christine Casey (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Town House: Form, Function and Finance* (Dublin, 2010), 120-127; Catherine O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland 900-1500* (Dublin, 2004); Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*; Susan Flavin, *Consumption and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland, Saffron, Stockings and Silk* (Woodbridge, 2014).

[36] Regina Sexton, *A Little History of Irish Food* (Dublin, 1998); 'Irish Food, Thirteenth to Seventeenth-Centuries' in Brian Lalor (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Ireland* (Dublin, 2003).

[37] Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'The Pig in Irish Cuisine, Past and Present' in Harlan Walker (ed.), *The Fat of the Land: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery* (Bristol, 2003); 'A History of Seafood in Irish Cuisine and Culture' in Richard Hosking (ed.), *Wild Food: Proceeding of the Oxford Symposium* (Totnes, 2006); 'The Emergence, Development, and Influence of French Haute Cuisine on Public Dining in Dublin Restaurants 1900-2000: An Oral History' (Dublin Institute of Technology Ph.D. thesis, 2009); '"From Jammets to Guilbauds": The Influence of French Haute Cuisine on the development of Dublin Restaurants' in Mac Con Iomaire and Maher (eds.), '*Tickling the Palate'*; 'Haute Cuisine Restaurants in Nineteenth and

Food history is generally seen as encompassing culinary history, somewhat in the manner of Russian dolls, both further falling under the umbrella term of food studies.[38] Culinary history may be defined as studying foodstuffs, their origins and development and the study of cookery in all its various manifestations and associated activities. This includes material culture and attendant consumption practices and 'the meaning of these activities to the societies that produce them'.[39] Grew defines food history as concerned with biology, soil and climate, encompassing an engagement with 'social structures, economic exchanges and technology to embrace culture and include a history of collective and individual preferences'.[40] As is apparent in these definitions it is difficult to envisage a research situation where there is not significant crossover between the two areas.

As a relatively recent discipline, food history has drawn energy and methodological rigor from scholars working across many fields. The range of disciplines that these scholars represent attests to a characteristic that there is general agreement about; there is no one academic framework or discipline within which the subject fits coherently. Variously described as being interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and most recently transdisciplinary,[41] that food studies should have this descriptive confusion, or choice, attached to it should come as no surprise to those engaged in the area as it is obvious that their research interest is arrived at from diverse backgrounds.[42]

Twentieth Century Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 2015).

[38] Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik, 'Introduction' in Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (eds.), *Food and Culture, A Reader, Second Edition* (New York and London, 2008), 3.

[39] Raymond Grew, 'Food and Global History', in Raymond Grew (ed.), *Food in Global History* (Boulder, 1999), 6.

[40] *Ibid.,* Both definitions are cited by John C. Super in 'Review Essay: Food and History', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 36, 1. (Autumn 2002), 165-178.

[41] The word associated with transdisciplinary is 'holistic', whereby an identifiable research problem is approached on the basis that the solution lies in the ability of the researchers to step outside their individual disciplinary trainings.

[42] Anthropologists were the forerunners in contributing to what can now, with hindsight, be seen as the emerging multi-disciplinary field of Food Studies. For example Claude Lévi-Strauss *Le Cru et la cuit* (Paris, 1964); 'The Culinary Triangle', *Partisan Review Vol. 33, No 4* (Fall 1966), 586-595; *The Raw and the Cooked* (New York, 1969); *The origin of table manners* (New York, 1978); Mary Douglas (1966) *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London, 1966);

Two recent publications are illustrative of the current status and appetite for the study of all matters relating to food and its attendant consumption practices. In 2014 The American Historical Association recognised that food history was now relevant to a number of intersecting disciplines and supported the publication of *Food in Time and Place*.[43] Intended to be a 'convenient handbook presenting a geographically, chronologically, and topically broad range of food history' the book is also aimed at those involved in setting up a course devoted to the study of food related research.[44] The *Oxford Handbook of Food History*[45] follows a different methodological structure but also recognises that there is a shift in how the study of the history of food and food related culture is regarded. These two important contributions to the growing body of literature related to food history attribute academic acceptability for the discipline to the growth in interest by social historians in the study of material culture and attendant consumption practices,[46] specifically to the groundbreaking work undertaken by the French scholars of the *Annales* school post World War II.[47]

1.2 The influence of the *Annales* School:

Bloch (1886-1944) and Febvre (1878-1956) co-founded the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* in 1929, originally based in Strasburg and subsequently

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'Deciphering a Meal', *Daedalus, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* Vol. 101, No. 1 (Winter 1972), 61-82; Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985). The sociologist Fernand Braudel published *The Structures of Everyday Life* (1967) as part of a three-volume work *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th—18th Centuries* (New York, 1981-84). The historians Jean-Louis Flandarin and Massimo Montanari (eds.), published *Histoire de l'alimentation* (Paris, 1996); Flandarin and Mondarin (eds.), with Albert Sonnenfield, *Food: A Culinary History* (New York, 1999). The Harvard University for Italian Renaissance Studies in collaboration with The European Institute for Food Culture and History have established an on-line resource of bibliographic materials for researchers in the field of food history and food studies available at, http://www.foodbibliography.eu/index_en.asp

[43] Paul Freedman, Joyce E. Chaplin and Ken Albala (eds.), *Food in Time and Place: The American Historical Association Companion to Food History* (Oakland, 2014).

[44] *Ibid.* xi.

[45] Jeffrey Pilcher (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* (Oxford, 2012).

[46] *Ibid*., xii. Engel's law (1857) that as income rises the share of total spending on food declines is an early example of the interest in the link between food consumption and economic status.

[47] Sydney Watts, 'Food and the Annales School' in Pilcher (ed.), *Oxford Handbook*, 3. Also called *La nouvelle histoire*, see Peter Bourke, 'Overture. The New History: Its Past and Its Future' in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing 2nd Edition* (Cambridge, 2001 [1991]).

relocating to Paris. Fundamental to the *Annales* scholars was a rejection of traditional political history in favour of economic and social questioning using quantitative formulations, analysing structures and trends, and prioritising the study of long slow processes, the *longue durée*, over the history of events, *histoire événementielle*. Braudel (1902-1985), successor to Bloch and Febvre, brought history and sociology closer with his study of the Mediterranean, published in 1949.[48] The third generation of *Annales* scholars is seen as commencing with Braudel's successor, Ladurie (1929-).[49] This third generation stressed the study of history from the point of view of mentality, *mentalités,* a dimension of what is termed 'total history', which considers the attitudes of ordinary people to everyday life.[50]

In 1979 a selection from the *Annales* was published as *Food and Drink in History,*[51] which specifically articulated a justification for the study of food as more than an object of historical curiosity. The editors identified some of the reasons for academic interest in food, the sum of which amounts to the statement that 'food is one of the "ties" in the intricate tissue of history'.[52] Interestingly Barthes in his essay in the selection refers, in the context of French food but applicable generally, to what is a recurring discussion in the study of food, 'for we do not see our own food or, worse, we assume that it is insignificant. Even — or perhaps especially — to the scholar, the subject of food connotes triviality or guilt'.[53] Almost twenty five years later Belasco

[48] Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen a l'époque de Philippe II*, 3 Vols. (Paris, 1949).
[49] Ladurie is perhaps best known for his work *Montaillou, village occitan de 1294 à 1324* (Paris, 1975).
[50] Patrick H. Hutton, 'The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History', *History and Theory* Vol. 20, 3 (Oct., 1981), 237-259.
[51] Robert Forster, Orest Ranum (eds.), *Food and Drink in History: Selections from the Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations: Vol. 5* (Baltimore, 1979).
[52] *Ibid*., 'Introduction' vii. As noted by Susan Flavin, Cullen applied the approach adopted by the *Annales* school in *Modern Ireland*, Flavin 'Consumption and Material Culture in Sixteenth-Century Ireland' (unpublished University of Bristol D.Phil. thesis), 1.
[53] Roland Barthes, 'Towards a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption' in Forster and Ranum (eds.), *Food and Drink*, 167. Barthes gives no reason why this connotation should exist, but its origins in western philosophy extends as far back as the Greeks, for example Plato's *Gorgias* where Socrates describes cookery as no art, rather a mere habit or knack; see Edward Meredith Cope (trans.) *Plato's Gorgias* (Cambridge, 1864), 27. In the classic Greek hierarchy of the senses, taste and smell are associated with our animal natures. The greater the distance between the object

echoed this uneasiness when he enumerated all the ways that food has meaning, yet noted that scholars in the field still adopted a defensive position, 'I did not see any panels devoted to justifying the study of gender, race, movies, television or music'.[54] Twelve years after Belasco's statement it is to be hoped that the editors of *Food in Time and Place,* and *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* have drawn a line regarding this nervousness with their appraisals that the history of food has 'finally won professional respectability',[55] 'no longer needing to convince a skeptical audience of historians' of its seriousness as an academic pursuit.[56]

This perceived frailty of academic support early on in the historiography of food studies has not halted the rise in interest in all aspects of food culture and history. In their introduction to the second edition of *Food and Culture,* Counihan and Van Esterik remark on the fact that between 1997, the date of the first edition, and 2008, the date of the second edition, 'food has permeated almost every scholarly field'.[57] Not only has food permeated every field; the different headings under which it is studied has also proliferated, again reflecting the diverse disciplines that have shaped its academic growth.

The academic rise of food and culinary history has been nurtured in some respects by the ongoing dialogue between the structural historians of the *Annales* school, the 'conceptual apparatus' generally regarded as being created by the social

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and the perceiver, the higher the cognitive, moral and aesthetic advantage; see Carolyn Korsmeyer, *Making Sense of Taste: Food and Philosophy* (Ithaca, 1999); Janet A. Flammang, *The Taste for Civilization: Food Politics and Civil Society* (Illinois, 2009) 133-173; Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* (Philadelphia, 2016), 69.

[54] Warren Belasco, 'Food Matters: Perspectives on an Emerging Field' in Warren Belasco and Philip Scranton (eds.), *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies* (New York, 2002), 4.

[55] Pilcher (ed.), 'Introduction', *Oxford Handbook*, xvii.

[56] Freedman, Chaplin and Albala (eds), *Food in Time and Place*, xii.

[57] Counihan and Van Esterik, 'Introduction' *Food and Culture*, 1. Cultural Studies had its origin in a groundswell of concern with the critique of power across several disciplines, and has emerged as a single institutionalised discipline; see Patricia Leavy, *Essentials of Transdisciplinary Research: Using Problem Centered Methodologies* (California, 2011), 42. Perhaps food history and food studies will follow a similar trajectory.

theorists,[58] and those historians who could be described as being from the tradition of narrative history. Stone attributes the rise of narrative history[59] to a failure of the economic, deterministic view of the world espoused by the early scholars of the *Annales* School. Stone's central argument is that the analytical quantitative works of Braudel and Le Roy Ladurai[60] dealt largely with the material conditions of the masses and that in so doing a view of society was presented as static and culturally ignorant of outside forces such as the Renaissance, the Reformation or the Enlightenment. This implicit hierarchy of economics and demographics over intellect and culture has been countered by other historians arguing that there is a much more complex web of meaning at play in any historical analysis. Quantification can tell much about the 'what', but relatively little about the 'why'. It is a standpoint that Weatherill acknowledges in her study of consumer behavior and material culture:

> There were many reasons why people wanted to own material goods, some practical, some financial, some psychological. This makes it necessary to explore social as well as economic factors. It also makes once-and-for-all conclusions both impossible and intellectually dishonest. There is no single answer.[61]

Echoing the defensive position noted by Belasco that food historians adopt about their academic justification, Stone observes that narrative historians are seemingly caught in the intellectual bind that the more accessible their work is, the less likely it is to be viewed as scholarly. Perhaps one of the reasons for the proliferation of academic output in the area of food history is that as a topic it has a broad appeal to an informed but not necessarily technically expert public; accessibility and academia could be viewed as having an uneasy relationship.[62]

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[58] Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory, Second Edition* (Cambridge, 2012 [2005]).
[59] Lawrence Stone, 'The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History', *Past and Present* (1979) 85 (1), 3-24. Stone gives a working definition of narrative history as being descriptive rather than analytical, the emphasis on the human rather than the circumstantial.
[60] Stone cites Braudel, *La Méditerranée et la monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949) and Ladurie, *Les paysans du Languedoc* (Paris, 1960).
[61] Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660—1760, Second Edition* (London, 1996), 200.
[62] Carlo Ginzburg ventilated this issue of popular appeal when he commented that 'some historians found my work populist, demagogic and so on… the fact that my books, except *Il nicodemismo,* looked for a different audience, rather than a professional audience, disturbed a lot of academics', see Keith Luria and Romulo

The point being made here is that having been initially afforded academic respectability by scholars such as those in the *Annales* School, academic study of food and culinary history has also availed of the rise of narrative and micro-history,[63] just as it owes much to the grand sweep methodology of other historians, what Evans refers to as 'fissile sources of historical energy' created in the jostling for space for new perspectives.[64] One of these new perspectives is that of the microhistorian. Originally regarded with some negativity by Braudel as being synonymous with the derided 'history of events' and as being incident centered, he eventually conceded that it could be a permissible approach by virtue of the fact that the incident could be repetitious and as such worthy of closer examination. As Ginzburg notes, Braudel never reconciled himself to the possibility that singularity, an isolated historical instance, was worthy of scholarly apprehension.[65]

1.3 Microhistory, theory and methods:

Microhistory as a methodology could be regarded as having received a significant seal of approval with Hobsbawm's statement:

> there is nothing new in choosing to see the world via a microscope rather then a telescope. So long as we accept that we are studying the same

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Gandolfo, 'Carlo Ginzburg: An Interview', *Radical History Review*, 35 (1986), 89-111, 95.

[63] Without wishing to be drawn into internecine warfare among historians it should be noted that Hobsbawm rebuts Stone's thesis that the revival of narrative history constitutes a break with the structural historians of the post-Second World War era; see Eric Hobsbawm, 'The Revival of Narrative, Some Comments', *Past and Present,* 86 (Feb. 1980) 3-8. "It is possible to explain much of what he surveys as the continuation of past historical enterprises by other means, instead of as proofs of their bankruptcy", *Ibid*., 8. In philosophical terms perhaps the historians are arriving at some form of Hegelian synthesis in terms of their approach. Or as Ginzburg phrases it 'all institutions, innovations, in fact ruptures with the past, make headway by means of the reaffirmation of a certain continuity with what has gone before', Carlo Ginzburg, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I know about It', trans. John and Anne C. Tedeschi, in *Critical Enquiry,* Vol. 20, No. 1 (Autumn, 1993), 10-35, 19. This also gives a history of the word 'microhistory' itself.

[64] Eric Evans, 'Social History' on *Making History, The Institute of Historical Research*. http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/index.html

[65] Ginzburg, 'Microhistory'. Braudel's rejection of 'singularity' or the individual incident, while possibly reconciled through analysis of the repetitive, meant that for him microhistory remained condemned as it was rooted in the idea of singularity.

> cosmos, the choice between microcosm and macrocosm is a matter of selecting the appropriate technique.[66]

In this research project the historiographical practice of the microhistorian is applied in a multidisciplinary context to a culinary manuscript, NLI MS 34,952 (Baker), and the diary of Dorothea Herbert with the aim of understanding a distinct period of Irish culinary history and to establish whether culinary manuscripts of the period have a contribution to make to discussion of that history. As defined by one of its founding practitioners, microhistory is 'based on the reduction of scale of observation, on a microscopic analysis and an intensive study of the documentary material'.[67] As Levi explains it, this reduction of scale of observation is not merely a goal in itself, neither is it just a way of addressing 'the problem of describing vast complex social structures without losing sight of the scale of each individual's social space and hence, of people and their situation in life',[68] rather it is the belief that this form of research, microscopic observation, will reveal factors previously unobserved.[69] In his study of the household accounts of the Willoughby family, a wealthy English Midlands gentry family, Dawson also refers to these tenets, observing that this 'microscopic approach can often reveal subtle nuances'.[70] As Dawson points out, these nuances can open up the subject to discussion, where perhaps more questions may arise then expected. In the case of this research, close study of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) and of the Irish novels of Maria Edgeworth, opened up a previously uncharted area, that of confectioners in Ireland in the Georgian period.[71] Close reading of another manuscript, NLI MS 42,105, raised an issue which has currency to the present day, that of bank failure.[72]

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[66] Hobsbawm 'Narrative', 7.
[67] Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory' in Burke (ed.) *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 97-119, 99.
[68] *Ibid.,* 99.
[69] *Ibid.,* 101.
[70] Mark Dawson, *Plenti and Grase: Food and Drink in a Sixteenth-Century Household* (Devon, 2009), 20; 'The Food Year in the Willoughby Household at Wollaton and Middleton in the Sixteenth Century', *Petits Propos Culinaires* 85, May 2008, 77-96.
[71] Cashman, 'Sweetmeat', in Mac Con Iomaire and Maher (eds.), '*Tickling the Palate'*; '"This receipt is as safe as the bank". Reading Irish Culinary Manuscripts'. *M/C-—A Journal of Media and Culture* July 2013. http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal
[72] NLI MS 42,105 and the issue of bank failure are discussed in Chapter Four.

Ginzburg is perhaps the most prominent proponent of the methods of microhistory.[73] In 1979, as a reaction against the pervasive influence of the *Annales* School and their emphasis on the '*longue duree'*, Ginzburg and Poni published an essay outlining a programme for microhistory based on ethnographic research.[74] The essay describes how research is to be based on 'social relationships and interactions among historical persons who, in contrast to analytic categories, actually existed and experienced life as a series of events'.[75] In many respects it could be argued that Ginsburg is asking for a measure of 'common sense' with respect to social theory when applied to historical research. Ginzburg's basic premise is that it is not the task of the historian to explore the historical implications of a contemporary theory or problem, arguing that historians who are preoccupied with being relevant to the present produce what he terms 'anachronistic history', a history that imposes the researchers own values on the research topic.[76]

While some historians regard his work as populist, Ginzburg has an observation to make regarding what constitutes good interdisciplinary work that is worth noting. He makes the observation in the context of a discussion about his work on the fifteenth century Italian master, Piero della Francesca (1415-1492).[77] Ginzburg's approach to the master's artwork was essentially that of a social historian rather then

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[73] Born into a highly politicised family, Ginzburg is the son of the novelist Natalie Ginzburg, neé Levi, and Leone Ginzburg who died in 1944 after suffering severe torture as an opponent of the Fascist régime. Ginzburg is best known for *Il formaggio e I vermin* (Turin, 1976) published in English as *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore, 1980).

[74] Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni, 'Il nome e il come: Scambio inequale e mercato storiografico', *Quaderni Storici* 40 (1979) 181-90. Published in English as 'The Name and the Game: Unequal Exchange and the Historical Marketplace' in Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero (eds.), *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore, 1991), 1-10.

[75] Edward Muir, 'Introduction: Observing Trifles' in Muir and Ruggiero (eds.), *Microhistory*, ix. Angela Bourke's *The Burning of Bridget Cleary* (New York, 2000) is an example of applying the methodologies of the microhistorian to an Irish subject.

[76] Ginzburg's intuitions are very close to those of philosophical hermeneutics and its discussion of the interpretation of texts, where the goal is understanding, *verstehen*, rather than explanation. See Elizabeth Anne Kinsella, 'Hermeneutics and Critical Hermeneutics: Exploring Possibilities Within the Art of Interpretation', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* Vol. 7, No 3, Art. 19 May 2006. http://www.qualitativeresearch.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/145/319 .

[77] Carlo Ginzburg, *The Enigma of Piero; Pirro della Francesca: The Baptism, The Arezzo Cycle, The Flagellation,* trans. Martin Ryle and Kate Soper (London, 1985).

an art historian and resulted in an interpretation at variance with the more traditional one of the art historian. He describes his approach as being external to the work, as opposed to the more traditional internal approach of the art historians. Unperturbed by the reaction of the traditionalists, what Ginzburg finds interesting is the conflict or clash of methodologies, and states his belief that it is in this conflict that the true nature of interdisciplinary work lies.[78]

This potential for conflict is a factor to bear in mind in the context of this research. Although firmly within the academic discipline of food and culinary history, much of the cultural and sociological matters that it deals with are historical in nature. Analysis of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) will be contextualised within the world of Georgian Ireland using the diary of Dorothea Herbert, Mrs Baker's first cousin, neighbour and contemporary, and the literature[79] of the period. While using historic and literary touchstones the initial impulse is a desire to investigate the elite culinary culture of Georgian Ireland through a microhistorical analysis of specific identified archival documents. The methodology that will be applied to a close reading of the culinary manuscript is that formulated by the food historian Wheaton. This lucid dissection of a cookbook works through from analysis of ingredients, the kitchen, the meal, and the book terminating with discussion of the worldview that may be explicated from the sum of the categories.[80]

One final issue that should be noted is that while historiographical trends discussed are European and Anglophone the study of food and its cultural significance is now a global phenomenon.

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[78] Luria and Gandolfo, 'Ginzburg', 99.

[79] Timothy Morton confirms the interdisciplinary nature of food studies from a literary perspective, see Timothy Morton, 'Food Studies in the Romantic Period: (S)mashing History', *Romanticism* 12.1 (2006), 1-4; see also Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire "Exploring the 'Food Motif' in Songs from the Irish Tradition." Dublin Gastronomy Symposium. Dublin, 3 Jun. 2014, ‹http://arrow.dit.ie/dgs/2014/june314/7/›; Cashman, 'Sweetmeat' in Mac Con Iomaire and Maher (eds.), '*Tickling the Palate'*, 15-34.

[80] See Cashman 'An Exploratory Study'. Shanahan delineates a similar methodology for a framework for manuscripts within an archaeological context; see Shanahan *Manuscript Recipe Books*, 32-42. Wheaton originally trained as an art historian and it could be argued that her systematic approach to examining the text owes much to this background.

1.4 Summary:

This chapter has traced the rise in academic interest in the study of food. Appadurai's description of food as 'a highly condensed social fact'[81] goes some way to explaining that any coherent and fruitful exploration of this area is going to be multidisciplinary in its approach. The academic acceptability of the field has been explored through an understanding of the importance of the early contribution of the scholars of the *Annales* School, through to how the rise of alternative historical narratives and methodologies has energised studies in the area. Kocha frames the opportunity of being open to multiple approaches with the observation that 'the house of history has many rooms'.[82] In this spirit this study draws upon the skills of those who have already contributed to culinary discussion from across the disciplines in order to synthesise that knowledge and contribute to discussion of Irish culinary history.

[81] Arjun Appadurai, 'Gastropolitics in Hindu South Asia', *American Ethnologist*, 8, (3) (1981) 494-511, 494.

[82] Jürgen Kocha, 'Das Haus der Geschichte hat viele Zimmer', *FR,* 20 June 1989. Quoted in David F. Crew, 'Alltagsgeschichte: A New Social History "From Below"?' *Central European History*, Vol.22, No 3/4, German Histories: Challenges in Theory, Practice, Technique. Sept.-Dec. 1989, 394-407, 407.

Chapter Two: Culinary Context

2.1 Introduction:

As noted previously, this research project had its genesis in research for a thesis on the history of Irish printed cookbooks. With a small number of exceptions, which will be explored in Chapter Three when discussion turns to the printed book, that history is rooted in the twentieth century and ideologically contemporaneous with the foundation of the Irish state and the period known as The Emergency.[83] Material for a twentieth-century expression of culinary taste patently did not suddenly emerge fully formed to coincide with the State, so the written record in the form of the culinary manuscripts from the late seventeenth through to the late-nineteenth century was examined to give some sense of a continuum and as background to the research. It became obvious that these manuscripts were a very distinctive voice deserving of a separate research project. If it is accepted that the manuscripts occupy a pivotal position in a timeline of Irish culinary history, articulating and recording for the first time in text actual recipes, then to appreciate their significance it is necessary to contextualise them in terms of what preceded them, just as it is necessary to understand what they contributed to the discussion regarding Irish culinary history subsequent to the period of their greatest popularity. This chapter sets out to place the culinary manuscripts at the core of this research in context with respect to what preceded them in culinary terms and the social milieu from which their authors were drawn. Discussion of identity formation by the nascent Irish State has implications for how receptive audiences are to their place within the story of Irish culinary history, a theme that will be returned to in Chapter Six.

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[83] The Emergency is that period following the passage of the Emergency Powers Act by Dáil Eireann in 1939 up to when the Act lapsed in September 1946, coinciding with World War II, http://www.oireachtas.ie/parliament/about/libraryresearchservice/onlinecataoguecollections/buildingmodernireland/theemergencyinireland/.
Cookbooks that achieved iconic status from this period were Maura Laverty's *Flour Economy* (a precursor to her *Full and Plenty, Complete Guide to Good Cooking*) written at the request of the Irish government in 1941; Josephine Marnell, Nora Breathnach, Ann Martin, Mor Murnaghan, *All in the Cooking* (1946, Dublin). All four authors were staff teachers at Coláiste Mhuire, Cathal Brugha Street, Dublin. See Cashman, 'An Exploratory Study'.

The observation that 'Ireland has suffered twice for its famines and food shortages, first due to very real deprivations, and second because these deprivations present an obstacle to the exploration of Irish food'[84] has much merit. There is an emerging body of research that indicates that discussion regarding Ireland's culinary history must accommodate 'feast' as well as famine.[85] This research studies a specific point in Irish history in terms of both chronology and location. These limitations arose due to the nature of the primary source material which comprises the Baker manuscript (NLI MS 34,952 Baker) and related archive — which dates from the mid-eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century — the dense interweaving of the Baker Herbert families, captured both in NLI MS, 34,952 (Baker) and the diary of Dorothea Herbert (*ca.*1767-1829), and the intersection of this with the writings of one of the main literary sources for the period, Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849). This source material, combining as it does archival material with contemporary literary sources, one of whose authors, Dorothea Herbert, is directly related to the Baker family, the other, Maria Edgeworth, an astute commentator on the fashions and habits of the time,[86] gives a unique insight into both culinary practices and the lifestyle and identity issues surrounding these practices. This research method is *ad idem* with Burke who advocates use of a literary as well as a qualitative approach to research.[87] Speaking in the context of a discussion of material culture he remarks that 'many historians whose paradigm of evidence is what they call the 'document' still have to learn to read other kinds of material object'.[88] Stating an

[84] Goldstein, 'Foreword', in Mac Con Iomaire and Maher (eds.), '*Tickling the Palate',* xii.
[85] Mac Con Iomaire, 'Emergence'; Mac Con Iomaire and Tara Kellaghan, 'Royal Pomp: Viceregal Celebrations and Hospitality in Georgian Dublin' in Mark McWilliams (ed.), *Celebration. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2011* (Devon, 2012); Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books.* For recent research relating to the famine see Cormac Ó Gráda, *Famine: A Short History* (Princeton, 2009); *Ireland's Great Famine: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Dublin, 2006).
[86] As Marilyn Butler notes 'few novelists of either sex were as well qualified to make the running with social realism as Edgeworth, put by her intellectual father through a training in what we would call economics and sociology, the new 'sciences of man' of the French and Scottish Enlightenment', introduction to Butler (ed.), *Castle Rackrent and Ennui* (London, 1992), 5.
[87] Peter Burke, 'Res et verba: Conspicuous consumption in the early modern world' in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), 148-161.
[88] *Ibid.,*150.

obvious *caveat* with regard to an author's intention in recording practices of the time, whether it may be satirical or otherwise, Burke notes that the evidence about material objects across literary genres is a 'rich vein, which has hardly begun to be exploited'.[89] The argument for use of this source material for an understanding of the culinary culture of the period under review is strong.[90] What is becoming apparent is that culinary manuscripts and cookbooks, arguably a literary sub-genre,[91] are equally valuable as archival sources across disciplines, this academic appreciation of their value rising in tandem with an increased appreciation of the importance of material culture to discussion.[92] Reading manuscripts and cookbooks is however a complex task, the need to break down the information contained within them addressed by the culinary historian Wheaton in her development of a methodology which addresses this, which she terms a 'structured approach'. This researcher has studied Wheaton's

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] See Dorothy Cashman, 'French Boobies and Good English Cooks. The Relationship with French Culinary Influence in 18th and 19th century Ireland', in Benjamin Keating and Mary Pierse (eds.), *Reimagining Ireland. Proceedings from the AFIS conference 2012*, Vol. 55 Reimagining Ireland (Bern, 2014); Cashman, 'Sweetmeat', in Mac Con Iomaire and Maher (eds.), '*Tickling the Palate'*.

[91] For example Margaret Dods, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* (Edinburgh, 1826), Dods was the pseudonym of Christian Isobel Johnstone. On Dods see Blake Perkins, 'Christian Isobel Johnstone and The Cook and Housewife's Manual by Meg Dods', *Petits Propos Culinaires 105,* 16-41; Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, *La Cucina Futurista, The Futurist Cookbook*, trans. Suzanne Brill (London, [1932] 2014); Alice B. Toklas, *The Alice B. Toklas Cookbook* (New York, 1954). Increasingly in the twentieth century personal memoir became an important constituent in cookbooks.

[92] Pennell's work on the material culture of the kitchen is the seminal work on the domestic environment, Sara Pennell, '"Pots and Pans History": The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England', *Journal of Design History*, Vol.11, No.3 (1998), 201-216; 'Making Livings, Lives and Archives: Tales of Four Eighteenth-Century Recipe Books' in Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (eds.), *Reading Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800* (Manchester, 2013), 225-246; Robert Appelbaum, 'Rhetoric and Epistemology in Early Printed Recipe Collections', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 2 (Fall/Winter 2003), 1-35; Eileen White (ed.), *The English Cookery Book* (2004, Prospect Books); Cynthia D. Bertelsen, 'Daily Life through Cooking and Cookbooks: A Brief Guide to Using Cookbooks as a Tool in Historical Archaeology', *The Artifact,* Vol. 49, 2011; Wheaton, 'Finding Real Life in Cookbooks; 'Cookbooks as Resources for Social History', in Freedman, Chaplin and Albala (eds.), *Food in Time and Place,* 276-299; Karen Bescherer Metheny and Mary C. Beaudry (eds.) *Archaeology of Food*, *An Encyclopedia* (Maryland, 2015).

approach both in her Harvard class and at a master workshop supervised by Wheaton at the Dublin Institute of Technology, Cathal Brugha Street.[93]

The authors of, and audience for, this source material were drawn from the elite classes. The use of the plural is intentional, and indicates the relativity inherently involved in the designation.[94] In his study of the peerage of eighteenth-century England, Cannon points to the fact that the concept of a social elite is elusive and to attempt to quantify it is a task fraught with difficulty.[95] Barnard argues that there is a tendency to collapse distinctions within social tiers, a point frequently overlooked in commentary. Speaking of the functional distinction between the Anglo-Irish and the wider Protestant community of the island,[96] Barnard observes that divisions within the Protestant communities were economic rather than social, and that while the Anglo-Irish might be wealthier, 'because of their intermittent or prolonged absences they provided marvelous chances of enrichment for Protestants tied exclusively to Ireland'.[97] The issue of absenteeism, and the opportunities for corruption amongst estate agents this afforded, are referenced in Edgeworth's novel *The Absentee.*[98] An instance of the subtle social distinctions involved when looking at this social class is

[93] Barbara K. Wheaton, 'Reading Historic Cookbooks: A Structured Approach'. A seminar conducted at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University, 2009. The course was run at the DIT School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology in 2014.

[94] See Ciaran O'Neill 'Introduction', *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 2013), 17-30, who notes that the literature surrounding elitism 'has been inextricably linked to both the topography of power and prestige and, somewhat more strikingly, to the tradition of women's writing', 26.

[95] John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1987 [1984]), 53. Broadly the term comprises the aristocratic class down to the landed gentry, with the observation that the peerage and gentry do not comprise one landed group, frequently the disparity in wealth being in favour of the landed group. See F.M.L. Thompson, 'Presidential Address: English Landed Society in the Twentieth Century: 1, Property: Collapse and Survival', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* Vol. 40 (1990), 1-24.

[96] The term Protestant describes a broad church that includes those who conformed to the established church and the various dissenting congregations. See Toby Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (2003, New Haven and London).

[97] T.C. Barnard, 'Crisis of Identity among Irish Protestants 1641-1685', *Past and Present,* No. 127 (May, 1990), 39-83, 81. All the indications are that this statement hold true for later periods.

[98] Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee* (London, 1988 [1812]). The two agents are Mr Burke and Mr Cusack.

provided by Kellaghan whose analysis of a recipe for 'Substitute for Wine. For the Poor', indicates that the expensive ingredients involved were not within the reach of the impoverished, and that the recipe demonstrates one of two scenarios — either a stunning lack of sensibility to the plight of the poor, or that it was intended as a recipe for those of the elite who have fallen upon hard times (Fig. 2.1).[99]

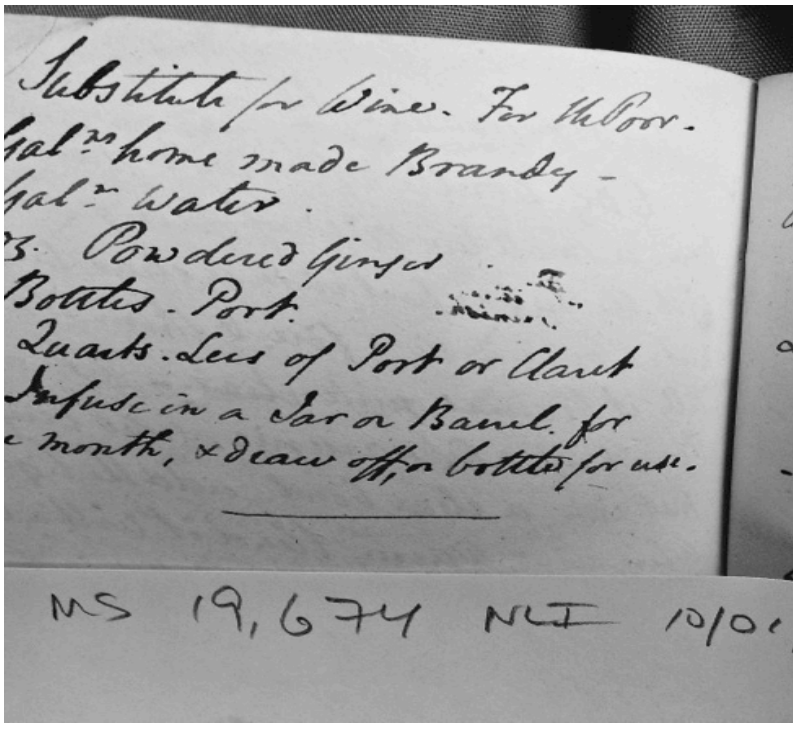

Fig. 2.1 'Substitute Wine for the Poor', NLI MS 19, 674.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

Setting aside any irony in the substitute wine recipe, the material chosen for this research is most suited to studying elite consumption, which becomes a progressively more complicated issue as the modern world became increasingly commercialised and commoditised. Porter observes how this move towards consumption put 'traditional Christian, humanist and mercantilist injunctions against greed, envy and

[99] Tara Kellaghan, '"Parsnip Wine approaches nearest to the Malmsey or Madeira": a discussion of sweet wines and cordials popular in Georgian Ireland', a paper delivered at the Dublin Gastronomy Symposium, 4 June 2014; Tara Kellaghan, Dorothy Cashman, 'Sweet delights in Georgian Ireland', a joint paper delivered to the Irish Decorative and Fine Arts Society, 10 April 2014.

covetousness under grave pressure'.[100] The ensuing malaise is what Edgeworth directly references in her novel *Ennui*:

> After my marriage, my old malady rose to an unsupportable height. The pleasures of the table were all that seemed left to me in life. Most of the young men of any *ton*, either were, or pretended to be, connoisseurs in the science of good eating. Their *talk* was of sauces and of cooks, what dishes each cook was famous for; whether his *forte* lay in white sauces or brown, in soups, *lentilles, fricandeaus, bechemele, matelotes, daubes*, etc. (italics original).[101]

Only tangentially is this research a study of diet, and does not stray into the area of nutrition. This work is framed within an analysis of the contribution of the manuscripts to culinary history. As Goldstein alludes to, the recurrence of famine, most especially the Great Famine (1845-1852), has significantly affected the study of food in Ireland. In his study of the bakers of Paris, Kaplan explains his rationale for limiting his investigation to the period before the Revolution — 'I did not want to subject the entire project to the overwhelming freight of the Revolutionary *telos*'.[102] This articulates one aspect of the rationale behind the period under discussion, a decision to stay within the parameters of Georgian Ireland.

Amongst the themes that Mac Con Iomaire identified as being important for understanding the social and cultural context of the Irish experience are the effects of the Columbian exchange,[103] the emergent pattern in Europe of employing chefs trained in the French traditions, and the influence of the Anglo-Irish on dining

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[100] Roy Porter, 'Consumption: Disease of the consumer society?', in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York, 1993), 58-81, 65.

[101] Maria Edgeworth, *Ennui* (London, 1992 [1809]), 152.

[102] Steven Laurence Kaplan, *The Bakers of Paris and the Bread Question* (Durham, 1996), 18. See also Sean Ó Cadhla, 'The Filgates of Lisrenny: A Window on Mid-Nineteenth Century Anglo-Irish Hospitality', a paper delivered at the Dublin Gastronomy Conference, 6 June 2012, where the manuscript cookbook discussed is dated 1847 and discussion was framed within the context of the famine.

[103] A term that the historian Alfred W. Crosby used, the Columbian Exchange refers to the fact that the most important changes brought about by the voyages of Columbus were biological in nature despite the concentration on the social and political aftermath of the expeditions. Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Greenwood, 1972); Nelson Foster and Linda S. Cordell (eds.), *Chilies to Chocolate: Food the Americas Gave the World* (Tucson and London, 1992).

habits.[104] These themes will be alluded to in this study, as they form the backdrop to both the genesis and the content of the manuscripts. Laudan's theoretical approach to the chronology of cuisines postulates an alternative, trans-national narrative regarding styles of cooking. Politics are central to the development of a cuisine, and 'the most widely consumed cuisines have, since the origin of states, been those of the largest and most powerful political units'.[105] These political units Laudan describes as empires, varieties of states that have exercised 'military, political, economic and/or cultural power over significant portions of the globe'.[106]

Taking Laudan's macro-perspective and applying it to the Irish experience, the Viking and Norman invasions are examples of influence over Irish foodways as *per* her analysis of the importance of political, military, economic and cultural forces to the growth and pervasiveness of a cuisine. Also noteworthy, if uncommented on in a culinary context, is the influence on Ireland of Christianity, the official religion of the Roman Empire.[107] What is known about food and culinary history for the medieval period owes much to the contributions from archaeologists. As the narrative moves towards the early modern period and the long eighteenth century, archival sources elucidate matters more. A picture emerges of the complexities involved regarding the question of status and identity — colony, province or region, Anglo-Irish, Ascendency, Catholic or Protestant — all of which impact on the study of elite dining, and the manuscripts associated with it, most especially when discussed in the context of the modern Irish state and attitudinal responses to elite consumption. On the question of culinary history, the mix of influences traced here requires a

[104] Maírtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'Emergence', Vol. II, 14.
[105] Laudan, *Cuisine and Empire*, 5.
[106] *Ibid.* See also Massimo Montanari, *Italian Identity in the Kitchen, or Food and the Nation* (New York, 2013), 1-3.
[107] 313*ce.* Edict of Milan whereby Constantine the First and Licinius issued an edict of toleration, following on from which Emperor Theodosius enacted a law establishing Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire. See Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Christianity and Western Civilization* (Stanford and Oxford, 1954), 26 on the Christian concept of plural authority to the state and faith, who notes that by 'the fourth century the doctrine of plural authority was so much part of Western Christian tradition and teaching that it could not be successfully ignored or subverted by Emperors friendly to Christianity any more than by those inimical to it'.

commitment to ideological neutrality.[108] Gramsci reframes debate regarding elite and ruling cultures within the language of subordinate or subaltern classes. McKenna's study of the relationship of landlord and tenant has advanced the discussion by studying the role of ritual and strategies for the maintenance of elite status on an Irish landed estate. The celebrations surrounding the coming of age of Abraham Whyte Baker will be noted in the context of this discussion when discussing the worldview implicit in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker).[109]

Undoubtedly questions of cultural hegemony arise. However, placing discussion within wider European and global affiliations and developments when this is possible and relevant, goes some way towards fulfilling a commitment to ideological neutrality — a dispassionate view of the politics of food — while also pointing to wider contextual hegemony that Ireland had peripheral involvement in.

2.2 The Influence of Christianity:

The influence of Christianity on food in Ireland and Western Europe is so pervasive that it could be regarded as hiding in plain sight.[110] Laudan notes how as a result of the influence of Paul of Tarsus in the first century c.e., 'a frugal meal celebrating community, the Eucharist of bread and wine, became the central Christian act'.[111] Tracing the development of what would become a global cuisine spreading through

[108] Gramsci's theory of the subaltern class has been associated in particular with discussion about post-colonial society, see Jackson Lears, 'The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, Issue 3 (June, 1985), 567-593. Edgworth's *Castle Rackrent* may be read with this theory in mind, with Thady's role of 'unreliable narrator' being viewed as satiric in intent, see Martin Neill, 'Mantles, Quirks, and Irish Bulls Ironic Guise and Colonial Subjectivity in Maria Edgeworth's "Castle Rackrent"', *The Review of English Studies,* New Series, Vol. 52, No. 205, (Feb., 2001), 76-90.

[109] Kevin McKenna, 'Elites, ritual, and the legitimation of power on an Irish landed estate, 1855-90', in Ciaran O'Neill (ed.) *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century* (Four Courts Press, 2013), 68-81.

[110] Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England* (Yale University Press, 2009), 3. When Vickery notes that 'routines are less interesting to record than events. They were taken as read at the time,' she draws attention to how the everyday and obvious goes unremarked. For archaeological discussion of pre-Christian foodways see Michael Stanley, Ed Danaher and James Eogan (eds.), *Dining and Dwelling: Proceedings of a public seminar on archaeological discoveries on national road schemes, August 2008* (Dublin, 2009).

[111] Laudan, *Cuisine*, 166-206, 168.

the Eastern Roman and Byzantine Empires, Laudan observes that while these cuisines flourished and articulated their particular forms of high cuisines, this was not the case in the Western Roman Empire.[112] An inability to maintain the commerce and agriculture that would enable a high cuisine meant that the remnants of such cooking and knowledge survived only in courts and monasteries. It was not until the eleventh century that a pan-European high Catholic cuisine was established, much later than those cuisines established under the influence of Islam.[113]

A tangible symbol of the separation of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church of the west may be located in the sacramental bread served at mass, 'in western Christendom, it was unleavened, a thin wafer baked between hinged irons',[114] familiar to us as the Host and served to communicants as individual wafers (Fig. 2.2); in the east it was raised, a leavened bread known as a prosphoron or prosphora, stamped with a special seal (Fig. 2.3).[115] Conversely, for fine dining, western Christendom had a raised wheaten manchet where Islam had an array of flat breads.[116]

[112] The western part of the Roman Empire was that portion governed from Rome. The Eastern Empire was governed from Byzantium (Constantinople).
[113] Laudan, *Cuisine,* 132-206. Laudan notes Christian cuisine did not travel as widely as Islamic cuisine, only establishing a wider presence beyond that of the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century, by which time it was heavily influenced by Islamic cuisine.
[114] *Ibid.,* 175.
[115] Brian D. Spinks, *Do this in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (London, 2013), 126.
[116] Laudan, *Cuisine,* 178. See Elizabeth David, *English Bread and Yeast Cookery* (London, 1979) on manchet and associated breads such as painmain and demesne bread. Manchet was 'an early name for soft white bread; made from wheat flour as finely bolted and as white as was then feasible', 328.

Fig. 2.2 Communion Wafers.

Fig. 2.3 Prosphoron Bread.

The spread of Christian, by definition Catholic at the time, practices associated with the culture of food into Ireland was achieved through successive waves of immigrants and invaders. Early Christian Ireland is popularly regarded as dating from the mission of St. Patrick *ca.*460 c.e, to the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in the second half of the twelfth century.[117] O'Sullivan, quoting Prosper of Aquitaine's *Chronicle,* puts it as dating from the time that Pope Celestine sent Palladius to become the island's first bishop, pre 431 c.e. Ireland is fortunate to have a wealth of illuminated manuscripts that provide much information regarding early Irish farming practice, the *Book of Kells* being one of the most important of these.[118] The Columban monastery was established at Kells, Co. Meath as a result of the Viking raids on Iona, off the west coast of Scotland. The Irish saint Columba, also known as Columkille, who had fled Ireland and settled on Iona in the middle of the sixth century, having established the link.[119] The illustrations of fowl, goats and hares are all remarkably lifelike and as Kelly notes may have had their origins in the monastic farmyard.[120] The very human

[117] Máire and Liam de Paor, *Early Christian Ireland* (London, 1958). For the most comprehensive work on the period see Rachel Moss (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture, c.400-c.600,* Vol. 1 of Art and Architecture of Ireland, Royal Irish Academy (Dublin, 2014).
[118] Kelly, *Farming*, 16.
[119] Françoise Henry, *The Book of Kells: Reproductions from the Manuscript in Trinity College Dublin* (London, 1974), 150.
[120] Kelly, *Farming*, 16. Kelly notes that unfortunately the tradition of illuminating manuscripts in Ireland gave way to the imperative of perfecting the script in the work of the later scribes.

impulse of gardeners to nurture gifted exotic cuttings, or those grafted from the wild, meant that monasteries were home to specialised gardeners. Henry VIII recognised the specialised skills of these monastic gardeners when he appropriated the fruit trees of Syon Abbey, the Bridgettine monastery in Middlesex, for his orchard at Nonsuch Palace.[121]

The first of the continental orders to arrive in Ireland was the Cistercian order, settling by the Mattock River at Mellifont in Co. Louth in 1142, re-opening Ireland's contacts with Europe on religious, cultural, and economic levels.[122] As noted by Aalen *et al*, the order played an important part in agricultural development, 'including the creation of internal and external markets for selling cattle, horse and wool'. Lay brothers, an institution created by the order, worked the monastic farms, identifiable now often only by the use of 'grange' in a place-name.[123] By the time that the monasteries were supressed, the order at Mellifont had accumulated approximately 55,000 acres of land in Louth and Meath, the sale of its goods and utensils coming second only to St Mary's Abbey in Dublin in yield to the Crown.[124] Following on from the Cistercians, the Augustinian, Dominican and Franciscan orders[125] founded houses throughout Ireland up to the economic decline of the mid-fourteenth century, coinciding with the arrival of the Black Death and almost continuous warfare at the

[121] Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760* (London, 2006), 295.
[122] Nirvard Kinsella, 'Introduction' in Geraldine Carville, *Impact of the Cistercians on the Landscape of Ireland*, *1142-1541* (Ashford, 2003).
[123] F.H.A. Aalen, Kevin Whelan, Matthew Stout, *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (Cork, 1997), 53. For more precise instances of gastro-topography see Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'Gastro-Topography: Exploring Food-Related Placenames in Ireland', *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies,* Vol. 38, No 1/2, Special Issue: Text and Beyond Text: New Visual Material and Spatial Perspectives in Irish Studies/ Numeró Spécial: Le Texte et Ses Reflets: Nouvelles Perspectives Visuelles, Matérielles, et Spatiales Des Études Irlandaises (2014), 126-157.
[124] Rachel Moss, 'Mellifont: From Monastery to Mansion', *Irish Arts Review* (2002), 24(3), 85-7. St Mary's Abbey was originally a house of the Black Benedictine order but came under Cistercian rule in 1147. The Abbot sat in Parliament and sometimes held the office of High Chancellor; see Rev. Ailbe J. Luddy, *St Mary's Abbey* (Dublin, 1935).
[125] The Dominicans and Franciscans were mendicant orders, particularly associated with the towns, given their religious vows to own no property and rely on public charity.

time.[126] Excavations at the Augustinian Priory in Kells, Co. Kilkenny have identified imported pottery from Continental and English sources, with pepper, saffron, figs and oil mentioned in a surviving kitchen account from the priory dating to 1382.[127] Stuijts notes the presence of weld (*Reseda luteola L., Resedacae*) and great mullein (*Verbascum thapsus L., Scrophulariaceae*) at the site of the priory to this day, both biennial plants prized by medieval monasteries for their pharmaceutical properties.[128] Tighe remarks that 'in former times the convents of this country are said to have had vineyards'.[129]

The Ireland that the monastic orders functioned in was 'Gaelic Ireland', an Ireland not easy to define in 'either ethnic or territorial terms'.[130] As Simms notes, 'there are circumstances in which it could best be described as a state of mind'.[131] What is remarkable is how Christian precepts were suited to accommodate the 'guesting and feasting' of Gaelic Ireland that Simms describes. Guesting, as defined by Simms, was the exacting of hospitality from another — 'feasting' referring to those entertainments where there was a voluntary impetus on the part of the host.[132] As O'Sullivan observes, hospitality was as much a religious precept as a secular one and was not exclusive to Ireland.[133] The chief charitable obligation on society in the middle ages was the hospitable treatment of the poor, the sick, the stranger and the pilgrim.[134] To this end alms-houses were established across the continent. In Ireland, the early Church Fathers exhibited a pragmatic understanding of the concept of

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[126] Scottish forces invaded under Edward Bruce in 1313, the start of a three-year campaign and in 1366 the English enacted the Statutes of Kilkenny, forbidding Norman adoption of Irish language, dress, customs or law.
[127] T. Fanning and M. Clyne, *Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny: Archaeological Excavations, Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Archaeological Monograph* (Dublin, 2007).
[128] Ingelise Stuijts, 'A Prior's Herb Garden', *Archaeology Ireland,* Vol. 14, No.3 (Autumn, 2000), 12-14.
[129] William Tighe, *Statistical Observations Relative to the County of Kilkenny, made in the years 1800 and 1801* (Dublin, 1802).
[130] Katherine Simms, 'Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* Vol. 108 (1978), 67-100, 67.
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] *Ibid*., 68.
[133] Catherine Marie O'Sullivan, *Hospitality in Medieval Ireland 900-1500* (Dublin 2004).
[134] *Ibid.,* 164.

guesting.[135] O'Sullivan cites the *Cáin Domnaig* (Law of Sunday), a legal tract governing the observance of Sunday, as an instance of this recognition and how guesting was accommodated within church law. The law overlooked certain activities associated with appropriate acts of hospitality — with respect to observance of Sunday as a day of rest —'grinding, baking, churning, splitting firewood or wandering in search of food when these tasks are performed for the benefit of guests'.[136] However, the Church Fathers were not so sanguine concerning the onus on entertaining 'men of art',[137] who in many cases were comparable with vagabonds and deemed unworthy of the respect of hospitality. Retaliation by those rejected was feared. Satire was the poet's revenge and this belief of the power of satire to harm lasted through to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[138] Irish kings, of which there were many, were problematic for the clergy. O'Sullivan also points out that foreign bishops, unaccustomed to the lavish hospitality that was the norm in Ireland, were equally unpopular with the native Irish.[139] As regards feasting, O'Sullivan notes that the composers of early Irish penitentials attempted to constrain the Irish experience of feasting with warnings such as 'anyone who eats till he make himself ill, or till his skin gets tight, keeps a fast for two days on bread and water'.[140] Bread, milk, dairy products and pig meat were all important in entertaining guests to a fitting standard, with white meats being considered a staple of the Irish diet before the advent of the potato.[141]

The observance by the early Irish church of fast and abstinence is apparent in the Irish names for Wednesday, *De Cétaín/De Ceadaoin* or 'first fast' and Friday, *Aín dídine/De Aoine*, or 'last fast'.[142] The four quarterly feasts of the old Irish year, *Imbolc* (1st February), *Beltaine* (1st May), *Lughnasa* (1st August) and *Samhain* (1st November) gradually yielding to Easter and Christmas, with St Brigid's day seeking

[135] *Ibid.*
[136] *Ibid.*, 166.
[137] Simms defines 'men of art' as 'including not only poets, historians, doctors and lawyers, but also gamblers, jugglers and buffoons', Simms, 'Guesting', 75.
[138] Roisin McLaughlin, Tadhg Óg Mac Dáire Mac Bruaideadha, Tadhg Mac Dáire Mheic Bruaideadha, 'A Threat of Satire by Tadhg (Mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha', *Éiru,* Vol. 55 (2005), 37-57, 38.
[139] O'Sullivan, *Hospitality*, 181.
[140] *Ibid.,*185.
[141] Kelly, *Farming*, 316-359.
[142] *Ibid.,* 346.

to supplant *Imbolc* and St Martin's day seeking to supplant *Samhain*. The old Irish festivals with many of their associated traditions have remained remarkably strong. Morris, writing in 1939, describes how traditionally in 'well-to-do families a sheep was killed and eaten, but where a sheep was considered too expensive, a goose, cock or other fowl was substituted', noting that in Ballina, Co. Mayo, there had traditionally been a special market called St. Martin's Market, which specialised in fowl, especially geese.[143] In his entry for November 10, 1830, Ó Súilleabháin records not just the custom but also the Christian precept underlying it:

> It is customary to spill blood on St. Martin's eve, namely the blood of a goose or gander, a pullet or a chicken, a duck or a drake, fat pig or large beef, a big ewe or a bleating kid, a lamb or a sheep, a shaggy goat or other good animal. It is a good old custom which should be kept up everywhere there is no butcher's meat to be had, and every strong farmer and well-off person should kill a sheep, a cow or a pig and divide it among the cabin dwellers and God's poor. The poor spalpeen[144] has his back to the bush today and perhaps hasn't broken his fast.[145]

The traditions of 'feasting' survived on, frequently with a certain measure of unease on the part of the Church, particularly so when there was the added complication of differing Roman Catholic and Anglican cultural constraints, subsequent to the Reformation. The older traditions of the Gael were associated strongly with the Catholic faith however they may have been viewed by the Church fathers themselves. As Stevenson notes, writing about early Christianity in Ireland, 'the most unusual aspect of native culture in Ireland was the accommodation between it and the church'.[146] The price of this accommodation is recorded in later centuries, where it was Catholic practices that were associated with excessive consumption. In Kilkenny, the *Great Red Book of the City* records enactments attempting to curb these excesses. In 1603 there is a prohibition recorded against excessive feasting when

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[143] Henry Morris, 'St. Martin's Eve', *Béaloideas*, Iml.9, Uimh. 2 (Dec., 1939), 230-235, 230.

[144] 'An agricultural labourer who travelled about the country at certain seasons seeking work, and who sometimes got into scraps, for whatever reason', Terence Patrick Dolan (ed.), *A Dictionary of Hiberno-English, Revised and Expanded* (Dublin, 2004), 223.

[145] Tomás De Bhaldraithe, *The Diary of an Irish Countryman, 1827-1835: A translation of Humphrey O'Sullivan's Cín Lae Amhlaoibh* (Cork, 1979), 110.

[146] Jane Stevenson, 'The Beginnings of Literacy in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature, Vol. 89C* (Dublin, 1989), 127-165, 160.

christening children, in 1609 one states that 'no maid, wife, or widow come to any lying-in woman for salutation, gratulation, or entertainment to be given or received'.[147] Irish practices associated with funerals are restrained also, the book record stating that where a civic functionary is being interred,

> if any howling or crying be at any such burial, the Mayor and Company to withdraw till they leave off howling. No Mayor to go to any wake to eat or drink on pain of £10.[148]

As Prim indicates, the intention of these enactments was to save people from the consequences of excessive, ostentatious expenditure around occasions of celebration and grief. Against this it should be noted that Ireland was not alone in holding prolonged wakes, but rather was part of a wider European tradition.[149] As such, one could observe that the old customs of Gaelic Ireland, grafted on to Catholic practices, were being subjected to the forces of Elias' civilising processes, 'the regulation of the whole instinctual and affective life by steady self control'.[150] Equally, the Catholic Church, because of its proscribed position in Ireland from the early seventeenth century, was unable to enforce the moderating views that it did hold on these practices.[151] Another consequence of the restrictions imposed by the laws was that the celebration of Requiem Mass was most usually in a domestic setting.[152] It should be pointed out that the Anglo-Irish elite was not immune to the importance of funerals as

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[147] John G.A. Prim, 'Ancient Civic Enactments for Restraining Gossiping and Feasting', *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society,* Vol.1 No.3 (1851), 436-441, 437. The original *Red Book*, a ledger of the Corporation of Kilkenny is lost, and the eighteenth century copy that Prim worked from is missing, see John Fry and Alan Fletcher, 'The Kilkenny Morries, 1610', *Folk Music Journal*, Vol.6, No.3 (1992), 381-383, 381.
[148] Prim, 'Enactments', 439.
[149] Séan Ó Súilleabháin*, Irish Wake Amusements* (Cork, 1967).
[150] Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process* (Oxford, 2000 [1994]).
[151] Patricia Lysaght, 'Hospitality at Wakes and Funerals in Ireland from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century: Some Evidence from the Written Record' *Folklore,* Vol.114, No. 3 (Dec., 2003) 403-426, 404. The Penal Laws were political, religious and economic restrictions imposed by law on Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants in Ireland, from 1691 through to the mid-eighteenth-century. See Maureen Wall, *The Penal Laws, 1691-1760* (Dundalk, 1961); Louis Cullen, 'Catholics under the Penal Laws', *Eighteenth Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr,* Vol.1 (1986), 23-36.
[152] For the art depicting both weddings and funerals see Claudia Kinmonth, *Irish Rural Interiors in Art* (New Haven, 2006), 153-177.

a statement of status. Their recognition of this however has nothing to do with the traditions of 'feasting' but rather in more permanent markers of respect and status.[153]

Throughout this discussion of the conquering of Ireland by Christian values, the *leitmotif* remains, bubbling beneath the surface, of the old Gaelic practices of guesting and feasting. Hospitality as a cultural value was adopted by Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Irish alike, frequently to the scorn of English commentators. As Stevenson demonstrates, the early church 'dovetailed itself neatly into the existing structure and often seems to have been pragmatically acquiescent in what it could not change'.[154] The extent to which religion pervaded culture is consistently neglected in histories of modernisation, with Barnard noting how in eighteenth-century Ireland 'patterns, pilgrimages and patronal festivals more regularly than cock-fights and horse-races uncover the solidarities and stresses which ran through Irish society'. [155]

2.3 Viking Ireland:

The first recorded raid by the Norsemen was in 795 when the monastery of St. Comgall of Bangor on Rathlin Island (referred to as Rechu in *The Annals of Ulster*) Co. Antrim, was plundered and destroyed by fire.[156] This initiated the first period of Norse invasions, which lasted through to around 850. The monasteries were important for the Norsemen as *loci* of provisions, wealth, livestock and human capital — slaves. Both Danish (*Dubhgall*) and Norwegian (*Fingall*) Vikings[157] subjected Ireland to

[153] See Raymond Gillespie, 'Funerals and Society in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* Vol.115 (1985), 86-91. Paul Cockerham, ' "My body to be buried in my owne monument". The social and religious context of Co. Kilkenny funeral monuments, 1600-1700', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C. Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature, Vol.109C* (2009, Dublin), 239-365; Clodagh Tait, 'Colonising Memory: Manipulations of Death, Burial and Commemoration in the Career of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork (1566-1643)', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C. Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature, Vol.109C* (2009, Dublin), 107-134.

[154] Stevenson, 'Literacy', 161.

[155] T.C. Barnard, 'The Gentrification of Eighteenth-Century Ireland', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/Iris an dá chultúr,* Vol. 12 (1997), 137-155, 149.

[156] Andy Halpin and Conor Newman, *Ireland: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford, 2006), 33.

[157] The nomenclature 'Viking' most usually applies to those Norsemen who were 'sea-robbers', see Howard B. Clarke, 'The Vikings in Ireland: A Historian's Perspective', *Archaeology Ireland,* Vol.9, No.3, The Viking Issue, (Autumn, 1995) 7-

attack, the conflict between the Norsemen in Ireland being regarded as settled with the arrival of Olaf the White in 853, invading the kingdom of Meath in 859 with the aid of an Irish king, Cerball Mac Dúnlainge.[158] The second period of invasion is thought to have begun in 917 with a campaign focused on Dublin. The Norsemen defeated the combined forces of Niall Glúndub, a claimant to the high-kingship of Ireland, and his allies, beginning a period of consolidation of Viking power on the island.[159]

What is germane to this research is that it is generally considered that with the arrival of the Norsemen, Ireland ceased to be a wholly rural entity. The society that the invaders were dealing with was Christian and literate, but while it could not be described as tribal,[160] it was lacking in political cohesion. Norse trade saw an increase in wealth in Ireland, with trading along the east coast through to Waterford, Limerick and Cork.[161] By the middle of the tenth century Dublin was well established as a planned urban centre.[162] Distinct from previous centers whose origins were ecclesiastical, Dublin's *raison d'être* was primarily mercantile.[163] When silver coins were produced in Dublin in the tenth century they were copies of English ones, an indication that there was considerable trade being engaged in with England.[164] Sigtrygg II Silkbeard Olafson (*ca.*970-1042), known in Ireland as King Sitric, was king of Dublin almost continually from 989 to 1000, when he was forced to submit to

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9. Clarke draws the distinction between those Norsemen who attacked and plundered, those who colonised and settled, and those who operated as merchants and traded.

[158] Katherine Holman, *Historical Dictionaries of Ancient Civilisations and Historical Eras, No.11: Historical Dictionary of the Vikings* (Maryland, 2003). The Vikings who had established themselves in Scotland were important in the invasions of Ireland, particularly so in the establishing of a base in Dublin, see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Vikings in Ireland and Scotland in the Ninth Century', O'Donnell Lecture, Oxford, 5 May 1997.

[159] Daibhi Ó Corráin, *Longman History of Ireland: Early Medieval Ireland, 400-1200* (London, 2013 [1995]), 256.

[160] Charles Dogherty, 'Context: Ireland in the Viking Age', *History Ireland*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Special Issue Brian Boru, (March/April, 2014), 14-17.

[161] Maurice F. Hurley, 'The Vikings in Munster: Evidence from Cork and Waterford', *Archaeology Ireland,* Vol. 9, N0. 3, The Viking Issue (Autumn, 1995), 23-25.

[162] Halpin, *Archaeological Guide,* 38. Halpin and Newman point out that by this stage the urban settlements were neither wholly Viking or Irish, so are correctly referred to as Hiberno-Norse.

[163] Liam De Paor, 'Viking Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 31, No.4 (Sep., 1978), 142-145.

[164] *Ibid.,*143.

the King of Munster, Brian Boru.[165] Associated with the founding of Christ Church Cathedral in Dublin, he was also the first king in Ireland to mint coins in his own name.[166] It is from the Viking period that the River Liffey assumes the importance it does for the subsequent development of the city to what would be referred to in the nineteenth century as 'the second city of the British Empire'.[167] A view of Dublin as being 'in' but not 'of ' Ireland is a theme picked up as late as the twentieth century by James Joyce for the structure of his novel, *Ulysses*. Dublin, as Joyce imagined it, was 'a city that inhabited three spheres of civilisation. The first was that of the British Empire; the second that of Roman Catholicism; the third that of the ancient Europe to which Ireland had made such an important contribution'.[168]

What is being highlighted in this review of Hiberno-Norse Ireland is the importance of the invasions and settlements of the Norsemen to the economic topography of the island, a structure that remains important to the present day. Irish merchants had always traded afar but the structures that grew around the Viking ports remain pertinent.[169] Viking traders extended trade beyond the borders of the Roman world, 'though politically fragmented, there was a recognisable north European culture in the wake of the Vikings'.[170] Thirsk in her study of food in early modern England demonstrated the importance of ports for the dispersal of high status

[165] Benjamin Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes: Dynasty, Religion, and Empire in the North Atlantic* (Oxford, 2005), 110.
[166] Clare Downham, 'Clontarf in the wider world', *History Ireland,* Vol.22, No.2, Special Issue: Brian Boru (March/April 2014), 22-26, 22.
[167] Hansard, *The Parliamentary Debates from the year 1803 to the present time, Vol. XXXVIII, comprising the period from the thirteenth day of April to the tenth day of June, 1818* (London, 1818), 244; David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014), 40. The status of second city was disputed at different times by both Edinburgh and Philadelphia.
[168] Seamus Deane, 'Joyce the Irishman' in Derek Attridge (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce* (Cambridge, 2004 [1990]), 28-48, 37. It is an interesting parallel to Barnard's description of how settlers imagined their worlds in the seventeenth century, 'sometimes as a neglected and exploited colony, sometimes as a proud kingdom or a thriving English province, or sometimes as a special quarter of the Christian commonwealth', T.C. Barnard, 'Crisis', 81.
[169] Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Timothy Bolton (eds.), *Celtic-Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages 800-1200* (Leiden, 2014), 20.
[170] Maurice F. Hurley, 'The Vikings in Munster: Evidence from Waterford and Cork', *Archaeology Ireland,* Vol. 9, No. 3, The Viking Issue (Autumn, 1995), 23-25, 24.

comestibles.[171] Flavin states her desire in writing about consumption and material culture in sixteenth-century Ireland to move the debate on food related issues beyond that of basic consumption, imported foodstuffs being of paramount importance to that discussion.[172] Similarly to Flavin, discussion of the staples of grain, meat and dairy products as consumed by the wider population is not of primary concern here and has been dealt with exhaustively by Kelly and Clarkson and Crawford.[173] The focus here is on highlighting important socio-cultural shocks that took place in Ireland and the influences and repercussions that these had for the shaping of culinary choice. As Dawson notes, without salt (for preserving), wine, vinegar, sugar, spices and dried foods, cookery can never aspire to cuisine; they are the magic dust that elevate ingredients beyond subsistence-level fare.[174] Flavin has tracked these luxury commodities through the southeastern Irish ports in a later period than being discussed here, but the point is pertinent to the position that there was a continuum of external influence.

In the early medieval timescale the role of the female becomes more visible through archaeological discovery. O'Sullivan and Nicholl make explicit how settlement enclosures from this early period should be seen as 'key venues for the enactment or performance of the social identities of ethnicity, social status, gender, kinship, and community…'.[175] Many of these settlements were occupied well into the tenth and eleventh centuries, and in several cases beyond that.[176] In line with recent trends O'Sullivan and Nicholl eschew the study of power, politics and social hierarchy in favour of looking at the domestic in their examination of settlement enclosures, making it clear that the study of the basic tasks of daily domestic life is necessary to gain a proper understanding of early Irish society, an observation that arguably holds true for any selected period. The change from circular to rectilinear design in the houses is attributed as most likely being due to the increasing influence

[171] Thirsk, *Food,* 31.
[172] Flavin, 'Consumption and Material Culture', 140.
[173] Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and Famine*; Kelly, *Farming*.
[174] Dawson, *Plenti and Grase,* 152.
[175] Aidan O'Sullivan and Tríona Nicholl, 'Early Medieval Settlement Enclosures in Ireland: Dwellings, Daily Life and Social Identity', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C, Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature. Vol.IIIC, Special Issue: Domestic Life in Ireland* (2011, Dublin), 59-90, 60.
[176] *Ibid.,* 65

of Anglo-Saxon and Norse settlers,[177] noting that although there is little clear evidence for this, a supposition is that this rectilinear shape is more easily divided into compartments or rooms that might be used to signal social differentiation. From inception to decline, these early medieval houses were likely to have 'cultural biographies that were related to the life cycle of the household', [178] the birth and death of some houses seeming to be marked by particular, indeed poignant, actions often centered on domestic objects such as an oak trough (used for kneading dough or presenting food) or a broken rotary quern stone.[179] The quern stones, usually associated with a mother's work, often indicate that they have been deliberately broken, and the breaking up of the stone to be deposited on doorways may have been a 'cultural act' of deliberately killing the stone to mark an association with a mother or grandmother.[180] This may indicate that food production was a significant activity in early medieval Ireland. [181] Boyd's statement regarding maintenance activities associated with housekeeping has resonance for validation of academic research associated with this area, 'maintenance activities are highly specialised activities, which must be learned and passed on to the next generations. They do not occur in isolation and require close contacts between those who possess these skills and those who must learn them, making these activities very sociable'.[182] In terms of the archival documents at the core of this research this is an important observation. While elite women undoubtedly had some knowledge of the tasks they were describing in the manuscript recipes, evidence to suggest that they were involved in more than an organisational function with these tasks is slight. The maintenance activities that elite women were engaged in by passing on the recipes in writing were at one remove, and

[177] *Ibid.,* 72. O'Sullivan and Nicholl reference T.J. Lynn, 'Early Christian Domestic Structures: A Change from Round to Rectangular Plans?', *Irish Archaeological Research Forum,* Vol. 5 (1978), 29-45. One of the other reasons for the change in design that Lynn postulates is the competence built up due to the fact that the rectangle was considered the 'canonically appropriate shape for ecclesiastical buildings', 38.
[178] O'Sullivan and Nicholl, 'Early Medieval Settlement', 73.
[179] *Ibid.,* 65.
[180] *Ibid*., 76.
[181] Rebecca Boyd, 'From Country to Town: Social Transitions in Viking Age Housing' in Letty ten Harkel and D. M. Hadley (eds.), *Everyday Life in Viking 'Towns': Social Approaches to Towns in England and Ireland, c.800-1100* (Oxford, 2013), 73-85.
[182] *Ibid.*

the passing on of the knowledge involved a different socio-cultural intent, which will be explored in later chapters.

Moving from internal domestic space to the periphery of the settlements, O'Sullivan and Nicholl draw attention to the importance of the midden for understanding the psychology of status and the conveyance of social messages.[183] Middens or dunghills were often placed at boundaries, with a visitor being impelled to notice the bones left over from high status joints of meat.[184] Excavation carried out at Moynagh Lough where several types of bones were present, from those of prime cuts down to ankles, suggests that the presence of such a variety of cattle carcass could indicate that feasts were held at the site at certain times of the year when a larger than normal social group was in attendance.[185] Kyle *et al* note that plant consumption also reflected social status, with bread wheat being the preserve of those of a higher standing, other wheat species such as rye, oats, barley, spelt and emmer also retaining vestiges of this association.[186]

It is not the purpose of this exploration of Norse influence through conflict and settlement to detail a precise historiography. The purpose is rather to indicate what is generally agreed by archaeological excavation and historical commentary that this was the period when urban centers began to be established. These urbanised *loci* grew from defended harbours, *longphuirt,* with Dublin and Limerick of paramount importance in the control of long-distance trade in and out of the country.[187] The Norsemen adapted to the Christianity that they encountered in their settlements in Ireland and England, with instances of prominent figures endowing monasteries. In their home territories the Danes had accepted Christianity in the tenth century, with both Sweden and Norway succumbing by the first decades of the eleventh century.

[183] O'Sullivan and Nicholl, 'Early Medieval Settlement', 86.
[184] *Ibid.*
[185] *Ibid.,* 87.
[186] Alison Kyle, Karen Stuart and Auli Tourunen, 'Excavating a meal: a multidisciplinary approach to early medieval food economy', in Stanley, Danaher and Eogan (eds.), *Dining and Dwelling,* 81.
[187] Mary A. Valente, 'Taxation, Tolls and Tribute: The Language of Economics and Trade in Viking Age Ireland', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium,* Vol.18/19 (1998/1999), 242-258, 242. For discussion of the defining features of a medieval 'town' see John Bradley, 'Town Life in Medieval Ireland', *Archaeology Ireland*, Vol.5, No.3 (Autumn, 1991), 25-28.

Markers of status have been noted, and a mercantile economy, trading in high status commodities, was evident by the time of the Norman invasion.[188]

2.4 The Anglo-Normans:

While the technical details, those concerning the different phases of the Norman Conquest of the island, are relatively explicable, the underpinning historiography is of particular interest to this research, which seeks to place discussion of food within wider historical parameters. This relatively brief description of Norman influence in Ireland will outline the historical facts, with further discussion focusing on placing this invasion in a wider context and then drawing the discussion back to an explication of Norman contribution to the foodways of Ireland.

As a result of being ousted as king of Leinster by an alliance of the High King and the King of Breffny, Diarmait Mac Murchada sought help from Henry II of England to regain control.[189] In exchange Mac Murchada swore loyalty to the king, and promised his daughter Aífe in marriage to Richard de Clare, more popularly known as Strongbow.[190] In 1169 the first landing of the Anglo-Normans took place at Bannow Bay, on the southern coast of Leinster. The first Fitzgerald, Maurice, to arrive in the wake of this invasion landed in Wexford shortly thereafter, marching to Dublin and laying waste the hinterland. The following year de Clare landed at Passage East, Co. Waterford, and took the city. From there they marched on Dublin, with Mac Murchada, taking it in the autumn of that year. On Mac Murchada's death in 1171, there was a brief counter-insurgency, followed by a military expedition of Henry II to the island, landing at Waterford. Subsequent to Henry's departure there

[188] Ian W. Doyle, 'Mediterranean and Frankish pottery imports in early medieval Ireland', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology,* Vol. 18 (2009), 17-62, who comments how foreign commodities, including perishables, must have played a role in the culture of gift giving amongst those seeking to establish and maintain high status roles in society, 36; Michelle Comber, 'Trade and Communication Networks in Early Historic Ireland', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology*, Vol. 10 (2001), 73-92; Downham, 'Clontarf'.

[189] John D. Hosler, *Henry II: A Medieval Soldier at War, 1147-1189* (Leiden, 2007), 70; John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714* (Abingdon, 2005), 144.

[190] Andrew Iain Lewer, 'Pembroke, Richard de Clare' in John Cannon (ed.) *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford, 2015 [1997]), 714.

was another insurgency, followed by defeat and retrenchment of the Anglo-Normans.[191]

Although declared a lordship of England, as Frame points out 'from beginning to end the Irish lordship was a land of marches'.[192] Concern with fortifying and inhabiting the borderlands was a constant theme in the colony's history, not just a reflection of the pressures of the fourteenth century.[193] As Frame describes it, this period of Anglo-Irish society existed along a continuum of extremes, from those who inhabited the towns of the east coast, similar in outlook to the inhabitants of English cities with whom they maintained regular contact, to the Anglo-Irish of Connacht who intermarried with the Irish, 'soon to be barely distinguishable — to outside eyes — from Gaelic clans'.[194] Most, as is always the case, occupying some place in between. Dealing with everyday realities of life and marche law, Frame argues that it was to be expected that the Anglo-Irish of the period assumed a personality alongside that of their own, 'an additional Gaelic personality'.[195] This was a pragmatic reaction to the fact that their success depended on their 'ability to establish contacts across the physical and cultural frontier; the more vulnerable their lordship, the greater their need to cut a figure in Irish eyes and acquire native clients'.[196] The situation on the ground and the practicalities of dealing with that, means that rather than viewing medieval Anglo-Ireland as a 'little England', wasting away due to failure of the central administration, it should rather be viewed as 'highly regional land, in which government always had a slender direct hold and fairly limited potential'.[197] Frame's subtle argument regarding this period of Anglo-Norman conquest could be stated

[191] Rev. Francis Xavier Martin, 'The Anglo-Norman Invasion (1169-c.1300)' in T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin (eds.), *The Course of Irish History* (Cork, 1967), 123-143.
[192] Robin Frame, 'Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377', *Past and Present*, No.76 (Aug., 1977), 3-33, 7. A marche being defined as an area in which the writ of English law was incompletely established, see L.M. Cullen, *Life in Ireland*, (London, 1968).
[193] Frame, 'Power', 7.
[194] *Ibid*., 18. As well as the de Burghs (Burkes) of Connacht, there were the lineages of the Harolds, Archbolds, Roches, Barrys, Poers and numerous others including the St. Aubyns or Tobins who originally held the land on which the Baker family established Ballaghtobin House.
[195] *Ibid.,* 27.
[196] *Ibid.,* 27.
[197] *Ibid.,* 32.

thus; the point is not that it failed, rather that it lasted so long, such longevity being attributable to the adaptation skills of the marche settlers.

Much of the above description of the invasion of the Anglo-Normans sits comfortably with the history of the invasion as taught in the school context. What is not explored, certainly at a non-academic level, is the contribution that Frame made to the historiography of the period when he argued for the fact that the invasion should be seen not as the first act in the saga of Anglo-Irish relations, but rather as 'an episode in European history'.[198] In this analysis Frame was part of a new tradition of interpreting history in a post-colonial world, which placed regional history 'within a wider analytical calculus'.[199] Similarly, Runciman's statement regarding the Crusades is framed within this viewpoint.[200] The shift of focus to the wider world and larger global forces is paralleled in Laudan's study of *Cuisine and Empire.*

Frame draws out his thesis in ways that are particularly appropriate to this discussion by reminding the reader that Henry II of England was also duke of Normandy, count of Anjou, and duke of Aquitaine. Of his thirty-five year reign, less than half was spent in England. The Norman conquest of Ireland should be seen in the context of a 'wider scattering that had deposited nobles, knights and clergy from Normandy and other parts of Northern France in Sicily, Antioch and Palestine'.[201] Conlan argues that the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland was 'prompted by an expansionary impulse and underpinned by a notion of cultural and racial superiority',

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[198] Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland,* 1169-1369 (Dublin, 2012 [1981]), 1.
[199] Beverly Lemire, 'History and the Study of Consumerism: A Historian of the West looks to Japan' in Penelope Franks, Janet Hunter (eds.), *The Historical Consumer: Consumption and Everyday Life in Japan, 1850-2000* (Basingstoke, 2012), 306-324, 307.
[200] Runciman's argument is that it is out of 'a long sequence of interaction and fusion between Orient and Occident' that western civilisation has grown. See Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1954), 480. Dalrymple in a review of Frankopan's *The Silk Roads*, puts it thus, 'Runciman's great insight was that the real heirs of Roman civilisation were not the crude chain mailed knights of the rural west, but the sophisticated Byzantines of Constantinople and the cultivated Arabs of Damascus, both of whom had preserved the Hellenised urban tradition of antiquity long after it was destroyed in Europe', William Dalrymple, review of *The Silk Roads* by Peter Frankopan, *The Guardian*, 7 November 2015, 9.
[201] Frame, *Colonial,* 1.

and in effect a crusade.[202] Although Christian, Irish church practices were seen within the wider Christian world as archaic. This wider Christian world was now a functioning feudal system, 'linked with a functioning legal system', which Ireland was viewed as being deficient in.[203] To remedy this, Ireland was partly colonised by an international elite, ecclesiastical and secular.[204] Henry II was authorised to invade the island in 1156 by a papal bull, *Laudabiliter,* in order to promote reform of the Church,[205] and by 1190 four new religious houses had been founded around Dublin alone.[206] Murphy and Potterton note the importance of the role of the Christian military orders to Henry II in the settlement and defense of newly conquered lands. A preceptory for the Knights Templar was founded at Clontarf by Henry with a grant of *ca.*1190 acres and one founded for the Knights Hospitallers at Kilmainham by Strongbow, endowed 'with lands that stretched for over 3km along the southern bank of the Liffey as far as Palmerston in the west' with *ca.*500 acres also on the northern side at Kilmehauok, now mostly in Phoenix Park.[207]

In an increasingly secular world it is tempting to forget the impact of the Crusades and the hegemony of the Catholic Church.[208] Mac Con Iomaire points out the link between low consumption of fish and ecclesiastical stricture in Ireland,

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[202] Patrick Conlan, O.F.M., 'Albrecht Suerbeer, Archbishop of Armagh', *Seanchas Ardmacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society,* Vol.20, No.1 (2004), 19-23, 19. See also J.R.S. Philips, 'The Irish Remonstrance of 1317: An International Perspective', *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 27, No.106 (Nov., 1990), 112-129.
[203] Conlan, 'Suerbeer', 19.
[204] Frame, *Colonial,* 1.
[205] Conlon, *Suerbeer*, 20.
[206] Margaret Murphy and Michael Potterton, *The Dublin Region in the Middle Ages: Settlement, Land-Use and Economy,* Vol. I, Discovery Programme, Medieval Rural Settlement Project (Dublin, 2010), 75.
[207] *Ibid.,* 75. In 1307 Pope Clement V issued a bull to all Christian monarchs ordering the arrest of all Knights Templar and seizure of their property. The Templars were in considerable financial debt to Philip IV of France who exerted pressure on Clement to issue the bull. Most of their property was reallocated to the Knights Hospitallers. The medieval cathedrals of Ireland, St. Patrick's in Dublin, St. Canice's in Kilkenny and St. Mary's in Limerick are also a legacy of the Anglo-Normans.
[208] The Crusade mindset appears to be resilient to modernisation. In his speech to the Dáil on the Paris bombings of 13 Nov. 2015, Taoiseach Enda Kenny stated that 'in 1307, almost to the month, the Knights Templar were arrested, interrogated, tortured, charged with heresy'. He did not elucidate precisely what his point was. http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/News/Taoiseach's_Speeches/Dáil_Statement_by_the_Taoiseach_Enda_Kenny_T_D_on_the_terror_attacks_in_Paris.html

observing that the situation does not pertain in the Catholic Iberian Peninsula.[209] The history of this discrepancy may be traced back to the crusades with the issuing of Papal Bulls relating to those who took part in the wars against the infidels.[210] As de Hinojosa indicates, 'the faithful of the Spanish dominions who had fulfilled the necessary conditions could gain the plenary indulgence,[211] granted to those who fought for the reconquest of the holy land…'[212] More interesting for this discussion is that 'the Bull, moreover, permitted the faithful of the Spanish dominions to eat meat on all the days of Lent, and other days of fast and abstinence, except Ash Wednesday, the Fridays of Lent, the last four days of Holy Week, and the vigils of the feasts of the Nativity, Pentecost, the Assumption, and St. Peter and St. Paul'.[213]

Stepping back from this wider perspective, while the Norsemen had established ports, which as noted previously were important for the passage of elite comestibles into the country, it is the Normans who are responsible for the vast majority of existing towns and villages. As Martin notes, when the Normans settled, a manor or castle was established with ensuing mill, workshops and settlement of retainers.[214] This opened up the possibility for a regular market to be held and frequently an annual fair,[215] bringing Ireland into the wider world of trade, internal and external. Wheat, cheese and sundry other provisions were channeled through the Norman town of New Ross to Norman armies in Wales.[216] Woodland was cleared and grains, legumes and industrial crops were cultivated on arable lands, meadows were valued

[209] Mac Con Iomaire, 'Gastro-Topography', 142. Mac Con Iomaire cites the connection between fasting and low consumption as one of many reasons, which include restrictions regarding Irish ownership of large boats following on from the Battle of Kinsale (1601) and difficulties of distribution of fresh fish inland prior to the steam age.
[210] *Ibid.*
[211] An indulgence, of which there are two types, is the remission of the penalty due to sin. A partial indulgence will remit a part of the penalty, while a plenary indulgence removes all the temporal punishment due to sin, John Hardon S.J., *The Question and Answer Catholic Catechism* (New York, 1981).
[212] Eduardo de Hinojosa, 'Crusade, Bull of the' in Charles Hederman, Edward Pace *et al*, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, (New York, 1913), 543.
[213] *Ibid.* On dispensations see Ken Albala, 'The Ideology of Fasting in the Reformation Era' in Ken Albala and Trudy Eden (eds.), *Food and Faith in Christian Culture* (New York, 2011), 41-57.
[214] Martin, 'Anglo-Norman invasion', 139.
[215] *Ibid.,* 140.
[216] *Ibid.*

for the harvestable crop of hay, and sheep were favoured for pasture. Records indicate that there was at least a two-crop rotation in existence under the Normans.[217] Potterton and Murphy document the growing of wheat, oats, barley and rye, peas and beans in the Dublin region, with the cultivation of wheat and oats dominating on manorial demesnes. Bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) and river wheat (*Triticum turgidum*) were the most important wheat in the period. Archaeological evidence for the existence of river wheat is absent in Ireland but there is evidence of spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*) in Ireland where none exists in England. Although evidence for the cultivation of vegetables is scant, a reference to 'the carrotfield' in Naul, north Co. Dublin exists for 1292.[218] In Mitchell's report on the National Museum of Ireland's excavations of medieval Dublin he notes the presence in faecal material of fat-hen (*Chenopodium album*), cereals, blackberry, strawberry, apple, sloe, *fraochán* (wild bilberry) and exotics such as fig, walnut and grape, with indications that point to the existence of cherries, plums and sloes.[219] Outside the Dublin area castles and demesne lands were visible symbols of status. Murphy and O'Conor describe the manor of Nyncheaunlef (Inch, Co. Tipperary) as having a hall, chamber, kitchen, larder, fish house, stables, granary, malt-kiln, byre, barn, sheep house and dove cote, with a mill and fishery also located within the bounds of the manor.[220] A castle garden is recorded in 1303, 'presumably used for growing herbs, fruits and vegetables'.[221] Fishponds are recognition of the importance of the table to the status of a wealthy minority. The consumption of freshwater fish was a key indicator of high status.[222] Although records for the existence of fishponds are rare for the Anglo-Norman period, Murphy and O'Conor are clear that they did exist, with the probable explanation for the fact that there were less of them in Ireland than in England lying in greater exploitation of river, lake and sea fish by manorial lords in Ireland when

[217] Murphy and Potterton, *Dublin*, 292.
[218] *Ibid.,* 303.
[219] G.F. Mitchell, *Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962-81*. Series C. Vol.1 (Dublin, 1987). The *Fraochán* makes for an interesting micro-study, see Michael J. Conry, *Picking Bilberries, Fraocháns and Whorts in Ireland* (Carlow, 2011); Turtle Bunbury, 'The Face of a Vanished Ireland: My Memories of Joe Hanrahan', *Irish Times,* Weekend Review, 4 Dec. 2015, 5.
[220] Margaret Murphy and Kieran O'Conor, 'Castles and Deer Parks in Anglo-Norman Ireland', *Eolas. The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies*, 1, 51-70, 54.
[221] *Ibid.*
[222] Christopher Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London, 2000[1994]), 101.

compared with England. Historical sources also point to the fact that dovecotes were a standard feature of the manorial landscape, the birds providing both meat for the table and fertiliser for the garden.[223] Kelly notes that the Normans probably introduced the domestic rabbit to Ireland in the late twelfth century.[224] In the mid-ninth century the Bishop of Dublin was endowed with land at Portrane, Co. Dublin, confirmed by Strongbow and Archbishop Lawrence O'Toole in 1178. The canons of Christ Church compromised their title to the lands in 1197, 'on condition of receiving one hundred rabbits yearly out of the rabbit warren at Portrane'.[225] Rabbits were valuable for their meat, fur and skins and Murphy and O'Connor note that while not all warrens were as productive as that at Portrane, there is evidence that rabbits were kept on islands to protect them from predators, one such being on Lambay Island, belonging to the archbishop of Dublin.[226] The presence of deer parks in England allowed not only an occasion for sport, but also for the opportunity to emphasise privilege and confer patronage. Very little research has been carried out on the spread of this practice to Ireland. While historical sources suggest that they were relatively common here, to date the physical remains of an Anglo-Norman one have not been identified. However excavated remains at Carlow Castle indicated the presence of fallow deer, with evidence for the hunting of both red and fallow deer and wild pig found in connection with thirteenth to fifteenth-century excavations at Trim Castle. The presence of these warrens, fishponds and deer parks are to be construed as 'a symbol of seigniorial power in the landscape', 'built to create what is termed landscapes of lordship'.[227] As O'Sullivan succinctly describes it, the Normans very effectively harnessed cheap labour in Ireland to successfully exploit the commercial potential of the land, this commercial potential rising in direct proportion to increased trade, multiplication of markets and the growth of towns.[228]

In a study of Italian merchant bankers in Ireland, O'Sullivan notes that wool had become the most important raw material in the middle ages, with the price

[223] Murphy and O'Conor, 'Castles', 56.
[224] Kelly, *Farming,* 133.
[225] John D'Alton, *The History of the County of Dublin* (Dublin, 1838), 321.
[226] Murphy and O'Conor, 'Castles', 58.
[227] *Ibid.,* 65.
[228] M.D. O'Sullivan, 'Some Italian Merchant Bankers in Ireland in the Later Thirteenth Century', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* Vol.79, No. 1 /2, Centenary Volume (1949), 10-19, 12.

steadily rising. Although kept for their meat and milk, it was as a source of wool that sheep were of real value, and they were kept not only on large demesnes but also on holdings of lesser farmers and peasants. While the archbishop of Dublin was able to sell fifty-one sacks of wool in 1216, in 1310 an escapee from Dublin Castle, Adam Jourdan, had ten sheep and six lambs.[229] The will to exploit the increased potential wealth ensuing from the value of sheep brought foreign merchants and bankers to the island, with Italian merchants establishing a dominant position in the import and export of wine through the island, and trading in salt and the import of spices and dried fruits from the East.[230]

This discussion of Viking and Anglo-Norman invasion and settlement in Ireland has traced how ports were established and developed by the invaders. The influence of Christianity has been highlighted in order to indicate that outside influences should not be thought of only in terms of the more usual framing of conquest and colonisation. The legacy of the Anglo-Normans of agricultural settlement has also been delineated and the fact that Ireland was now home to an international elite with their attendant needs has been drawn out. The next wave of influence arrives with the Tudor conquest of the sixteenth century.

2.5 Early Modern Period:

The early modern period and long eighteenth century[231] saw the re-conquest of Ireland by the Tudor monarchs and the beginning of a plantation policy conducted in the wake of the Reformation, which instituted a religious divide across both Ireland and England. Regicide and replacement of the monarchy with a republic, was

[229] Murphy and Potterton, *Dublin*, 336.
[230] O'Sullivan, 'Italian Merchants', 14. O'Sullivan also tracks the increasing indebtedness of the Norman colonists to the Italian bankers, noting that 'if the Norman experiment had continued in Ireland, the Italians might well have got a firm hold on much of the lands of the colonists', 19.
[231] Generally considered to coincide with the English Reformation and the Tudor and Stuart monarchies, including the interregnum, and overlapping with what is called the 'long' Irish eighteenth century, which dates from the Restoration in 1660 to the collapse of the Protestant Ascendency in the early nineteenth century. See Roy Foster 'Toby Barnard and Ireland' in Raymond Gillespie and R.F. Foster (eds.), *Irish Provincial Cultures in the Long Eighteenth Century: Essays for Toby Barnard* (Dublin, 2012), 15-21.

followed by the restoration under Charles II. In the culinary world the period saw the upending of earlier cooking styles, with the emergence of a new wealthy entrepreneurial class who had a substantial surplus of assets to devote to pleasure and show. The rejection of older styles of cooking and the development of a *nouvelle cuisine* will be explored in detail in Chapter Three where the historiography of the printed cookbook will be detailed. However, in the context of the previous observations regarding the influence of religion, it is worth noting that Brears directly relates the emergence of a new style of cooking to the dissolution of the monasteries, 'quite amazingly, it had rapidly destroyed the centuries-old recipes, culinary practices and vocabulary of high quality medieval cooking'.[232] The large revenues generated by the monastic lands transferred directly to their new lay owners.[233] While monastic lands in Ireland were equally subject to seizure, the period saw the establishment of an entirely new elite, with an ideology and culture 'freshly English…. And shaped by their largely Protestant allegiance in a country that remained stubbornly attached to the old religion'. [234]

Any discussion of the period must of necessity grapple with the extensive nomenclature involved. 'Colonial', Anglo-Irish, Ascendency, Old English and settler are descriptors applied.[235] In her analysis of Irish manuscript recipe books, Shanahan appears to come to the decision, couched as it is in a double negative, that Ireland was a colony — 'and so while I do not adhere to the notion that Ireland was not a colony, and although I acknowledge that there is room for discussion about when it ceased to be one, I recognise that this discourse has made an important space for considering the complexity of identity formation within all sectors and classes of Irish society'.[236] Shanahan correctly indicates that the issue of identity, in all its complexity, is fundamental to an understanding of both the culinary manuscripts and discussion of their contribution to culinary history. Kennedy's observation that the effect of the

[232] Brears, *Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 11.
[233] *Ibid.,*12.
[234] David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster, 1630-1830* (Cork, 2005), xiii.
[235] For an interpretation of the Anglo-Irish see Art Cosgrove, 'The Writing of Irish Medieval History', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol.27, No. 106 (Nov., 1990), 97-111. Cosgrove is precise in his definition of the Anglo-Irish as being 'the heirs to the settlement of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century', 111.
[236] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books,* 16.

evolving Anglo-Irish relationship through the period of Plantation, Restoration and Glorious Revolution, culminating in the Act of Union of 1800, was to absorb Ireland into a 'multi-ethnic, multi-regional British state,' goes some way towards understanding identity formation in the period.[237] Of the terms 'colony' and 'colonialism', Kennedy berates their indiscriminate use, noting the ability that their usage has to distort as much as illuminate an argument.[238] Adding that the term is frequently applied with complete disregard to the 'specificity of the historical experiences of different countries and regions', Kennedy also cautions that within this historical experience, difference of degree must be respected.[239] Echoing Kennedy, Barnard alludes to the ability of the term 'colony' to harbour unspoken ideologies:

> in so far as "colony" has entered general usage as something more than a loose descriptive metaphor, it owes most to a bizarre fusion of Catholic nationalist teleology and the observations of Marx and Engels on mid-nineteenth-century Ireland, and is pejorative.[240]

Furthermore, definition as a colony has the inherent danger of discounting and ignoring as irrelevant contributions of immigrants who do not fit the colonial model, such as the Huguenots, and politically 'those Irish Catholics and Protestants who thought and acted differently'.[241] From at least the fourteenth century onwards Ireland was host to successive waves of skilled immigrants. Flemingstown, a district of Kilkenny city, takes its name from an early arrival of Flemish cooks, fullers[242] and brewers, sponsored by the Ormond family. Another influx of artificers and traders

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[237] Liam Kennedy, 'Modern Ireland: Post-Colonial Society or Post-Colonial Pretensions', *The Irish Review*, No. 13, Autobiography as Criticism (Winter 1992/1993), 107-121, 114.
[238] *Ibid.,* 117.
[239] *Ibid.*
[240] T.C. Barnard, 'Crises', 40. Edna Longley criticises Seamus Deane and David Lloyd for helping to promote a 'casual, undifferentiated, undefined use of the adjective 'colonial' for all historical relations between Britain and Ireland' see Edna Longley, 'Postcolonial versus European (And Post-Ukanian) Frameworks for Irish Literature', *The Irish Review*, No. 25, (Winter, 1999-Spring, 2000), 75-94, 75; Bruce Stewart, '"The Bitter Glass": Postcolonial Theory and Anglo-Irish Culture: A Case Study', *The Irish Review* (1986-), No. 25, (Winter 1999-Spring 2000), 27-50.
[241] Barnard, 'Crises', 41.
[242] Fullers were tradesmen who transformed raw wool into cloth, using urine and a type of clay, now known as fuller's earth.

arrived in the sixteenth century.[243] The Huguenot influence on the story of Irish culinary history is particularly noteworthy. The arrival of confectioners and the related trade of sugar baker into Dublin is attributable to the Duke of Ormond who caused the enactment of a bill in the 1660s, whereby any alien Protestant, skilled in any craft, trade or manufacture should be made a free and natural subject.[244] Another influx of apothecaries, bakers, brewers and confectioners from France occurred in 1680.[245] The instance of Huguenot and continental names such as Audouin, Villebois, Bertrand, Leseure, Caneur, Vignau, Maziere and Dubedat amongst the sugar bakers of Dublin by the 1700s is striking.[246] Jean du Bédat, born in Lacépède in France, educated at the Quaker school in Ballitore, County Kildare, founded the first sugar refinery in Ireland in Chequer Lane, now Exchequer Street, in Dublin in 1741.[247]

There is much to recommend treading the fine line of distinction between kingdom and colony by utilising the notion of Ireland as a marcher region, as described by Frame and Barnard. Furthermore, as in the earlier periods discussed, Ireland remained a distinct presence within Europe by virtue of culture, tradition, religion and trade. Barnard's analysis and charting, and ultimate rejection, of Canny's argument for colonial status is a salutary lesson in the dangers of the unacknowledged complexity of Protestant identity.[248] Acknowledging work done but identifying the need for deeper exploration of cultural values as evidenced in architecture, hospitality, entertaining[249] and diet, Barnard's description of Protestant Ireland as being more a

[243] John G.A. Prim, 'Ancient Flemish Colony in Kilkenny', *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society,* Vol. 1, No.1 (1849), 37-40. See also Prim, 'Notes on Kilkenny Inns and Taverns', *The journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society,* Ser.2 Vol. IV, pt.1, (1862), 152-180.
[244] James Butler saw a reversal of his fortunes with the Restoration of King Charles II and was created Duke of Ormond in the Irish Peerage, serving as lord lieutenant from 1662-1668.
[245] Brigid O'Mullane, 'The Huguenots in Dublin Part I', *Dublin Historical Record,* Aug. 8, (1946), 110-120, 3.
[246] See Bryan Mawer, *Sugarbakers from Sweat to Sweetness* (London, 2011). A website with the history of sugar bakers and location of their sugar bakeries is on http://www.mawer.clara.net/loc-dublin.html ; See also Louis Cullen, John Shovlin and Thomas Truxes (eds.), *The Bordeaux-Dublin Letters 1757: Correspondence of an Irish Community Abroad* (Oxford, 2013), 37 who note an influx of sugar refiners into Dublin as a result of the crisis in refining in Bordeaux in 1729.
[247] Maria Glancy, *The rise and fall of the Dubédats of Dublin* (Dublin, 1990), 2.
[248] Barnard, 'Crisis', 40, 46.
[249] See Karol Mullaney-Dignam, *Music and Dancing at Castletown, County*

province of England has much to recommend if looked at objectively, and in culinary terms resonates with Allen's statement regarding an Irish identity in food which, while acknowledging the existence of this identity, cautions that it must also be remembered that it exists in the context of a geographical and culinary group consisting of Wales, England and Scotland, 'and we share their traditions as all countries share their traditions with their next-door neighbour'.[250]

2.6 Georgian Ireland and Irish Identity:

Culinary nationalism is a factor that impacts on discussion of elite dining traditions of the Georgian period in several ways.[251] Discussion of Irish culinary history, and the contribution of elite consumption practice to this narrative, is complicated by both the history and the politics involved. As noted earlier, the Norman invasion and settlement meant that by the time of the Tudor plantations an international elite class, both secular and ecclesiastical, was established in the country. Subsequent settlement, planter, mercenary and adventurer, added a further layer to this. Moreover, behavior within this class did not necessarily fall on either side of the confessional divide. In his study of the Ffrench family of Monivea, Barnard demonstrates that where the Catholics did retain large acreage their *modus operandi* was 'little different from those of energetic Protestant improvers'.[252] Anglo-Normans, the Ffrench family was located principally in County Galway, the estate having been acquired in the early seventeenth century, confiscated and subsequently repurchased in 1702. Efficiently and stylishly managed by Robert Ffrench (1716-1779), Barnard makes two observations that are apposite to this research. On his wedding, Ffrench remodeled the

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Kildare, 1759-1821 (Dublin, 2011); William Laffan and Christopher Monkhouse (eds.), *Ireland: Crossroads of Art and Design, 1690-1840* (Illinois, 2015) for recent scholarship addressing this issue.

[250] Allen, 'Statement'; Cashman, 'An Exploratory Study'.

[251] On the origins of culinary nationalism see Priscilla Parkhurst-Ferguson, 'A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19th-Century France', *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 104, No. 3 (Nov. 1998), 597-641, 601; 'Is Paris France?' *The French Review,* Vol. 73, No. 6 (May, 2000), 1052-1064.

[252] T.C. Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, Prophets and Profiteers, 1641-1786* (Dublin, 2008), 16; Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: transnational Education, Social Mobility and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford, 2013). By the nineteenth century the estate of the Catholic Brown family in Kenmare amounted to over 91,000 acres in Co. Kerry, as well as 22,000 in Co. Cork and 4,000 in Co. Limerick http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/estate-show.jsp?id=1823

house and an analysis of his purchases demonstrates 'how the fashions set in Britain quickly penetrated the Irish provinces', and in his reform of the estate Ffrench proved to the naysayers that 'those of papist stock could be assimilated to the values of a Protestant and English Ireland'. As Barnard phrases it, Monivea 'blazed like a beacon in a naughty Catholic world'.[253]

Antipathy towards the elite of Ireland of the Georgian period by the modern Irish state is most visible in attitudinal responses to Georgian architecture, both in the capital and as manifested by the 'Big House' in the countryside.[254] Georgian architecture was portrayed as a 'crumbling relic of a previous era'.[255] The architectural profession argued for buildings reflecting the modern age, building the city anew. The desire to build a modern state architecturally sat side by side with an idealisation of the countryside. Cusack describes how the nascent Irish State invoked an ideology of the rural, locating a sense of Irishness geographically in the rural west and chronologically in an idea of the Celtic Golden Age.[256] In a reversal of hierarchies the fledgling Irish State constructed a new hierarchy of community, with the peasant now privileged over the elite. In a discussion on the revival of narrative history, Stone notes the apparatus used by political institutions in the construction of identity.[257] Germane to this construction of identity is the imagined idea of historic continuity, the creation of 'an ancient past beyond effective historical continuity, either by semi-

[253] Barnard, *Improving*, 150, 155.
[254] Antipathy towards the Irish elite was visible in the Georgian period as well. The creations in the Irish peerage were scorned by their counterparts in the British peerage, dismissed as 'riff-raff' and 'brewers and poulterers', with Walpole remarking in 1786 that he was 'at a loss to know why the government did not put paid at once to the problem of Irish terrorists by making them all peers', see Cannon, *Aristocratic*, 16; F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1971[1963]), 10.
[255] Erika Hanna, *Modern Dublin: Urban Change and the Irish Past, 1957-1973* (Oxford, 2013), 48-67
[256] Tricia Cusack, 'A "Countryside Bright with Cosy Homesteads". Irish Nationalism and the Cottage Landscape', *National Identities,* 3-3, 221-238. This idea of a lost golden age has a long and complex history, see Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution*, (London, 2014 [1962]), 321-322.
[257] Stone, 'Revival of Narrative' 3-24. Stone defines narrative history as history where the organisation of material is in a chronological sequential order.

fiction (Boadicea, Vercingetorix, Arminius the Cheruscan) or by forgery (Ossian, the Czech medieval manuscripts)'.[258]

Discussion of the Georgian period in the late twentieth century was couched in terms of conquest and colonisation, 'a vanquished regime',[259] not untrue but a simplified analysis. In March 1970 this attitude was given utterance in a speech that the then Minister for Local Government, Kevin Boland, made in Dáil Eireann.[260] In an attack on the Irish Georgian Society and their efforts to preserve the built heritage of Georgian Ireland, Minister Boland accused the society of preserving 'the reminder of gracious living at the expense of the slavies and lackies subsisting in the less gracious cellars and back lanes'.[261] Forty-five years later the Irish State appears to have, if not embraced Georgian heritage, then at the very least woken up to its tourist potential. Hunt describes Georgian Dublin as 'the Dublin of the twenty-first-century city-break',[262] also noting the desire of the De Valera interwar government to redefine Dublin as a peasant-Gaelic capital, quoting Kearns, 'the call to erase the Georgian heritage from the Dublin cityscape has often been justified as an act of national purification on the premise that the architecture and structures are not Irish'.[263]

That disparate views of the Georgian period as personified in its architecture exist side by side may be observed in comments made by three historians during the course of a television programme on the commercial Irish television station TV3 in 2013. Following on from a previous series called *The Tenements*, the programme, described by the broadcasters as a social experiment documentary, set out to 'discover the controversial history of the Big House in Ireland and to tell the story of the servants, without whom these houses could not have functioned'.[264] Mullaney

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[258] *Ibid.,* 7.
[259] Robert O'Byrne, *The Irish Georgian Society: A Celebration* (Dublin, 2008), 96.
[260] Dáil Eireann, usually referred to as the Dáil, is one of the two Houses of the Oireachtas or Government in Ireland. The elected representatives in the Dáil are Teachta Dála, or TDs. The other house is the Seanad Éireann, the Senate of Ireland.
[261] Quoted in Robert O' Byrne *The Irish Georgian Society*, 97. See also Roy Foster, *Luck and The Irish: A Brief History of Change from 1970* (Oxford, 2008), 160.
[262] Tristram Hunt, *Ten Cities that made an Empire* (London, 2014), 105.
[263] Kevin Corrigan Kearns, 'Preservation and Transformation of Georgian Dublin', *Geographical Review,* 72, 3 (1982), 273-4. Quoted in Hunt, *Ten Cities*, 107.
[264] Editorial Preview of TV 3 *The Big House*. 29 April, 2013. https://www.tv3.ie/pr_sub.php?type=1&view_pr=257

Dignam acknowledged that the programme could not have been made ten years previously, 'it has taken this long for the Big House to be accepted as a part of Irish heritage. A lot of families worked there, there is a connection there… as a nation we are now more secure about our history'.[265] In contrast Ferriter offered the trenchant view that while there are those who may have a particular interest in the history of the Big House, there are also those

> who legitimately and quite rightly see the Big House as a symbol of colonialism, of oppression, of exploitation, of land stealing, and these are all very important parts of our history that have generated huge pain, huge anger, huge dispossession and they will always be seen in this light.[266]

Daly remarked on a document from the 1930s that labeled Georgian architecture as being of no great distinction, as having nothing to do with Ireland, adding 'I think we have got over that particular attitude'.[267] Cronin and O'Connor provide a realistic appraisal of the situation in their statement that self-image in Ireland today is 'crucially mediated by tourism', where the imperatives of tourism are a powerful vector of modernisation.[268] Some politicians have not adapted to this awareness and are adept at using emotive cultural tropes rooted in history; speaking as leader of the opposition, Deputy Kenny described the conveyance of a Government 'think tank' to their venue, Farmleigh House, in a fleet of Mercedes cars as arriving 'like members of the Anglo-Irish ascendency returning to the Big House'.[269] In a Budget Speech in October 2013 Minister Brendan Howlin iterated that 'Fianna Fáil left us beholden like famine victims to seek succor from outside the country'.[270] A musician and songwriter describes his disregard for Yeats and his poetry as the product of his 'disdain for the ascendency Ireland of which he was, of course, a (complex and

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[265] Dr. Carol Mullaney Dignam, TV3, *The Big House,* 29 April, 2013.
[266] Professor Diarmaid Ferriter, TV3, *The Big House*, 29 April, 2013.
[267] Professor Mary Daly, TV3 *The Big House* 29 April 2013.
[268] Michael Cronin and Barbara O'Connor, 'From Gombeen to Gubeen: Tourism, Identity and Class in Ireland, 1949-99', in Ray Ryan (ed.), *Writing in the Irish Republic: Literature, Culture, Politics 1949-99* (London, 2000), 165-183, 166.
[269] Deputy Enda Kenny, Leaders' questions 27 October 2010, http://debates.oireachtas.ie/dail/2010/10/27/00004.asp#N4 .
[270] Minister Howlin 15 Oct. 2013 http://oireachtasdebates.oireachtas.ie/debates%20authoring/debateswebpack.nsf/takes/dail2013101500010?opendocument .

patriotic) product'.[271] The manuscript cookbook that forms the core of this research is from this period and from the milieu of the Big House. Fundamental to this study is agreement with Appadurai's description of food, noted previously, as a 'highly condensed social fact'[272] and that ideologies of identity are enacted through food, both in the Georgian period and in modern Ireland.[273] Anderson comments that scholars agree that 'national cuisines are reliant on texts'.[274] What Anderson goes on to note is germane to discussion of the culinary manuscripts. Acknowledging that some of the texts that she has chosen for her argument concerning culinary nationalisation have traditionally been seen as 'inconsequential to the evolution of an autochthonous model of Spanish cuisine because of their dependence on French culinary texts', nonetheless this reliance on culinary texts and French culture should be seen as part of a 'wider centralisation of cultural processes in Europe which meant that from the mid-nineteenth century onwards reader expectations in peripheral countries such as Spain were to a significant degree shaped by foreign cultural production — in particular, French or English'.[275] The observation is worth quoting in full, as one of the central areas of discussion surrounding the culinary manuscripts is whether they were complicit in making Ireland English.[276]

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[271] Tony Clayton-Lea, *The Irish Times,* 'Why we still love W.B. Yeats after 150 years', Arts and Books Supplement, 13 June 2015, 7.
[272] Appadurai, 'Gastropolitics', 494.
[273] Elaine Mahon, 'Craving National Identity: Irish Diplomatic Dining since 1922', a paper delivered at the Dublin Gastronomy Symposium, 4 June 2014; Elaine Mahon, '"Ireland on a Plate": Curating the 2011 State Banquet for Queen Elizabeth II', *M/C Journal of Media and Culture*, Vol.18, Issue 4, Aug. 2015.
[274] Lara Anderson, *Cooking up the Nation: Spanish Culinary Texts and Culinary Nationalization in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), 8. See also Jeffrey M. Pilcher, 'Tamales or Timbales: Cuisine and the Formation of Mexican National Identity, 1821-1911, *The Americas*, Vol. 53, No.2 (Oct., 1996), 193-216; Igor Cusack, 'African Cuisines: recipes for Nation Building?', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol.13, No.2, (Dec., 2000), 207-225: Hasia Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge, MA, 2001); Carol Gold, *Danish Cookbooks: Domesticity and National Identity 1616-1901* (Seattle, 2007), 115-134; Anita Mannur, 'Culinary Nostalgia: Authenticity, Nationalism and Diaspora', *Melus,* Vol. 32, No.4, Food in Multi-Ethnic Literatures (Winter, 2007), 11-31.
[275] Anderson, *Cooking,* 9.
[276] Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 2012); Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books.*

With respect to the above comment by Howlin, discussion of elite consumption habits in the Georgian period has to be balanced against the fact that the specific period under discussion in this research sits between two major famines in the county, 1740-41 and 1845-49.[277] Ó Grada describes the difficulty for historians dealing with and around this sensitive subject, noting that 'attempts at balance always risk being interpreted as making excuses'.[278] However, when one looks behind the actual consumption of food by the elite of Georgian Ireland to the chefs and confectioners who were fundamental to the process, and the historiography of the recipes, one begins to see that a very complex picture emerges.[279]

The social stratification of Georgian society, within and outside the Anglo-Irish community in its widest sense as including newer arrivals, is something that Herbert provides excellent commentary about. Bourdieu's approach to consumption as a strategy for distinction has informed the work of many historians.[280] There is much picturesque reporting of this phenomenon in both Herbert and Edgeworth. Examples abound, however Herbert's description of Mrs Kelly 'who made her servants jostle us in our Glass Vehicles because they eclipsed her New Equipage'[281] and Edgeworth's

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[277] Ian McBride, *New Gill History of Ireland: Eighteenth-Century Ireland, The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin, 2009), 106. The famine of 1740, known as *Bliain an Áir*, the Year of the Slaughter, came on the heels of the 'Great Frost' of 1740 and led to the death of between 310,000 and 480,000 in a population of less than 2.5 million, see Herbert, *Retrospections*, who describes the frost as being so intense that 'the woodcocks and other wild birds flew into the house for shelter', 3. The *Gorta Mór*, or Great Hunger of 1845 came about with the failure of the potato crop caused by an infestation of *Phythophthora Infestans* or blight, leading to the death of 12 per cent of the population, proportionally less than the previous famine but in absolute terms the number, over one million, had never before been experienced.

[278] Cormac Ó Gráda, *Ireland Before and After The Famine. Explorations in Economic History, 1800-1925* (Manchester, 1988), 82.

[279] Dorothy Cashman, 'An exploration of confectionery and sweetmeats in Georgian Ireland', paper presented at *Latitudes: Irish Studies in an International Context: Banbha I gcéin.* CAIS/ACIS joint conference, 2014 at University College Dublin.

[280] Burke, *History and Social Theory*, 67. Two works in particular have been most influential, N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J.H. Plumb (eds.), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1982) and J. Brewer and R. Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1983). See also Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984[1979]), 479. Bourdieu argued that social identity was grounded in the concept of difference from the other that is closest, this closest other representing the greatest threat.

[281] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 163.

comic lampooning of Mrs Raffarty's dinner party with her *cri de coeur* to her husband that 'Corny Raffarty! You're no more *gud* at the *fut* of my table than a stick of celery (sic.),'[282] go some way towards displaying how these authors provide a vivid backdrop to the Baker manuscript and archive.

2.7 Summary:

This chapter has charted the constituent forces that made up the background to the period under analysis — Viking, Norman, Christian, and Planter — the arrival of an international elite and the subtle and distinctive divisions within that elite. Attention has been drawn to arguments for acknowledgment of cultural influences that go beyond the usual argument for the culture of the period as being largely an expression of colonial hegemony. With this in place the next chapter moves to discuss the printed cookbook and the relationship between it and the manuscript tradition.

[282] Edgeworth, *Absentee*, 91. Edgeworth is noting and perhaps commenting on the practice of using cut celery in a celery glass as a decorative item on the table.

Chapter Three: The Printed Cookbook

3.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the printed cookbook. Doing this before turning to the culinary manuscripts is an acknowledgment of the complex relationship between print and manuscript in the assembly of recipes. There is a continuous transfer of knowledge evident between both sources. While early printed works drew heavily from manuscript sources, later manuscripts replicated and remade recipes that were culled, consciously or sometimes unconsciously, from printed sources. Given this relationship between print and manuscript it would be unwise to ascribe a hierarchy of esteem.[283] When examining manuscripts in Ireland the focus tends towards the study of scribal works in the Irish language.[284] However as Gillespie indicates, scribal publication was not confined to Irish language works, but included the works of literary *coteries* and circulated alongside printed works. What has not been commented upon is that this was a similar path that the culinary manuscripts took — 'rigid demarcations between the worlds of manuscript and print are not possible'.[285]

The increased commercialisation of the Irish economy was manifest in the print economy.[286] Alongside butter, barreled beef and linen, the trading network of fairs, markets and hawkers allowed distribution of the printed word also. Gillespie notes that by the end of the seventeenth century the circulation of print from England had reached its *apogée* and that the world of late medieval Ireland was extinguished, due in no small part to the dissemination of the printed word.[287] Both Ó'Ciosáin and

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[283] Appelbaum, 'Rhetoric and Epistemology', 2. Appelbaum remarks that the printed recipe collection had an independent life but was in continual communication with the manuscripts. See Virginia Maclean, *A Short-title Catalogue of Household and Cookery Books published in the English Tongue 1701-1800* (London, 1981). In connection with Mary Eales' book of 1718 Maclean notes a sale *ca.*1934 of a manuscript, catalogue no. 37, which lists 'Mrs. Mary Eales's Receipts… (London *ca.* 1720). An English MS on 54 leaves, easily legible. This is a transcript of the first edition (1718)', Maclean, *Short-title catalogue*, 40.

[284] See Timothy O'Neill, *The Irish Hand: Scribes and their Manuscripts from the Earliest Times* (Cork, 2014).

[285] Raymond Gillespie, 'Print Culture, 1550-1700' in Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (eds.), *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume 111: The Irish Book in English 1550-1800* (Oxford, 2006), 17-33, 27.

[286] *Ibid.,* 25.

[287] *Ibid*., 33.

Gillespie confirm that the language of print was overwhelmingly English,[288] and that the printed word encompassed ephemeral formats such as proclamations, receipts, leases, and chapbooks alongside the bound and unbound 'book format'.[289] Gillespie notes that as a result of this the language of politics and religion became broadly similar across Ireland and Britain,[290] and it is within this Anglophone context that the dissemination of recipes between the islands must be understood.[291] The spread of the printed recipe allowed a range of influences to permeate elite kitchens in Ireland and through that into the manuscripts. The publication of the printed recipe also facilitated the diffusion of styles of cuisine down the social scale,[292] just as the increasing popularity of the printed cookbook as a format is a record of 'a gradual descent down the social scale' with respect to its status as a genre.[293]

This chapter and the following one chart an Irish presence within the larger world of recipe formation and culinary influences, while also drawing attention to the interdependence of printed word and manuscript. It is not intended to provide an exhaustive history of the printed recipe, but is rather a selective examination of particular moments in the history of the printed cookbook.[294]

3.2 Early Texts:

From antiquity discussion of how food should be properly consumed preoccupied scholars and philosophers. By an incremental process this interest in matters

[288] Niall Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland 1750-1850* (Dublin, 2010 [1997]), 8; Gillespie, 'Print Culture', 33.
[289] Gillespie, 'Print Culture', 33.
[290] *Ibid*.,
[291] Caitríona Clear, *Women of the House: Women's Household Work in Ireland 1926-1961: Discourses, Experiences, Memories* (Dublin, 2000), 68. Clear makes the same point about the dissemination of household advice books for this later period also.
[292] Ó Ciosáin, *Print*, 23. Ó Ciosáin notes how the re-publication of La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier François* of 1651 as a *bibliothèque bleue*, a chapbook, from the 1660s onwards diffused haute cuisine down the social scale, while also functioning as a 'fairy tale' for those who could not afford the rich ingredients involved.
[293] Gillian Lehmann, *The British Housewife: Cookery Books, Cooking and Society in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Totnes, 2003), 61.
[294] For more exhaustive treatments of the chronology of the printed cookbook see Lehmann, *The British Housewife:* Eileen White (ed.), *The English Cookery Book* (Totnes, 2004); Sandra Sherman, *The Invention of the Modern Cookbook* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 2010); Willan, *Cookbook*. The other bibliographies noted in Appendix One are valuable for piecing a complex trans-national jigsaw together.

pertaining to food culture resulted in cookery manuscripts being amongst the first texts to be committed to print.[295] While all printed text starts life as a manuscript in some form or other, even if only a draft, not all culinary manuscripts become printed text for a complex set of reasons. The culinary manuscripts from the island of Ireland that form the core of this research are characteristic of this peculiarity with the *caveat* that a select few are now going to print as objects of historical curiosity.[296]

Food, its preparation, consumption and the practices that surround its presentation, has been the subject of discussion from earliest times. In Athenaeus' *Deinosophistae*, written *ca.*200 c.e. there survive fragments from a much earlier work, Archestratus' *The Life of Luxury*, written *ca*.350 BC. These fragments are a discussion of food consumption practices and demonstrate that the social symbolism of food has always been of interest. Archestratus advances the cause of eating thoughtfully, seasonally and with attention to what we would now phrase as '*terroir*'.[297] Refinement is valorised over ostentation, quality over quantity. Olsen observes that culinary history was demonstrably a topic of academic discussion by the time of Archestratus, and that Callimachus' catalogue of the holdings of the Ptolemaic library in Alexandria[298] included at least four now lost treatises on cake making.[299] What is being emphasised here is that there is a record that prescriptive text, the recipe, existed alongside academic discussion about it from this early period. In their introduction to *Fragments from The Life of Luxury*, Wilkins and Hill explore this further by deducing that the fragmentary nature of the preservation of these texts

[295] Mennell, *All Manners,* 65.
[296] Marjorie Quarton, *Mary Cannon's Commonplace Book: An Irish kitchen in the 1700s* (Dublin, 2010); Deirdre Nuttall (ed.), *A Book of Cookery by Hannah Alexander* (Cathair na Mart, Co. Mhaigh Eo, 2014).
[297] J. Wilkins and S. Hill (eds), *Archestratus: Fragments From The Life of Luxury* (Totnes, 1994). See Ken Albala, 'The Historical Models of Food and Power in European Courts of the Nineteenth Century' in Danielle de Vooght (ed.), *Royal Taste: Food, Power and Status at the European Courts after 1789* (Surrey, 2011), 13-29, 17; Kaori O'Connor, *The Never-Ending Feast: The Anthropology and Archaeology of Feasting* (London, 2015).
[298] The catalogue is more properly referred to as the *Pínakes* of Callimachus (*ca*.305-*ca*.240). Of the original 120 books only a few small fragments survive, see Francis J. Witty, 'The Pínakes of Callimachus', *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* Vol.28, No.2 (April 1958) 132-136.
[299] S. Douglas Olsen, 'Athenaeus' in Darra Goldstein (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Sugar and Sweets* (Oxford, 2015), 32.

attests to the fact that the status of food books and recipe books was low.[300] These were not manuscripts carefully preserved for posterity.[301] The issue of the status of cookbooks, relating as they do to the consumption of food, may go to the heart of the long delayed acceptance of their legitimacy as valid sources for academic scrutiny.[302] This relates back to Barthes' observation on the connotation of triviality or guilt that has attached itself to the scholarly study of food.[303] This connotation is at variance with the reality that as documents of record, and as instances of literary and cultural intelligence, both in manuscript and print, the recording of recipes is a human endeavor as venerable as the recording of the scripts sacred to Judaism and Christianity.

3.3 Early Cookbooks:

As observed above cookbook manuscripts were among the first texts to be committed to print, along with the Gutenberg Bible and Homer's *Odyssey.* Of these early cookbooks, five are what are now referred to as incunabula, coming to print before the somewhat arbitrary date of 1500.[304] First of these incunabula in chronological order of coming to print was Bartolomeo Sacchi's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (*Of Honest Indulgence and Good Health*, Rome, *ca.*1475). Sacchi, also referred to as Platina, incorporated the recipes of the master cook Martino into his philosophical musings on good health. These recipes of Martino's were available to Sacchi from Martino's manuscript, *Libero de arte coquinaria*, which itself did not go to print until

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[300] Wilkins and Hill, *Archestratus,* 12.
[301] *Ibid.*
[302] See Gillian Lehmann, 'Reading recipe books and culinary history: opening a new field' in Sara Pennell and Michelle DiMeo (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books 1550-1800* (Manchester, 2013), 93-115. Lehmann makes the point that neither of the groundbreaking authors, Barbara Wheaton or Jean François Revel, were academics. Karen Hess (transcribed), *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery* (New York, 1995 [1981]), vii, laments the lack of attention paid by historians to the study of home cooking with the observation that 'few scholars are cooks — and fewer cooks are scholars'.
[303] Barthes,'Towards a Psychosociology', 167.
[304] 'Incunabulum' refers to the infancy of printing. The first recorded use of the term was by the bibliophile Bernard von Mallinckrodt in his treatise *De ortu et progressu artis typographicae* (On the Rise and Spread of the Art of Typography) of 1639/40 and the date of 1500 appears to have been arbitrarily chosen. The British Library has created an online *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* with contributions from institutions worldwide, which provides information such as author, printer, place and date of printing as well as location of copies, see http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/ .

the twentieth century and is now available on compact disc as well as in print. *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* was followed by the anonymous *Küchenmeisterei* (*Mastery of the Kitchen*, Nuremberg, November 1485). Taillevant's *Le viandier* (*The Victualler*, Paris, 1486-7) was printed from a manuscript dating back to the 1370s[305] and Apicius' *De re coquinaria* (*On Cooking,* Milan, 1498 and Venice 1498-1500) from his manuscript written during the reigns of the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, first century AD.

The English *Boke of Cookery* (London, 1500) just makes it into this series of incunabula. There is only one known copy of *A Noble Boke of Festes Ryalle and Cokery*, the more correct title, which was discovered in the library at Longleat House, seat of the Marquess of Bath, in Wiltshire, in 2002. Hieatt notes that there are two earlier manuscripts of the collection,[306] while Willan states that the printed edition is based on a fifteenth-century manuscript, which in turn was drawn from two fourteenth-century 'handwritten books'.[307] Without revealing the name of the house Davidson gives an account of being casually passed the book 'as something with which to while away the time' on a visit to the house with a companion who was there on business.[308] Davidson wrote this twenty years before it was recognised as being an incunabulum and the first collection of recipes to be committed to print in England. It is reasonable to hypothesise that this failure to recognise the importance of the book was as much due to it being a collection of recipes in the vernacular as to the fact that it had been rebound.[309] Notaker remarks on the issues surrounding compiling bibliographies of cookbooks — the fact that they 'have suffered more from active and frequent use than most books' — and also comments on their lack of prestige for

[305] There are four extant manuscripts of the collection. However the earliest predates Taillevant's birth by ten years. See Terence Scully (ed.) *The Viandier of Taillevent: An edition of all extant manuscripts* (Ottawa, 1988), 5.
[306] Constance Hieatt, *The Culinary Recipes of Medieval England* (Totnes, 2013), 200.
[307] Willan, *Cookbook* , 57.
[308] Alan Davidson, 'The Natural History of British Cookery Books', *American Scholar,* 1982-83, Vol. 52, No.1, 98-105, 98.
[309] The book was rebound in the early nineteenth century as reported by the archivist at Longleat, see Sarah Womack 'How to feed a king – first, splatte your pyke' *The Telegraph*, June 27, 2002. Davidson notes in his essay in 1982 that it was the first printed cookery book in England so the fact that it was 'rediscovered' in 2002 is puzzling.

collectors since they conveyed only practical useful knowledge as opposed to the theoretical knowledge valued by scholars.[310]

As evidenced, collections of printed recipes such as these early printed cookbooks, especially when rebound, may be overlooked as to their importance. It is no doubt a contributory factor to the failure of inventories conducted in private libraries to record cookbooks that were undoubtedly in the possession of their owners. The Edgeworth family assembled a fine library,[311] however it is only through the Edgeworth's novel *Patronage* that the family familiarity with Raffald's cookbook may be gleaned.[312] NLI MS 19,946, a catalogue of the Clonbrock Library dated May 1809, records as being present a copy of 'Glasses Cookery'. NLI MS 19,948, a later catalogue of the Clonbrock Library dated October 1832, has no reference to Glasse. Clonbrock was an important house built between 1780 and 1788 by Robert Dillon, afterwards Lord Clonbrock. Damaged by fire in 1807 and 1994, both times accidently, the second time it was destroyed beyond repair.[313] The only record remaining of the library, and Hannah Glasse's presence in it, is the catalogue in the National Library. One could hypothesise that the Glasse book had been removed for reference to another room, or that it was deemed misfiled in the first instance, and that it had been passed down to the housekeeper's domain, no doubt considered a more appropriate location in the social architecture of the house. Regardless, it is an

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[310] Henry Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks in Europe, 1470-1700* (Netherlands, 2010), 3. Against this, in the early eighteenth century discussion of cookery was popular amongst antiquarians of the time, with lively debates about the threats posed by French cuisine and transnational fashions in flavourings, see Timothy Morton, 'Old Spice: William King, Culinary Antiquarianism, and National Boundaries', *Eighteenth-Century Life 25* (May, 1999), 1-5.

[311] Toby Barnard, 'Libraries and Collectors, 1700-1800' in Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (eds.), *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume 111: The Irish Book in English 1550-1800* (Oxford, 2006), 111-134, 131.

[312] Cashman, 'Sweetmeat' in Mac Con Iomaire and Maher (eds.) *Tickling the Palate'*, 15-34.

[313] See (anon) 'Introduction' to NLI Collection List 54 Clonbrock Estate Papers. See also Dooley, *Decline of the Big House in Ireland*. The National Library of Ireland acquired the estate papers in 1976 at an auction held in Clonbrock House, the following year acquiring the photograph collection of Luke Gerald Dillon and his wife Augusta. The Dillon family had a collection of recipes that were in use at the time of the second fire, mostly Edwardian. Before the last of the family emigrated, Darina Allen had the foresight to request permission to photocopy this collection, which she has kindly allowed to be recopied for the purposes of this research.

example of the inherent difficulty of attempting to pin down who was actually in possession of printed cookbooks. Ironically their presence is most often recorded through the references made to them in contemporaneous manuscripts.[314] Just as the printed book records the manuscript, so also does the manuscript record the presence of the printed book as evidenced in NLI MS 42,134 (Fig. 3.1) where the recipe for 'An Excellent White Pot' records the source as 'Smith'. This is a transcription of a recipe from Robert Smith's *Court Cookery or the Complete English Cook*.[315]

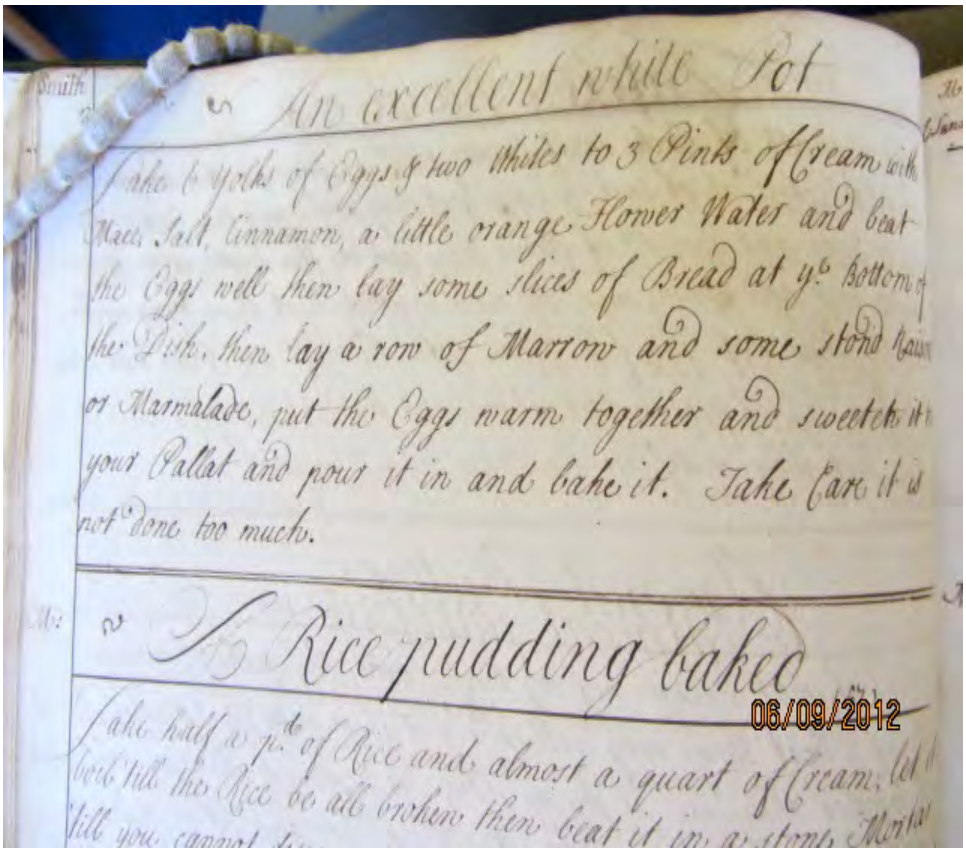

Fig. 3.1 NLI MS 42,134. Recipe for 'An Excellent White Pot'.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

[314] MS 8040, a collection of receipts for the Earl of Fingall records that the family bought a copy of 'Glasse's Cookery' in 1800, along with a comprehensive assortment of spelling books, pamphlets, children's books and a copy of Bishop Stock's *Narrative of what passed at Killalla, in the county of Mayo, and the parts adjacent during the French revolution in the summer of 1798* (Dublin, 1800).
[315] Robert Smith, *Court Cookery or the Compleat English Cook* (London, 1723). As noted in Appendix One, The National Library of Ireland holds an edition printed in Dublin in 1724. NLI MS 42,134 also contains many recipes attributed to 'Eale', taken from *Mrs Mary Eale's Receipts* (London, 1718).

Humanism emphasised the importance of collection and organisation of specialised material, what Field denominates as a 'notebook culture'.[316] Travel and a culture of self-improvement fed in to a culture of exchange, and increased sociability fostered a change in social attitudes towards food.[317] Influences travelled wider and faster, 'international aristocratic marriages mingled retinues as well as the political interests of nations' noble families'.[318] Perhaps the most significant work to appear in this period is that of a master cook to two cardinals and two popes, the *Opera di M. Bartolomeo Scappi* of 1570 (Fig. 3.2). Magnificently produced, the twenty-five plates at the back are described by Willan as in essence the first cookware catalogue.[319] What Scappi is remarkable for is his contribution to technique, notably methods such as marinating, braising and poaching — gentle cooking and the retention of meat juices 'were typical of a more sophisticated approach to cooking'.[320] What Europe was witnessing was the emergence of distinctive styles of cooking relating to particular countries. And what Scappi was articulating was cooking that was 'recognisably and distinctly Italian in style'. [321]

[316] Catherine Field, 'Many Many Hands: Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books' in Michelle Dowd and Julie Eckerle (eds.), *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2007), 49-63, 51. Notaker, *Printed Cookbooks,* also remarks on the how cookbooks emerged from a background of medieval didactic literature, practical handbooks and culinary court culture.
[317] Barbara Wheaton, *Savoring the Past: the French Kitchen and Table from 1300 to 1789* (New York, 1996 [1983]), 41.
[318] Willan, *Cookbook,* 77.
[319] *Ibid.,* 89.
[320] Anne Willan, *Great Cooks and Their Recipes: From Taillevant to Escoffier* (London, 1977), 37.
[321] Mennell, *All Manners,* 70.

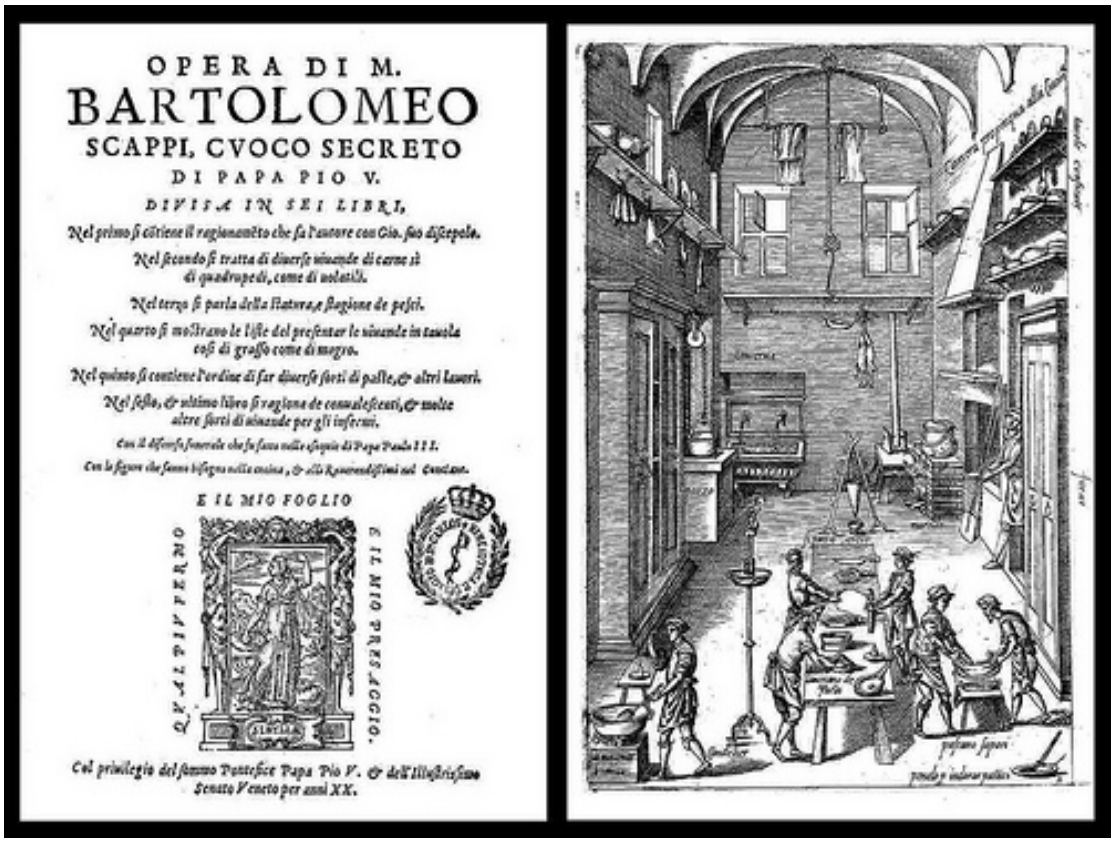

Fig. 3.2 Frontispiece of *Opera Di M. Bartolomeo Scappi* (1570).[322]

What is important to realise is that this distinctive national voice was being worked out through the medium of courtly cuisine. Italian cooks articulated a cuisine that was within the traditions of the most elevated international elite cuisine but which managed to reflect their skills and taste, and which became identified with the originating country. Mennell makes the point that the Italians were pioneers rather than leaders as the influence of Scappi and other Italian chefs associated with setting the pace in Italy was limited, if not marginal, in France.[323] Against this, as Willan observes, Scappi was an early example of the plagiarism that cookbooks are rife with,

[322] Terence Scully (trans. with commentary), *The Opera of Bartolomeo Scappi* (Toronto, 2008).
[323] Mennell, *All Manners*, 70. Martino's early work *De Honesta Voluptate* of 1475 was widely translated and disseminated throughout Europe. Other important Italian works were by Giovanni de Rosselli and Cristoforo di Messisbugo. Scappi's work ran to seventeen editions, and did not disseminate as widely as expected. Published in Venice, the republic's printers were experiencing a downturn in business and as Willan points out Scappi's tome may just have been too much for the limited cookbook market to bear. Politically, France was going through a period of fierce anti-Italian sentiment that also affected the book's reception, Willan, *Cookbook*, 91.

which meant that his recipes did travel in different guises to Spain, the Netherlands, England, Denmark and Germany.[324] Those recipes were honed in the Papal court and as Scully indicates, ecclesiastical power, 'the pomp, splendor and magnificence of the courts in Rome were founded in large measure upon the foods that were prepared and consumed in those courts two and three times each day'.[325] One of the cardinals for whom Scappi worked was Cardinal Campeggio (1474-1539), the last cardinal protector of England to be nominated by the Crown.[326] Sent as one of the legates to treat with Henry VIII concerning his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, he was charged by the pope with a private mission to draw up a report on the state of English cookery compared with that of France and Italy.[327] Of Henry VIII it has been said that he was so transported by the taste of a new pudding, unspecified unfortunately, that he gave a manor to its originator.[328]

3.4 Mark Rumpolt and Lancelot de Casteau:

The importance of trade routes for cookbooks is evidenced in two writers of the period. Both Marx Rumpolt (no dates) and Lancelot de Casteau (died *ca.*1613) were ecclesiastical cooks, Rumpolt to the archbishop-elector of Mainz and de Casteau to three successive bishop-princes of Liège. Rumpolt's *Ein new Kochbuch* (*A New Cookbook*) of 1581 drew inspiration from Hungary, Spain and Catalonia, as well as

[324] Willan, *Cookbook*, 91. *Petits Propos Culinaires* is the repository for discussion on plagiarism in cookbooks, see Jennifer Stead, 'Quizzing Glasse: or Hannah Scrutinised', *Petits Propos Culinaire*s 13 (1983), 9-24 and *Petits Propos Culinaires* 14 (1983), 17-30; Fiona Lucraft, 'The London Art of Plagiarism', *Petits Propos Culinaires* 42 (1992), 7-24 and *Petits Propos Culinaires* 43 (1993), 34-46; Stephen Mennell, 'Plagiarism and Originality — Diffusionism in the Study of the History of Cookery', *Petits Propos Culinaires* 68: (2001), 29-38; Henry Notaker, 'Comments on the Interpretation of Plagiarism', *Petits Propos Culinaires* 70 (2002), 58-66.
[325] Scully, *Bartolomeo Scappi,* 12.
[326] Anthony D. Wright, *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution* (Abingdon, 2013), 80.
[327] Elizabeth Robbins Pennell, *My Cookery Books* (Boston and New York, 1903), 86.
[328] Anon, 'Gastronomy and Gastronomers: Review of Physiologie du Gôut: ou meditations de Gastronomie Transcendente; Ouvrage Théorique, Historique et à l'ordre du jour and The French Cook by Louis Eustace Ude', *The London Quarterly Review* No. CVII, July 1835, Art. VI—I., 64. Pennell tells the same tale in *My Cookery Books*. Neither elucidate as to whether the recipient of the king's *largesse* was the chef or the person for whom the chef worked.

Italy and France (Fig. 3.3).[329] Included also are descriptions of the *placement* requirements for elite banquet tables, which include a silver fork for each guest.[330]

Fig. 3.3 Max Rumpolt *Ein New Kochbuch*, 1604 Edition.
Sold at Sotheby's Auction House in 2013 for £12,500.

Lancelot de Casteau's *Ouverture de cuisine* (*Opening the Kitchen*) of 1604 (Fig. 3.4) also reflects an international repertoire and is of particular interest as it includes three recipes 'à la mode d'Irlande'.

[329] Willan, *Cookbook*, dates Rumpolt's book as 1576. Wheaton, *Savoring,* 31, and Ken Albala, *Cooking in Europe, 1250-1650* (Connecticut, 2006), 97, both date it as 1581.
[330] Willan, *Cookbook,* 101, citing Alix Prentki, 'Repas, tables et banquets allemands' in Jean-Louis Flandrin and Jane Cobbi (eds.), *Tables d'hier, tables d'ailleurs* (Paris, 1999), 151-70. Regarding the fork, as a utensil it was not considered essential to eating and acceptance of it for this purpose, as opposed to for serving, was delayed. The Christian church had particular philosophic difficulty regarding its association with the devil. See Sarah D. Coffin, 'Historical Overview', in Coffin *et al*., *Feeding Desire: Design and the Tools of the Table 1500-2005* (New York, 2006), 14-75.

Un gigot de mouton rosty à la mode d'Irlande

A leg of mutton roasted in the Irish style

Take your leg [of mutton] and beat it well without breaking the skin, then soak it in vinegar for three or four hours; afterwards, take it from the vinegar and dry it with a cloth, and put cloves inside it and little pieces of cinnamon the length of a small finger, and lard it with a bit of sage and marjoram, and let it roast on a spit, and [be sure] to baste it well with butter and Spanish wine; being well cooked, cut two lemons into small [thin] slices and throw [toss] them into the fat [that] is in the pan, and a little vinegar, and serve thus.

Pour accoustrer un canar à la mode d'Irlande

To garnish a duck in the Irish style

Put to boil a good duck, when cooked take malvoisie,[331] new butter and take radish roots well beaten [mashed];[332] put sugar and cinnamon therein and bring to boil and cast it on to the duck and serve forth.

Pour faire de veau pellee à la mode d'Irlande

To prepare a peeled head of veal Irish style

Take a head of veal with its hairs [still on] and ensure that it is well salted, and then let it cook well; being cooked pull out the hairs [ius] by hand, then pull out the brain except the lower lobe [lit. except by below] and do it up like the other brain [?lobe]; then take two slices of [dense] bread and put the brain between [the] two slices and fry in butter; then you take prunes, raisins, dates [?] cut in two, and pine nuts and boil them with Spanish wine, sugar and cinnamon and throw over the head, and the brain fricassee around the plate and serve thus.

An account of the discovery of this long-lost book in 1958 is narrated by Herman Liebaers (1919-2010), who at the time was *Conservateur en chef* of the Royal Library

[331] 'strong, sweet vintages that came first from the eastern Mediterranean, Syrian wines, wines of Cyprus, of Crete, of Greece. They took their trade name in the North from Monemvasia in the Morea — malvoisie, malmsey', see John Clapham, *A Concise Economic History of Britain from the Earliest Times to 1750* (Cambridge, 1949), 163.

[332] Gerard comments in his herbal that Galen classifies Radish as hot in the third degree and dry in the second according to humeral theory and as providing little nourishment and best suited to sauces, 'for the most part they are used as sauce with meats to procure appetite', John Gerard, *The herbal, or, General historie of plantes,* (London, 1597), 239.

of Belgium.[333] The book was acquired by a dealer, Franz Schauwers, and sold to the Royal Library, the story ending with:

> an impressive banquet offered by the mayor of Liège at the school hall of the town, where the booklet was sitting at the head of the table and where the menu was based on the *L'Ouverture de cuisine*.[334]

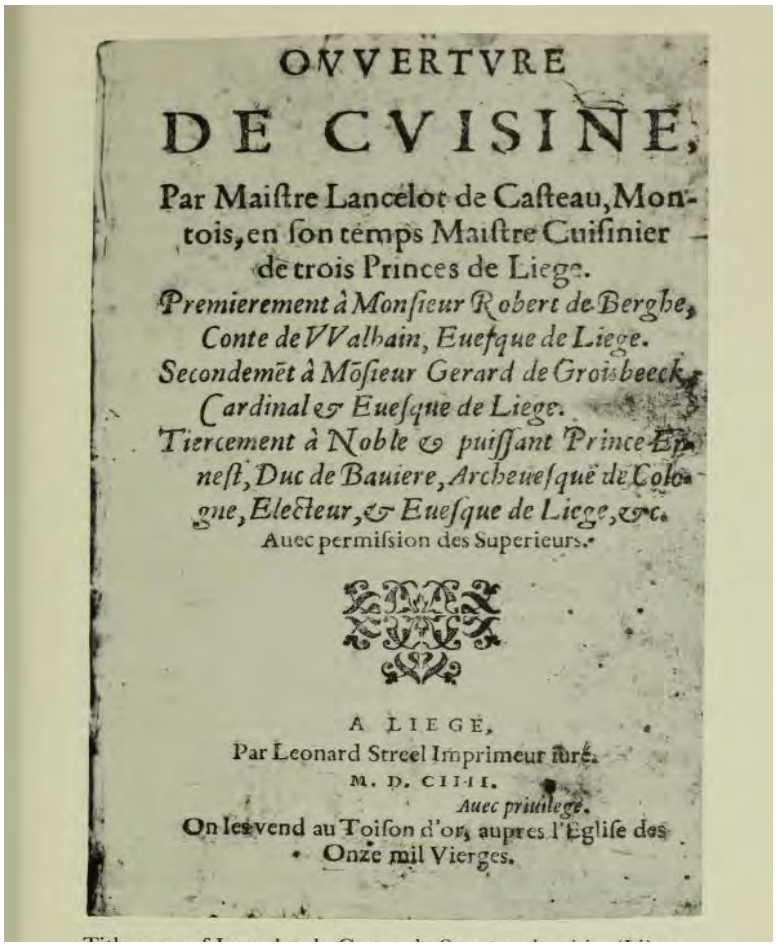
OVVERTVRE
DE CVISINE,
Par Maiſtre Lancelot de Caſteau, Montois, en ſon temps Maiſtre Cuiſinier de trois Princes de Liege.
Premierement à Monſieur Robert de Berghe, Conte de VValhain, Eueſque de Liege.
Secondemēt à Mōſieur Gerard de Groisbeeck, Cardinal & Eueſque de Liege.
Tiercement à Noble & puiſſant Prince Ernneſt, Duc de Bauiere, Archeueſquë de Cologne, Electeur, & Eueſque de Liege, &c.
Auec permiſsion des Superieurs.
A LIEGE,
Par Leonard Streel Imprimeur iuré.
M. D. CIIII.
Auec priuilege.
On les vend au Toiſon d'or, aupres l'Egliſe des Onze mil Vierges.

Fig. 3.4 Title Page, de Casteau (1604) *Ouverture de Cuisine.*

One can speculate that de Casteau arrived by these recipes, which refer back to the mid-or late-sixteenth century, through an ecclesiastical network that maintained links

[333] Herman Liebaers, *Small Talk about Great Books. Delivered on the occasion of the 7th annual Bromsen lecture, May 12th, 1979* (Boston, 1981), 3.
[334] Liebaers, *Small Talk,* 34. Wheaton, *Savouring*, 31, refers to this copy, noting that the only other recorded copy of the book was destroyed in a fire during the Napoleonic wars. Although written in French, and as such the first original book in the language, it is worth noting that de Casteau was not French and that the book was not published in France.

with post-Reformation Ireland.[335] As Pennell and DiMeo correctly point out, the recipe was and is a text that bridges languages and oceans.[336] Scully notes how Scappi frequently refers to practice in other more distant kitchens than Roman ones and we get a glimpse of professional chatter and networking when Scappi remarks of semi-salted sturgeon belly that:

> some people hold that it is made from the belly of a bigger fish than a sturgeon, of which, according to what I understand from the Steward to the Illustrious and Very Reverend Cardinal Pole of England, a great number are caught in the sea.[337]

It may also be an indication of Irish trade links along the trade route as indicated by Willan.[338] Flavin notes the presence of European style drinking utensils, including Schnellen drinking tankards from Siegburg in Germany, in excavations in Golden Lane in Dublin,[339] and the importance of the Hispano-Irish wine trade and increasing demand for luxury foodstuffs in the period when de Casteau was writing these recipes.[340] As seen above, cinnamon, cloves, and prunes feature in De Casteau's Irish recipes. The importation of cinnamon from Bristol into Ireland spiked around the mid-sixteenth century, rising from 5 lbs. to 24.5 lbs. by 1545, before tapering off almost completely by 1600.[341] Clove imports followed a strikingly similar trajectory rising from 1 lb imported in 1525 to 35 lb. imported in 1542 and again tapering off by the end of the century.[342] Flavin records prunes being imported from Bristol from 1563 when 12 lbs were imported, with a staggering increase to 4172 lbs. in 1600.[343] There is no record of dates being imported, however figs are recorded for 1550/1 (672 lbs.) with imports in only 1594/5 subsequently (112 lbs.).[344] All of these dates tally

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[335] Liam Chambers, 'A Displaced Intelligentsia: Aspects of Irish Catholic Thought in Ancien Régime France' in Thomas O' Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001), 157-175, 158.
[336] Sara Pennell and Michelle DiMeo, 'Introduction' in Pennell and DiMeo (eds.), *Reading and Writing*, 1-22, 14.
[337] Scully, *Opera*, 351 (Recipe number 206).
[338] Willan, *Cookbook*, 103.
[339] Flavin, 'Consumption and Material Culture',146. Evan Jones and Susan Flavin (eds.), *Bristol's Trade with Ireland and the Continent 1503-1601* (Dublin, 2009).
[340] *Ibid.,* 149-150.
[341] *Ibid.,* 178.
[342] *Ibid.*
[343] *Ibid.,* 194.
[344] *Ibid*.

with de Casteau's recipes.[345] The influence of religion is noted by Flavin.[346] Imports of raisins show a seasonal fluctuation that reflects their role in the Lenten period.[347] Thirsk observes that where in modern times cooks regularly put sage into onion stuffing for flavour, in the period under discussion sage was valued for sharpening and comforting the brain, regularly chopped in butter and often served at breakfast as sage butter.[348] Herbs and spices were routinely mixed in the same dish in the period, with vinegar or verjuice[349] used frequently as a foundation for broth, tempered by sugar if too sharp.[350] This is the period when what Halikowski Smith terms the 'exhibitive power of spices' can be seen to take precedence over their curative powers with their prevalence permeating the social hierarchies to different degrees.[351]

Another important point to bear in mind as the sixteenth century turns is that sugar, as a culinary ingredient, displaces many of the heavy spices associated with the medieval period.[352] Martino had been one of the first recorded cooks to use sugar in large quantities to make dishes that were specifically sweet.[353] Food as medicine, based on Galenic theory,[354] was being replaced by food as cookery, as Paraclesian medicine,[355] which switched medical perspective to treating disease retrospectively,

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[345] Willan, *Cookbook*, 103.
[346] Flavin, 'Consumption and Material Culture', 194.
[347] *Ibid.*
[348] Thirsk, *Food,* 27.
[349] 'the early juice of a particularly tart variety of grape', see Terence Scully, *The Art of Cookery in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1995), 79.
[350] *Ibid.,* 54.
[351] Stefan Halikowski Smith, 'Demystifying a Change in Taste: Spices, Space and Social Hierarchy in Europe, 1380-1750', *The International History Review,* Vol. 29, No. 2 (Jun., 2007), 237-257, 247; Vanina Leschziner and Andrew Dakin, 'Theorizing Cuisine from Medieval to Modern Times: Cognitive Structures, the Biology of Taste, and Culinary Conventions' in Mackay Reza Negarestani and Robin James (eds.), *Collapse Philosophic Research and Development Volume VII* (Falmouth, 2011), 347-376.
[352] Willan, *Cookbook*, 81.
[353] *Ibid*., 49
[354] Correct diet was essential for health and intrinsic to this were the properties of food, hot/cold, dry/wet, which when properly understood would maintain bodily 'humours' in balance; see Alan Davidson, *The Penguin Companion to Food* (London, 2002), 393.
[355] With Paraclesias food was considered in isolation from health; see Elizabeth Spiller, 'Recipes for Knowledge: Maker's Knowledge Traditions, Paraclesian Recipes and the Invention of the Cookbook, 1600-1660' in Joan Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Renaissance*

displaced Galenic practice. The old binary of hot/cold and the blending of sweet/savoury shifted under the weight of new ideas.[356] In terms of the structure of the cookbook this shift is reflected in distinct sections emerging which separate out confectionery and other culinary content from medical recipes.[357]

3.5 La Varenne and *cuisine modern*:

The integration of spices into elite dining practice was upended by the mid-seventeenth century with the publication of what is considered the seminal work in the expression of what can now be seen as a new gastronomic style, François Pierre, Sieur de La Varenne's (*ca.*1615-1678) *Le cuisinier François* (*The French cook*) of 1651.[358] La Varenne was chief cook to the Marquis d'Uxelles, Nicholas Chalon du Blé, one of the most significant French aristocrats, in social and military terms, of the period.[359] La Varenne's *opus* is divided into three sections; the first deals with general cookery, the second with pastry and batter and the third with preservation of food through the use of sugar syrup, respectively called the French Cook, French Pastry Chef and the French Confectioner.[360] *Le cuisinier François* ran to thirty editions in seventy-five years, sixty-one editions by *ca.*1754, with an English translation in 1653

Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories (Surrey, 2009), 55-72.

[356] Vanina Leschziner, 'Epistemic Foundations of Cuisine: A Socio-Cognitive Study of the Configuration of Cuisine', *Theory and Society,* Vol. 35, No. 4 (Aug. 2006) 421-443.

[357] On the evolving structure of the cookbook see Lynette Hunter, 'Cookery Books: A Cabinet of Rare Devices and Conceits', *Petits Propos Culinaires 5,* May 1980, 19-34; '"Sweet Secrets", From Occasional Receipt to Specialised Books: The Growth of a Genre' in C. Anne Wilson (ed.), *Food and Society: Banqueting Stuff. Papers from the First Leeds Symposium on Food History and Traditions* (Edinburgh, 1991), 36-59; 'Books for daily life: household, husbandry, behaviour', in John Barnard and D.F. Mc Kenzie (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume IV 1557-1695* (Cambridge, 2002), 514-532; See also Lynette Hunter on the implications for women of this separating out of domestic medicine from the culinary, 'Women and Domestic Medicine: Lady Experimenters, 1570-1620', in Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (eds.), *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society* (Gloucestershire, 1997), 89-107.

[358] Sieur de La Varenne is the assumed name of François Pierre, and the form by which he is named in the book that was his life's work.

[359] Terence Scully, *La Varenne's cookery. The French Cook; The French Pastry Chef; The French Confectioner. A Modern English Translation and Commentary* (Totnes, 2006), 14-16.

[360] There are doubts about the authorship of this third section; See Scully, *La Varenne's cookery*, 39.

(Fig. 3.5).[361] La Varenne articulated the basic *repertoire* of classic French cuisine with recipes for *bouillon, liasons, farces*, and directs how flour should be sautéed in lard in order for it to become an effective thickener, in effect a recipe for *roux*.[362] French *haute cuisine* had now established its rules and method. As Parkhurst-Ferguson observes, it was with La Varenne that a cookbook proclaimed its 'Frenchness' for the first time.[363] The fashionable diet, a modern courtly style of cooking, was now codified and shaped which ineluctably defined *haute cuisine* thereafter as French.[364]

THE 837
FRENCH COOK.
Prescribing the way of making ready of all sorts of Meats, Fish and Flesh, with the proper Sauces, either to procure Appetite, or to advance the power of Digestion.

Also the Preparation of all Herbs and Fruits, so as their naturall Crudities are by art opposed; with the whole skil of Pastry-work.

Together with a Treatise of Conserves, both dry and liquid, a la mode de France.

With an Alphabeticall Table explaining the hard words, and other usefull Tables.

Written in French by Monsieur De La Varenne, Clerk of the Kitchin to the Lord Marquesse of Uxelles, and now Englished by I. D. G.

LONDON, May 24.
Printed for Charls Adams, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Sign of the Talbot neere St. Dunstans Church in Fleetstreet, 1653.

Fig. 3.5 English edition of *Le Cuisinier François*, *The French Cook* (1653).

[361] Scully, *La Varenne's cookery,* 11; Philip and Mary Hyman 'Introduction', *The French Cook, by François Pierre, La Varenne translated into English in 1653 by I.D.G.* (Lewes, East Sussex, 1999). See also T. Sarah Peterson, *Acquired Taste: The French Origins of Modern Cooking* (Cornell, 1994).
[362] Scully, *La Varenne's cookery*, 93.
[363] Priscilla Parkhurst-Ferguson, *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine* (Chicago, 2004).
[364] Anita Guerrini, 'The English Diet: Roast beef and… Salad?', *History Today,* 61 (2), 36-43; Vanina Leschziner, 'Epistemic Foundations of Cuisine: A Socio-Cognitive Study of the Configuration of Cuisine in Historical Perspective', *Theory and Society* (2006) 35 (4), 421-433.

Following in rapid succession were books by de Bonnefons, de Lune, *L'Art de bien traiter*[365] signed by L.S.R, and Massialot, with La Chapelle's *The Modern Cook*, published in English in 1733, proclaiming the end of the old culinary world, *la cuisine ancienne,* and the start of *cuisine moderne*.[366] Leaving aside the culinary innovations in these books, what is interesting are the prefaces. A vitriolic tone is adopted that eschews any sense of collegiality with fellow practitioners, a trumpeting of culinary nationalism is now overt, and 'the social connotations of food were being made more and more explicit. Good taste, national pride and deference to the court as the fount of all fashion'.[367]

3.6 Friar Raimundo Gómez and Vincenzo Corrado:

Before crossing the Channel to view the situation in England, two authors, both monks, are noteworthy in the context of the influence of those working under and within the sponsorship of religious orders.[368] In 1745 Friar Raimundo Gómez (*ca.* 1690-1769) a Franciscan monk, published *Nuevo arte de cocina* (*New art of cooking*),[369] under the *nom de plume* of Juan Altamiras. Albala notes that as a result of Bourbon influence, dining fashions amongst the court and elite of Spain followed French fashion in this period but that Altamiras' book provides evidence that regionally distinct Spanish cuisine survived at lower social levels.[370] Bourdieu's observation that 'taste classifies' is pertinent regarding Albala's noting that Altamiras' use of cinnamon and sugar is an indication of the slide down the social

[365] The title roughly translates to *The Art of Good Hosting*.
[366] Mennell, *All Manners*, 77; Sean Takats, *The Expert Cook in Enlightenment France* (Baltimore, 2011), 95. Although as Mennell also points out this *cuisine modern* was not as disruptive as it seemed as the food was equally a continuation of the courtly tradition, see Mennell, *All Manners*, 83.
[367] Mennell, *All Manners,* 74.
[368] It is worth noting that in Mexico, the earliest recipe book is that of a Franciscan, *Libero de Cocina del Hermano Fr. Gerónimo de San Pelayo* (1780), which in its turn incorporates older recipes from a Fray Daniel; see Rene B. Javanella, 'Global Exchange: Glimpses of an 18th Century Colonial Kitchen in Manilla', *Kritika Kultura* 24, 2015, 36-88.
[369] Juan Altamiras, *Nuevo arte de cocina (New art of cooking)* (Madrid, 1745). The book went through several reprints. The 1850 edition is available on Google Books, https://books.google.ie/books?id=wxAswsJP2fsC&redir_esc=y
[370] Ken Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe* (Westport CT., 2003), 150. Altamiras' recipes are drawn from his Aragonese background.

scale of these ingredients, as the nobility had long abandoned them.[371] The book is a trove of social commentary and observation. In one instance Altamiras remarks that monks love the sweet flavours, another time observing that it is permitted to smack the lips in a particular instance, as the dish is so delicious.[372] Day notes the monk's humour when instructing how to cook trout with bacon and meat dripping — this cooking method being contrary to Lenten dietary regulations — however the dish appears to be intended for those days when such regulations did not apply.[373]

Corrado (1738-1836) was a Benedictine monk in the Celestine monastery of S. Pier a Majella in Naples. As a twenty year old he was chosen to accompany the Father-General of his order on a three year tour of the Celestine houses of Italy, in effect a religious version of the Grand Tour.[374] As David observes, Corrado would have availed of this opportunity to enjoy the best hospitality that would have been offered by the religious houses to their guests. Père Labat (1663-1738), a French Dominican monk, had previously passed comment on the refined and inventive cookery of the religious houses of Italy.[375] David also recounts how Sir Charles and Lady Miller on their tour over the Apennines from Bologna to Florence in 1770 'took the precaution of obtaining a letter from the Cardinal Legate to the Superior of a convent of White Benedictines in the mountains', where they were served, amongst other courses, 'a fry *très recherché* after the Italian ecclesiastical manner'.[376] Lady Miller remarked in correspondence that 'you know the church in all countries inclines to good fare'.[377] As David notes, religious houses were known in particular for their confectionery skills, their candied fruits and marmalades, and for their skill in cultivating fruit and vegetables.[378] David draws on Dr. John Moore's memoirs of travelling in Italy for descriptions of the prowess of the sisters at San Gregorio in

[371] Bourdieu, *Distinction,* 6. The full quotation, 'taste classifies and classifies the classifier', opens up the discussion to wider issues of snobbery, which Bourdieu explores in the context of bourgeois France.
[372] Albala, *Food,* 150.
[373] Ivan Day, Food History Jottings, The Grand Feast, 15 Dec. 2015, http://foodhistorjottings.blogspot.ie
[374] Elizabeth David, *Harvest of the Cold Months: The Social History of Ice and Ices* (London, 1994), 169.
[375] *Ibid.,* 186.
[376] *Ibid.,* 169-170.
[377] *Ibid.,* 170.
[378] *Ibid.,* 169.

fashioning ices disguised as roasted birds, fish and flesh meat.[379] The Kingdom of Naples was fortunate in appearing to have the ability to combine French culture and manners with a strong sense of native gastronomy. It is from within this environment and with his background of educated travel that Corrado produced several important culinary works. *Il cuoco galante* (*The Courteous Cook*) was published in 1773,[380] running to several editions and remaining in print until 1830. This work followed an emerging trend in cookbooks, that of popularising elite cookery for a bourgeois audience, a trend observed by Lehmann who notes how the baroque style of writers such as Nott and Lamb[381] of the early eighteenth century was adapted for the kitchens of the gentry, and moved 'down the social scale to form a chain of emulation'.[382] Corrado also published *Il Credenziere di Buon Gusto* (*The Steward of Good Taste)* (1778) and *Vitto Pitagorico* (*Vegetarian Food*)[383] (1781) — an early vegetarian book that includes twelve recipes for tomatoes.[384] Corrado was also chef to Michele Imperiali, Prince of Francavilla, and a noted gourmet of his time.[385] Subsequent to the

[379] Dr. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy,* Vol. II (London, 1781), 311. Dr. Moore was a Scottish doctor who travelled extensively on the Continent and an astute observer and recorder of detail, see Henry L. Fulton, *Dr. John Moore 1729-1802: A Life in Medicine, Travel, and Revolution* (Newark, 2015). Unfortunately Dr. Moore does not contribute any information on Ireland.

[380] David, *Harvest*, 165. This is at variance with the information on the website of Academia Barilla which dates the first edition as being 1778, http://www.academiabarilla.com/the-italian-food-academy/digital-gastronomic-library/cuoco-galante-opera-m .

[381] John Nott, *The Cook's and Confectioner's Dictionary* (London, 1723); Patrick Lamb, *Royal Cookery or the Complete Court-Cook* (London, 1716). Both books drew heavily on Massialot's *The Court and Country Cook* (London, 1702), translated from the French.

[382] Lehmann, *British Housewife*, 281.

[383] The direct translation is Pythagorian life, a reference to the philosophy of vegetarianism espoused by Pythagoras.

[384] Francesco Leonardi, *L'Apicio modern* (Naples, 1790) combines the tomato and pasta in a recipe still in use in Naples today. Leonardi was chef to the empress of Russia, Catherine the Great. In 1839, Ippolito Calvalcanti, Duke of Bonvicino published *La Cucina teorico-practica* (*Practical theoretical cooking*) and also married the tomato with pasta. See also David DeWitt, *Precious Cargo: How Food from the Americas changed the World* (Berkley, 2014). De Witt notes how the Celestine nuns of Trani, nuns in Catania in Sicily and other Benedictine orders were developing new recipes using tomatoes which suggests that Corrado's book was circulating among the convents and monasteries of southern Italy, 173.

[385] Anna del Conte, 'The Taste of Naples in the Eighteenth Century', in Tom Jaine (ed.), *Taste: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1987* (London, 1988), 57-58. Del Conte frequently uses recipes from Corrado in her books,

suppression of the religious orders in Naples in 1806 Corrado also worked as a teacher.[386] Corrado's other work that is of interest here is his 1798 treatise, *Trattato delle patate per uso do cibo*, a treatise on the use of the potato as food.[387] Gentilcore remarks that Corrado's descriptor of his work as a treatise is either pretentious or a sign of commitment or both.[388] Regardless, his aim in the treatise, no doubt heavily influenced by Parmentier's treatise of 1789,[389] was to provide recipes 'to make them of more uses in cooking, in imitation of the peoples over the seas and over the mountains'.[390]

3.7 English Cookery Books:

That English cookbook writers and their readers were aware of, and reacting in their various ways to the development of different styles of cuisine in France is demonstrated by Jonathan Swift (1667-1745). *Directions to Servants* is an unfinished work by Swift published after his death.[391] The work reads as a cynical rant spoken in the voice of an ex-footman and follows in format the instruction manuals of the period.[392] What is particularly interesting and feeds directly into witnessing attitudes towards La Varenne and culinary nationalism is one particular instruction given in the manual. To the cook Swift issues the following advice, 'if a lump of soot falls into the soup and you cannot conveniently get it out, stir it well in and it will give the soup a high *French* (sic) taste'.[393] Herbert in her *Retrospections* paints the scene from the other side of the social architecture of the house, indicating that this occurrence was a

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a testament to their modern simplicity of style; see Anna Del Conte, *Amaretto, Apple Cake and Artichokes* (London, 2012).

[386] From when Napoleon conquered Naples in 1806 to when the Kingdom was regained by Ferdinand IV, over thirteen hundred religious houses were dissolved in the kingdom; see Desmond Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy* (London, 2001), 127.

[387] David Gentilcore, *Italy and the Potato: A History, 1550-2000* (London, 2012), 53.

[388] *Ibid.*

[389] Antoine-Auguste Parmentier, *Traité sur la culture et les usages des Pommes de terre, de la Patate, et du Topinambour. Treatise on the Culture and Use of the Potato, Sweet Potato, and Jerusalem Artichoke* (Paris, 1789).

[390] Vincenzo Corrado cited in David Gentilcore, *Italy and the Potato: A History, 1550-2000* (London, 2012), 53.

[391] Claude Rawson, 'Jonathan Swift' in Claude Rawson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to English Poets* (Cambridge, 2011), 213-234, 221.

[392] Swift's *Directions* are quoted in Samuel and Sarah Adams *The Complete Servant* of 1825 as an exemplar of what not to do.

[393] Jonathan Swift, *Directions to Servants* (London, 1745), 40.

hazard of the time, when cooking was done using open fires (Fig. 3.6).[394] Herbert tells us that Mr Roe

> returned with the melancholy news that the Round of Beef Et Cætra had been render'd uneatable by the Soot falling from the Chimney—this made us all quite Cross as our Jaunt had given us appetites, but we were forced to wait until Eight Oclock for another dinner (sic).[395]

Fig. 3.6 Spit Roasting a Sirloin of Beef, Ivan Day's Georgian Cookery Course. (Source: Author's collection)

Recipe 48 for *Chimney-Soot Ramekin* of La Varenne's *The French Cook* reads as follows, 'when your bread is a little over half-sautéed in a pan in butter or oil, sprinkle soot on it, along with salt and a lot of pepper. Serve it hot'.[396] Far from being a casual

[394] On roasting meat before an open fire see Rachel Field, *Irons in the Fire: A History of Cooking Equipment* (Wiltshire, 1984), 44-69.
[395] Herbert, *Retrospections,* 245. See also Augustus Hare (ed.), *The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth Vol. II* (Boston and New York, 1895), 507, 576, where Maria Edgeworth tells of a chimney fire at the family home in Edgeworthstown and one at the Martin's of Ballinahinch.
[396] Scully, *La Varenne,* 210.

jibe, Swift's observation is arguably based on a critical understanding of La Varenne's cookery and the culinary jingoism of the period.[397] Swift had a copy of Platina in his library, read Rabelais, Racine, Montaigne and Molière. He also had a copy of Bradley's (1688-1732) *Treatise on Husbandry and Gardening* and consulted Markham's (1568?-1637) works on husbandry for *Gulliver's Travels*.[398] What cannot be established is whether Swift had a copy of La Varenne. As noted above the recording of ownership of cookbooks is lax, often seen in gendered terms. In Maclean's *Short-Title Catalogue* in the entry for Verral's *A complete system of cookery* of 1759, a footnote provides the information that the British Library holds two copies of the work; the first inscribed 'Elizabeth Chapman Her cookery Book 1760', the second, not inscribed, but containing copious notes by Thomas Grey, the poet.[399] It seems entirely plausible that given the status of cookbooks in the pantheon of literary works that male ownership was not recorded.

English cookery books follow a different trajectory to French ones.[400] Where French books represented *haute cuisine*, English books are noteworthy for the breadth of their market appeal.[401] From the sixteenth century, when the books speak to elite and gentry households, to the eighteenth century when the range of their appeal spans high art luxury productions to cheap works aimed at the socially aspirant lower middle class and their servants, what can be heard is a cacophony of voices. The print market was crowded and cookery books had to compete to make themselves necessary. Sherman correctly identifies an implicit contract between reader and writer in the fact that cooking was 'presented as a challenge worthy of trepidation on the reader's part, but not so hard that it cannot be taught'.[402] Lehmann argues for a quantitative analysis of cookbooks, as pioneered by Flandrin, in order to trace trends

[397] See Dorothy Cashman, ''Stir it well in, it will give it a High French Taste': The relationship with French culinary influence in 18th and 19th century Ireland'. A paper delivered at the Dublin Gastronomy Symposium, June 2012.
[398] D. Passman and H. Vienken, *The Library and Reading of Jonathan Swift's Library*, in 4 Volumes (Frankfort-am-Main, 2003). On Gervase Markham and Ireland see also Michael R. Best (ed.), *Gervase Markham, The English Housewife* (Montreal & Kingston, 1986), xi-xxii; Andrew Carpenter, *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland* (Cork, 2003), 108-9. Markham served in Ireland as a soldier.
[399] Virginia Maclean, *Short-Title catalogue,* 146.
[400] Mennell, *All Manners,* 83-101.
[401] *Ibid*.,95.
[402] Sandra Sherman, *Invention*, 40.

lost in a narrower focus and there is much merit in this approach. Her argument appears to be aimed at reconciling the viewpoints of Mennell, who believes that the real questions are being neglected by researchers in the search to track individual recipes, and Notaker who argues that it is precisely this knowledge that is necessary before any analysis or argument can take place about what was happening in a particular period.[403] As Thomas points out, most scholars fall on either side of a divide, they are either 'lumpers' or 'splitters', and culinary history does not appear to be exempt from this drive.[404] In a similar vein, Powell points to the dangers inherent for historians of consumption when their research 'becomes little more than the counting of bonnets'.[405] In the context of the culinary history of the island of Ireland of the Georgian period, much of the groundwork is still being laid — arguably many 'bonnets' must be counted before a clear perspective can be achieved.

3.8 An Irish Presence in English Cookery Books:

In 1744 an anonymous collection of cookery recipes and gardening advice was published in London. *Adam's Luxury, and Eve's Cookery: or, the Kitchen-Garden display'd* is an accessible combination of two prescriptive texts (Fig. 3.7).[406] The first part has an alphabetical listing of fruit and vegetables with a schedule of work in the garden to be followed according to the months of the year. The second part is devoted to an alphabetical list of vegetables and fruit with accompanying recipes, followed by a section on soups 'made with kitchen-garden stuff' and a few miscellaneous recipes 'which could not properly come under any of the foregoing heads'. In the section titled 'Receipts to dress Potatoes' the author informs that:

> The Irish have several ways of eating them: the poorer sort eat them with Salt only, after they are boil'd; others with butter and salt, but most with

[403] Lehmann, 'Reading' in DiMeo and Pennell (eds.) *Reading and Writing,* 96.
[404] Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2009), 6. The phrase was coined by Jack Hexter in an argument with Christopher Hill, to distinguish between those historians, lumpers, who make broad sweeping generalisations, noting likenesses, where the splitters like to point out divergences, and difference. See John Gerring, *Social Science Methodology: A Criterial Framework* (Cambridge, 2001), 24.
[405] Powell, *The Politics of Consumption,* 2.
[406] C. Anne Wilson 'Introduction' in C. Anne Wilson *'The Country House Kitchen Garden 1600-1950: How Produce Was Grown and How It Was Used* (2010[1998], History Publishing Group EBook), 13.

> Milk and Sugar. Also, when they can get a Piece of Pork, Bacon, or Salt Beef, they account it excellent with boiled Potatoes.[407]

Sugar was a luxury commodity so 'the most with Milk and Sugar' referred to are undoubtedly members of the gentry. The manuscript cookbook of Mrs Charles Fitzgerald[408] has a recipe for potato pudding that makes heavy use of sugar, which from other recipes of the period does not seem unusual.[409] The same manuscript has a recipe for 'barrin brack', a recipe for which this researcher has not found in any printed books of the period.[410] In his book of 1699 Evelyn also refers to the fact that after 'roasting the root under the embers, or otherwise, open'd with a knife, the pulp is butter'd in the skin, of which it will make up a good quantity, and is seasoned with a little salt and pepper. Some eat them with sugar together in the skin, which has a pleasant crimpness'.[411]

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[407] Anon., *Adam's Luxury, and Eve's Cookery: or, the Kitchen-Garden display'd,* (London, 1744), 164.

[408] Manuscript Receipt Book of Mrs. Charles Fitzgerald 1796, New York Public Library, MssCol 1018. Mrs. Fitzgerald appears to be the wife of the younger brother of the notorious George Robert Fitzgerald, a reckless duelist of the period. Involved in numerous quarrels and family disputes he was found guilty of murder and hanged in Castlebar, Co. Mayo in 1786. The present Turlough Park replaced the family residence in 1865. The house was purchased by Mayo Co. Council in 1991 and the Museum of Country Life is housed on the grounds.

[409] Richard Bradley, *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director* (London, 1727) and Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy* (London, 1747) both provide recipes that specify the white potato as opposed to the sweet potato; see Willan, *Cookbooks*, 226. John Evelyn has a recipe for potato pie in his manuscript book of recipes dating to the mid-seventeenth century that is decidedly medieval in its use of cinnamon, ambergrece, rosewater and musk. See Christopher Driver (ed.), *John Evelyn, Cook* (Totnes, 1997).

[410] Variants of the recipe and of the spelling for it do appear in the manuscripts, for example 'Barn Break' which was drawn to my attention by Malcolm Thick in a manuscript in his possession of *ca.*1750-1800, belonging to a Mrs. Buchan which appears to be of Co. Offaly origin. Dinneen's *Irish-English Dictionary* states that '*bairín* is a cake of bread or food in general, "*bairghean breac"*, "barm brack" or "barn brack", the current cake used on Hallow Eve' and '*breac*, speckled'. Barm derives from the leaven used, an ale barm. The linguistic complications involved in the etymology of culinary usage are explored by William Sayers in *Eatymologies: Historical Notes on Culinary Terms* (London, 2015).

[411] John Evelyn, *Acetaria. A Discourse of Sallets* (London, 1699). Facsimile Edition (Totnes, 2005 [1996]), 103.

ADAM's LUXURY,

AND

EVE's COOKERY;

OR, THE

Kitchen-Garden diſplay'd.

In Two Parts.

I. Shewing the beſt and moſt approved Methods of raiſing and bringing to the greateſt Perfection, all the Products of the Kitchen-Garden; with a Kalendar ſhewing the different Products of each Month, and the Buſineſs proper to be done in it.

II. Containing a large Collection of RECEIPTS for dreſſing all Sorts of Kitchen Stuff, ſo as to afford a great Variety of cheap, healthful, and palatable Diſhes.

To which is Added,

The Phyſical Virtues of every Herb and Root.

Deſigned for the Uſe of all who would live Cheap, and preſerve their Health to old Age; particularly for Farmers and Tradeſmen in the Country, who have but ſmall Pieces of Garden Ground, and are willing to make the moſt of it.

LONDON:

Printed for R. DODSLEY, in *Pall-Mall*; and Sold by M. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noſter Row*.

MDCCXLIV.

Fig. 3.7 Frontispiece *Adam's Luxury and Eve's Cookery* (London, 1744).

Somewhere in the intervening years between Evelyn's observation on the potato in 1699 and those in *Adam's Luxury* in 1744, this practice appears to have become associated with Ireland. Potatoes were referenced in English recipe books from the early seventeenth century, only really being established as a viable crop towards the turn of the eighteenth century. Thirsk narrates how the first tubers did not thrive in England when initially brought in by seafarers in the later sixteenth century, unlike Ireland where they arrived at the same time.[412] It was while campaigning in Ireland in the early 1650s that English soldiers saw fields under cultivation with the crop and imported specimens of these better acclimatised cultivars back home to Lancashire and Somerset, and by 1711 they had spread to London.[413] In a book published in 1732

[412] Thirsk, *Food*, 102-3.

[413] *Ibid.,* 102-3, 139-142. One of the difficulties in the early recipes is distinguishing whether the recipe refers to *Solanum tuberosum*, or *Ipomoea batatas*, the sweet potato. John Gerard refers to the *Solanum* in his *Herbal* as a Virginian potato to distinguish it from the sweet variety. See Gerard, *The herbal;*

several descriptions of how potatoes are 'dressed' in Ireland are provided — fried or stewed with onions pepper and salt, with a little ale, or small beer and water, or baked with herrings, sweet herbs, pepper and salt, vinegar and water, 'which dish is not a little admired by those who told me of it'.[414]

As strongly associated with Ireland as potatoes, certainly from the nineteenth century onwards, is Irish stew.[415] As a recipe it is largely absent from both manuscript and printed cookbook. It features in Eliza Melroe's book of 1798, the title of which may account for the lack of record of the dish — *An economical, and new method of cookery; describing upwards of eighty cheap, wholesome, and nourishing dishes*. The recipe is preceded with the statement that, 'the following receipts have been put into the writer's hands, by some ladies and gentlemen, who are well-wishers to the work' and the recipe is as follows:

William Edwin Safford, 'The potato of romance and of reality', *Journal of Heredity,* Numbers 4-6 (Washington, 1925); Redcliffe N. Salaman, William Glynn Burton, *The History and Social Influence of the Potato* (Cambridge, 1989 [1945]); Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire and Pádraig Óg Gallagher, 'The Potato in Irish Cuisine and Culture', *Journal of Culinary Science and Technology,* Vol. 7, Issue 2-3, 152-167; Sara Pennell, 'Recipes and reception: tracking "New World" foodstuffs in early modern British culinary texts, c.1650-1750' in *Food and History*, The Columbian Exchange, Vol. 7, No. 1, 11-33. Pennell provides a selected appendix that gives information on potato and chocolate in print and manuscript recipe collections. To be added to this is *Adam's Luxury and Eve's Cookery,* which as noted is particularly valuable in an Irish context. The Prussian King, Frederick the Great (1712-1786), was an avid promoter of the tuber, issuing fifteen decrees regarding the cultivation of the potato as a foodstuff. An exhibition entitled '*König & Kartoffel. Friedrich der Große und die preußischen Tartuffoli*, King and Potato, Frederick the Great and the Prussian Tartuffoli', was held in Potsdam, July-October 2012, to mark the association. *Tartuffoli* was the name given to the potato in Italy.

[414] Anon., *Two new and curious essays… And a discourse concerning ways of preparing and dressing potatoes for the table* (London, 1732), 51. See also T. Sadlier (ed.), (1920) *An Irish peer on the continent (1801-1803), being a narrative of the tour of Stephen, 2nd Earl Mount Cashel through France Italy etc. as related by Catherine Wilmot* (London, 1920), 81 where there is an amusing description of a breakfast in Paris of potatoes in fifty different guises in honour of Lady Mount Cashel, 43; Herbert, *Retrospections* (Dublin, 2004), 43 who gives evidence that even within Ireland, country people were accused by their grander Dublin relatives of being from the 'Land of Potatoes'.

[415] J. H. Ogden (ed.), *Gems of Ould Ireland Edited by J.H. Ogden The Celebrated Irish Singer* (London, 1860), 56, 69, 70, where there are constant cheers for 'some real Irish stew'.

1st Irish Stew

> Take fat mutton chops, any quantity, for example, two pounds, potatoes from four to six pounds, washed and scraped; onions or leeks, a proportionate quantity; pepper and salt a sufficiency; stew the above with a small quantity of water, in a vessel close covered. Note—it makes a very cheap, wholesome, nourishing dish, which, I hope every family will be acquainted with, and this intimation rendered unnecessary—On the same principle, legs of beef, ox-cheek, or the fat sinewy parts of meat may be cooked.[416]

It is one of a set of nineteen recipes, which include a mess-soup for marines, a recipe for feeding the poor in Herefordshire in 1795, a good potage for the poor, two cottage puddings of potatoes, a marrow pudding with potatoes, and salt herrings and potatoes mashed. The book is priced at '2s.6d, or six for 10s. 6d. if purchased by Clubs of the laboring Poor, or intended for their Use' (Fig. 3.8).[417] As Oxford notes the collection is more properly described as a pamphlet, of ninety-four pages, and was in fact one of several issued at the time owing to the scarcity of bread.[418] Melroe is listed in a *Biographical Dictionary* of 1816 of living authors of Great Britain and Ireland,[419] other than that there is no biographical information regarding the author.

Mollard has a recipe for 'Cutlets *à la* Irish Stew' in his collection — *The Art of Cookery made Easy and Refined* of 1801, which includes mushroom powder and beaten mace, parsley and thyme.[420] Mollard describes himself as one of the proprietors of the Freemasons' Tavern, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and his audience are 'noblemen, gentlemen and tradesmen' who wish for directions to furnish their tables.[421] In 1890, Marie Anne de Bovet, later Marie Anne Marchioness Deschamps

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[416] Eliza Melroe, *An economical, and new method of cookery; describing upwards of eighty cheap, wholesome, and nourishing dishes* (London, 1798), 58.
[417] *Ibid.,* frontispiece.
[418] Arnold Oxford, *English Cookery Books to the Year 1850* (London, 1913), 125.
[419] Anon, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1816), 231.
[420] John Mollard, *The Art of Cookery made Easy and Refined* (London, 1801), 53.
[421] Ibid., frontispiece. Ivan Day notes that Mollard was the first to give a recipe for twelfth night cake, although it is frequently mentioned in literary and historical records. This innovative approach may have led him to elevate the status of Irish stew and include it in his book, see Ivan Day http://foodhistorjottings.blogspot.ie/2013/11/towards-true-twelfth-cake.html

de Bois Herbert, spent three months touring Ireland. Writing of dinner in the Mullarkey Hotel in Westport she comments that:

> after we had one of those abominable soups of pepper and cloves, of which the secret is shared between England and Ireland, the rest of the dinner was brought in *en bloc* in accordance with the custom that will have everything eaten together. Two legs of mutton, roasted to a turn, and swimming in a delicious gravy—the only triumph of Irish cookery—were put at one end of the table.[422]

Discussion surrounding Irish stew is controversial and this is not intended to be a history of the dish. There is a strong case that the dish in question was an Irish stew, although perhaps a hotel version, hence the use of the word roasted.[423] Theodora Fitzgibbon disapproved of the practice of the stew being served with too much liquid.[424] NLI MS 14,786 gives a recipe for an 'Irish stew of mutton' which is very close to Melroe's, with the added *caveat* that as the mutton, onions and potatoes are 'all put down together, the potatoes must be taken out first, as they burst'.[425] Arguably

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[422] Madam de Bovet, *Three Months Tour in Ireland,* translated and condensed by Mrs. Arthur Waller (London, 1891), 220. The dinner also included potatoes boiled in their jackets and an appetizing ham studded with cloves.

[423] Recipes become more frequent as the nineteenth century progresses into the twentieth century. Alex Soyer, *The Modern Housewife* (New York, 1850), 178, provides a recipe and remarks that he is fond of an Irish stew, that he always recommends it to his friends and sometimes adds a bay leaf. Robert H. Christie, *Banquets of the Nations: Eighty-six dinners characteristic and typical each of its own country* (Edinburgh, 1911), xxii, remarks that he had discovered with consternation that the appetising and satisfying Irish stew had its creation in another land. He is perhaps referring to the Spanish *olla podrida* or the Dutch *hus* pot stews. See also Marnell *et al, All in the Cooking Book*, 61, who advise breast of mutton or gigot chops; Florence Irwin, *The Cookin' Woman* (Edinburgh, [1949] 1992) who explains that 'when a sheep or pig was killed at the 'big house' the griskin, spare-ribs, or scrag end of the neck of mutton was shared with the peasants', 70; Maura Laverty, *Feasting Galore: Recipes and Food Lore from Ireland* (New York, 1961), 87, who advises in this American edition that the original Irish Stew was made with spare ribs; Myrtle Allen, *The Ballymaloe Cookbook* (Ireland, 1977), 78, who highlights the controversy surrounding whether carrots should be added. See also Colman Andrews, *The Country Cooking of Ireland* (San Francisco, 2009), 165; John Farrelly (2016) 'Irish Stew: A Social and Culinary History' (Dublin Institute of Technology, unpublished M.Sc. thesis).

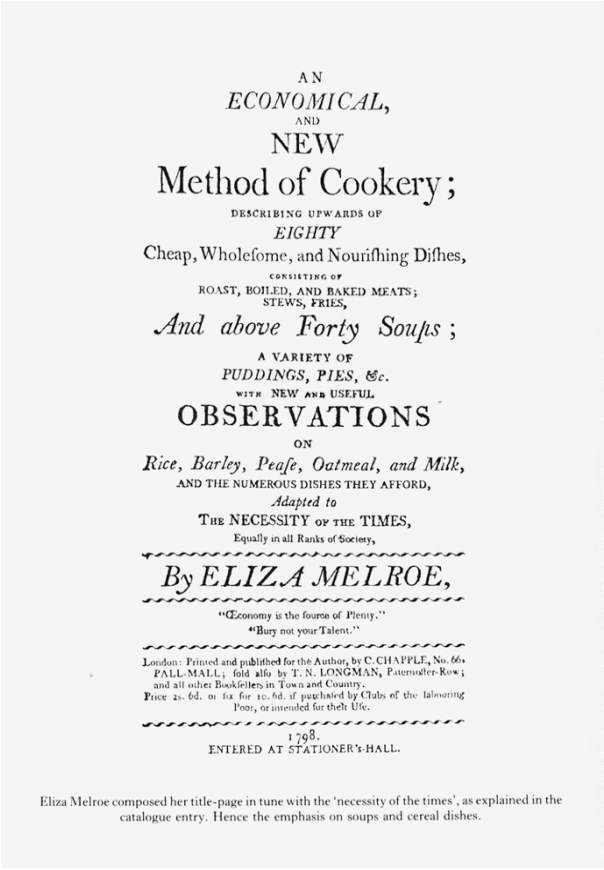
[424] Theodora Fitzgibbon, *Irish Traditional Food* (London, 1984), 117.

[425] Inchiquin Papers, NLI MS 14,786, a collection of domestic recipes and medical prescriptions dated 1753; also in the Inchiquin Papers NLI MS 14,887, compiled in the early eighteenth century by Elizabeth, Countess of Thomond, wife of Henry O'Brien, 8th earl of Thomond.

the most comprehensive recipe in either manuscript or printed form is that given in *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* by Margaret Dods. The level of detail concerning the cooking of the stew provided stands the test of time:

> …..It must *stove* very slowly, and the pan must be closely and constantly covered. [Some cooks wrap an old napkin round the stew-pan lid, which forms a sort of *luting* in dressing this and other dishes. There is a kind of cottage oven, used in Ireland, in form of a wide stew-pan, made of cast iron, with a lid of the same thickness, on which embers of turf are put. This is placed over other embers; and an equal slow heat is maintained, which dresses a stew. Bakes a pudding, or a bit of meat and is found very useful at other times as a cottage pot]…[426]

Melroe also described the pot above, pointing out that it could also be used for baking and noting that it was also in general use in Cornwall.[427]



AN
ECONOMICAL,
AND
NEW
Method of Cookery;
DESCRIBING UPWARDS OF
EIGHTY
Cheap, Wholeſome, and Nouriſhing Diſhes,
CONSISTING OF
ROAST, BOILED, AND BAKED MEATS;
STEWS, FRIES,
And above Forty Soups;
A VARIETY OF
PUDDINGS, PIES, &c.
WITH NEW AND USEFUL
OBSERVATIONS
ON
Rice, Barley, Peaſe, Oatmeal, and Milk,
AND THE NUMEROUS DISHES THEY AFFORD,
Adapted to
THE NECESSITY OF THE TIMES,
Equally in all Ranks of Society,
By ELIZA MELROE,
"Œconomy is the ſource of Plenty."
"Bury not your Talent."
London: Printed and publiſhed for the Author, by C. CHAPPLE, No. 66,
PALL-MALL; ſold alſo by T. N. LONGMAN, Paternoſter-Row;
and all other Bookſellers in Town and Country.
Price 2s. 6d. or ſix for 10. 6d. if purchaſed by Clubs of the laboring
Poor, or intended for their Uſe.
1798.
ENTERED AT STATIONER'S-HALL.

Eliza Melroe composed her title-page in tune with the 'necessity of the times', as explained in the catalogue entry. Hence the emphasis on soups and cereal dishes.

Fig. 3.8 Eliza Melroe (1789) *An Economical and New Method of Cookery*.

[426] Margaret Dods, *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* (Edinburgh, 1826), 91. The frontispiece notes that as well as being sold in Edinburgh, London and Glasgow the book was also sold in Dublin through John Cumming.
[427] Melroe, *Economical,* 74.

Another dish attributed to Ireland that circulated freely through the printed cookbook was a recipe for *Tripe à la Kilkenny*. The first appearance of the dish was in the 1784 edition of Glasse's *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Simple*, and was subsequently used in Briggs' *The English Art of Cookery* of 1788.[428] Farley, a notorious plagiariser, also featured it in his book of 1785, although it seems unwarranted to accuse him of plagiarism in this instance.[429] It is important to note that the editions of Glasse's book subsequent to 1755 were printed when Glasse was no longer in control of the text as she had been declared bankrupt in 1754.[430] The appearance of the recipe in later editions of all three authors, most especially in the case of Glasse, suggests that the publishers may have been exercising some control over content. The *Art of Cookery* had six editions printed in Dublin, with the title changing in 1753 to *The New Art of Cookery*.[431] Another work by Glasse, *The compleat confectioner, or the whole art of confectionery made plain and easy*, went to print in London in *ca.*1760, with an edition which combined *the new art of brewing* going to print in Dublin in 1762.[432]

3.9 Early American Cookbooks:

At the turn of the century, in 1796, two years before Eliza Melroe published her recipe for Irish stew, the first American authored cookbook was published. *American Cookery* by Amelia Simmons was published in Hartford, Connecticut and put in print for the first time dishes that reflected American produce. As Willan notes, colonial families kept commonplace books in which recipes were recorded, just as in England

[428] Hannah Glasse (1708-1770), *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy* (London, 1784), 25; Richard Briggs' *The English Art of Cookery* (London, 1788), 310.
[429] John Farley, *The London Art of Cookery* (London, 1783), 96. See Lucroft, 'Plagiarism ', and 'Plagiarism, Part Two'.
[430] Preface to facsimile edition of Glasse, *The Art of Cookery* (London, 1983). For a sense of what bankruptcy involved in the period in the case of Ireland see Jonathan Bardon, *Hallelujah, The Story of a Musical Genius* (Dublin, 2015), 14-20.
[431] See Appendix One.
[432] See Maclean, *Short-title catalogue*, 61. Shanahan in *Manuscript Recipe Books*, 28, incorrectly states that the Dublin edition is the earliest known edition. See also Alistair H. T. Robb-Smith, 'Doctors at Table', *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 224, No.1, April 1973, 28-34. Robb-Smith observes that the year 1762 was misprinted as MDCCXLII (1742), see Maclean, *Short-title catalogue*, 62. On Glasse see Lehmann, *British Housewife*, 108-114.

and Ireland.[433] Martha Washington's manuscript, *A Booke of Cookery* and *A Booke of Sweetmeats*, was kept by her from 1749 until 1799, when she passed it over to her granddaughter, Nelly Custis.[434] Transcribed by Hess in 1981, the manuscript has been published with extensive notes and annotations.[435] The manuscript reflects the *cusine* brought over by the settlers, what Hess denotes 'the mother cuisine'.[436] However the printed cookbooks reflect the differences in climate, soil and regional social differences that result in recipes for baked beans, chowder, soft gingerbreads, pumpkin pie, turkey with cranberry sauce and boiled Indian puddings. Simmons introduced words that would have been unknown to her English contemporaries — 'shortening' as a term for fat and 'cookies' for biscuits reflecting Dutch influence.

Willan points out that the inclusion of New World foods in the printed cookbooks reflects 'ample evidence that colonial settlers learned from Native Americans how to handle them in their new home'.[437] American writers would progress to express distinctive regional cooking styles with Emerson's *New-England Cookery* (1808), Randolph's *The Virginia Housewife: or, Methodical Cook* (1824),[438] Rutledge's *The Carolina Housewife* (1847) being examples. Emerson's book is evidence that the practice of plagiarism successfully crossed the Atlantic, as her book is effectively Simmons' book retitled. However, by the middle of the nineteenth century a cohort of distinctively American cookbooks existed side by side with reprints of English authored ones.[439] The impetus for the articulation of that distinctively American voice sprang from two sources, the experience of new world

[433] Willan, *Cookbook*, 233. Difficult to define precisely, a commonplace book is where the owner records notable extracts from published works and occurences of personal importance.
[434] Karen Hess (transcribed and commentary), *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery* (Columbia, 1995 [1981]), 3.
[435] See also Karen Hess, 'Thomas Jefferson's Table: Evidence and Influences' in Damon Lee Fowler (ed.), *Dining at Monticello* (North Carolina, 2005), 65-70; Mary V. Thompson, ' "That hospitable mansion", Welcoming Guests at Mount Vernon', in Stephen A. McLeod (ed.), 'Dining with the Washingtons: Historic Recipes, Entertainment, and Hospitality from Mount Vernon' (2011, North Carolina), 11-36.
[436] Hess, *Martha Washington*, 7.
[437] Willan, *Cookbooks*, 237.
[438] See Karen Hess 'Historical Notes and commentary on Mary Randolph's The Virginia Housewife' in *The Virginia Housewife by Mary Randolph with Historical Notes and Commentary* (South Carolina, 1991), ix, Hess argues that the case could be made for Randolph's book being 'the earliest full-blown American cookbook'.
[439] Willan, *Cookbooks*, 266-269.

foods and the loosening of colonial ties. Willan regards the publication of Simmons' book as being late in the historiography of printed cookbooks, attributing this to the slow progress of setting up printing presses in the colony.[440] The same cannot be argued in the case of Ireland. What is arguable in the case of Ireland is the fact that the country was at a different stage in the historic experience of its relationship with its nearest neighbour,[441] and, crucially, the island is one region geographically, with minor variations, in terms of climate and soil with its neighbour.

3.10 Irish Cookbooks:

Irish authored cookbooks are not a feature of the historiography of cookbooks. In 1767, three years before Hannah Glasse died, a book was published in Dublin under the pseudonym Ceres that appears to be the only Irish authored book prior to the nineteenth century.[442] Given the republishing history of Irish printers one approaches this book with some trepidation. The grounds for believing that it is an Irish originating, if not authored, book is the dedication, which is to the 'Ladies of Dublin' (Figs. 3.9 and 3.10) and the fact that it was not reprinted in England, although this is not commented on by Lehman or Shanahan.[443] The recipes in the book are not new, however the same could be said of many books of the period. It is conceivable that this was a publication put together by the printer with an eye to the Irish market solely. Equally, it could be authored by one of the ladies of Dublin, who, given the socially circumscribed society of the period, preferred to remain anonymous. Not much larger then Melroe's work, described as a pamphlet, the one hundred and five pages are augmented by twelve pages of suggested table lay out for the seasons, generic in nature, and an index, concluding with an advertisement for John Mitchell, Bookseller, Skinner Row, promoting his circulating library, 'where all persons may

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[440] *Ibid.,* 237.

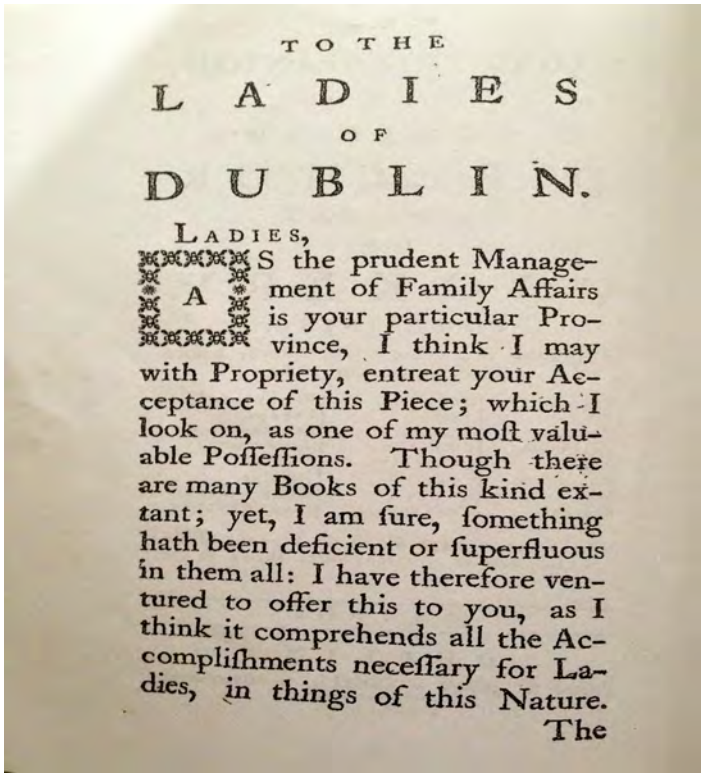
[441] See David Dickson, 'Second City Syndrome: Reflections on Three Irish Cases' in S.J. Connolly (ed.), *Kingdoms United? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500* (Dublin, 1999), 95-108. Dickson make the point that the three cities in question, Dublin, Cork, and Belfast, were home to urban bourgeoisies that while polarised politically 'shared much the same (largely imported) cultural values in the secular sphere', 108. Also David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London, 2014), 152-305 for an historical overview of the period as Dublin was repositioned within the colonial experience.

[442] With the exception of Ceres no entry for Ireland exists in any of the bibliographies of cookbooks.

[443] Lehman, *British Housewife*; Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*.

have Books hired out to them by the Year, at 2s and by the week at 6d. Note, But one Book at a time, (unless paid for accordingly), and the Value of the Book left in Hand' (Fig. 3.11).[444] Unfortunately there is no indication of the purchase price. Given the *caveat* about authorship, the book reads in a businesslike way but there are several peculiarities to it. A recipe for 'Light Cakes; or, Quakers Ratafia' is slightly unusual and the term 'Quakers Ratafia' does not appear in any other recipe that this researcher has studied. The use of the word ratafia in this period may indicate several things — the flavour of almonds, or kernels of peaches, apricots or cherries, or that the cake is so called because it is intended to be eaten with the liquor.[445] Bitter almonds are added as an option to the recipe, but more obvious is the inclusion of saffron as the mention of almonds is appended by the comment 'you may do without almonds'.[446] Even within the spelling conventions of the time there are multiple printer's mistakes and oddities, 'rear' for 'bear', 'compost' for 'compote', 'March-binns' for 'marchpane' (marzipan), and a 'clever' round of beef. Lamb's 'secrets' are also mentioned, and while sometimes referring to sweetbreads, Ceres would appear to be referring specifically to lamb's testicles in this instance.[447]

[444] Ceres, *The lady's companion: or, accomplish'd director in the whole art of cookery….. By a lady* (Dublin, 1767), unpaginated notice following index at back of book. NLI MS 10,134, a fragment of paper containing some recipes, eighteenth century, does include a recipe for Quaker cake.
[445] Glasse, *Facsimile Edition The Art of Cookery*, 196.
[446] Ceres, *Lady's Companion,* 60.
[447] R. Riddell, *Indian Domestic Economy and Receipt Book* (Madras, 1849) also uses the term. Cora, Rose and Bob Brown, *Most For Your Money Cookbook* (New York, 1938), 135 remind the reader that the English call 'mountain oysters', testicles, lamb's secrets.



TO THE

LADIES

OF

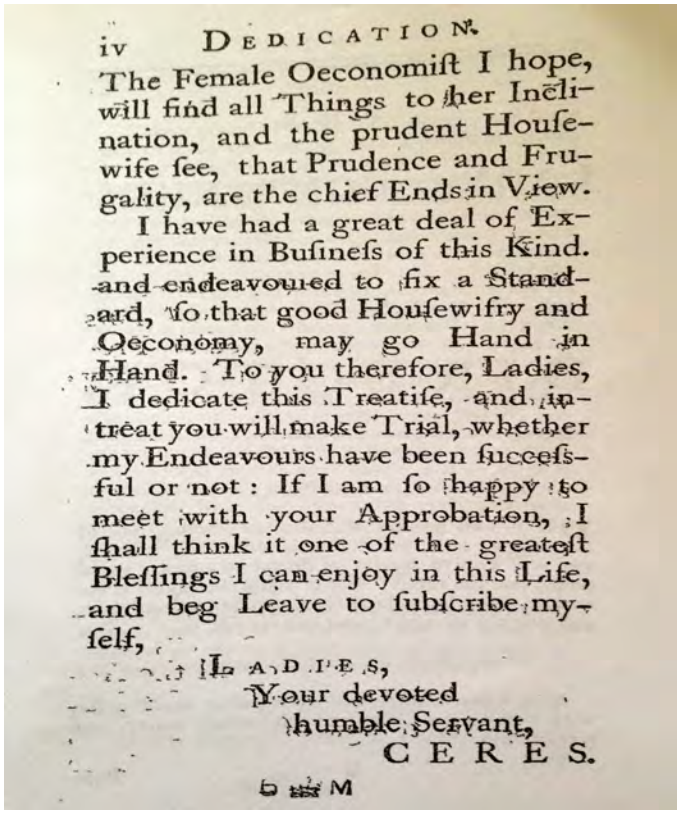
DUBLIN.

LADIES,

AS the prudent Management of Family Affairs is your particular Province, I think I may with Propriety, entreat your Acceptance of this Piece; which I look on, as one of my moſt valuable Poſſeſſions. Though there are many Books of this kind extant; yet, I am ſure, ſomething hath been deficient or ſuperfluous in them all: I have therefore ventured to offer this to you, as I think it comprehends all the Accompliſhments neceſſary for Ladies, in things of this Nature.

The

Fig. 3.9 Ceres, *The lady's companion* (1767) Dedication to 'The Ladies of Dublin'.



iv DEDICATION.

The Female Oeconomiſt I hope, will find all Things to her Inclination, and the prudent Houſewife ſee, that Prudence and Frugality, are the chief Ends in View.

I have had a great deal of Experience in Buſineſs of this Kind. and endeavoured to fix a Standard, ſo that good Houſewifry and Oeconomy, may go Hand in Hand. To you therefore, Ladies, I dedicate this Treatiſe, and intreat you will make Trial, whether my Endeavours have been ſucceſsful or not: If I am ſo happy to meet with your Approbation, I ſhall think it one of the greateſt Bleſſings I can enjoy in this Life, and beg Leave to ſubſcribe myſelf,

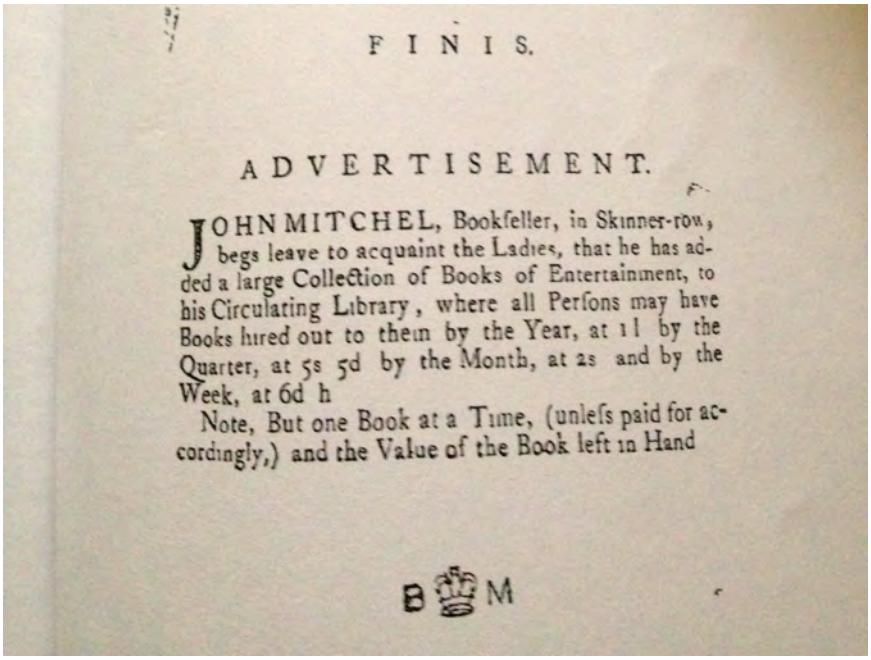
LADIES,

Your devoted

humble Servant,

CERES.

Fig. 3.10 Ceres, *The lady's companion.* Dedication to 'The Ladies of Dublin' cont.



FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

JOHN MITCHEL, Bookfeller, in Skinner-row, begs leave to acquaint the Ladies, that he has added a large Collection of Books of Entertainment, to his Circulating Library, where all Perſons may have Books hired out to them by the Year, at 1l by the Quarter, at 5s 5d by the Month, at 2s and by the Week, at 6d h

Note, But one Book at a Time, (unleſs paid for accordingly,) and the Value of the Book left in Hand

Fig. 3.11 Ceres, *The lady's companion*, end page, advertisement for John Mitchel, printer, circulating library.

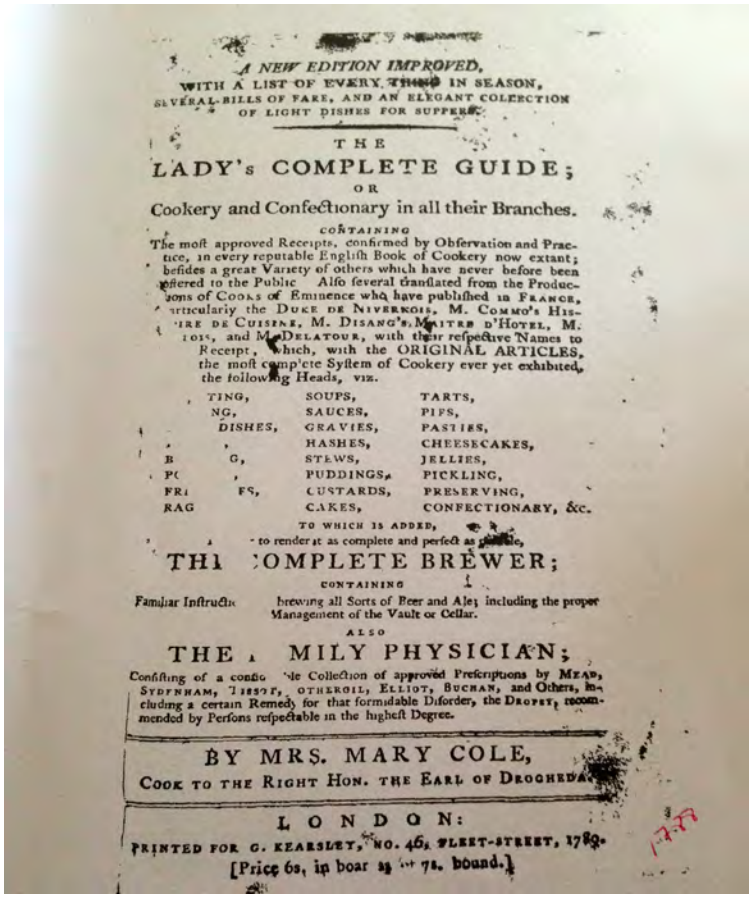
Another book that could be described as puzzling is Cole's *The lady's complete guide: or cookery and confectionary in all their branches* (1788). This is of interest in the context of discussion of Irish work as Mary Cole describes herself as cook to the Earl of Drogheda (Fig.3.12).[448] From the date of publication the earl in question would appear to be Charles Moore (1730-1822), 6th Earl, 1st Marquess of Drogheda (1791), son of Edward Moore and Sarah Ponsonby, daughter of Brabazon Ponsonby, Earl of Bessborough.[449] In 1766 Moore married Lady Anne Seymour, daughter of the Marquess of Hertford, lord lieutentant of Ireland (1765-6).[450] In 1767 Moore commissioned Christopher Myers to construct a new house on the banks of the

[448] See Tiffany Potter, *Women, Popular Culture, and the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto, 2012). Potter describes Cole as housekeeper to the Earl of Drogheda. While it would not be unusual for the function of cook to be combined with housekeeper there is no mention of this in the cookbook.

[449] Chief Secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland (1763), lord justice of Ireland (1766). One of the founding knights of the Order of St. Patrick in 1783. In 1801 created Baron Moore in the peerage of the United Kingdom, see Appendix 3 for an overview of the peerage.

[450] John Debrett, *The Peerage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. II Ninth Edition* (London, 1814), 354.

Barrow in Monasterevin, Moore Abbey.[451] The cookbook advertises itself as in effect a 'best of', or compendium of various authors. Cole notes that 'I have quoted my author, where the receipt is not original',[452] with the names of three or four authors attached to several recipes. Cole's book is a multi-dimensional exercise in plagiarism as one of the authors she cites is John Farley, himself one of the most notorious plagiarisers of the period. Oxford notes that Cole herself, if she did really exist and was not a printer's invention, in turn had her entire book plagiarised in 1794 by Maximilian Hazlemore with his book, *Domestic Economy : or, A Complete System of English Housekeeping*.[453]



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WITH A LIST OF EVERY THING IN SEASON,
SEVERAL BILLS OF FARE, AND AN ELEGANT COLLECTION
OF LIGHT DISHES FOR SUPPERS.

THE
LADY'S COMPLETE GUIDE;
OR
Cookery and Confectionary in all their Branches.

CONTAINING
The most approved Receipts, confirmed by Observation and Practice, in every reputable English Book of Cookery now extant; besides a great Variety of others which have never before been offered to the Public. Also several translated from the Productions of Cooks of Eminence who have published in FRANCE, particularly the DUKE DE NIVERNOIS, M. COMMO's HISTOIRE DE CUISINE, M. DISANG's, MASTER D'HOTEL, M. LOIS, and M. DELATOUR, with their respective Names to Receipt, which, with the ORIGINAL ARTICLES, the most complete System of Cookery ever yet exhibited, the following Heads, viz.

TING, SOUPS, TARTS,
NG, SAUCES, PIES,
DISHES, GRAVIES, PASTIES,
, HASHES, CHEESECAKES,
B G, STEWS, JELLIES,
PO , PUDDINGS, PICKLING,
FRI FS, CUSTARDS, PRESERVING,
RAG CAKES, CONFECTIONARY, &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
to render it as complete and perfect as possible,
THE COMPLETE BREWER;
CONTAINING
Familiar Instructions brewing all Sorts of Beer and Ale; including the proper Management of the Vault or Cellar.
ALSO
THE FAMILY PHYSICIAN;
Consisting of a concise Collection of approved Prescriptions by MEAD, SYDENHAM, TISSOT, OTHERGIL, ELLIOT, BUCHAN, and Others, including a certain Remedy for that formidable Disorder, the DROPSY, recommended by Persons respectable in the highest Degree.

BY MRS. MARY COLE,
COOK TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DROGHEDA.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR G. KEARSLEY, NO. 46, FLEET-STREET, 1789.
[Price 6s. in boards 7s. bound.]

Fig. 3.12 Mary Cole (1789) *The Lady's Complete Guide: or, Cookery and Confectionary in all their Branches,* 2nd Edition, Frontispiece (London, 1789).

[451] Irish Architectural Archive, Dictionary of Irish Architects. http://www.dia.ie/works/view/9935/building/CO.+KILDARE%2C+MOORE+ABBEY+%28MONASTEREVIN%29
[452] Cole, *Lady's Companion*, 2.
[453] Maximilian Hazlemore, *Domestic Economy : or, A Complete System of English Housekeeping* (London, 1794); Oxford, *English Cookery Books*, 122. See also Lehmann, *British Housewife*, 406-7.

One last book of Irish origin that deserves to be noted despite being outside the period under discussion is that of Catherine Alexander, Countess of Caledon. *Cheap receipts and hints on cookery,* printed for private circulation in 1847, was the second of two books by Alexander (Figs. 3.13 and 14).[454] While many commentators were offering advice to Irish people on how to alleviate their poverty, in her first book, *Friendly advice to Irish mothers on training their children* Alexander was unusual in specifically addressing her intended audience, Irish mothers.[455] In the cookbook the tone is of a practical didactic nature, the philosophy that of enablement.[456]

Fig. 3.13 Catherine Alexander (1847) *Cheap Receipts and Hints on Cookery*
Original blind stamped cloth cover with harp device in gilt on top board.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

[454] Catherine Alexander, *Cheap receipts and hints on cookery* (Armagh, 1847).
[455] Angela Bourke (ed.), *Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing Vol V* (Cork, 2002), 524.
[456] Short, *Dinners at Home: How to Order Cook and Serve Them* (London, 1878), and Kathleen Ferguson, *Elementary Lessons in Cooking and Housewifery* (Athlone, 1900) brings the record of Irish authored cookbooks up to the twentieth century.

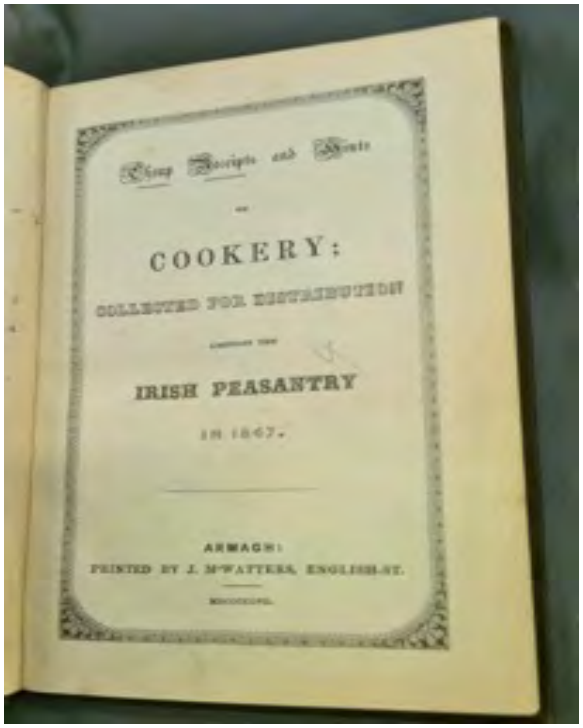

Fig. 3.14 Catherine Alexander, *Cheap Receipts,* Frontispiece.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

3.11 Summary:

Other print books to be noted as referenced above are manuscripts that have gone to publication in recent years. The intention behind these publications is to preserve the integrity of the handwritten compilation; these are not presented as professional cookbooks. In 1986 Spurling published an annotated edition of Lady Elinor Fettiplace's manuscript book dated 1604.[457] This work, along with the annotated publication of *The Cookery Book of Lady Clark of Tillypronie*, remains the gold standard for bringing manuscripts to the public as printed works on this side of the Atlantic.[458] Quarton's work, *Mary Cannon's Commonplace Book: An Irish Kitchen in the 1700s* brings to print her great-great grandmother's commonplace book and in her preface to the recipes Quarton articulates the hazards that these manuscripts are prone to, 'Auntie Evelyn got the book, but not before my mother had copied all the recipes into a thick exercise book.

[457] Hilary Spurling, *Elinor Fettiplace's Receipt Book: Elizabethan Country House Cooking* (London, 1986).
[458] Catherine Francis Frere, *The Cookery Book of Lady Clark of Tillypronie* (1909, Scotland). A more recent edition of the book was published in 1994 by Southover Press with an introduction by Geraldine Holt. Eliza Rundell's *A New System of Domestic Cookery* (London, 1806) is an instance of a manuscript being published as a distinctly commercial enterprise, see Janet Morgan, 'Preface', *A New System of Domestic Cookery by Mrs. Rundell* (London, 2009), v-xix.

It was as well she did, as Auntie Evelyn died in a nursing home and the book disappeared'.[459] The Hon. Sarah Connolly Carew MacPhearson is responsible for a publication of the recipes of Lady Louisa Connolly of Castletown House, a disappointingly compiled and annotated collection.[460] Most recently, Deirdre Nuttall expertly edited *A Book of Cookery by Hannah Alexander*.[461] The manuscript at Birr Castle belonging to the Parsons family dates to the 1660s, and is generally considered to be one of the oldest known cookery manuscripts on the island. Hannah Alexander's dates from the 1680s, and is a valuable addition to the cohort, coming as it does from an urban environment, Ship Street in Dublin. Nuttall notes that the manuscript exhibits use of loanwords from the Irish language, one example being 'slew', from *slua,* to mean 'a lot'.[462] As with many of the manuscripts studied, spelling is frequently phonetic so that if one listens closely one can hear the local accent. What is important to register in this context is as remarked at the beginning of this chapter — the importance of the continuing dialogue between print and manuscript. From this survey of the printed cookbook much may be observed. The hegemony of secular and ecclesiastical elite cookery, the rapid commercialisation of the genre in the eighteenth century, and the fact that an Irish presence is recorded, however tenuously and lacking somewhat in a sense of dimension. The following chapter proposes to focus on the manuscripts to examine what their contribution is to an understanding of food and culinary life on the island.

[459] Quarton, *Mary Cannon's Commonplace Book,* xv. Tracking down a manuscript from Annestown that was in private hands exemplified how fragile the manuscripts physical presence is. The owners had moved house four times and were simply unaware that it was in their possession. On being asked about it they kindly searched over the course of several months and it was found.
[460] Sarah Connolly Carew MacPhearson, *M'Lady's Book of Household Secrets* (Dublin, 2013).
[461] Deirdre Nuttall (ed.), *A Book of Cookery by Hannah Alexander* (Dublin, 2014).
[462] *Ibid*., xviii.

Chapter Four: Culinary Manuscripts and the Baker Family of Ballaghtobin House

4. 1 Introduction

This chapter brings into sharper focus what lies at the core of this research, the culinary manuscripts of Ireland. Previous chapters have delineated the context of these manuscripts in terms of the various influences exerted on culinary history and recipe formation, the historiography of the printed cookbook and Ireland's place within that narrative, and situated this discussion within the theoretical frameworks of food history and the methodologies or 'technique', to use Hobsbawm's term,[463] available to construct an understanding of these documents. The scale of observation is gradually being reduced to societal, and in the following chapter, individual social space.[464] The intent here is to introduce the Irish manuscripts, as objects in themselves, their location and availability to researchers and explore how the people who recorded the recipes stamped their authority on the text.

As archival documents the manuscripts have certain characteristics that can fascinate and frustrate in equal measure. Personal yet frequently anonymous, as a group all can appear superficially similar, yet on close reading highly distinctive. Wheaton's observation regarding cookbooks applies equally to the manuscripts, the mind blurs as the third manuscript is read to the extent that 'one begins to sense the need for some sort of method in approaching these documents'.[465] On a practical level, sourcing and reading the manuscripts had a finite life as the repetition of the material accumulated. This chapter aims to give a sense of the manuscripts from binding to text. Following that, recognising the truth of Wheaton's imperative above regarding a method, the rationale behind the selection of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) is explained and the reader is introduced to other archival material to be used in the context of this selection. The chapter concludes with discussion of the social context

[463] Hobsbawm, 'Narrative', *Past and Present,* 86 (Feb. 1980),7.
[464] Levi, 'Microhistory', in Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives*, 99. See Chapter One, 20-21.
[465] Wheaton, 'Finding Real Life in Cookbooks', 2. See also Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'Towards a Structured Approach to Reading Historic Cookbooks', *M/C Journal: The Journal of Media and Culture.* Vol. 16. No. 3 'cookbooks' http://journal.media-culture.org.au/index.php/mcjournal/article/viewArticle/649

of the manuscript with particular reference to the emphasis placed on literary source material in this research.

4.2 Culinary Manuscripts:

The term 'culinary manuscript' is used here to denote a collection of recipes that are gathered together, bound or assembled in folder form. Central to this research is the question of how, and what, these manuscripts contribute to the story of culinary history in Ireland, where the printed recipe book was a late developing phenomenon on the island. As such, the emphasis is on culinary content of what are frequently household manuscripts that range over a panoply of household knowledge. Shanahan favours the use of the term 'manuscript recipe books'.[466] The term 'culinary' is used here as it usefully extends the discussion beyond recipe and praxis. Understanding culinary history extends beyond the recipe, and engages with the aspirations and identity of the compiler and the intended audience, giving credence to Pennell and DiMeo's contention 'that the story of cookery is not all that recipes can be seized upon to supply',[467] and recalls again Appadurai's description of food as 'a highly condensed social fact'.[468]

The Latinate origin of the term recipe, *recipere*, to receive, conjugates in the imperative as 'recipe', and in the exchange what was received was the receipt.[469] The association of the term 'recipe' with culinary texts emerged in the early modern period,[470] existing alongside the more archaic 'receipt'. Unless in quotation, the term recipe is used here throughout.

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[466] Madeline Shanahan, 'Dining on Words: manuscript recipe books, culinary change and elite food culture in Ireland, 1660-1830', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, Vol. XV, 83-97.
[467] Sara Pennell, Michelle DiMeo, 'Introduction' in Sara Pennell and Michelle DiMeo (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books 1550-1800* (Manchester, 2013), 1-22, 2.
[468] Appadurai, 'Gastropolitics', 494.
[469] William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton, 1994), 131-133.
[470] The OED cites Jonson's play The *new inn: or, The light heart, a comedy* of 1631 as having one of the earliest recorded use of the term recipe in a culinary sense. Prior to this the term existed alongside receipt in a medical context. Like so much food related terminology it would appear that recipe was borrowed from the Latin and entered usage through Middle French — 'beef' from the Latin *bovem*, Old French *boef* being another instance.

Collections of recipes in manuscript form have proved difficult for archivists to classify as they are frequently dispersed within a manuscript alongside diary entries, literary content, or other material. NLI MS 5102 is a case in point.[471] The manuscript is a bound volume of accounts, diary, and recipes, with the National Library of Ireland overcoming potential cataloguing difficulty by using those three search terms in their online manuscript catalogue for accessing the manuscript. Griffin has noted instances where the literary and historical content of manuscripts is privileged over the culinary content.[472] The scholars involved in The Recipe Project support Griffith's contention, and attribute erroneous cataloguing to lack of awareness regarding the historical significance of culinary content.[473] Personal experience of locating culinary manuscripts in public collections in Ireland does not entirely conform to this. In the National Library of Ireland, where the manuscripts form part of the archive in the collection lists of the library,[474] they are usually to be found under the heading 'household' or at worst 'miscellaneous'. If not part of a collection list, then they are usually easily accessed through the library's online search facility, using a search term such as 'recipe' and then selecting the 'manuscript' option. Accessing material in the National Archives of Ireland is more difficult as much of their material remains un-catalogued. Financial constraints in local libraries equally result in a backlog of material awaiting filing.[475] The Dublin City Libraries are currently changing to a shared library on-line catalogue so this will simplify searches for manuscript material in the future. The experience of sourcing culinary manuscripts contrasts with that of printed cookbooks, which are easily filed under author, and subject conventions. It should be noted that there is to date no complete inventory of culinary manuscripts in

[471] NLI MS 5102, Cookery recipes, household accounts and diary by Mary Mathew, 1741-1777. See Maria Luddy (ed.), *The Diary of Mary Mathew* (Thurles, 1991).
[472] Carrie Griffin, 'Reconsidering the Recipe: Materiality, Narrative and Text in Later Medieval Manuscripts and Collections' in Emma Cayley and Susan Powell (eds.), *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe 1350-1550: Packaging, Presentation and Consumption* (Liverpool, 2013) 135-149; Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (eds.), 'Introduction', *Reading and Writing Recipe Books 1550-1800* (Manchester, 2013), 10. DiMeo and Pennell note how the 'variousness' of 'recipe books' makes their cataloguing as domestic papers an oversimplification.
[473] http://recipes.hypotheses.org/6893 .
[474] The Collections Lists provide detailed listings of individual collections. Available in hardcopy, and increasingly digital.
[475] Carlow County Library is a case in point. At the time of writing there is no county archivist employed so source material for this work was located through the offices of a temporary intern.

national institutions in Ireland, just as there is no complete bibliography of Irish cookbooks from 1800 to the present time.[476]

The digitalisation of manuscripts, in volume and in clarity, is advancing at a rapid pace, more so in other jurisdictions than in Ireland. The British Library, the Wellcome Library, and the National Library of Scotland all have extensive collections of manuscript recipe books digitalised and freely accessible.[477] The three national repositories on the island of Ireland are the National Library of Ireland (NLI), The National Archives of Ireland (NAI)[478] and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI). The National Library of Ireland hold approximately forty-six manuscripts dating up to the mid-nineteenth century and while operating within tight financial constraints the collection is constantly being added to.[479] The library had invested early in modern formats and some material is available on microfilm. Unfortunately the nature of microfilm is such that it is difficult to get a true impression of a manuscript, for example NLI P210, a manuscript relating to Moor Park in County Offaly. There is no sense of the paper used, the binding, or the

[476] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, 18-19, compiled a list of manuscripts available in the National Library of Ireland, which she terms the National Collection. She does not make any reference to manuscripts in the National Archives, PRONI or public libraries throughout the country. The Irish Manuscripts Commission has issued reports on manuscript collections in private hands, some of which are relevant here; See John Francis Ainsworth 'Manuscript Collections in Private Keeping: Reports in National Library', *Analecta Hibernica*, No. 23, 369–88, and *Analecta Hibernica* No. 32 (1985), 29-33. This researcher assembled two bibliographies of printed cookbooks as part of research for a M.Sc., see Appendix One, Cashman, (2009) 'An Exploratory Study'.

[477] Recipes in both manuscript and printed form frequently appear as part of a library's online 'special exhibitions' presence, for example the Brotherton Library has an online exhibition of 'Recipes of Christmas Past', https://library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections-christmas-recipes

[478] Established in 1988 when the Public Record Office of Ireland and the State Paper Office were amalgamated. The Public Record Office was located in the Four Courts complex. In June 1922 during the Civil War 'the repository building was destroyed, along with most of the records, some dating back to the thirteenth century'. Some records are still held in the Four Courts, see http://www.nationalarchives.ie/about-us/history/ . As a national archive, the institution is tasked with archiving the records of Government Departments and their agencies. As such, scarce resources are manifestly diverted from cataloguing older archival material.

[479] Even at the height of the recent financial crisis the library was open to suggestions and purchased two manuscripts on recommendation, one of which has been digitalised (NLI MS 42,105) and the other has been conserved (NLI MS 42,134).

continuity of the manuscript. While making manuscripts available *via* this early microfilm version or digitally has many obvious advantages in terms of accessibility and conservation, it does have the effect of imposing a form of deracination on the text as discussed by Pennell; disconnected from their physical being the reader will never experience the text in its materiality the way the original users did, and surely intended.[480] NLI P210 is worth commenting on in another respect, that concerning an attribution referring to 'Hartman's Directions for Cookery' of 1682.[481] Further in on the microfilm, the recipe 'To stew a hare the French way' informs that this is taken from the same source, 'copied 1867', indicating that the book was still in use in the household over one hundred and eighty years later, a tribute to the longevity of the recipe and the importance of manuscript recording in contributing to this longevity.[482]

Archival documents are spread beyond these main repositories. The County Libraries remain to be investigated fully by researchers,[483] however Carlow County Library illustrates a consideration to be taken into account when researching outside the national repositories. The library houses a significant collection of material relating to the Cliffe Vigors family. While the library has a functioning website, the extent of the collection is not available through that portal but rather through the National Library of Ireland *Sources* portal. Original Vigors archive material is held in the County Library, a microfilm copy of some of the material is available in the National Library. Material relating to the family, including manuscript recipe books, is also housed in the National Archive of Ireland and Trinity College Dublin. Originally from North Devon, Reverend Louis Vigors (1578--) is recorded as Vicar of Kilfaughnabeg and Kilcoe, County Cork in 1615 and 1634, becoming associated with

[480] Sara Pennell, 'Making livings, lives and archives: tales of four eighteenth-century recipe books' in Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing*, 225-246, 228.
[481] This is a reference to George Hartman's *The true preserver and restorer of health…. Together with excellent directions for cookery* (London, 1695). Hartman was Sir Kenelm Digby's (1603-1665) steward; see Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson (eds.) *The Closet of Sir Kenelm Digby Opened* (2010 [1997]), 34-40.
[482] NLI P.210. Without seeing the actual manuscript, which is not in the possession of the NLI, it would be very difficult to narrate the full story of the manuscript from the microfilm version.
[483] Research on Irish culinary manuscripts is at a very early stage. As Shanahan is largely concerned with the manuscripts within an archaeological context she confines her discussion to the National Library of Ireland.

County Carlow through marriage in the early eighteenth century.[484] The Cliffe family descended from a Cromwellian settler who received grants of lands in Counties Meath and Wexford.[485]

Material relating to Ireland's culinary history for the period under discussion, where it survives, is not only dispersed within Ireland but also beyond the shores. Archival material relating to menus and table-settings are rare, however one superb example of a dinner book is available in digital format on the Winterthur Collection website. The etiquette attached to dining in the traditions of *Service à la française* were reflected not only in the ostentatious display of material culture, but also in the extent and scope of the edible dishes presented at table.[486] To this end, printed cookbooks frequently provided suggested table settings, varying from rudimentary to lavish engraved plates. Willan describes Charles Carter's *The Complete Practical Cook* as 'the edible expression of rising Georgian prosperity';[487] the book was furnished with sixty copper plates of table layouts (Fig. 4.1).[488] On the other end of the scale in terms of production values are those provided in books aimed at the housewife (Fig. 4.2).

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[484] Bernard Burke, *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Ireland* (London*, 1912),* 727-729.
[485] *Ibid., 116.*
[486] Cathy Kaufman, 'Structuring the Meal: The Revolution of *Service à la Russe'* in Harlan Walker (ed.), *The Meal. Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium 2001*(Totnes, 2002), 123-133, 123; Philippa Glanville, *Dinner with a Duke: Decoding Dining at Welbeck 1695-1914*, an essay on an exhibition at the Harley Gallery, curated by Philippa Glanville, 2012.
[487] Willan, *Cookbook,* 197.
[488] Fiona Lucraft, 'The Fine Art of Eighteenth-Century Table Layouts' in Walker (ed.), *The Meal,* 165-173, 167. Lucraft notes that one of the very many notables that Carter worked for was General George Wade (1673-1749), a British army officer, born in Westmeath, who served in Spain (1704-1710), during which time Carter worked for him.

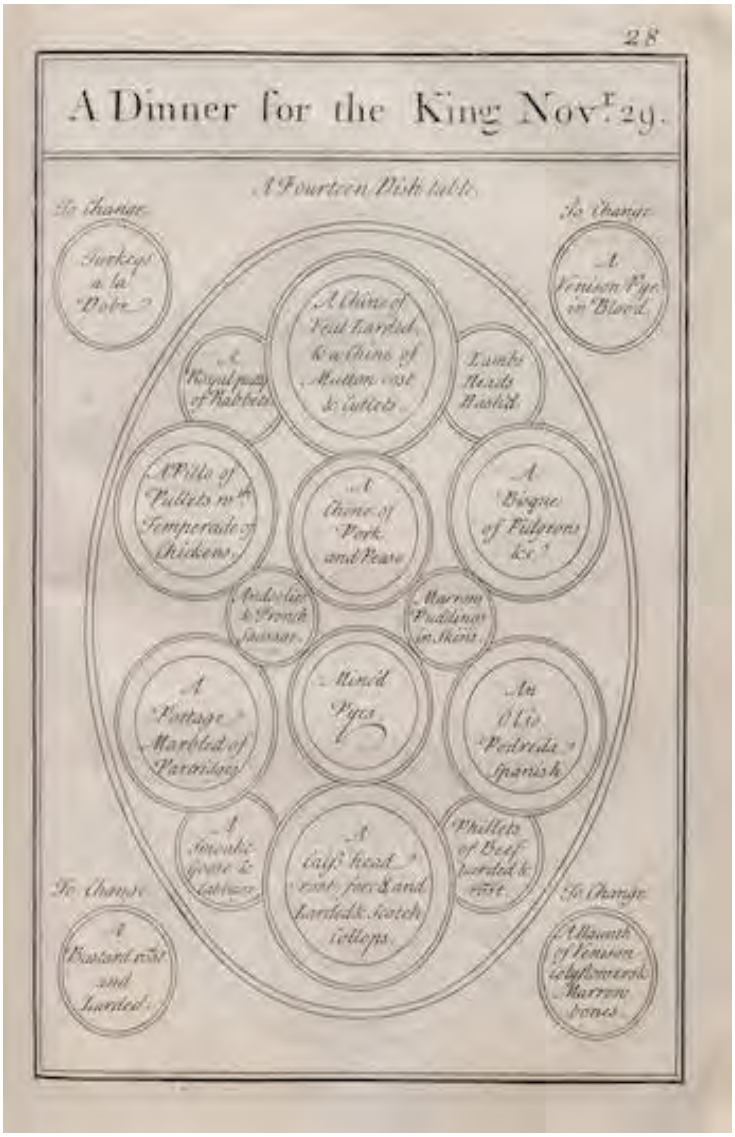

Fig. 4.1 Charles Carter (1730) *The Complete Practical Cook:….Adorned with sixty curious copper plates* (London, W. Meadows, C. Rivington and R. Hett).

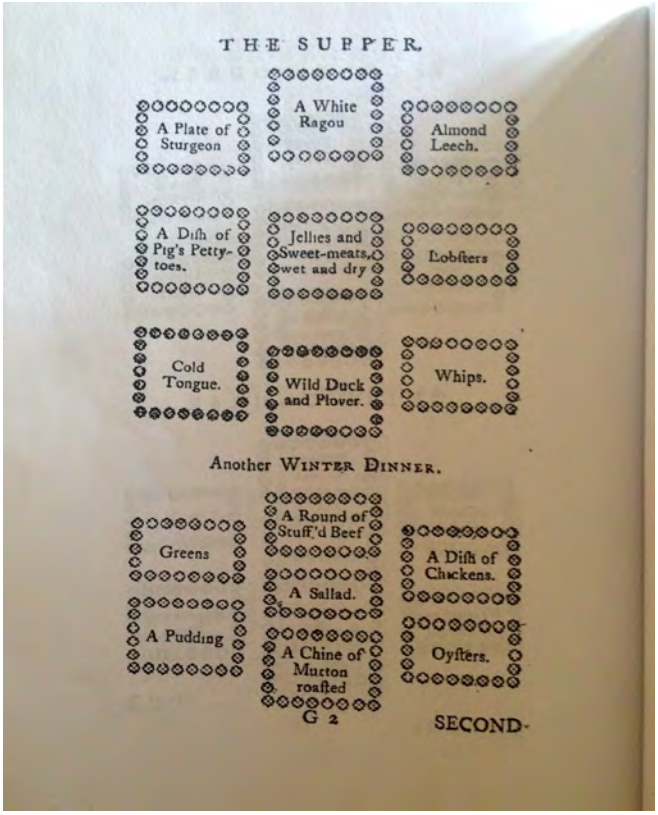

Fig. 4.2 Ceres (1767) *The lady's companion: or, accomplishe'd director in the whole art of cookery…. By a lady* (Dublin, John Mitchell).

Blank books of table settings were printed and available for purchase to record menus, however in the case of the Robert Jocelyn book, the plans were hand sketched with a record of guests present (Fig. 4.3).[489] Evidently people improvised also, as can be seen in NLI MS 41,603/5, where a rudimentary 'Bill of Fare for a Summer First Course' has been jotted down on a loose folio (Fig. 4.4).

[489] Drawn to my attention by Dr. Alison FitzGerald, the Dinner Book records daily dinners in the form of diagrams of tables for the period October 1740 to November 1751, with a list of those present,
http://content.winterthur.org:2011/cdm/ref/collection/jocelyn/id/226
See also David Fayle, *Fayle's Hardware: Main Street, Birr, Co Offaly: The Descendents of William and Mary (Edmundson) Fayle. A Family History* (Ontario, 2010) where the Quaker wedding feast of Benjamin Fayle and Elizabeth Knott in 1784 is recorded with a pencil sketch of the layout of the table and the dishes thereon. There were twenty-nine people present at the feast. Richard Edmundson founded the Society of Friends in 1654 in Ireland.

Fig. 4.3 The Dinner Book of Robert Jocelyn, 1st Viscount Jocelyn, Lord Chancellor of Ireland 1739-1756. Winterthur Digital Collections

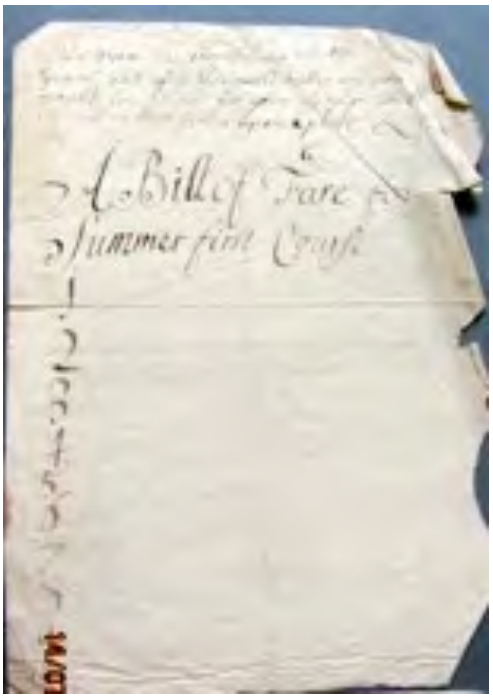

Fig. 4.4 NLI MS 41,603/5 Unfinished Bill of Fare.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

Reference has been made in the previous chapter to the influence of humanism and the development of a 'notebook culture'.[490] Printers were quick to exploit the commercial possibilities of this phenomenon, what may be termed the commercialisation of memory. In 1753 George Faulkner, Swift's publisher, produced for sale 'A New Memorandum BOOK…. So contrived as to be useful and convenient for all Sorts of People; particularly with regard to their EXPENSES, ENGAGEMENTS and OCCASIONAL BUSINESS'.[491] Menu books formed part of this commercial exploitation of the increasing commodification of society.[492]

The Earl of Roden's Commonplace Book is archived at the Denison (Ella Strong) Library, Scripps College, California. Described as containing songs and other verse alongside household recipes, it was compiled by the son of the 1st Viscount Jocelyn.[493] What is interesting about this material is that the inclusion of recipes would appear to belie the usual female gendered status of the recipe assembly, perhaps attributable to the fact that the recipes are in a commonplace book, a less rigidly gendered genre.[494] In the previous chapter it was noted that the poet Thomas Grey's notes were found within a copy of Verrel's *A complete system of cookery*. What researchers have not explored is male participation in the recording of recipes in manuscripts in this later period. Pennell correctly identifies female recipe knowledge and circulation in the seventeenth century as a form of knowledge comparable to the experimental philosophy of the Royal Society, as records of practice and expertise.[495]

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[490] Field, 'Many Many Hands'.
[491] Desmond Fitzgerald, 'Early Irish Trade-Cards and Other Eighteenth-Century Ephemera', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr, Vol*. 2 (1987), 115-132, 132.
[492] Neil McKendrick, 'Introduction: the birth of a consumer society: the commercialization of eighteenth-century England' in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb (eds.), *Birth of a Consumer Society* (London, 1982), 1-8.
[493] The Earl of Roden is a title created in the Peerage of Ireland, see Appendix Four. See Marissa Nicosia, Cooking in the Archives, 'To make Little Cakes, Cooking in the Scripps Archives Part 1', http://rarecooking.com/2015/05/24/to-make-little-cakes-cooking-in-the-scripps-archives-part-1/ . The present Earl lives at Cashel, County Galway, see http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/estate-show.jsp?id=3709 .
[494] Fred Schurink, 'Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature and Reading in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* Vol. 73, No. 3 (September 2010), 453-469, 455.
[495] Sara Pennell, 'Perfecting Knowledge? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England' in Victoria E. Burke and Jonathan Gibson

The evidence from the manuscripts is that an efficient conduit of knowledge was established with the practice of assembling recipes in manuscript form.[496] In isolation the recipe may have had its origin in the masculine sphere,[497] in aggregate in manuscript form this was apparently feminised as a vital constituent of what was regarded as the essential task of fulfilling the role of healthcare provider to the household.[498] Frequently where authority is not stamped on the manuscript with a named authoress the manuscript has the feel of being assembled by a housekeeper/cook.[499] Whether this person is male or female is most often impossible to confirm.

The Roden Commonplace Book is bound in green vellum (Fig. 4.5), as is NLI MS 42,134 (Figs. 4.6 and 4.7), and a manuscript pertaining to the Stewarts of Killymoon, dated 1770.[500]

(eds.) *Early Modern Women's Writing: Selected Writings from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium* (Aldershot, 2004), 237-258. See also Edith Snook, '"The Beautifying Part of Physic": Women's Cosmetic Practices in Early Modern England', *Journal of Women's History,* Vol. 20, No.3, Fall 2008, 10-33, 23, on the observation that women's participation in 'secrets', was shifted down the hierarchy as mere domestic knowledge.

[496] Pennell, 'Perfecting Knowedge', 237. See also Sandra Sherman, 'Printed Communities: Domestic Management Texts in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, Vol.3 No.2 (Fall/Winter 2003), 36-67.

[497] Eamon, *Science,* 131-133.

[498] Brears, *Tudor and Early Stuart England*, 19; Jayne Elizabeth Archer, 'Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England: The Manuscript Receipt Book (c.1616) of Sarah Wigges' in Kathleen Perry Long (ed.), *Gender and Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Culture* (Aldershot, 2010), 191-216.

[499] Even with a named author it is sometimes ambiguous as to the status, for example MS 29,785/3 (Oakpark Bruen Papers) a manuscript started by C. J. Connolly. The fact that Mrs Bruen continued the manuscript may indicate a familial relationship, rather than that of an employer. PRONI D2315/9/21 is a copybook miscellany of recipes with the legend on the back 'Bridget Molloys present to Anne Ashe February 17th 1808', where it is very difficult to gauge social status or relationship involved.

[500] PRONI D45241/1. Information regarding this manuscript was forwarded by Napier Williams who sold the manuscript to PRONI, private correspondence Sept. 17, 2012. The manuscript is indexed and extensive, many of the recipes evidence of French culinary influence, for example Fowl *a la cuisinier*, lamb *in blanquetto* (sic).

Fig. 4.5 Earl of Roden Commonplace Book,
Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College.[501]

While most of the Townley Hall papers are archived in the National Library of Ireland, a manuscript in Trinity College Dublin, dated 1773, under the name Anna Maria Leigh and connected with Townley Hall, is similarly bound in green vellum.[502] Dublin vellum binders were renowned for their work in the early eighteenth century, with green vellum considered a particular specialty of Irish binders. Horace Walpole wrote requesting that some of his books be bound in Dublin 'in green vellum in the Irish way'.[503] That a culinary manuscript was bound in this fashion is perhaps an indication of the status accorded it in some instances.[504]

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[501] 'Cooking in the Archives: Updating Early Modern Recipes (1600-1800) in a Modern Kitchen', https://rarecooking.com/2015/05/24/to-make-little-cakes-cooking-in-the-scripps-archives-part-1.

[502] TCD MS 3649. There are three culinary manuscripts relating to Townley Hall in the National Library of Ireland, MSS 9560, 9561, 9563.

[503] Philip Maddock, 'Irish Bookbinding: A Timeline of Design and Materials', a lecture given March 12, 2012, Humanities Institute of Ireland, University College Dublin, see also Hon. Rory Guinness and Philip Maddock, *Exquisite & Rare: Bookbindings from the Library of Benjamin Guinness, 3rd Earl of Iveagh*, a catalogue produced in association with an exhibition in Marsh's Library, Dublin. Like leather, vellum is produced from animal skin, however the process is different, yielding a smoother, harder product.

[504] See Cashman, 'This Receipt'. NLI MS 5606 is another handsomely bound

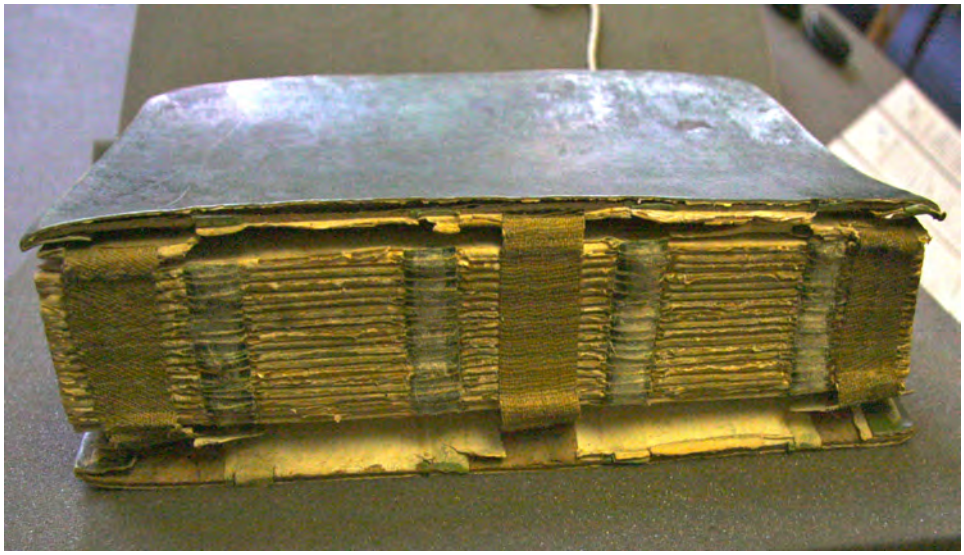

Fig. 4.6 NLI MS 42, 134. Side view before conservation.

Fig. 4.7 NLI MS 42, 124 Front cover before conservation.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

The manuscript recipe book of Mrs. Charles Fitzgerald, referred to in the preceding chapter, is in the New York Public Library. As noted previously a manuscript associated with Clonbrock House has travelled with the family out of Ireland, as has

volume, decorated in black and gold on a crimson background.

one belonging to the Roche Barry family of Fota House, County Cork.[505] Fota House has been extensively restored; most notably this restoration includes a service wing with an original early nineteenth-century kitchen and game larder. Information was obtained by this researcher that there was a manuscript associated with the Bell family, however it was returned to the family who are now resident in England.[506]

Susanna Gore's (1680-1740) commonplace book dating from the late seventeenth century, with additions up to the mid-nineteenth century, is in the collection of the Norwegian businessman Martin Schøyen.[507] The manuscript opens with a couplet in Irish and is possibly more interesting for that, and for the fact that the author was a published poet in Georgian Ireland, than for the scattering of medical recipes contained within it.[508] Added to these are instances of manuscripts that disappear into private collections. Lot number 596 was for sale at the Adam's Auction at Slane Castle in October 2009 (Fig. 4.8). This was an important eighteenth-century manuscript signed by William Filgate, relating to the Filgates of Lisrenny as referred to previously.[509] Described as having recipes recorded in various hands and relating to the Louth area, there was considerable interest in it from prospective purchasers. The upper estimate was three hundred euro, the hammer price was one thousand euro. Believed to have been bought by an English dealer, subsequent efforts to trace the manuscript have proved fruitless.

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[505] A regency house with later additions, Fota House was originally built as a hunting lodge for the Smith Barry family and in 1906 passed from Lord Barrymore to Major and the Hon. Mrs Bell. On the demise of Mrs Bell the house was purchased by University College Cork in 1975 and is now in the care of the Irish Heritage Trust.

[506] Private correspondence with Eileen Cronin and Patricia Butler, Sept. 8, 2011. Patricia Butler was the last cook in residence at Fota under Mrs Bell, see Eileen Cronin (transcribed and revised), *Through the Green Baize Doors. Memories of Patricia Butler* (Cork, 2011)**;** Jennifer McCrea, Laura Murtagh, *Aspects of Fota, Stories from the Garden, Stories from the Back Stairs, Stories from the Big House*, 3 Vols. (2012, Cork)**.**

[507] A private collection of over 20,000 manuscripts based in London and Oslo. See http://www.schoyencollection.com/about-schoyen-collection

[508] De Búrca rare books, Dublin Cat. 30 (1993), 124. Susanna Gore married Richard Smyth of Ballynatray, Co. Waterford.

[509] See also Elizabeth Balcombe (ed.) *The Farm Diary of Lowther Lodge 1803-1822* (Balbriggan, 2008). The original diary is in the National Library of Ireland.

Fig. 4.8 Lot 596 The Lisrenny Receipt Book, Catalogue Illustration
Adams Auction, October 6 2009, Slane Castle.

These instances of the dispersal of material relating to the culinary history of Ireland mirrors in many respects a similar quality in the nature of recipes themselves.[510] The physical nature of the manuscripts also accounts for the disappearance of some of the material. Water, humidity, light[511] and insects are some of the hazards that the material can fall foul of. If not a fair copy,[512] or the preserve of a housekeeper, but material actually in use in a cooking environment, then the work is particularly vulnerable to wear and tear. NLI MS 42,134 is an extensive collection of material that fills the volume in an organic way indicating that it was not a fair copy; rather a compiled manual, which was the preserve of a housekeeper, kept beyond kitchen use, and while the binding was damaged and necessitated restoration, the pages were relatively unscathed. Historically perhaps the most serious impediment to the safekeeping of the manuscripts is the issue of being associated with the female sphere. The manuscripts are a form of testimony to that sphere and as Vickery points out,

[510] For a narrative of how recipes travel and respond to newly available ingredients see Peter Brears, *Jellies and Their Moulds* (Totnes, 2010).
[511] Much of the material in the National Library of Ireland is now stored in acid free archival boxes to minimise this exposure to light.
[512] A copy of material already in use, the term is more usually applied to literary works.

female experience, most especially in relation to the household, was believed intrinsically less significant. As archival documents relating to that sphere their testimony was less likely to be regarded as worthy records for posterity.[513]

Collectively the manuscripts are true to Sherman's description of them as being characterised by an open-ended exchange of information.[514] Recipes are renovated and personalised as they are accumulated and written down in the manuscripts. Inherently non-commercial in their intent, the reader of a manuscript is spared the strident authorial voice adopted by many of the published cookbook authors.[515] There is no need for the manuscript compiler to adopt the pedagogical claims of the published author. Sherman argues that successful printed works adopted the style of the personalised household manuscript, describing this style as communicative and non-presumptive of culinary skills.[516] This does not hold true in the case of the manuscript recipes researched here, with a few exceptions.[517] Generally they presuppose certain knowledge about the processes involved. In NLI MS 42,105, the recipe for Beef Stake Pie is obliquely recorded as taken from John Simpson's *A Complete System of Cookery* of 1806 (Fig. 4.9):

> Cut some beef stakes thin, butter a pan (or as Lord Buckingham's cook, from whom these rects are taken, calls it, a soutis pan (wonder what does he mean mean, is it a saucepan?) Sprinkle the pan with pepper & salt, shalots, thyme, & parsley, put the beefstakes on, & set the pan on the fire for a few minutes, then put them to cool, when quite cold, put them in the pie, scrape all the herbs in, cover the pie, and ornament as you please, it

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[513] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* 232. Vickery discusses how female decorative work was placed low in the value hierarchy given its domestic context, with handcrafts seen as the perfection of pointlessness. Even for women, there is evidence that cultural capital was located in 'wider intellectual horizons than baking and sewing in families of fortune', 233. See also Hunter, 'Women and Domestic Medicine', 95 where the point is also made that domestic work is disregarded, 'presumably because it is taken to be the most private activity, the furthest from the public domain'.

[514] Sandra Sherman, '" The Whole Art and Mystery of Cooking": What Cookbooks Taught Readers in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth Century Life*, Vol. 28 No. 1 (2004), 115-135, 118.

[515] For example Glasse, *The Art of Cookery* (London, 1747), see Cashman, 'French Boobies'.

[516] Sherman, 'The Whole Art', 118.

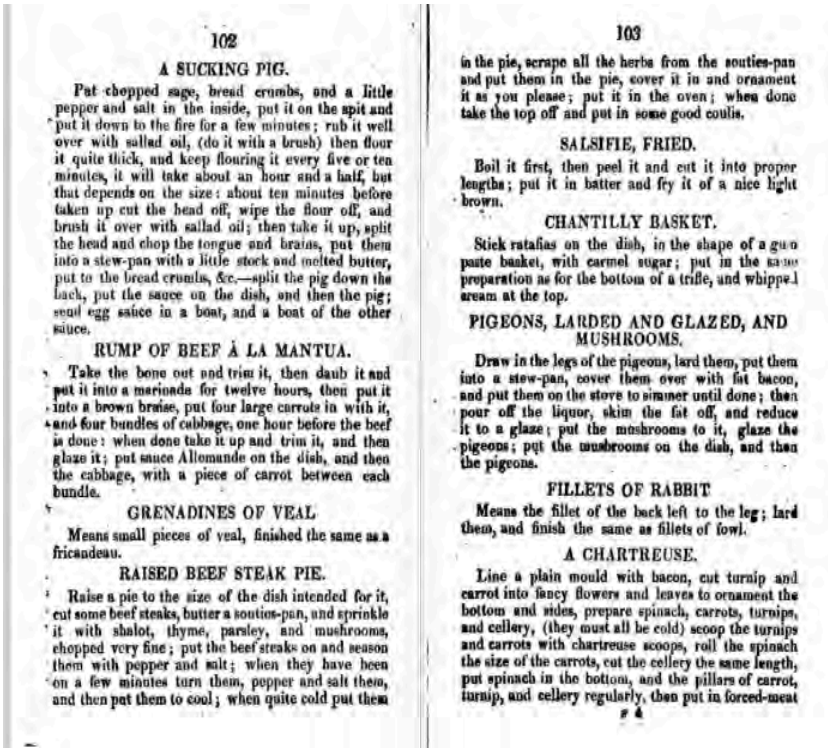
[517] Many of the recipes in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) are detailed enough to fulfill Sherman's description of how manuscripts impart information.

will take an hour and (?) half, when done take the top off & put in some coulis/what is that? (Fig. 4.10).

In recording this recipe the writer has obviously been extended beyond a usual grasp of terminology, which is registered in the commentary. Comparing the printed version with the manuscript version, that this is a recipe for a 'raised' beef pie is not recorded, indicating that where the terms 'soutis' and 'coulis'[518] were unfamiliar and questionable, that this was a raised beef pie — with the knowledge that this presupposes — was a given.[519] Simpson may have travelled to Ireland in the employ of the Duke of Buckingham in 1796 as the Duke had several Irish connections, raising the question whether the oral transmission of this recipe was closer than might appear.

[518] NLI MS 42,134 is also disconcerted by the term 'cullis', and remarks at the end of a recipe To Make a Cullis for a Flesh Soup, that 'a cullis is a mixture of things, strained off'.

[519] See also Madeline Shanahan, '"Whipt with a twig rod": Irish manuscript books as sources for the study of culinary material culture, c. 1600-1830', in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and James Kelly (eds.), *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C, Vol. 115, Special Issue, Food and drink in Ireland* (Dublin, 2015), 197-218.



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A SUCKING PIG.

Put chopped sage, bread crumbs, and a little pepper and salt in the inside, put it on the spit and put it down to the fire for a few minutes; rub it well over with sallad oil, (do it with a brush) then flour it quite thick, and keep flouring it every five or ten minutes, it will take about an hour and a half, but that depends on the size: about ten minutes before taken up cut the head off, wipe the flour off, and brush it over with sallad oil; then take it up, split the head and chop the tongue and brains, put them into a stew-pan with a little stock and melted butter, put to the bread crumbs, &c.—split the pig down the back, put the sauce on the dish, and then the pig; send egg sauce in a boat, and a boat of the other sauce.

RUMP OF BEEF À LA MANTUA.

Take the bone out and trim it, then daub it and put it into a marinade for twelve hours, then put it into a brown braise, put four large carrots in with it, and four bundles of cabbage, one hour before the beef is done: when done take it up and trim it, and then glaze it; put sauce Allemande on the dish, and then the cabbage, with a piece of carrot between each bundle.

GRENADINES OF VEAL

Means small pieces of veal, finished the same as a fricandeau.

RAISED BEEF STEAK PIE.

Raise a pie to the size of the dish intended for it, cut some beef steaks, butter a sautios-pan, and sprinkle it with shalot, thyme, parsley, and mushrooms, chopped very fine; put the beef steaks on and season them with pepper and salt; when they have been on a few minutes turn them, pepper and salt them, and then put them to cool; when quite cold put them

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in the pie, scrape all the herbs from the sautios-pan and put them in the pie, cover it in and ornament it as you please; put it in the oven; when done take the top off and put in some good coulis.

SALSIFIE, FRIED.

Boil it first, then peel it and cut it into proper lengths; put it in batter and fry it of a nice light brown.

CHANTILLY BASKET.

Stick ratafias on the dish, in the shape of a gum paste basket, with carmel sugar; put in the same preparation as for the bottom of a trifle, and whipped cream at the top.

PIGEONS, LARDED AND GLAZED, AND MUSHROOMS.

Draw in the legs of the pigeons, lard them, put them into a stew-pan, cover them over with fat bacon, and put them on the stove to simmer until done; then pour off the liquor, skim the fat off, and reduce it to a glaze; put the mushrooms to it, glaze the pigeons; put the mushrooms on the dish, and then the pigeons.

FILLETS OF RABBIT

Means the fillet of the back left to the leg; lard them, and finish the same as fillets of fowl.

A CHARTREUSE.

Line a plain mould with bacon, cut turnip and carrot into fancy flowers and leaves to ornament the bottom and sides, prepare spinach, carrots, turnips, and cellery, (they must all be cold) scoop the turnips and carrots with chartreuse scoops, roll the spinach the size of the carrots, cut the cellery the same length, put spinach in the bottom, and the pillars of carrot, turnip, and cellery regularly, then put in forced-meat

Fig. 4.9 John Simpson, *A Complete System of Cookery* (London, ([1806]1816) Recipe for Raised Beef Steak Pie.

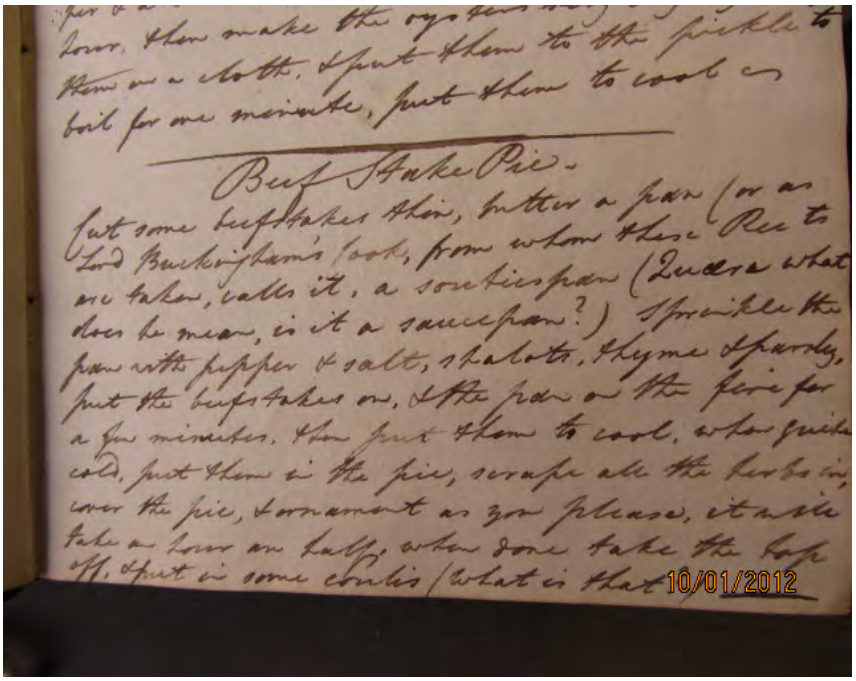

Fig. 4.10 NLI MS 42,105,
Cover of marbled board, with a calfskin backed spine, dated 1811.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

The manuscript is interesting for another authorial interjection at the end of a recipe for White Current Wine, about which it is stated 'this receipt is as safe as the bank. It has been obligingly given to Mrs Hawkesworth by the chief bookkeeper at the Bank of Ireland'.[520] Shanahan frames the explanation for this interjection within an assertion of the connection between men and alcohol, stating that 'whereas women came to be associated with the domestic space and the refined, genteel world of tea and its related suite of material culture, men were strongly associated with alcohol', hence the attribution.[521] Undoubtedly this statement has merit, although in citing Harvey in this context Shanahan overlooks the fact that Harvey specifically confines her discussion to punch, a spirit based combination of sugar, fruit and spices.[522] Mrs Delany appears to contradict this gendered association when writing in 1732 from Nenagh to her sister,

> Oh, I had almost forgot a request I promised to make, which was for the receipt of your white elder wine; we met with some yesterday that was not as good as ours; and Mrs. Clayton wants the receipt mightily.[523]

There are other dimensions to this authorial interjection in the manuscript beyond what Shanahan proposes.[524] Contemporary anxieties would suggest that the first

[520] The manuscript was described as being of Limerick Provenance in the Mealy's Auction catalogue. This would tally with the mention of Mrs. Hawkesworth. In 1812 a John Hawkesworth, agent to Lord CastleCoote, was living at Forest Lodge, Mountrath, Co. Laois. The Coote family had strong connections with Limerick through a descendent of the younger brother of the first Earl of Mountrath, see Landed Estates Database, National University of Galway, Moore Institute for Research, 10 Feb. 2013 http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/family-show.jsp?id=633.

[521] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, 121.

[522] Karen Harvey, 'Barbarity in a Teacup? Punch, Domesticity and Gender in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Design History,* Vol. 21, No. 3 (Autumn 2008), 205-221, 205.

[523] Lady LLandover (ed.) *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville*, Vol.1 (London, 1861), 389. A contemporary recipe is in Richard Bradley, *The Country Housewife and Lady's Director* (London and Dublin, 1727). Twenty years later Mrs Delany is still exchanging recipes for wine, with one for raisin wine, LLandover, *Mary Granville*, Vol. 1, 618.

[524] The association of women, tea, and class structure is not without its own complications, see Lynette Hunter, 'Tea Drinking in England: Ceremony, Scandal and Domestic Bliss', *New Comparison,* Feasts, No. 24, Autumn 1997, 108-157; Helen O' Connell, '"A Raking Pot of Tea": Consumption and Excess in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *Literature & History*, October 2012, 21(2), 32-47 who cites Mary Leadbetter, the Irish reformer and writer, on the economic dangers of tea drinking for

phrase of this quotation is relevant — 'this receipt is as safe as the bank'. If one takes the date of the recipe as being in the earlier years of the manuscript's compilation, as would be suggested both by its location in the manuscript and the form of the handwriting, then it reads more interestingly as an endorsement of the Bank of Ireland, by virtue of the donor, the chief bookkeeper of the bank, than the association as suggested by Shanahan. The Bank of Ireland commenced business at St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, in June 1783, having been established under the protection of the Irish Parliament as a chartered rather than a central bank.[525] As such it supplied a currency of solidity.[526] The charter establishing the bank contained a prohibitory clause preventing, until 1824 when it was repealed, more then 6 persons forming themselves into a company to carry on the business of banking. This led to the formation, especially outside Dublin, of many 'small private banks whose failure was the cause of immense wretchedness to all classes of the population'.[527] The Commonplace Book of James Ryan of Carrick-on-Suir narrates the increasing sense of distress that surrounds this recurrent issue of bank failure. In 1801, above a recipe for barm, Ryan notes,

> Mr. John O'Neill's Bank in Waterford stopped payment on Wednesday the 27th May 1801. It was apprehended the day before (fair of Carrick) that such an event was likely to ensue, and it caused a great stagnation in the fair, and thro' the town, and country round.[528]

In these early years of bank collapse the Bank of Ireland was considered the safest bank to hold notes from, particularly after the collapse of the Ffrench bank in 1814.[529]

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the lower orders; Cashman, 'Sweetmeat' in Mac Con Iomaire and Maher (eds.) '*Tickling the Palate'*, 18, for association of scandal and tea amongst the higher orders; Mary Leadbetter, *Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry* (London, 1811).

[525] A chartered bank's role is to accept and safeguard monetary deposits from individuals.

[526] James William Gilbart, *The History of Banking in Ireland* (London, 1836), 18-19.

[527] *Ibid.,* 19.

[528] Rev. P. Power 'A Carrickman's Diary—1787-1809', *The Journal of the Waterford & South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, Vol. XIV July-Sept. 1911, 97-102 and Vol. XVII Jan-March 1914, 4-16; James Ryan's Commonplace Book, 1787-1809 is held in Waterford City Library. On Commonplace Books and the presence of recipes in them see David Allen, *Commonplace Books and Reading in Georgian England* (Cambridge, 2010).

[529] The Ffrench bank was founded in 1803 by the family of Lord Ffrench, a leading Catholic peer, based in Connacht. The bank issued loans in exchange for Bank of

The issue of bank failure is commented on by writers of the period and into the Victorian era, notably so in Dickens, Thackery and Gaskill, and Edgeworth in Ireland.[530]

NLI MS 42,105 adheres to a fairly common layout of manuscripts that include medical cures, in that these cures are assembled towards the end of the script, although as has been noted the nature of assembly of the manuscripts is such that boundaries are fairly porous. Commonplace books feature the same characteristic — James Ryan mixes details of marriages, deaths, and weather with details of how to kill rats, make barm, cure scurvy, the rebellion of 1798, and scathing commentary on local people. Edgeworth records this practice of mixing text categories in her novel *Almeria* when the heroine's step-father dies and the search commences for a will which is finally found in the form of a memorandum, 'the beginning of which was in the last leaf of his cookery-book, and the end in the first leaf of his prayer book'.[531]

A sense of authorial intervention in the manuscripts is apparent in two devices that recur throughout, namely the use of the 'pointed finger' or manicule (Fig. 4.11), and the presence of the phrase *Probatum Est*, — it has been proved — sometimes shortened to PE or *probatum* (Figs. 4.12 and 4.13). This use of the manicule and the indication that the recipe has been tried and tested operates on two levels, the practical one of indicating that the recipe is noteworthy and a trustworthy one, and also has the effect of stamping control on the information being communicated.[532] As Field

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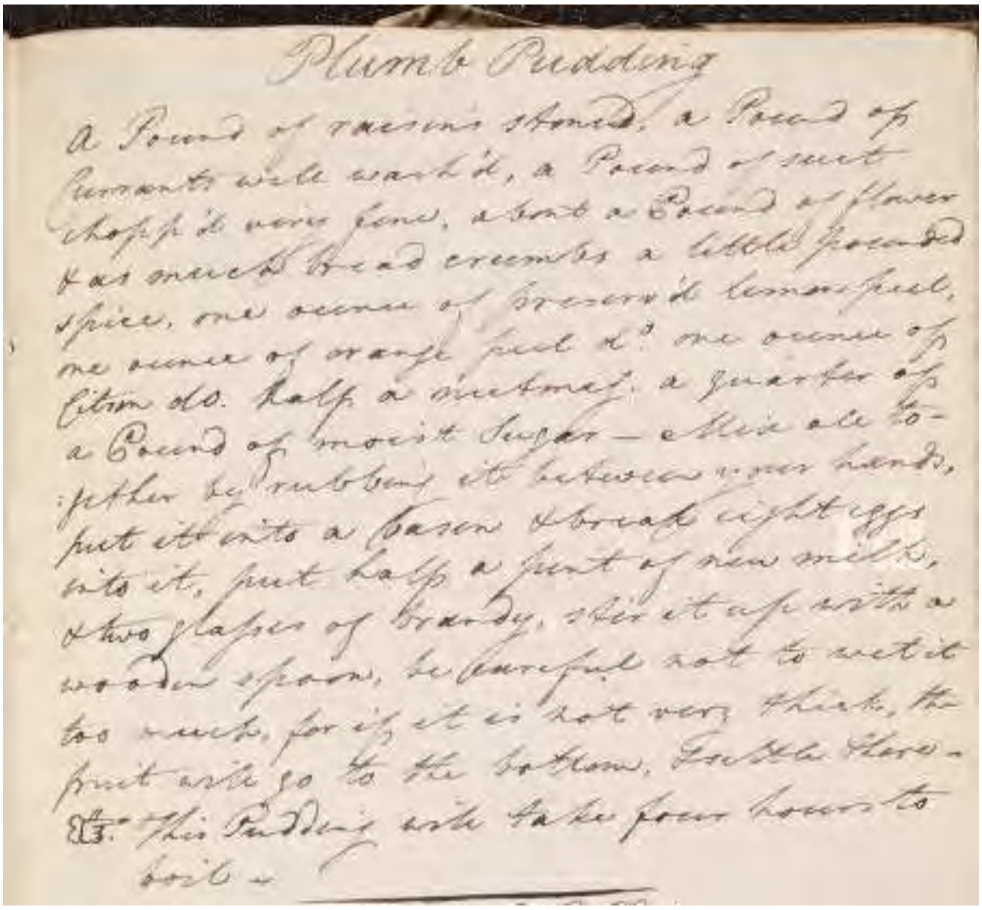
Ireland notes and for a small period, reflecting misplaced confidence in the bank, their notes were held by the public in preference to Bank of Ireland notes.

[530] Maria Edgeworth, *Harrington and Ormond, Tales* (London, 1817); William Makepeace Thackery, *Vanity Fair* (London, 1848), *The Newcomes* (London, 1855); Elizabeth Gaskill, *Cranford* (London, 1853); Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit* (London, 1857) who in his preface remarks, 'If I might make so bold as to defend that extravagant conception, Mr Merdle, I would hint that it originated after the Railroad-share epoch, in the time of a certain Irish bank…'.

[531] Maria Edgeworth, *Tales of Fashionable Life in Three Volumes, Vol. II Almeria, Madame de Fleury and The Dun* (London, 1809), 8-9. The quote is also interesting for the recording of the cookery book as belonging to a male.

[532] William H. Sherman, 'Towards a history of the manicule' in Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote, *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading* (London, 2004), 19-48, 41-42; Paul McPharlin, *Roman Numerals, Typographic Leaves and Pointing Hands: Some Notes on their Origin,*

observes about these manuscript collections ‘the larger question of authorship remains in these signed and often familial collections: how to access the extent of ‘self’ that is revealed in these texts?’.[533] One way of recording individual identity is through this device of the manicule and its association with practice.


Plumb Pudding

a Pound of raisons stoned, a Pound of
Currants well wash'd, a Pound of suet
chopp'd verie fine, a bout a Pound of flower
& as much bread creumbs a little pounded
spice, one ounce of preserv'd lemon peel,
one ounce of orange peel d^o one ounce of
Citron do. half a nutmeg, a quarter of
a Pound of moist sugar — mix all to-
-gether by rubbing it between your hands,
put it into a bason & break eight eggs
into it, put half a pint of new milk,
& two glasses of brandy, stir it up with a
wooden spoon, be carefull not to wet it
too much, for if it is not very thick, the
fruit will go to the bottom, [illegible]
&c. this Pudding will take four hours to
boil —

Fig. 4.11 NLI MS 42,105 with manicule at the end of the recipe.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

History and Contemporary Use, Typophile Chap Books 7 (New York, 1942), 47; Helen Williams, ‘Sterne’s Manicules: Hands, Handwriting and Authorial Property in *Tristram Shandy*’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2013), 209-223.

533 Field, ‘Many Many Hands’, 56.

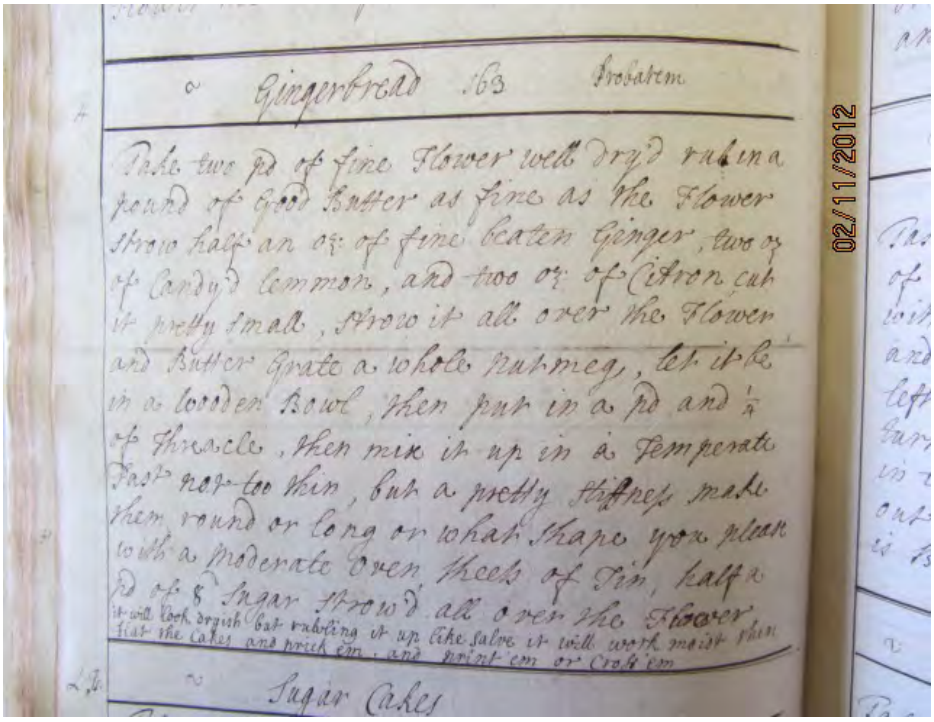


Fig. 4.12 NLI MS 42,134, '*Probatum*'.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

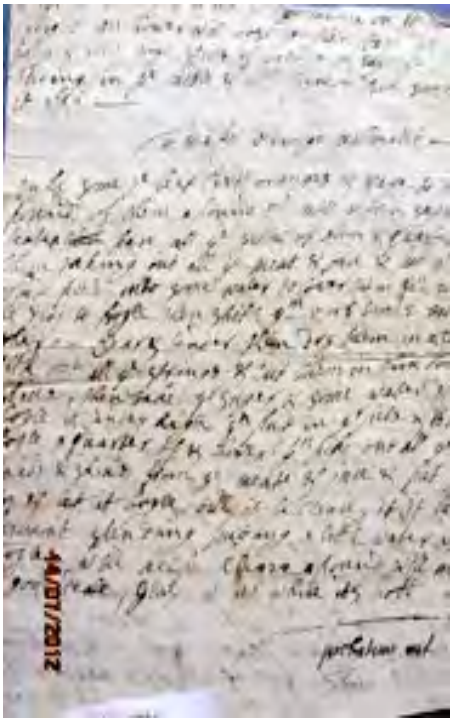


Fig. 4.13 NLI MS 41603/5, '*Probatum est'*.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

As noted in the introduction, Wheaton observed that not all cookbooks are created equal and that some are considerably more pertinent to their times than others.[534] Having surveyed the collections in the National Library of Ireland, the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Carlow Library, and the Dublin City Library and Archive and having been granted access to several manuscripts in private collections, it became apparent that apart from a handful of recipes with stated connections to either an Irish location, or of a specific made dish associated with Ireland, and the fact that at least four were considered important enough to have been bound 'in the Irish style', what singles a manuscript out within an Irish context is the quality of its traceability concerning geographic background and personal detail.

The manuscript that best fulfilled the criteria concerning known locality and familial background was NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). The suitability of this manuscript for analysing using Wheaton's framework was reinforced by several considerations both in terms of access to documents personal to the Baker family and of the availability of social commentary relevant to the manuscript in the person of Dorothea Herbert, who chronicled life in Carrick-on-Suir and its environs, and who was first cousin to Mrs Baker. It is a unique cross-fertilisation between culinary manuscript and diary, allowing for an in-depth probing of the manuscript within both culinary and cultural frameworks. Cullen drew attention to the richness of the material associated with the Kilkenny and Tipperary borderland.[535] Alongside the diarist Humphrey O'Sullivan from Callan,[536] Cullen notes the importance of Herbert's diary in recording the sophistication of the food traditions of the elite of the area. Of the diary resources available to draw on what marks Herbert's out is the close familial relationship with Mrs Baker.[537]

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[534] Wheaton, 'Real Life', 2.

[535] Louis Cullen, 'Comparative Aspects of Irish Diet, 1550-1850' in Hans J. Teuteberg (ed.), *European Food History* (Leicester, 1992), 45-55, 51. Cullen refers not to Mrs Baker's manuscript but rather to *Cookery and Cures of Old Kilkenny* (Kilkenny, 1983), which draws material from the Blunden family. At the time Cullen was writing NLI 34, 952 was still in private hands.

[536] De Bhaldraithe (Trans.), *The Diary of an Irish Countryman*.

[537] Cullen does not comment on Ryan, *Commonplace Book.* The diaries of Mrs Delany, while not specific to the Kilkenny, Tipperary area, are another invaluable source, See Katherine Cahill, *Mrs Delany's Menus, Medicines and Manners* (New Island, 2005). Also valuable is the commonplace book of Thomas Ryan referred to earlier.

4.3 The Baker family and Ballaghtobin House:

The archival documents relating to the Baker family in the National Library of Ireland are relatively extensive given the family's gentry status.[538] Lt-Col. Gabbett, father of the present owner of Ballaghtobin House (Fig. 4.14) donated the documents to the library and it was during his tenure that the house itself underwent extensive renovations.[539] The original estate, comprising the house and an extensive farmyard complex with walled garden, dates back to *ca.*1750, with some further embellishment in 1850.[540] All that remains of the original structure of the house is the barrack room, a room used to bed drunkards or rowdy guests in the period. Herbert alludes to the room's disreputable associations, 'We had six or seven Neighbours in the Barrack room As bold Boys as My Aunt used to say with a God bless them as any in the Kingdom…'[541] Herbert gives no description of Ballaghtobin House for this period, however she does give one for the Herbert family residence, Villa Mantua in nearby Carrick-on-Suir, describing it as having three large parlours, two large halls and three other large rooms below stairs besides the kitchen, larder, housekeeping room, and 'offices innumerable of every sort'. [542] Mrs Baker's granddaughter, Fanny, drew Ballaghtobin House in 1872, and this is the sole visual record of the original house (Fig. 4.15).[543] There is a reference to there being a long gallery in the house, used for celebrations relating to the coming of age of Abraham junior.[544] Castle Blunden is

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[538] Some appreciation of the family background of Sophia Baker and Dorothea Herbert is essential for an understanding of the dense interweaving of personages that pass through both NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) and Herbert's *Retrospections.* See Appendix Two and Three. Every effort has been made to be as precise as possible without overwhelming the reader with date and detail.

[539] Lt-Col. Gabbett described the original house as 'ugly and awkward', Mark Bence-Jones, *Burke's Guide to Irish Houses*, *Vol. I, Ireland* (London, 1978), 16.

[540] http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12402608 ; Rev. William Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory, Vol. IV* (Dublin, 1905), 44-45.

[541] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 69.

[542] *Ibid.,,* 20, a plan of the house may be gleaned from the Ordnance Survey Historic Maps at http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer/#V2,640535,621932,11,7

[543] On houses of this size see Maurice Craig, *Classic Irish Houses of the Middle Size* (London, 1976).

[544] NLI MS 21,036. As Nevin points out the furnishing of the gallery at Ballaghtobin was in the style of the eighteenth century, Monica Nevin, 'A County Kilkenny Georgian Household Notebook' *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5-19, 14-15. On the Long Gallery, see Rosalys Coope, 'The 'Long Gallery': Its Origins, Development, Use and Decoration', *Architectural History,* Vol. 29, 1986, 43-84.

also a mid-eighteenth-century house, where Mrs Baker spent her childhood and is still lived in by the Blunden family.[545]

Fig. 4.14 Ballaghtobin House, original barrack room to rear.

Fig. 4.15 Ballaghtobin House in 1872.
Kind permission of Catherine and Mickey Gabbett

Ballaghtobin house has remained in the family to the present day, twice passing down through the female line. Mrs Baker (*ca.*1760-1832) (Fig. 4.16) was born Sophia Blunden, daughter of Sir John Blunden and Lucinda Cuffe of Castle Blunden,

[545] Craig, *Classic Irish Houses*, 123.

Kilkenny. Lucinda Cuffe's two sisters, Nichola Sophia and Martha, married two Herbert brothers, John and the Reverend Nicholas Herbert, respectively. Dorothea Herbert was the daughter of Martha and the Reverend Nicholas.[546] When Mrs Baker commenced her manuscript in 1810, there were two Mrs Bakers in residence at Ballaghtobin, Sophia Baker, *née* Blunden, and her daughter-in-law Charity *née* Challoner. Sophia Baker may have also shared the house with her own mother-in-law on her marriage to Abraham Whyte Baker in 1778.[547] Malcomson notes the absence of a tradition of building dower houses in Ireland leading to this practice of many generations co-habiting.[548] The evidence from the archival documents and Herbert's *Retrospections* support the belief that this was a very tightly knit family and community.[549]

Included in the archive are accounts for the period 1811-1840 relating to items bought from Owen Dillon pertaining to copper saucepans and sundry kitchen items, dated 1812, also a small account book with details regarding household provisioning and expenditure, and a receipt for goods purchased in 1824 which include black pepper, real cinnamon, allspice, bitter almonds, best cloves, Jamaica ginger and Jamaica sugar (MS 21,013/4). MS 42,007 is a household account book that includes an inventory,[550] and MS 21,039 is an inventory of kitchen furniture dated 1818.

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[546] For an account of the intermarriages and combinations of family connections between the *dramatis personae* of Mrs Baker's manuscript see Appendix Three.
[547] Marriage announcement in *The Gentleman's and London magazine; or monthly chronologer* (Dublin, 1778), 643.
[548] A.P.W. Malcomson, *The Pursuit of an Heiress: Aristocratic Marriage in Ireland 1750-1820* (Belfast, 2006), 17. The estates were assigned to Abraham Whyte Baker by his widowed mother Anna Whyte Baker to facilitate settlements on the marriage of her son and Sophia Blunden, NLI D.27, 240-27/248; NLI MS 21,004/1 letter to A.W. Baker, *ca.*1781 expresses the following, 'Love to your Sophy and all the best to Mrs Baker', indicating perhaps that Mrs Baker's mother-in-law was also residing at Ballaghtobin; See also John D'Alton, *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical of King James's Irish Irish Army List, 1689* (London, 1861), 731.
[549] The ten letters that comprise NLI MS 21,004/2 to and from Abraham Whyte Baker, *ca.*1777-1836 are replete with personal detail. Included is a letter from Abraham senior to his son on his engagement to Charity, which gives a sense of the familial attachment between the generations.
[550] See Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook', 5-19; 'Household Notebook', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 110 (1980), 158-160.

Fig. 4.16 'Portrait said to be Sophia Baker, signed Mrs Wright, late Biffin, 1841'.[551]
Kind permission of Catherine and Mickey Gabbett

Mention has been made of deracinated manuscripts, orphaned from their surroundings. Mrs. Baker's manuscript collection of recipes has undergone an interesting journey in this regard. Bought by Dr. Monica Nevin from a Dublin bookseller, she donated it with several other manuscripts to the National Library of Ireland in 2005. The volume was apparently one of two planned volumes, however it is not known if the other volume is extant. Until this research was undertaken all that was known of this second volume was the information supplied by Mrs Baker in the index at the back of Volume I, NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) (Fig. 4.17).

[551] Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook', 7. As this portrait is dated 1841, approximately eleven years after the death of Sophia Baker, it may be taken from another portrait or sketch done of Mrs Baker.

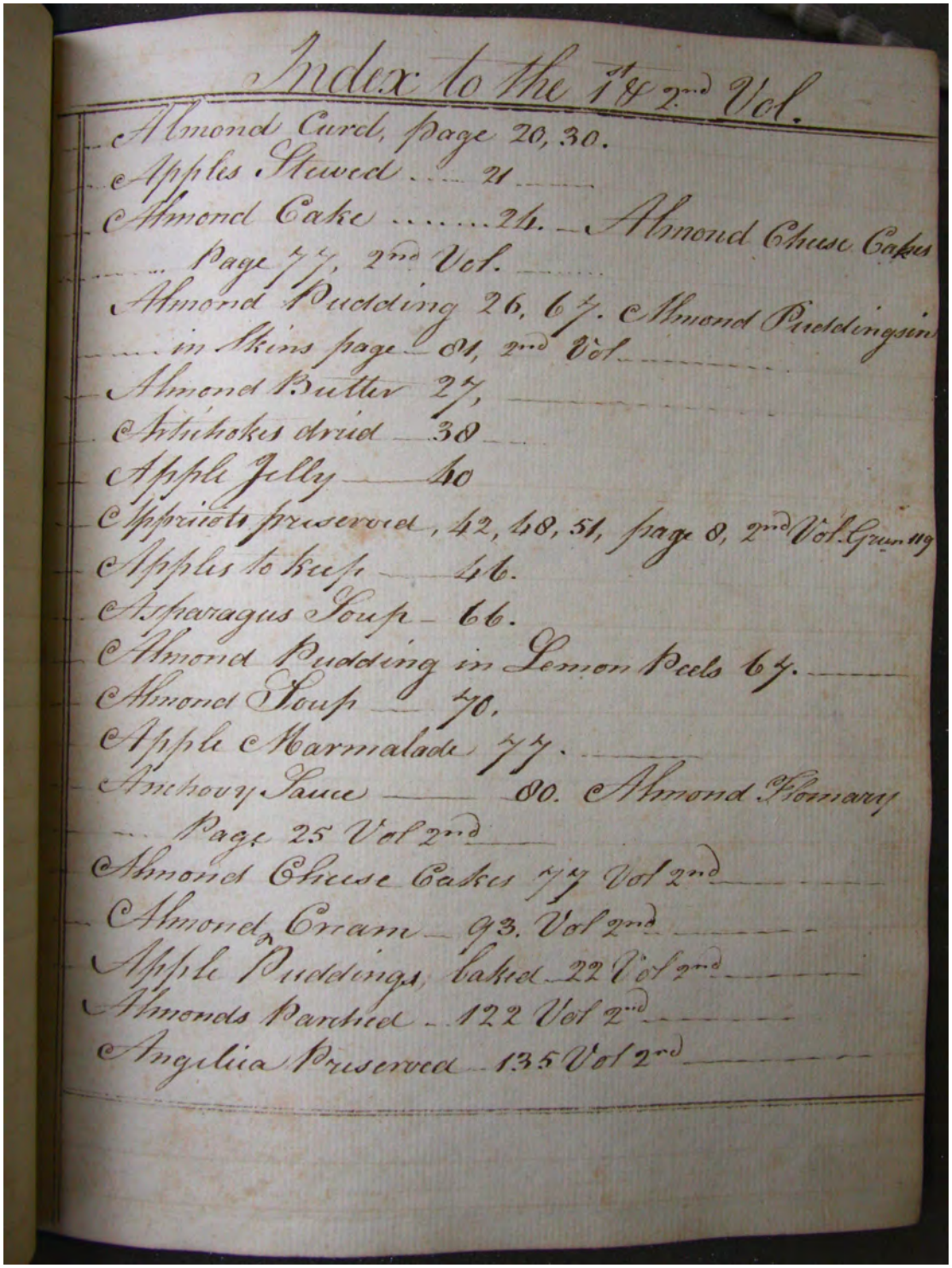

Fig. 4.17 NLI MS 34, 952 (Baker) Index to First and Second Volume.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

This circuitous route via a bookseller has reunited Mrs Baker's manuscript with the archives pertaining to the family, donated by the Gabbett family at a later date. The Blunden family in Castle Blunden holds further documents relating to the

manuscript.[552] They are not currently available for research. However what this research has uncovered is a volume of recipes compiled by Mrs Baker, unattributed to her, which predates NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). This volume is held in the Dublin City Library and Archive and is catalogued as a 'book of recipes in manuscript, early nineteenth-century, written on laid paper, watermark 1804, dating from 1804-1819'.[553] That this is a manuscript compiled by Mrs Baker is beyond question. The handwriting is identical and the recipe attributions match those in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). Furthermore analysis shows that just over half the recipes from MS 162 (DCL) are reproduced in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) (See Appendix Five). The second portion of MS 162 (DCL) is in a different hand, but one that features occasionally in pencil in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) and in NLI MS 42,007. This accounts for the later dating of 1819 in the Dublin City Library and Archive catalogue and would indicate that the two manuscripts existed in tandem. While not a paleography expert, there is a strong argument that this is the handwriting of Mrs Baker's daughter-in-law, Charity.

4.4 Literary Sources and the Big House:

Having extensively researched the culinary manuscripts in public and private collections, the justification for selection of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) was based on the evidence that as a manuscript it contained all the requisite culinary detail, had significant archival support, and a sense of presence — of being embedded culturally and socially in a very specific location. Two other factors were critical in selecting the manuscript. The first was that there were highly significant literary sources in the person of Maria Edgeworth and Dorothea Herbert that could be tied to the manuscript; the second was that because of these literary sources and the precision of Mrs Baker's recording of the *dramatis personae* of her manuscript, research into the societal background could be finely tuned. It is to these considerations of literary sources and societal background that this chapter now turns.

As noted in Chapter Three, much of the detail pertaining to the culinary history of the Georgian period in Ireland remains dispersed. The groundwork is now being laid which will result in a more coherent picture emerging of that history, a history

[552] See Ainsworth 'Manuscript Collections', *Analecta Hibernica*, No. 23, 369–88, and *Analecta Hibernica* No. 32 (1985), 29-33.
[553] MS 162 (DCL) Library.

that will explore narrative beyond that of diet. Culinary historians are indebted to the work of Cullen, Clarkson and Crawford and more recently Flavin.[554] Mac Con Iomaire, Cashman, Shanahan and Sexton have moved discussion beyond economic and dietary frameworks.[555] This research adds to this discussion and enlists literary sources as a significant contributor to that discussion. Aymard describes three avenues of approach to the study of food, macroeconomic, nutritional and psychosociological.[556] Forster and Ranum add a fourth, cultural history.[557] Barthes argues for the belief that food, rather than being a vehicle for statistical and nutritional analysis, is 'a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of usages, situations and behaviour'.[558] All of these 'systems' are to be found in Mrs Baker's manuscript, and literary sources have the ability to bring these systems into focus.

Kreilkamp notes that the novel, in contrast to other genres, has long enjoyed privileged status amongst cultural historians.[559] For the period under discussion the Irish novels of Maria Edgeworth[560] and the diary and poems of Dorothea Herbert are the main supporting structures for culinary detail and delineating the cultural context of Mrs Baker's manuscript. Both authors are repositories of social detail that allows for a coherent vision of the world of the Anglo-Irish elite. In literature this elite is closely associated with the emergence of what constitutes a sub-genre of Irish

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[554] Cullen, *Emergence*; Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast*; Flavin, *Consumption*.
[555] Mac Con Iomaire, 'Emergence'; Cashman, 'Sweetmeat'; Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*; Regina Sexton, 'Food and Culinary Cultures in pre-Famine Ireland', in Elizabeth Fitzpatrick and James Kelly (eds.), *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C, Vol. 115, Special Issue, Food and drink in Ireland* (Dublin, 2015), 257-306.
[556] Maurice Aymard, 'Towards the History of Nutrition: Some Methodological Remarks' in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum (eds.), *Food and Drink in History,* Vol. 5 (Maryland, 1979), 1-16, 1-2. The phrase is borrowed from Barthes.
[557] Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, 'Introduction' in Forster and Ranum (eds.) *Food and Drink in History,* xvii-xiii, vii.
[558] Roland Barthes, 'Towards a Psychosociology', 167.
[559] Vera Kreilkamp, *The Anglo-Irish Novel and the Big House* (Syracuse, 1998), 3; Otto Rauchbauer (ed.), *Ancestral Voices: The Big House in Anglo-Irish Literature* (Dublin, 1992).
[560] Maria Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent* (London, 1800); *Ennui* (London, 1809); *The Absentee* (London, 1812); *Ormond* (London, 1817). Culinary detail is not confined to Edgeworth's Irish novels as seen above with reference to *Almeria*, see also *Patronage* (London, 1814) where Edgeworth cites a recipe from Raffald's *The Experienced English Housekeeper* (Manchester, 1769).

literature, novels and memoirs of the Big House.[561] All sources are subject to scrutiny regarding reliability and bias. Speaking in the context of contemporary accounts regarding hospitality in early modern Ireland, Barnard issues the *caveat* that 'scrupulous observers told what they had seen, but they saw what they had been told to expect'. One is countenanced to be on one's guard against familiar idioms.[562] Against this Cullen acknowledges that Herbert's powers of observation are considerable and her accuracy of recall, bar a few instances, is striking.[563] MacCurtain notes that Edgeworth has bequeathed to the historian significant documentation on the period, this documentation informed by factual knowledge regarding the running of an estate.[564] Mac Donagh argues the case for nineteenth-century literature in 'history-making' with specific reference to the novels of Edgeworth and those that work with the symbol of the Big House, a symbol that he describes as recapturing anachronistic concepts of deference and antagonism.[565] MacDonagh's description of the literature as 'ample, discursive, domestic and generally, if quite innocently, sociological in content'[566] describes precisely the qualities that allow for their assistance in a close reading of Mrs Baker's culinary manuscript.

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[561] Edith Somerville and Martin Ross, *The Real Charlotte* (London, 1894); Elizabeth Bowen, *Bowen's Court: The story of an Anglo-Irish family from the time of Cromwell to the present day* (London, 1942); Barbara Fitzgerald, *We Are Besieged* (London, 1946); Katherine Everett, *Bricks and Flowers* (London, 1951 [1949]). Everett is a descendent of Dorothea Herbert; David Thomson, *Woodstock* (London, 2002 [1974]); Molly Keane (M.J. Farrell), *Good Behaviour* (London, 1981), *Time after Time* (London, 1983); William Trevor, *Fools of Fortune* (London, 1983); *The Story of Lucy Gault* (London, 2002); Annabel Davis-Goff, *Walled Gardens: Scenes from an Irish Childhood* (London, 2008 [1990]); The playwright Brian Friel explored the theme in *Aristocrats* (Abbey Theatre, 1979). Richard Murphy writes of the distinctions between the native Irish and the Anglo-Irish of the Big House and ancestral bias in his collection *The Price of Stone* (London, 1985), see Terence Dewsnap, 'Richard Murphy's *Apologia*: The price of Stone', *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies,* Vol. 22, No. 1, (Jul., 1996), 71-86. Murphy's niece, Fiona Murphy, brought the discussion into the documentary genre with her work *Neither Flesh nor Fowl* (2010).

[562] Barnard, 'Gentrification', 141. See also Toby Barnard, *A Guide to Sources for the History of Material Culture in Ireland 1500-2000* (Dublin, 2005); Christopher J. Woods, *Travellers' Accounts as Source Material for Irish Historians* (Dublin, 2009).

[563] Louis Cullen, 'Foreword', Herbert, *Retrospections*, xxiv.

[564] Margaret MacCurtain, 'Pre-Famine Peasantry in Ireland: Definition and Theme', *Irish University Review,* Vol. 4, No. 2 (Autumn, 1974), 188-198, 195. See also Cashman, 'French Boobies', 'Sweetmeat'.

[565] MacDonagh, *The Nineteenth Century Novel.*

[566] *Ibid.,* 3.

4.5 The Social Milieu of Ascendency Ireland:

Mary Delaney, in her habitual sensible fashion, allows the observer to gain purchase on the society that Herbert and Edgeworth are both part of and describe, when she remarks about the generality of people that she met in Ireland:

> they are much the same as in England — a mixture of good and bad; all that I have met with behave themselves very decently, according to their rank, now and then an oddity breaks out, but none so extraordinary that I can match it in England. [567]

Mrs Delany finds similarities between the people she meets with those of Cornwall, in their heartiness and sociability. However the phrase that resonates here for discussion of the social milieu of Mrs Baker's manuscript is 'according to their rank'.

The Irish nobility fall into three categories, the old Gaelic nobility of Ireland, the Hiberno-Norman or Old English, and those members of the Peerage of Ireland who derive their titles from English and British monarchs of Ireland in their capacity as Lord or King of Ireland. As Barnard notes, by the 1720s the parliamentary peerages of Ireland and England had superficially converged, working within a common culture of an increasingly internationalised high society throughout Europe.[568] Given that, rank was of profound importance in the Irish context. In his study of the Irish Protestants Barnard observes that 'beneath the titled opened a large and perilous tract peopled with esquires, gentlemen, "the genteel" and "the quality"', within which ranks there was a constant procession upwards and downwards.[569] It is this society that Herbert captures in her *Retrospections*, as does Edgeworth in her Irish novels.

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[567] Lady LLandover, *Mary Granville*, Vol. 1., 291. The generality that Mrs Delany refers to are those drawn from the gentry classes.

[568] Barnard, 'Introduction' in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, Vol. 111C, Special Issue: Domestic life in Ireland (2011), xi-xxvii, xxii. Barnard also makes the point that styles of living amongst the lower social and economic hierarchies in Ireland may well have resembled those amongst comparable groups in Britain, continental Europe and colonial America. Commercialised consumption was international in scope and applied across the classes.

[569] Toby Barnard, *A New Anatomy of Ireland: The Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (Yale, 2003), 42.

Land held in freehold was frequently the key to social recognition, although land held by lease was not entirely discounted. As important as land, confessional background is a critical factor in discussion of society in Georgian Ireland. Barnard's division of the Protestants of Ireland into 'orders'[570] is an important contribution to understanding the differing socio-economic backgrounds that the group encompassed. Identifying towns as accommodating best the purpose and personnel of the Protestant Ascendency, Barnard notes the obscurity of swathes of occupational groups and individuals within the towns, the corollary being a tendency to associate Protestantism with easy access to wealth. Of these obscure urban classes Barnard remarks that these groups have remained unconsidered 'because seemingly "inconsiderable"'.[571] In an exploration of the confectioners of Dublin, Cashman shed new light on a group previously unconsidered, tracing their rise and decline through Georgian Dublin.[572] This study was prompted by a reference in Edgeworth's *The Absentee* to a named confectioner. From Edgeworth's reference records were traced back to establish a lineage of confectioners, a history that encompassed the procession up and down the social scale that Barnard identifies with the higher orders.

Wheaton has noted that you cannot do food history just doing cookbooks.[573] The social milieu of the prosperous Kilkenny Tipperary borderlands is peopled with an array of personages that encompass all social classes.[574] Herbert is one of the few who records family domestic arrangements, lifting the anonymity usually afforded this class when, as well as children's nurses, the coachman, the pantry boy and dairy maid, she records that Mrs Ann Wharton lived with her mother for many years and 'was a Wonderfully clever Housekeeper, Confectioner, Lady's Maid and

[570] Barnard, *Anatomy,* 1-20. The orders are peers, the quality, the clergy, the professions, office holders, soldiers and sailors, agents, the middle station, and the lower people. See also J. L. McCracken, 'The Social Structure and Social Life' in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds.), *A New History of Ireland, Vol. IV: Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691-1800* (Oxford, 2009 [1986]), 31-56.
[571] Barnard, *Anatomy*, 16.
[572] Cashman, 'Sweetmeat'.
[573] Barbara K. Wheaton, 'Reading Historic Cookbooks: A Structured Approach', Seminar held at Dublin Institute of Technology, September 2013.
[574] Monica Brennan, 'The Changing Composition of Kilkenny Landowners 1641-1700' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny: History and Society*. *Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1990), 161-187.

Nursetender'.[575] As Cullen notes, unlike travellers such as Arthur Young or Coquebert de Montbret, Herbert's account allows a unique perspective from the point of view of a single family within a self-contained district.[576] Rarefied as the social milieu may seem, Herbert conveys a sense of a 'cheek by jowl' way of living despite social distinctions. Both Herbert and Mrs Baker maintained a hold on the higher social orders by virtue of familial association with the high-ranking families in the area, in Herbert's case set apart from them also by virtue of her father's occupation as a clergyman, who while he had excellent family connections, can be seen slipping down the social scale as the diary progresses.

The period under consideration is identified by Smyth as witness to the establishment of a new, more 'modern' capitalist order that commenced in the seventeenth century.[577] The English state had made significant inroads into the older established feudal systems; a market economy was evidently growing, yet, despite the decline of the premier family in the region, the Butlers of Ormond, who scarcely feature in Herbert and not at all in Baker, the area was home to Gael, Norman and New English.[578] Operating within these parameters, dress and diet underpinned social classification and inequality was closely tied to confessional community.[579] They were anxious times socially, petty distinctions between nobility, understood as an inherited quality, and gentility, which the newly moneyed classes aspired to, are evident in social commentary. Mary Delany is saddened by finding people 'out of character', stepping beyond their station, drinking wine and tea 'where they have no place to be', dairymaids wearing large hoops and velvet hoods instead of petticoats

[575] Herbert, *Retrospections,* 13.
[576] Cullen, 'Foreword', xxvii.
[577] William J. Smyth, 'Territorial, Social and Settlement Hierarchies in Seventeenth-Century Kilkenny' in Nolan and Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny: History and Society*, 127-160; Powell, *Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*; Sara Pennell, 'Material Culture in Seventeenth-Century 'Britain': The Matter of Domestic Consumption' in Frank Trentman (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of The History of Consumption* (Oxford, 2012), 64-84.
[578] Smyth, 'Territorial'; W.G Neeley, 'The Ormond Butlers of County Kilkenny 1517-1715' in Nolan and Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny: History and Society*, 107-126, 121 notes that Elizabeth Preston, wife of the 1st Duke of Ormond installed a French kitchen in Kilkenny Castle, 'where two hundred gentlemen a day were entertained to dinner in the castle'.
[579] Ian McBride, *New Gill History of Ireland 4: Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2009), 152-156.

and straw hats, exclaiming that 'there is as much foppery introduced in the *food* as in the dress—*the pure simplicity of the country is quite lost*! (sic.)'.[580] Social anxieties preyed on the minds of the rural elite when compared with their city cousins. On travelling to visit her city relatives, Herbert is given 'a compleat scrubbing from top to toe as a Quarentine from the Land of Potatoes'.[581] Barnard in a recent essay on eighteenth-century Ireland references a term used by Hague, 'supra-parochial gentry'.[582] The term is used by Hague to describe a gentry class not entirely bounded by the parish they lived in, occupying local positions but not national ones, a provincial elite, some aspirant to belonging to higher society, some content to live quietly on their land.[583] It is the plight of Lord Clonbrony in Edgeworth's *The Absentee*, forced to keep up with the London *bon ton* by his foolish wife and facing ruin as a result. Clonbrony's plea that 'there need, at all events, be none of this, if people would but live upon their own estates, and kill their own mutton'[584] is a comment that is relevant when approaching Mrs Baker's culinary manuscript. The evidence appears to be that the Baker family at the turn of the nineteenth century adopted this approach of living quietly on their land in close proximity to their kin and that this is what is being recorded in the manuscript.

This research questions the contribution of the culinary manuscripts to an understanding of Irish culinary history. Human agency is an essential factor in understanding culinary history.[585] The aim here is to extend Barnard's definition of 'the unconsidered' to a gentlewoman in provincial Ireland, Mrs Baker, and her first cousin, the diarist Dorothea Herbert. Both these females, easily unremarked as seemingly unremarkable, escaped the fate of anonymity often apportioned the widow and the spinster in eighteenth-century Ireland by virtue of the survival of personal, individual records of their lives. It is to these records that this research now turns.

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[580] LLandover, *Mary Granville*, Vol. II, 365.
[581] Herbert, *Retrospections,* 43.
[582] Barnard, 'Delusions of Grandeur?', 160; Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World 1680-1780* (Basingstoke, 2015).
[583] Hague, cited in Barnard, 'Delusions of Grandeur', 160.
[584] Maria Edgeworth, *The Absentee* (Oxford, 1988 [London, 1812]), 67.
[585] Mary Douglas, 'Deciphering a Meal', *Daedalus,* Vol. 101, No. 1, Myth, Symbol and Culture (Winter, 1972), 61-81; Barthes, 'Psychosociology'; Mary Douglas 'Standard Social Uses of Food: Introduction' in Douglas (ed.), *Food in the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities* (New York, 1984), 1-39.

4.6 Summary:

This chapter has introduced the reader to Irish culinary manuscripts, discussing them as both objects of material culture and as texts with their individual peculiarities. Problems in accessing the material due to the nature of their dispersal both within Ireland and beyond have been described. Differing interpretations of the manuscripts highlights their value in stimulating discussion surrounding questions of social history for the period. The argument has been made for discussing the manuscripts in the context of specific literary sources with a brief description of the social milieu of the elite of the Kilkenny Tipperary borderlands. The following chapter narrows the scale down further with a study of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) using Wheaton's framework.

Chapter Five: NLI MS 34, 952 (Baker) A Structured Approach

5.1 Wheaton's Structured Approach:

In the previous chapters a course has been charted with regard to how Irish culinary history has developed from earliest times through political and religious hegemonies and influences. As recipe-led culinary awareness advanced, Ireland arguably absorbed rather than relayed influences. Against this, Irish contributions were noted in early continental texts while simultaneously the elite of the island, Gael, Old English and new settler were responding to the specific circumstances of their experiences. Manuscript recipe texts emerged at the turn of the seventeenth century in a form that is now associated with the genre.[586] In Ireland this genre appears somewhat later and is indelibly associated with the emergent gentry class of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As such the tradition is open to the criticism that it is an imported one and implicitly less authentically Irish.[587] This criticism does not factor in the increasingly internationalised nature of the elite classes, nor the fact that the popularity of the genre is closely associated with a new culture of knowledge circulation, and that it gained strength from, along with feeding into, a diversifying commercial print market. These are issues that have been discussed in the foregoing chapters and will be returned to in the conclusion.

Having researched and studied manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland, the National Archives, the Dublin City Library and Archive, the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Carlow County Library and private collections this chapter turns to one manuscript in order to look within the genre to articulate something complementary to more general studies of the manuscripts in an Irish context.[588] Shanahan describes recipe writing as evidence of an increase in materialism with the author 'exhibiting a heightened sense of concern with material culture'.[589] This view owes much to an unacknowledged debt to the legacy of structuralism, where human agency is subsumed within culture as a system of

[586] Pennell and DiMeo, 'Introduction' in Pennell and DiMeo (eds.), *Reading and Writing*, 9.
[587] Marriage between Irish men and English women being viewed as a means of anglicisation and civilisation, and women being the conduit for culinary matters, see Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English*, 170-171.
[588] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*; Sexton, 'Food and Culinary Cultures'.
[589] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, 95.

signs.[590] By scrutinising one manuscript this research explicitly argues for the place of the individual within the collective. Levi uses the word 'scale'.[591] In reducing the scale, the micro-historian takes the particular as the starting point, while paying due regard to contextualising this particularity.

While Wheaton has not described herself as a micro-historian, her approach does precisely what Levi has described, moving from a study of the particular, ingredients, through to context or worldview. In her annual seminars at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University she gathers together a cohort of people, limited to sixteen, to study cookbooks in an environment that allows for critical conversations. Those attending arrive at an appreciation of the importance of cookbooks from diverse backgrounds. On the course at Radcliffe attended by this researcher the interdisciplinary nature of Wheaton's approach was represented by the skills brought to bear on cookbooks from fields as diverse as medicine to computer science, homeopathy to history.[592] As Mac Con Iomaire has noted those from a scientific background bring to discussion of cookbooks different skills than, for example, linguists or anthropologists.[593] Wheaton presides over these discussions and encourages participants to delve fully into each historic cookbook on the basis of her categories, while drawing the knowledge gained into an intelligible and coherent structure. Her generosity of spirit ensures that there is an open exchange of views and information, this exchange ensuring that each participant benefits fully from the diverse range of skills and knowledge present in the room. Wheaton's structured approach to studying cookbooks has borne fruit in the database that she has assembled over the last half-century, where she has logged recipes, ingredients and techniques of over three thousand five hundred books by more than six thousand authors. However, like the database, the aim of her structured approach should be understood not as primarily an exercise in salvaging historic dishes, laudable as that is in itself, but rather as a scheme designed to understand the aspirations that lay behind them, 'to see

[590] Burke, *History and Social Theory,* 134.
[591] Giovanni Levi, 'On Microhistory' in Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives in Historical Writing*, 97-119.
[592] The course that Wheaton conducted at the Dublin Institute of Technology in 2014 was similarly attended by members of staff of the Institute from across different disciplines, from professional cookery, wine studies, languages, library archivist to fine art.
[593] Mac Con Iomaire, 'Towards a Structured Approach'.

the different flavour combinations cooks craved or the things they worried about in the kitchen'.[594] While each category of her structured approach is self-contained, the true complexity of the material under scrutiny is revealed in the cumulative manner that the categories interconnect. This is the first time that Wheaton's structured approach has been utilised for the analysis of a culinary manuscript, an adaptation of her approach that has her full support.

5.2 NLI MS 34, 952 (Baker):

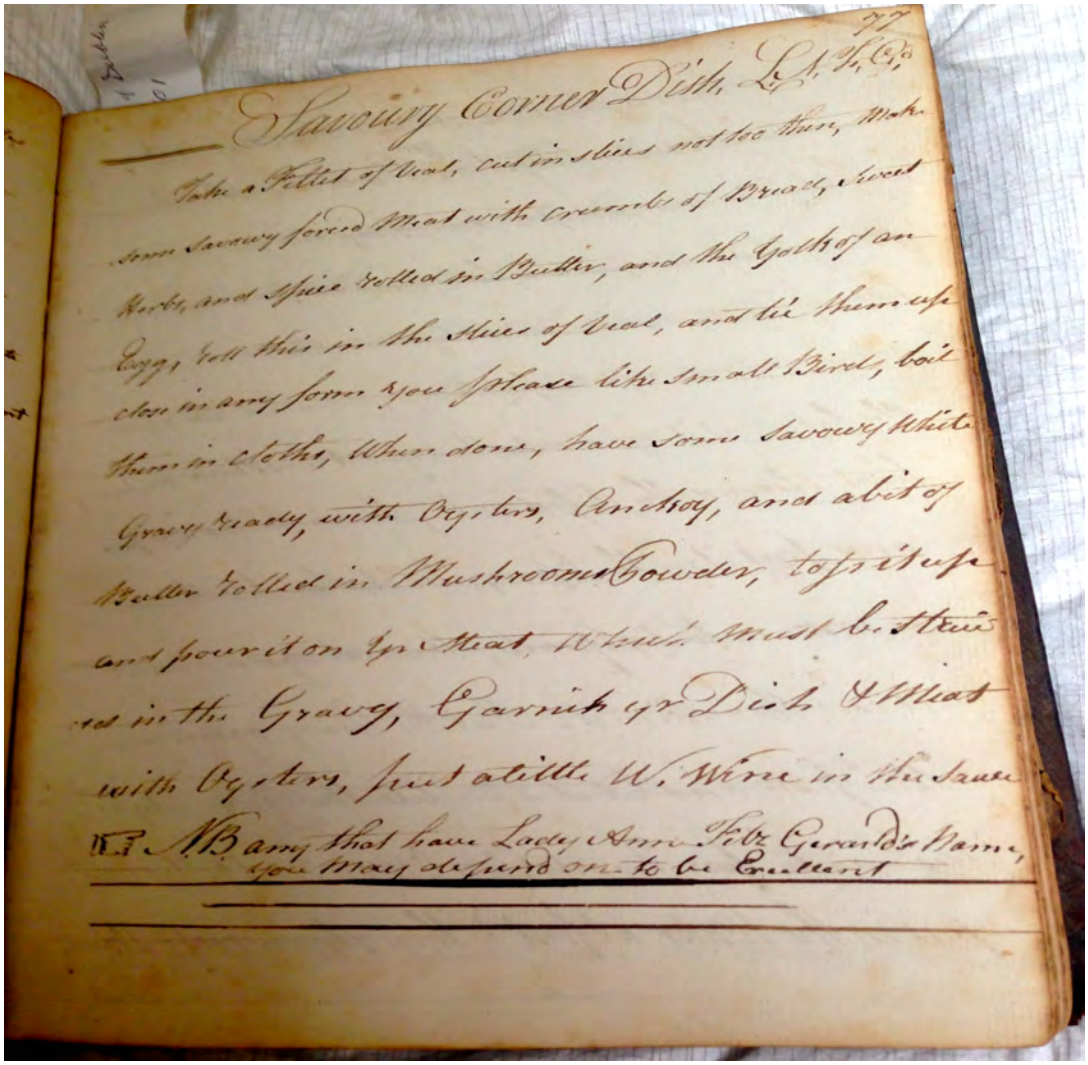
Before commencing this analysis it is important to note that this manuscript is a collection of recipes, a compilation. Both Paston-Williams and Brears have pointed out an inherent difficulty in analysing any collection of recorded recipes.[595] Namely, that those are precisely the recipes that are not in regular use. If they were, then such an exercise would be unnecessary. Both writers made their observation within the context of collections assembled before the eighteenth century. Recipes were also the stock in trade of a cook. Therein lies another reason for lack of record. When Mrs Lennon, the cook, dies in Keane's novel *Good Behaviour,* the problem is eloquently set out,

> Mrs Lennon's secrets died along with her, for she despised receipts and the ignorant and mean-minded who cooked by them; she never wrote anything down and, if possible, shut the door against any inquiring kitchen maid whilst she composed her greatest dishes. No inheritance was left from her years in office. She could not speak the language of her skill (nor did she wish to). "Partridges Mrs Lennon…" some friend might say years after her death, and Papa's eyes would drop and his face darken.[596]

Arguably, aspects of this hold true for Mrs Baker's manuscript, which has patently not recorded all the recipes in everyday use in her household. However, by her annotations, both in terms of individual recipes and their source, it is apparent that the majority of recipes that are in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) were in use and were considered to work. Terms used include 'excellent', 'very good', and 'exceedingly good', along with other more personalised ones (Fig. 5.1 and 5.2). In reconciling the recipes from MS 162 (DCL) with the later collection in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) it is

[594] Wilson, 'The Archive of Eating'.
[595] Peter Brears, *Cooking and Dining in Medieval England* (Totnes, 2012), 13; Sara Paston-Williams, *The Art of Dining* (London, 1993), 173.
[596] Keane, *Good Behaviour*, 72.

obvious that Mrs Baker culled several recipes, either because they did not work, or because the source of the chosen recipe was important in some other respect.[597] This is an issue that will be revisited when discussion of the manuscript opens out to the worldview implicit in the collection. The issue here is that in discussing the ingredients, it should not be assumed that the information gleaned from the manuscript is exhaustive in terms of what the household consumed, but rather is a particular snapshot of ingredients that were considered necessary for the provisioning of the household to a certain standard.

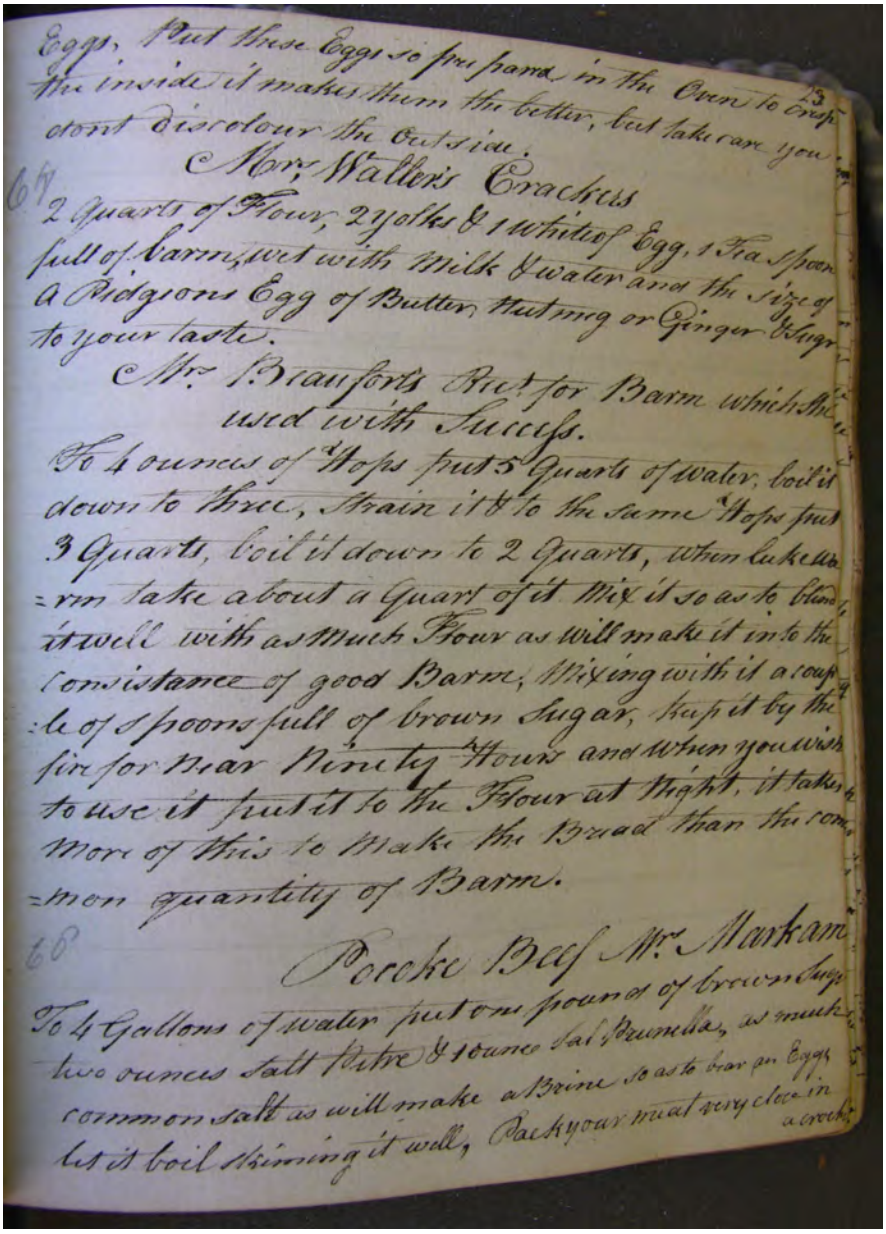

Savoury Corner Dish

Take a Fillet of Veal, cut in slices not too thin, Make some Savoury forced Meat with crumbs of Bread, Sweet Herbs, and Spice rolled in Butter, and the Yolk of an Egg, roll this in the slices of Veal, and tie them up close in any form you please like small Birds, but them in Cloths, When done, have some Savoury White Gravy ready, with Oysters, Anchovy, and a bit of Butter rolled in Mushroom Powder, to give it up and pour it on the Meat, Which must be stewed in the Gravy, Garnish the Dish & Meat with Oysters, just a little W. Wine in the Sauce

N.B any that have Lady Anne Fitz Gerald's Name, you may depend on to be Excellent

Fig. 5.1 Savoury Corner Dish, 'N.B any that have Lady Ann Fitzgerald's name you may depend on to be excellent' MS 162 (DCL).
Kind permission of Special Collections, Dublin City Library and Archive

[597] See Appendix Five.


Eggs. Put these Eggs so prepared in the Oven to crisp
the inside it makes them the better, but take care you
dont discolour the outside.

Mrs Walkers Crackers

2 Quarts of Flour, 2 yolks & 1 white of Egg, 1 Tea Spoon
full of Barm, wet with Milk & water and the size of
a Pidgeons Egg of Butter, Nutmeg or Ginger & Sugar
to your taste.

Mrs Beaufort's Rect for Barm which she
used with Success.

To 4 ounces of Hops put 5 Quarts of water, boil it
down to three, Strain it & to the same Hops put
3 Quarts, boil it down to 2 Quarts, when luke-warm
take about a Quart of it. Mix it so as to blend
it well with as much Flour as will make it into the
consistance of good Barm, Mixing with it a couple
of Spoons full of brown Sugar, keep it by the
fire for near Ninety Hours and when you wish
to use it put it to the Flour at Night, it takes
more of this to make the Bread than the com-
mon quantity of Barm.

Pickle for Beef Mrs Markam

To 4 Gallons of water put one pound of brown Sugar
two ounces Salt Petre & 1 ounce Sal Prunella, as much
common salt as will make a Brine so as to bear an Egg
let it boil skiming it well, Pack your meat very close in
a crock

Almond Pudding, ‘very good’ (again slipped in at the bottom of page twenty six but recorded in the index at the back), and in the body of the manuscript Lady Anne Fitzgerald’s recipe to dry mogul plums is followed by ‘Mr Hampden Nicholson’s receipt for same’, which is not recorded elsewhere. Added to the recipes recorded as being in Volume II the total number of recipes comes to three hundred and fifty five.

5.3 Ingredients:

A feature of listing the ingredients (Table I) is that many are complex, as for example in the category of bread, where French loaves feature as an ingredient, for which there is no recipe, or catsup, which exists both as ingredient and recipe. Also, what could be viewed as one ingredient, milk, features under many guises — new, raw and butter. The purpose of the analysis is to give both a sense of the way that knowledge was assumed and a picture of the scope of the ingredients. Table I comes to life when looked at in conjunction with Table II, an analysis of the recipes. The categories chosen are detailed and reflect the variety of recipes in the manuscript. Table III is an analysis of the ingredients according to how often they are mentioned in the manuscript. A gloss for the terms used in the Tables is provided in Appendix Six.

TABLE I: INGREDIENTS VOL. I and VOL. II
ITALICISED ITEMS ARE FROM VOL. II, NOT PRESENT IN VOL. I.

ANIMAL

Cow

Beef, unspecified, for beef soup
Beef, leg of, for mock turtle soup
Beef, rump of
Calves feet
Calves head
Cow heel, for jelly
Ox cheek
Tongue, unspecified
Veal, breast of
Veal broth
Veal, fillet of
Veal, knuckle of

Feathered and Game

Chicken
Duck
Pigeon
Pullets, for broth
Turkey
Turkey, old and young to fatten
Woodcocks
Hare
Hare liver

Pig

Hog's liver
Pork
Ham, pye
Meat ball, forced, no recipe

Sheep

Lamb sweetbreads
Mutton, loin of, soup base
Mutton, neck of, soup base
Sheep's blood
Caul

BREAD/BISCUIT

Bread, stale white
Loaves, French, to be filled
Naples biscuits, grated
Penny roll, pith of

DAIRY AND EGGS

Butter, piece of, drawn
Butter, fresh and good
Buttermilk
Cheese curds, well drained
Cream sweet
Cream, thick
Eggs, new laid
Eggshells, for clarifying
Milk, new, good
Milk, raw

FATS

Beef suet
Lard, hog's
Oil, for covering mushrooms
Oyl, sweet, for moulds
Suet, boiling to cover
Tallow, rendered, to cover apples

FISH

Anchovy
Carp
Eels
Herrings
Lobsters
Oysters
Salmon
Sole
Tench

FRUIT

Apples
Apples, codlings, summer
Apples, codlings, winter
Apples, fox whelp, early September
Apples, pippins, golden
Apples, pippins, lemon
Apples, pippins, winter
Apples, rummers, spring
Apricots
Apricots, green
Apricot, kernels
Barberries
Black currents
Cherries, Morella
Currents, dried
Currents, unspecified preserved for tarts
Figs
Gooseberries, scarlet
Gooseberries, white christal
Lemon
Melon
Nectarines
Orange
Orange, peel
Orange, juice of
Peach
Peach water
Pear, baking
Plum, unspecified
Plum, Damacine
Plum, common red
Plum, green
Plum, green mogul
Plum, white mogul
Raspberries
Red currents
Strawberries
Raisins

GRAIN, FLOUR AND BARM

Barm
Barm, beer
Bran, for under a cake in hot oven
Bran, for souse
Flour, fine
Flour, fine, well searced, well dried
Hops, for barm
Malt, well winnowed
Rice
Rice flour
Rice, ground
Wheat bran, for barm

HERBS

Bay leaves
Basil, sweet
Chervil
Marjoram, sweet
Mint
Parsley
Sage
Savoury
Savoury, winter
Sorrel
Tansey and Tansey water
Thyme

NUTS

Almonds
Almonds, bitter
Almonds, blanched
Almonds, sweet
Chestnuts
Walnuts
Walnuts, green

OILS, VINEGARS, WATER AND SCENTED WATER

Orange flower water
Rose water
Vinegar, common
Vinegar, raw
Vinegar, white wine
Vinegar, worst
Water, cold
Water, hot
Water, ice
Water, rain
Water, soft
Water, spring
Water, starch, from blanching almonds

SALTS

Salt, unspecified
Salt, common
Salt, for making ice cream
Salt petre
Sal prunella

SAUCES AND STOCKS

Broth, strong, no recipe
Broth, strong gravy of
Fricacy sauce, no recipe
Gravy, of strong broth
Mutton or beef gravy, no recipe
Stock, for jelly
Venison, sauce, no recipe

SETTING AGENTS AND COLOURANTS

Alum, for pickling and colour
Cochineal, powdered fine for pears
Gum Arabic
Gum Bouge
Gum Dragon
Hartshorn
Isinglass
Slate Blue, greening fruit
Spinach for colouring

SEEDS AND SPICES

Allspice
Caraway seeds
Cinnamon
Cloves, a dozen stuck in onion
Dill seed
Ginger, a race of
Ginger, sliced
Ginger, white
Ginger, white powdered
Horseradish
Mace
Mustard, flour of
Mustard seed
Nutmeg
Pepper, unspecified
Pepper, gross white
Pepper, ground
Pepper, Jamaica
Pepper, Kyan/Cayan
Pepper, long
Pepper, white
Pepper, red, Indian
Saffron, for colour
Turmrick

SUGARS AND SWEETENERS

Current juice, red
Current juice, unspecified
Sugar, brightest brown
Sugar, brown
Sugar, double refined
Sugar, fine sifted
Sugar, lump
Sugar, loaf
Sugar, powdered

VEGETABLES, INCLUDING MUSHROOMS

Angelica
Artichokes
Asparagus
Beans, French
Cabbages, for Indian pickle
Cabbage lettuces
Carrots
Cauliflowers
Celery, head of
Corn, green
Cucumbers
Endiff (endive), heads of
Garlic, for pickling
Horseradish
Lettuces
Morels
Mushrooms, flat
Mushrooms, large
Mushroom powder, ingredient and recipe
Mushrooms, small
Onion, stuck with cloves
Parsley root
Peas, old green
Peas, young
Potatoes
Radishes
Shallot
Spinach
Turnips
Truffels

WINES AND BEERS

Ale
Beer, strong stale
Brandy
Claret
Port, substitute for madeira
Sack
Wine, French white
Wine, Madeira
Wine, Rhenish
Wine, white, unspecified

MISCELLANEOUS

Catsup, ingredient and recipe
Garnish, unspecified
'Regular sauce', w.wine, sugar, butter
Rosin
Sal soda lunar caustic
Vine leaves, for pickling walnuts

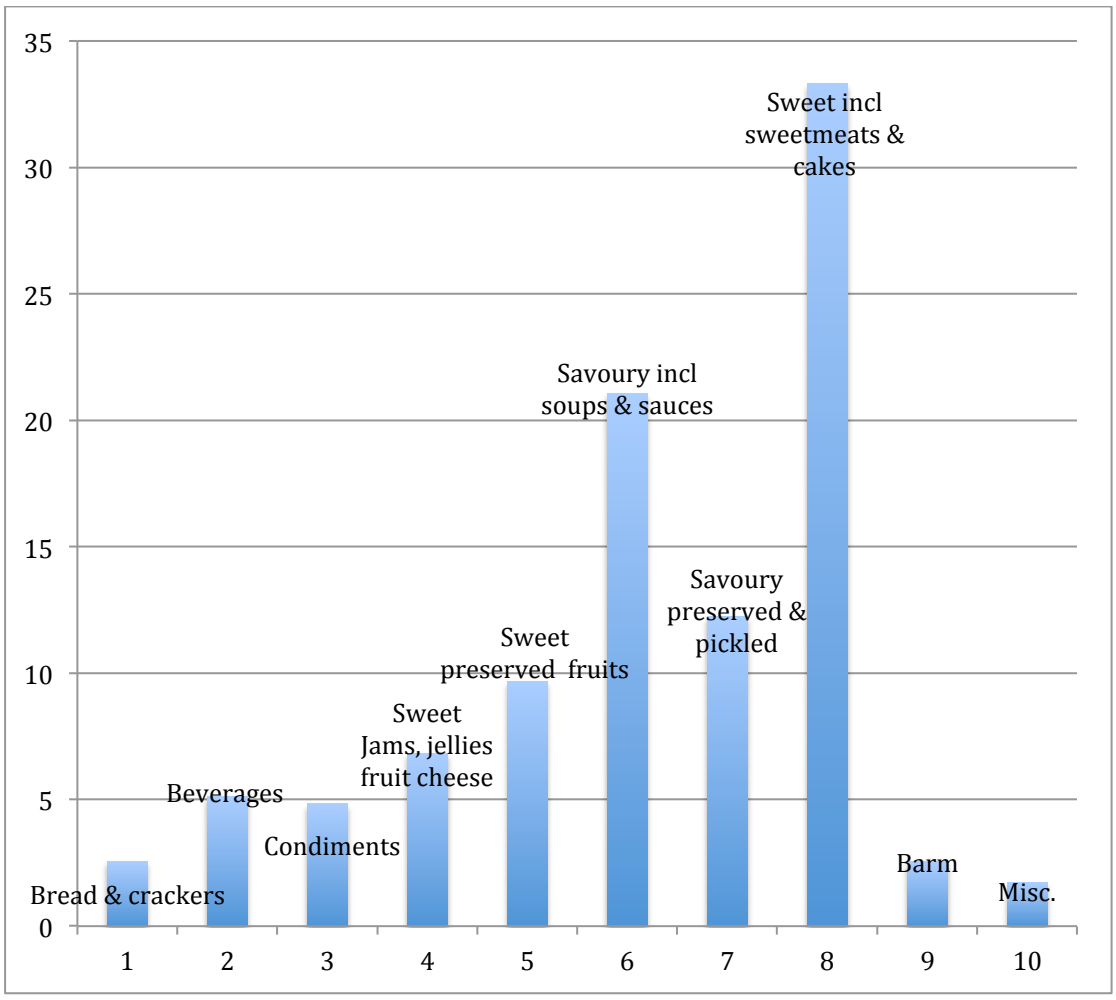


Table II: Analysis of recipes in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker).

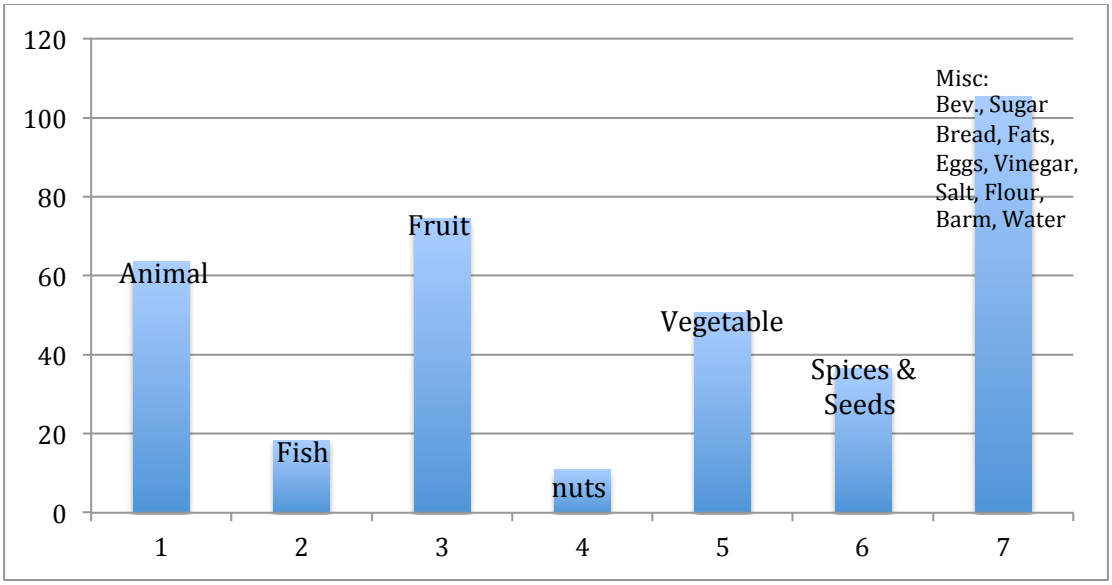


Table III: Analysis of frequency of occurrence of ingredient type in NLI MS 34, 952 (Baker).

The high volume of recipes for sweet dishes and preserves accords with the association between the feminine sphere and confectionery skill. Alice Thornton, daughter of Sir Wandesford, lord deputy of Ireland in 1640, comments about her time in Ireland *ca.*1632,

> I enjoyed great easiness and comfort during my honoured father's life having the fortunate opportunity in that time….of the best education that kingdom (Ireland) could afford… learning those qualities which my father ordered, namely—the French language, to write and speak the same; singing; dancing' playing on the lute and therebo; learning such other accomplishments of working silks, gummework, sweetmeats, and other suitable housewifery.[598]

In her poem about a housewarming party at the family summer residence at Bonmahon, Herbert references 'Blanc-Mange not growing stiff' and plenty of 'gum Arabick' being liberally applied to the 'Solid Whips'.[599] Herbert uses the fuss over the preparation of the food for the party to convey a palpable sense of the excitement of the occasion. Herbert's cousin Edward Mandeville revisits the theme in his collection

[598] Roger Hudson (ed.), *The Grand Quarrel, From the Civil War memoirs of Mrs Lucy Hutchinson: Mrs Alice Thornton: Ann, Lady Fanshaw: Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle: Anne, Lady Halkettt and the letters of Brilliana, Lady Harley* (London, 1993), 10.
[599] Frances Finnegan, *Introspections. The Poetry and Private World of Dorothea Herbert* (Piltown, 2011), 34.

of poetry published in 1798 with a similarly titled poem, *Humours of Bunmahon (sic), a Country Bathing Place*.[600] Herbert's diary is replete with references to sweet goods. Both commercial and home confections are referenced. Syllabub parties, slim cakes,[601] sweetmeats and an interesting reference to buying gingerbread and elecampane as children:

> All the Money we could rap or run was expedited in Canvas, Whiting, Gambouge, Stone Blue and oil for the Painter—and many a time the poor Boys denied themselves a halfpennyworth of Elecampane[602] or Gingerbread to devote their little pocket Money to the Theatre.[603]

References to commercial vendors outside Dublin are rare. However Jennings and Delaney refer to an eighteenth-century structure at Danesfort Demesne, Co. Kilkenny. Danesfort House was the home of the Wemys family, friends of the Herberts, and related to the Cuffes by marriage. Archaeological evidence records the presence of a roadside cottage on the demesne with open-air bread ovens, indicating that the cottage perhaps functioned as a roadside bake-house, 'that sold bread to the inhabitants of Danesfort and to passing traders on the Kilkenny-Waterford Road'.[604] In another poem Herbert references the purchase of gingerbread at a local fair, known colloquially as fairings,[605] and the diarist Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin (Humphrey O' Sullivan 1790-1838) records in his diary on June 27 1829 that he attended the Pattern at Saint James' Well near Callan where there was 'gooseberries, currents and cherries for the children; gingerbread for the young girls; strong ale and maddening whiskey for those who wanted a row, and for those who tried to make the peace'.[606]

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[600] Edward Mandeville, *Miscellaneous Poems* (Waterford, 1798), 35-42.
[601] A griddlecake or scone associated with Scotland and Ireland. The OED confines the cake as being of Irish origin. Dods, *Cook and Housewife's Manual,* of 1847 says that it is a flour scone used in the Highlands. The recipes in the Irish manuscripts predate Dods.
[602] Elecampane is an herbal plant, a wild daisy, rare in England and Ireland. The root was candied to make lozenges that 'were sold in country villages for colds and coughs', Mrs. C. F. Leyel, *Cinquefoil. Herbs to Quicken the Senses* (London, 1957), 124.
[603] Herbert, *Retrospections,* 170.
[604] Richard Jennings and Michelle Doherty, 'An 18th-century roadside cottage in Danesfort Demesne, Co. Kilkenny' in *Dining and Dwelling,* 155-164, 161.
[605] Finnegan, *Introspections*, 24.
[606] De Bhaldraithe, *Diary*, 82.

Mac Con Iomaire in his discussion of the food *motif* in the Irish song tradition cites the traditional Irish air *The Galway Races* which paints the scene well, 'And it's there you see confectioners with sugar sticks and dainties/ The lozenges and oranges, the lemonade and raisins/ The gingerbread and spices to accommodate the ladies/ and a big crubeen for thruppence to be suckin' while you're able'.[607] Mahon makes the point that from time immemorial women were the chief bread-makers in a domestic context.[608] However, the gingerbread in question here was most likely commercial block-gingerbread (as distinct from recipes for ginger biscuits found in domestic manuscripts) made up by professional bakers and confectioners and hawked by sellers at fairs and patterns. Originally a very heavy confection using breadcrumbs, by the time Herbert is writing it was lighter by dint of the breadcrumbs being replaced by flour, sweetened with treacle and often aerated by the use of raising agents. The traditional skills and equipment surrounding the bread is extensively documented in an English context. A close relative of gingerbread was parkin, an oatmeal based gingerbread, originally a hearthstone bread. Where the Irish barm or barn brac(k) is associated with Hallowe'en, parkin is associated with 5th November and the Gunpowder Plot in England.[609]

MS 21,013 (4) in the National Library is a collection of receipts for goods purchased by Ballaghtobin House. Included in it is a bill, dated November 1778, from Charles Carrothers in Jervis Street, Dublin, for wine, cider and porter, and another page from a William Davies, dated 1826, for sundry spices and sugar (Fig. 5. 3). Although a later date than the manuscript by eleven years, the list of spices tallies with those recorded in the manuscript. One spice that is not recorded as purchased is saffron. The most expensive of all spices to purchase, saffron is obtained from the orange-red stigmas of the crocus flower, *Crocus sativus*.[610] It is not inconceivable that the Baker's grew saffron for home consumption. Nicholas Peacock, 'a man from the

[607] Mac Con Iomaire, 'Food as 'Motif'. Crubeen comes from the Irish for hoof, *crúb*, and is defined as a delicacy made from boiled pig's trotters.
[608] Bríd Mahon, *Land of Milk and Honey: The story of traditional Irish food and drink* (Dublin, 1991),73.
[609] See Cathal Cowan and Regina Sexton, *Ireland's Traditional Foods* (Dublin, 1997). For discussion of the tradition of commercial and regional gingerbread making in a specifically English context see Peter Brears, *Traditional food in Yorkshire* (Devon, 2014).
[610] Davidson, *Penguin Companion*, 813.

middling gentry, living in the middle of the eighteenth century'[611] wrote in his diary on May 26 1746, 'wth ye men in ye garding and dug up all ye saffron (sic.)'.[612]

In 1733 the Royal Dublin Society started to encourage the growing of saffron,[613] and by 1745 were offering premiums to encourage its production.[614] In 1767 the Society were offering the sum of twelve pounds for raising and saving 'the greatest quantity (not less than 2lb weight) of good merchantable saffron'.[615] Saffron had been cultivated in Saffron Walden in Essex in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Recipes for saffron cake and bread have a long history, stretching back to 1669 when the recipe 'to make an excellent cake' is recorded by Sir Kenelm Digby.[616] The recipe features regularly in the Irish manuscripts and Bishop Synge forwards one to his daughter, Alicia, in September 1747.

[611] Marie-Louise Legg (ed.) *The Diary of Nicholas Peacock 1740-1751* (Dublin, 2005), 11.
[612] *Ibid.,* 160.
[613] Henry F. Berry, *A History of The Royal Dublin Society* (London, 1915), 18.
[614] *Ibid.,* 64.
[615] *Ibid.,* 408.
[616] Jane Stevenson and Peter Davidson (eds.) *The Closet of Sir Kenelm Digby Opened* (Totnes, 1997), 183. The quantity of saffron specified is 'half a quarter of an ounce'.

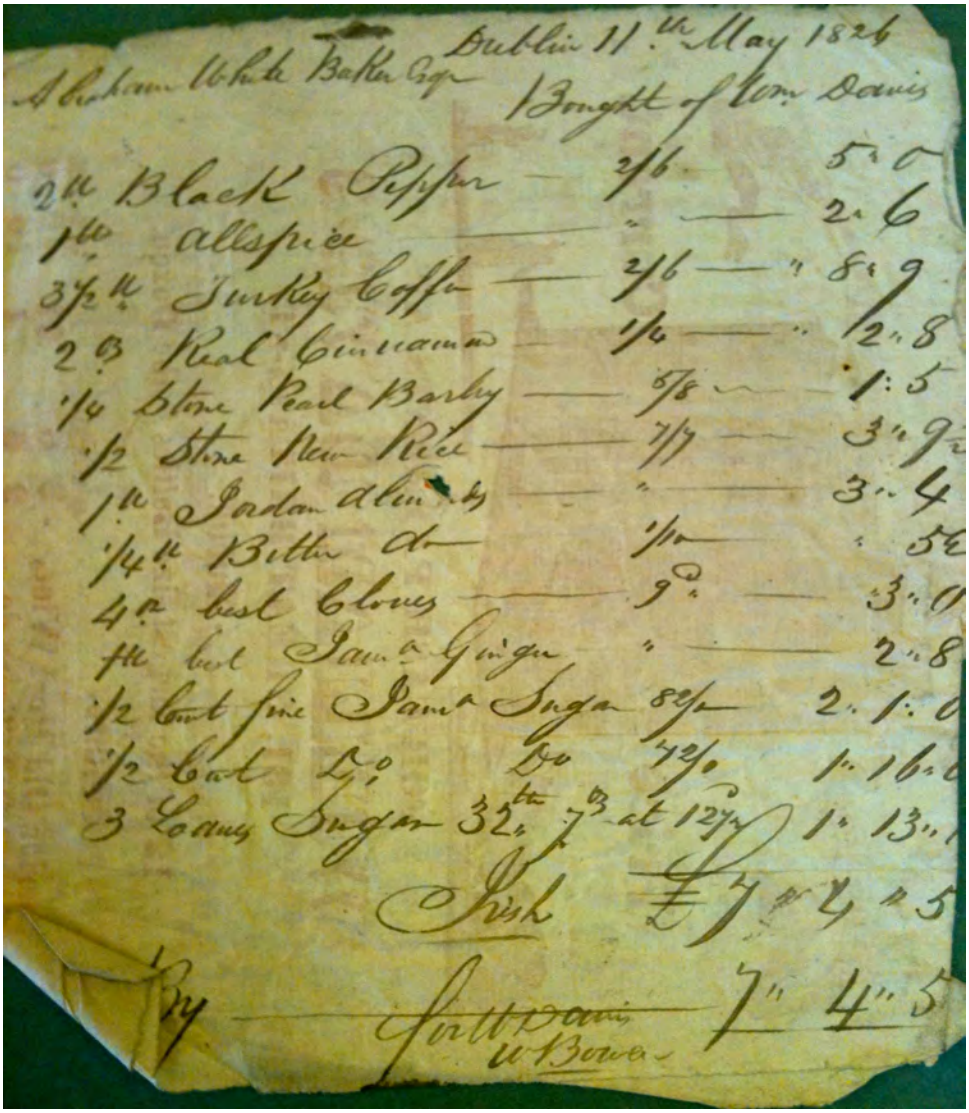
Abraham White Baker &c. Dublin 11th May 1826
Bought of Wm Davis
2lb Black Pepper — 2/6 — 5:0
1lb allspice — " — 2:6
3½lb Turkey Coffee — 2/6 — " 8:9
2oz Real Cinnamon — 1/6 — " 2:8
¼ Stone Pearl Barley — 6/8 — 1:5
½ Stone New Rice — 7/7 — 3:9½
1lb Jordan almonds — " — 3:4
¼lb Bitter do — 1/6 — 5½
4oz best Cloves — 9d — 3:0
¼lb best Jamaica Ginger — " — 2:8
½ Cwt fine Jamaica Sugar 84/- 2:1:0
½ Cwt Do Do 42/- 1:16:0
3 Loaves Sugar 32lbs 7oz at 12½ 1:13:1
Irish £7:4:5
By Scott Davis & Bowe 7:4:5

Fig. 5.3 MS 21,013 (4) 'Abraham Whyte Baker, bought of Wm Davis, Dublin, 11th May 1826'. Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

The missive obviously follows some discussion as Bishop Synge remarks 'I sent you with this a receit for Saffron Cakes, which I am told is the right one; and I believe it, because Mr Phibbs from whose wife it comes sent it with some Cakes, which Mrs Wills and all my Company agree to be for Colour, Taste, everything as good as the best of Old Gaffney'.[617] Saffron tea was enjoyed as a beverage amongst the elite and an Irish silver saffron teapot with the mark of Synge is one of the few surviving examples of its type (Fig. 5.4). The inventory of Alice Blood, Borshalagh, Co Clare of 1750 included two small saffron teapots.[618] Creagh Castle in Co. Cork was originally called *Crogh*, the Irish for saffron. The Castle had an alternative name derived from

[617] Marie-Louise Legge (ed.), *The Synge Letters 1746-1752* (Dublin, 1996), 89.
[618] Ffolliott, 'Household stuff', 43.

this of Castlesaffron, renamed in the Georgian period when the Creagh family purchased the tower.[619]

Fig. 5.4 Irish silver saffron teapot, mark of Synge.
Kind permission of Weldons of Dublin

Another notebook in the National Library relating to the Baker family for the period 1797-1832,[620] records animals and fowl slaughtered on the estate, including duck, for which there are no recipes in the manuscript, other than for sauce for green duck.[621] This absence accords with the *caveat* noted when commencing this analysis. The point merits emphasising again, especially in the context of the proportionately high number of recipes that fall within the sweetmeat and dessert category. In a preface to his book on Lebanese home cooking Kamal Mouzawak points to the fact that this phenomenon is not unique to Ireland nor to early recipe recording:

[619] http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=CO&regno=20902505
[620] NLI MS 42,007.
[621] A duck that is ten to twelve weeks old.

> My mother had her cahir de recettes, a notebook of handwritten recipes of dishes or cakes she had tasted, and so recorded recipes like kèke tante Eugénie (a cake, in her own way of writing English — when she knew French but not English) and osmalyieh de Thérèse (a pastry), but never a main dish. And she had an old French dessert cookbook, inherited from a nun in a nearby convent, written by Henri-Paul Pellaprat, who wrote the cooking bible of every French household in the old days. Main dishes were never in the cahir de recettes. How would they be? Baking was one thing, but cooking was just understood. It was never written, never taught. You just cook.[622]

It may be inferred from these observations that a large proportion of recipes for everyday fare are unrecorded, and that those recorded, especially those outside the sweetmeat and dessert category, are recipes considered to be special in some way. The notebook also contains notes of purchase of bread, barm, turkey eggs, and sugar along with money given as charity to 'poor man from Feathard' and 'to a wretched poor woman'.[623] This notebook is in the main in Charity Baker's handwriting.[624] The purchase of barm, despite the presence of seven recipes for it between Mrs Baker's two volumes,[625] is interesting. No more so than in contemporary cookbooks, there is a constant mirroring in the manuscripts of recipes for dishes that were available commercially. One did not necessarily preclude the other's presence in household provisioning. As Day notes, by the eighteenth century Naples biscuits were an indispensible kitchen item in the preparation of puddings and trifles and were more commonly purchased commercially than made at home.[626] Despite that, the recipe is included in innumerable manuscripts, Mrs Baker's being no exception. In 1776, Mary Matthews paid one shilling and a penny for a seed cake, another time precisely recording the same amount as 'for cake ye 22 at home'.[627] In 1813, John Merle, described in *Wilson's Dublin Directory* for that year as 'French cook',[628] advertised

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[622] Kamal Mouzawak, *Lebanese Home Cooking* (Beverly, Mass., 2015), 6.
[623] NLI MS 42,007.
[624] Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook', 'Household Notebook'.
[625] See Appendix 5.
[626] Ivan Day, 'The Art of Confectionary', un-paginated, available on http://www.historicfood.com/The%20Art%20of%20Confectionery.pdf
[627] Luddy, *Mary Mathew,* 99, 100.
[628] *The Treble Almanack for the year 1813,* incorporating *Wilson's Dublin Directory* (Dublin, 1813).

for sale through his shop pickled beef tongues, collard eels and pickled salmon, all recipes that feature in the manuscripts (Fig. 5.5).


Small & Large Hams,
From 5 to 12lb. each.
JOHN MERLE, 57, Great George's street, South, respectfully acquaints the Nobility, his Customers and the Public, he has a parcel of the above, that he can with confidence engage for flavour and colour; he begs to observe, that from many years attention to the defects Hams are liable to, his Customers will not be disappointed; and will sell them notwithstanding the very high rate of Pork, at a price consistent with their quality.—He has as usual BEEF TONGUES Pickled well, cured and fine COLOUR, COLLARD EELS, PICKLED SALMON, Spiced and ready for Table, and the different Articles (specified in Shop lists) that his House has been noted for these many years.—He returns sincere thanks for past favours, his endeavours will be to merit the future.

Fig. 5.5. *Freeman's Journal* May 17th 1813.

On January 18 1818, Stevenson Seaver and Co. advertised the arrival of the Erin Packet from Bordeaux with fine goods, available for purchase on 'very moderate terms'. Included among the items were 'sweetmeats'. One of the most popular sweetmeats was the sugarplum, a comfit, not an actual plum preserved or coated with sugar as sometimes described. Lord Kildare concerned himself with procuring some of these comfits while on his grand tour, writing to his mother, Emily, Duchess of Leinster, from Turin that,

> as to your sugar plums, I am waiting to get some here, as I have a very good opportunity of sending them to England. If they are not good and I thought you could wait, I would write to Naples, for that is the famous place for them, especially Diavolonis, but I am informed that I can get them here. I shall make a very strict enquiry.[629]

Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh observe that coriander comfits 'are constantly found in the confectioners' shops in Dublin'.[630] Comfit making was a technically complicated procedure and this researcher has not come across a domestic recipe for

[629] Elizabeth Fitzgerald, *Lord Kildare's Grand Tour* (Cork, 2000), 106.
[630] J. Warburton, Rev. J. Whitelaw and Rev. Robert Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin from the earliest accounts to the present time, in two volumes, Vol. II* (London, 1818), Appendix XIII, xc.

them in the manuscripts.[631] However, recipes for plums preserved as a sweetmeat occur frequently, and Mrs Baker's manuscript is no exception. Her recipe opens a window on the exchange of these fruit conserves as high status gifts. At the end of a recipe, To Dry Mogul Plumbs, Mrs Baker informs that 'Mr Hampdon Nicholson's receipt the same, but that he advises little boxes made of bentwood to keep them in — and he advises to weigh them whole and deduct the weight of the stone afterwards'.[632] Nicholson was drawing on a long tradition of presenting the sweetmeats in this fashion as can be seen in van der Hamen y León's canvas of 1627 (Fig. 5.6).

Edgeworth in her novel *The Absentee*, opens up the story of this particular 'delicate sweetmeat, the Irish plum',[633] when there is a reference to a confection made by a Mrs Godey, '"Bless me, sir—count!" cried Williamson, "it's by far the best thing of the kind I have ever tasted in my life: where could you get this?" "In Dublin, at my dear Mrs Godey's; where only, in his majesty's dominions, it is to be had", said the count'. [634] This reference by Edgeworth and her subsequent recounting in correspondence of the death of Mrs Godey, meant that it was possible to research a line of confectioners who passed their trade through three successive families, Linde, Godey, and Eliot, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the Mitchell family setting up business from the Godey premises at nine and ten Grafton Street in Dublin in 1818.

The human scale that the story of confectionery and sugar embodies must be read in conjunction with Mintz's explanation of the role that sugar played in the deployment of imperial power. While 'its cumulative value to crown and capital was enormous', many an investor, as well as many a planter, ended up a bankrupt (and sometimes a jailbird) because of it'.[635]

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[631] There is one reference in Herbert, *Retrospections*, 357 that does indicate a high level of skill amongst the ladies when she remarks that 'the Night before the Ball Mrs Mandeville and we sat up to make spun Sugar in the Parlour'.
[632] NLI MS 34,952 (Baker), page 77, recipe not numbered.
[633] Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, 121.
[634] *Ibid.* See Cashman, 'Sweetmeat'. See also Pamela Sambrook and Peter Brears (eds.), *The Country House Kitchen 1650-1900* (Gloucestershire, 2010), 136-142, where the evolution of the stillroom into a room for preserving fruits and preparing confectionery is described.
[635] Mintz, *Sweetness and Power,* 156.

Fig. 5.6 Juan van der Hamen y León (1596-1631) *Still Life with Sweets and Pottery* (1627), oil on canvas, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Wet sweetmeats are in glass, dry sweetmeats in bentwood boxes. Some comfits are on the silver tray.

John Godey, confectioner, at the time of his bankruptcy in 1813 had invested in three ice houses, and alongside his premises in Grafton St, a dwelling house and business in Sackville Street — 'the house has been fitted up in a superb manner, and is undoubtedly one of the first situations in Dublin'.[636] The allure of sugar confections and the reality of failed investments did not exist just on the macro-level but filtered right down through the social classes.[637] Another point consistent with themes

[636] 'In the Matter of John Godey, a Bankrupt', *Freeman's Journal,* September 3, 1813, 2. The icehouses are listed in the bankruptcy notice in the *Freeman's Journal* of Sept. 11, 1813, 1. Rob Goodbody, *Irish Historic Towns Atlas, Dublin, Part III, 1756-1847* (Dublin, 2014), 88, records 'an' icehouse as existing on the street.
[637] See Laura Mason, *Sugar-Plums and Sherbet: The Prehistory of Sweets* (Totnes, 1998).

developed in previous chapters regarding the prevalence of outside influence on the history of food in Ireland is the role of sugar as a conduit for French influence in the transmission of culinary knowledge.[638]

The importance of sugar to the presence of fruit in the list of ingredients is evident in the recipes for preserves.[639] Herbert comments frequently on the pleasure that she derived from local fruit. At Castle Blunden, the home of her cousin Sir John Blunden, where the cousins frequently assembled she describes how,

> the gardens and immense Range of Hot Houses were fill'd with fruit — the latter were remarkably fine as the late Sir John piqued himself on their eclipsing the finest Hot Houses in the Kingdom.[640]

While citrus fruit were largely imported, local apples, pears and plums were valued and of a high standard. As Carson notes, alongside the importance of self-provisioning, the status of the big house owner was bound up in the range of vegetables, fruit and flowers that were grown.[641] Herbert indicates her personal appreciation of this produce when she describes gathering around the fire to frolic with her friends, and confides that,

> we had always a plate of remarkable Winter Pears and Apples and sometimes we broke open the Apple Room where we eat and romped away with Light Hearts and few things to vex us Whilst our Mothers sat in social chat in the Parlour.[642]

It is an unusual glimpse into a Georgian world more associated with formal dining and at some remove from the formality of the correspondence between Christopher Wandesorde[643] to the Marquess of Ormond in 1636:

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[638] *Ibid.,* 55.
[639] Lynette Hunter, 'Nineteenth- and Twentieth- Century trends in Food Preserving: Frugality, Nutrition or Luxury' in C. Anne Wilson (ed.), '*Waste Not, Want Not'. Food preservation from early times to the present day* (Edinburgh, 1991), 134-158.
[640] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 70.
[641] Carson, *Technology and the Big House*, 108.
[642] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 78.
[643] Sir Christopher Wandesforde (1592-1640), lord deputy of Ireland in the 1630s, during which time he purchased an estate in Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny where the family generally resided until the late-twentieth century, see http://www.nli.ie/pdfs/mss%20lists/173_Prior-Wandesforde%20Papers%20(Additional).pdf

> Your bribe of pears is accepted not with so much gravity but as heartily, as the Chief Baron Sir Tanfeilde took the barrel of anchovies when he thought they had been jacobusses.[644] These according to the old canons are *inter esculenta.* You might with a safe conscience, likewise have sent some such from Waterford, to have helped the digestion of this rare fruit, and then have you gone as far as you could with *esculent* and *poculenta*[645]. My wife and I both present our humble service to my lady with many thanks, for I know these are her bounty to us. Indeed they are much better pears than I ever hoped to have tasted in Ireland; it is long before we eat such of our own planting in Edough.[646]

The letter merits quoting in full, as it is witness to the importance of fruit in gifting and how the correspondent registers surprise at the quality of the native fruit. Kelly notes that the cultivated pear appears to have been introduced subsequent to the Norman invasion and that the Irish translation, *péire,* is a loan word from either Norman French or Middle English.[647] Barnard notes how the settler desire for improvement existed alongside, while often disparaging, old English appreciation for the pleasures of the garden, remarking that given 'the hereditary ties, constant traffic with England and the continent, the aptitudes and interests of monks', it is hardly surprising that these still Catholic gentry desired to preserve a 'polite culture'.[648] This is consistent with the theme drawn out in the previous chapters, that influences on the development of a culinary culture in Ireland were many and varied, and that while Shanahan correctly identifies Britain as a locus of influence[649] she does not perhaps accord wider influences their place in the narrative. As Barnard points out in the context of his discussion of the English desire to 'improve' their unruly subjects, 'it

[644] Sir Lawrence Tanfield (*ca.*1551-1625), lord chief baron of the exchequer, 1607-1625. Jacobusses may refer to *Myripristis jacobus,* Blackbar soldierfish, however the joke is unclear. See also Rev. James Graves, 'The Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory, No. I', *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1849-1951,* Vol. 1 (Dublin, 1850), 230-247, 242.
[645] *Inter esculenta*, unclear but could mean edible, from esculent. *Poculenta,* (nom. Fem.s of pöculentus), meaning potable, suitable for drinking.
[646] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormond, K.P. preserved at Kilkenny Castle*, New Series, Vol. I (London, 1902), 36.
[647] Kelly, *Farming*, 262.
[648] T. C. Barnard, 'Gardening, Diet and "Improvement" in later seventeenth-century Ireland', *The Journal of Garden History*, Vol. 10, No. I, 1990, 71-85, 74.
[649] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, 53, 100, 106.

should be remembered, improvers were trying to make England more like the flourishing and civilised countries of western Europe.'[650]

Herbert's appreciation of the joy of food has not been fully recognised hitherto by Irish food historians. Her descriptions throughout the *Retrospections* of the food that the family consumed are invaluable. She describes as a child how 'we first tossed up a Marmelade of orange peels and Stolen Honey', an insight into how exotic imported citrus fruits filtered down through the kitchen to childish delight. How the wife of the favoured local schoolteacher, Mrs Hare, sent frequent presents of fine butter to the archbishop's palace in thanks for preferment, with the witty retelling of her husband's reply to the archbishop's appreciation of the gift that 'it was all fair as he got his Bread by the Archbishop his Wife should furnish his Grace with Butter in Exchange'.[651] Butter features as an ingredient in sixty-seven of the recipes in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker), a conservative estimation of the importance of the ingredient as it frequently occurs in several stages of the recipe, a factor which has been discounted in this estimate. Charity Baker assiduously notes the weight of butter churned in her notebook over several years, as she does for many of the provisions of the household.[652] Tighe is scathing about the hygiene standards pertaining to the butter exported from Ireland to England from the region, noting that

> the butter is often made up in a dirty manner; and the quality of salt perhaps not good. It is from these circumstances that Irish butter, which when fresh is preferable in quality to any in Europe, bears in the London market a lower price than any other.[653]

Cheese also features as a gifted item in Herbert, 'the next day the long protracted invitation arrived and with it a huge Bundle of flowers, a Joint of meat, a Cream Cheese, a Cartload of New Potatoes, and Vegetables in Abundance'.[654] There is no reference to hard cheese in Herbert or the Baker archive, as their concern was with

[650] Barnard, 'Gardening', 71.
[651] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 41.
[652] NLI MS 42,007.
[653] Tighe, *Statistical Observations*, 393.
[654] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 192.

home produced cheese. There was at least one commercially produced hard cheese in the period, Kinnegad Cheese, similar to Cheddar or Double Gloucester.[655]

Of summers in Bonmahon, where their seaside cottage was the scene of the housewarming party referred to earlier, Herbert imparts the information that the reverse side of the staged entertainments amongst the gentry was the fact that 'though we gave so flaming a regale there we were often Days together without a bit of Bread — and many a Time fed on the flesh of an Old Goat in Lieu of Venison'.[656] In the same chapter she describes attending the local races where the family asked all the local militia officers to dinner, 'We got Venison, Grapes and Pine Apples from Curraghmore besides accidental presents from all Quarters and Mrs Butlars Donations alone would have furnished a Magnificent feast'.[657] Kitchen gardens of the gentry were well planned and executed. In its heyday Ballaghtobin House had two acres of walled garden from which the house would have stocked their kitchen.[658] The construction of these gardens was designed to provide a microclimate for the efficient growth of produce not possible on open ground.[659] Radiant heat emitted by the walls can increase 'the temperature at 7 inches (18cm) from the wall to equal that in a garden 7° of latitude to the south'.[660] Carson gives the example of the garden at Birr Castle where plants growing against a wall would have enjoyed the same temperature as if they were in a garden in the Loire Valley in France.[661]

In the summer of 1794 Herbert describes how the family had the use of a fine garden close to their parsonage at Knockgrafton, Woodinstown House and demesne, where she describes Lucy Herbert, Mrs Bradshaw, as 'continually grazing on

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[655] Described as a small thin cheese of an excellent flavour frequently cried about the streets. See *The Gentleman's and London Magazine: Or Monthly Chronologer*, (Dublin, 1788), 445 for an account of one hawker using the cheese to gain admission to a house with a view to robbing money; James Warburton, Rev. James Whitelaw, Rev Robert Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin from Earliest Accounts to the Present Time,* Vol. II (London, 1818), 1131.
[656] Herbert*, Retrospections,* 313.
[657] *Ibid.,* 315. Curraghmore was the seat of Lord Waterford, a relative of both Herbert and Mrs Baker.
[658] http://www.ballaghtobin.com/gardens.html
[659] Carson, *Technology and the Big House in Ireland,* 108.
[660] *Ibid.,* 82.
[661] *Ibid.,* 108.

vegetable Thrash'.[662] Lettuces and cabbage lettuces, which feature in the list of ingredients above, are also used by Edgeworth in *The Absentee* to exemplify a culture of sharing and improvement when she describes the meal enjoyed by Lord Colombre in the village where the exemplary agent, Mr Burke, controls the estate for the absentee Lord Clonbrony, Colombre's father. Apart from being a fairly heavy-handed description of the good agent juxtaposed against the bad agent, it does provide the detail that salad was available to enjoy as accompaniment to the fine cutlets, and that the agent's wife supplied the plants herself to the innkeeper's family.[663]

Barnard argues for the fact that gardening was not a socially exclusive pastime, but rather was enjoyed by cottagers and townspeople alike.[664] Two pre-requisites were in plentiful supply, space and time.[665] Edgeworth brings her observant eye to discussion of the cultivation of exotics and 'vegetable Thrash' in many other comments and asides in her novel *The Absentee.* She lampoons the social pretentions of the grocer's wife, Mrs Raffarty, with her description of the studied picturesqueness of her house and gardens, her 'little conservatory, and a little pinery, and a little grapery, and a little aviary, and a little pheasantry, and a little dairy for show, and a little cottage for ditto…'. [666] Edgeworth had a highly developed sense of appropriateness, with an aversion to profusion and pretension.[667] In opposition to Mrs Raffarty, Edgeworth's description of the style of dining enjoyed by Count O'Halloran in *The Absentee* resonates with Herbert's description of the *Fete Champêtre*[668] hosted by Lord Caher and his wife, where 'all was conducted in the Old Irish Stile'.[669]

The fruit that is cited in the most precise terms in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) is the apple; summer codlings, winter codlings, white codlings, fox whelp, four different types of pippins, and rummers. Knowledge of the variety suited to the recipe is

[662] Herbert, *Retrospections,* 329.
[663] Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, 131.
[664] See also Patrick Bowe, 'The Traditional Irish Farmhouse and Cottage Garden', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies,* Vol. III, 77-101.
[665] Barnard, 'Gardening'. 75.
[666] Herbert, *The Absentee*, 89.
[667] Cashman, 'French Boobies', 215.
[668] A popular form of outdoor or pastoral entertainment originating in the eighteenth century at Versailles, see Cashman, 'French Boobies'.
[669] Edgeworth, *The Absentee,* 122; Herbert, *Retrospections*, 325; Cashman, 'French Boobies', 221.

obvious, and would indicate that this is not merely an aspirational knowledge. Apples were valued both as a fruit for cooking with, and as a preserve. MS 21,013 (4) records money received 'from Dunphy, for windfalls', and a kitchen inventory conducted some time around 1837 records the presence of '7 different apple tart shapes'.[670]

Two other ingredients that feature in Table I deserve to be commented on before the discussion moves to the kitchen; mutton and potatoes, both arguably perceived as quintessentially Irish ingredients.[671] In her notebook Charity Baker records the slaughter of sheep. As Nevin observes, in autumn and early winter the Baker family set about preserving enough meat and butter to last through the season.[672] Kelly notes the association between sheep rearing and women by virtue of the role that they played in the processing of wool and cloth.[673] Charity Baker records the purchase of 'oil to spin wool' along with records of sheep killed and the weight of their fat.[674] In a desire to improve Irish stock, it is believed that the Anglo-Normans imported larger white-fleeced breeds.[675] Writing in 1848 Canfield observes that the sheep of Ireland, similar to England, fall into two categories, those of the mountains and those of the valleys.[676] In a desire to further improve on the legacy of the Anglo-Normans, the large, long-wool animals were improved by means of the Dishley breed, which were in turn crossed with the Dexter. The farmers in Tipperary, according to Youatt, took a leading part in this improvement of the breed,

> Mr Dexter was one of the most zealous and skillful among them. It is said that his first sheep had some serious defects; they had too much belly and

[670] NLI MS 42,007.
[671] Besides any other consideration the two ingredients come together in Irish Stew, 'Besides apples and gingerbread there was every day a mess of Irish stew, composed of mutton and potatoes', William Pitt Scargill, *Recollections of a Blue-coat Boy, Or, A View of Christ's Hospital* (Swaffham, 1829), 185.
[672] Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook', 6. Mutton was preserved as a ham in the period, recipes for which commonly feature in printed cookbooks, for example see Elizabeth Cleland, *A New and Easy Method Of Cookery* (Edinburgh, 1755), 43.
[673] Kelly, *Farming,* 67.
[674] NLI MS 42,007.
[675] Kelly, *Farming*, 21.
[676] Henry Judson Canfield, *The Breeds, Management, Structure and Diseases of the Sheep* (Salem, 1848), 63.

> offal; their necks were too thick; and they had not the roundness and compactness of form which Bakewell so sedulously cultivated'.[677]

Mr Dexter prevailed in his desire to improve the breed so that at the time Youatt is writing in 1837 he can affirm that 'at the present day, when a farmer wishes to improve his flock, he sends into Tipperary for a Dexter ram, and his object is certainly accomplished.'[678] Herbert concurs with Youatt, telling us that the Dexter family was

> a family of thirteen or fourteen in Number, all great Beauties — They lived in a Farm House on the Rockwell Estate[679] — He was a great English farmer, famous for a breed of sheep well known in Ireland by the name of Dexter Sheep — She a Notable, Bustling Woman and a Bit of an Oddity — We had there home kill'd in Perfection and all the Rarities that a good Mother could give to set off her Children, as Cakes, Syllabubs, Tarts, Pies Hams Etc.[680]

Whether this Mr Dexter is the person who developed the Dexter breed of cattle, a breed originating in Ireland, is unclear.[681] Unfortunately Mrs Dexter does not feature as a contributor to NLI MS 34,952 (Baker).

In the list of ingredients and recipes extrapolated from NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) the near absence of the potato deserves comment. The tuber exists only in the reference to it in the index for the second volume, the recipe for Potato Pudding. It does not exist in any form as an ingredient in the recipes in the extant volume. The manuscript in the Dublin City Library supplies the missing recipe (Figs. 5.7 and 5.8).

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[677] William Youatt, *Sheep: Their Breeds, Management, and Diseases* (London, 1837), 361.
[678] *Ibid.*
[679] Home of the Roe family.
[680] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 181-2.
[681] See Patrick Wright, *The Standard Cyclopedia of Modern Agriculture, Vol. VII Hem-Len* (London, 1910), 148-153, who quotes Low, in *Domesticated Animals of the British Isles* (1845) regarding the new mountain dairy breed in Ireland, the Dexter, 'It was formed by the late Mr Dexter, agent to Maude Lord Hawarden', 151. See also Tighe, *Statistical Observations,* 318-331. Dundrum House in County Tipperary was the seat of the Viscounts Hawarden in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries so the connection is not inconceivable, http://landedestates.nuigalway.ie/LandedEstates/jsp/estate-show.jsp?id=3350. Dundrum House is close to where Herbert describes the Dexter family as living.

Potatoe Pudding

> Three quarters of a pound of butter beaten to a cream. Three quarters of a pound of potatoes beaten as fine as possible, three quarters of a pound of powdered sugar, and a quarter of a pound of sweet almonds, blanched and pounded, the yolks of 8 (?) eggs beaten to a cream, beat them all together, put citron, candied orange and a little better than a naggin of brandy, put paste round the dish.

It deserves mention that Elizabeth Raffald (1733-1781) in her *Experienced English Housekeeper,* which Edgeworth quotes in her novel *Patronage,* also fails to include any mention of, or recipes for, the potato. *Adam's Luxury and Eve's Cookery*, referred to previously does give a comprehensive guide to the several ways of preparing the tuber.[682] However, where many of the recipes in the manuscripts studied repeat *verbatim*, or almost so, recipes from printed texts, it is notable, as far as this researcher has established, that none of the recipes in Mrs Baker can be categorised as being directly attributable to a printed source. Referring again to reasons for the absence of recipes discussed above, and Mouzawak's observation regarding the fact that some dishes required no recipe, they were simply 'made', Catherine Wilmot's description of Lady Mount Cashel eating her luncheon of plain boiled potatoes in Paris in 1801 demonstrates that they were indeed everyday fare, and as such no comment was generally passed on their presence or absence.[683] Bishop Synge, writing to his daughter in 1751, registers how potatoes were valued, despite the absence of recipes for them, in the period. Comparing his crop to those of a 'Mrs S' he remarks,

> But I am sure, my Potatoes are better than Hers. I never saw so good, as I have this Season, in my life. In dressing these, or any thing else, no one can rival her. But Carlebow does them, so as to please and Surprise the Will's, who sup on them every night.[684]

Herbert citing them on two occasions in a disparaging fashion may perhaps indicate ambiguity about the status of the vegetable.[685]

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[682] *Adam's Luxury*, 164-168.
[683] Sadlier, *Wilmot,* 42.
[684] Legge, *Bishop Synge,* 344.
[685] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 43, where outside Dublin is referred to as the land of potatoes and 130, where she compares the Herbert family fare as 'still feeding on Potatoes and Milk at home' with the Cox family dining arrangements. See also Tighe, *Statistical Observations*, 234-236 on the varieties of potato planted in Kilkenny.

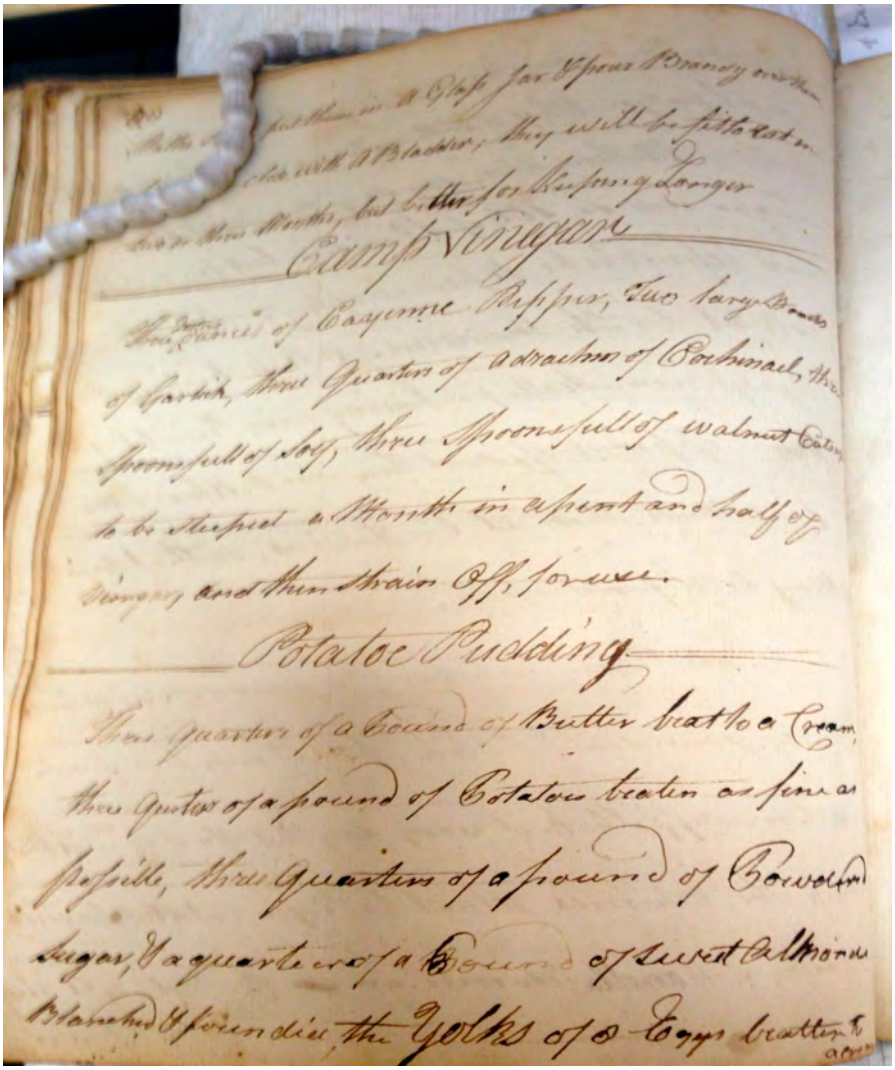

Fig. 5.7 MS 162 (DCL) Potatoe Pudding.
Kind permission of Special Collections, Dublin City Library and Archive

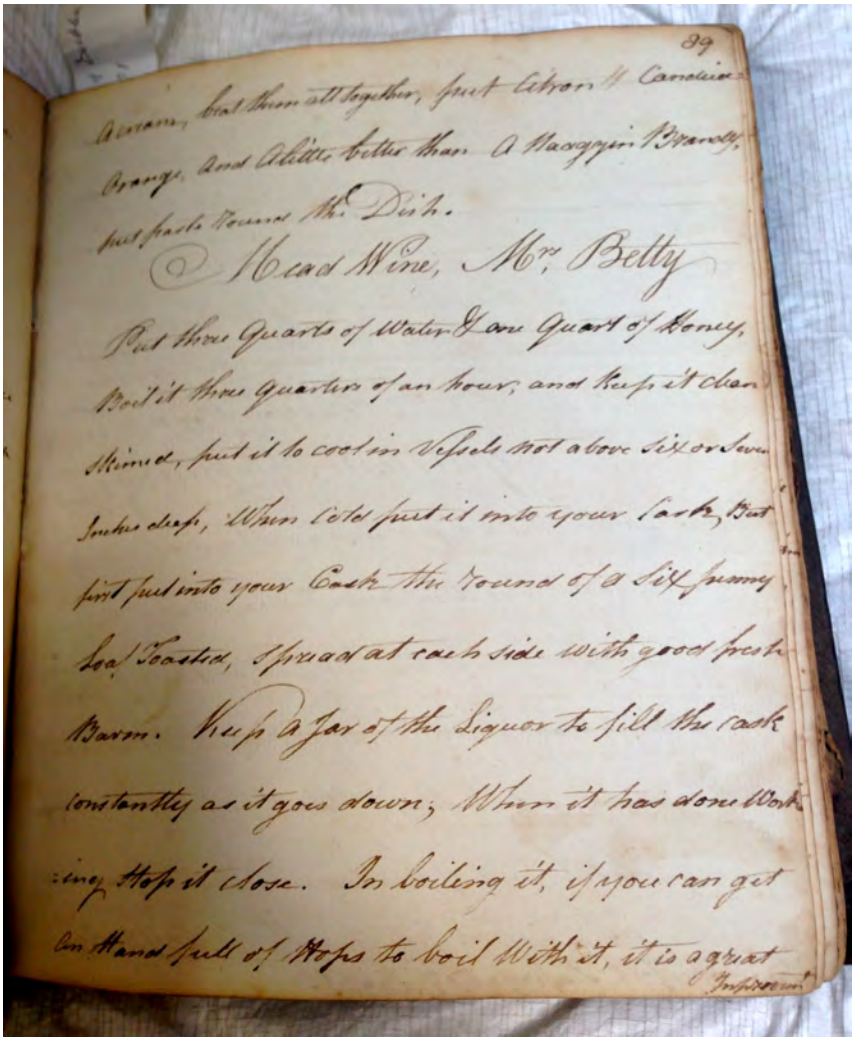

Fig. 5.8 MS 162 (DCL) Potatoe Pudding cont.
Kind permission of Special Collections, Dublin City Library and Archive

5.4 The Kitchen:

> A place where they prepare and dress Victuals, all necessary Utensils ought to be ready in a kitchen, as Caldrons, Pots, Pans, Stewpans, Coppers, Pails, Basons, Tables or Dressers, Dishes, Plates, Knives, Grid-irons, Spits, Chaffin-dishes, &c. The chimney should be large that so you may easily manage the vessels you use in your Cooking, but the other Utensils being generally so well known, they are omitted; all that need be said, is that the Kitchen should be kept clean and in as good Order as possible, and that there should be a Place near it wherein to keep the Victuals cool.[686]

[686] Noel Chomel, *Dictionnaire Oeconomique; or, the Family Dictionary.. Revised and Recommended by Mr. R. Bradley,* II Vols. (Dublin, 1727), entry under Kitchen, cited in Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (Bloomsbury, 2016), 20.

Pennell's recent study of the kitchen has opened up academic discussion of the space as 'not simply a point on a plan, a rung on a spatial hierarchy, or indeed an empty space filled with prescribed activities'.[687] The kitchen and associated service spaces are 'analytically, as much as architecturally, "below stairs"'.[688] If this is the case in an English context, it is amplified in an Irish context. This discussion takes place in the context of this lacuna, in the realisation that with the growth of Irish scholarship and interest in this area, this descriptive analysis of the kitchen at Ballaghtobin through NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) and its associated archive is putting the case for further analytic study of this area.

Just as ingredients are largely actualised through the medium of the recipe, so the kitchen takes shape through this discussion of the utensils in use there. The definition of utensil has been taken in its broadest sense here as including ephemera such as paper, but also including the contribution of the fire, not just in a physical sense, but also in the descriptive, hence 'fire' appears as both a utensil and also under terminology. In the same spirit, water was included as an ingredient in Table I. They are loose categories in some respects, the important issue is that they are recognised as such. To establish a mental picture of the kitchen through language the manuscript was looked at in three dimensions, equipment, terminology and measurements used, Tables II, III, and IV respectively. One obvious omission is human agency, although the chart provided in Fig. 5.13 graphically demonstrates how this is at the core of the kitchen. Mrs Baker's manuscript directs her instructions to 'you', and 'your'. How this was mediated beyond the kitchen is not indicated directly, although the attributions provided hint at a lively interest in all things culinary on both sides of the 'green baize door'.[689]

[687] Pennell, *English Kitchen*, 11.
[688] *Ibid.,*2.
[689]Cronin, *Green Baize Door***.**

Table IV: Equipment Vol. I
Ephemera are italicised.

Bag: a little one for mace; a flannel one; one for boiling pudding; a jellybag for straining fruit; *paper bags for dried mushrooms*
Basin: earthen
Bass Strings: strings of bark
Beads: black, for 'An Hedge Hog', eyes
Birch: handful tied together as a broom for dipping in barm
Bladder: for covering pots, airtight
Blanket: for keeping dough warm
Bottles: small
Bowl: clean wooden for proving dough; earthen vessel bowl for boiling, perhaps over *bain-marie*?
Box: bentwood, for packing dry moghul plums in
Brush: soft, for brushing on a layer of barm
Bung: for stoppering wine

Chafing dish: 'full of coals', for heating over
Cloths: clean; cambric; cotton; coarse; thin
Cord; thin
Cork
Crock: flat bottomed; glazed; pickling
Cullender: colander
Cups: unspecified; china, for serving a cream; tea cups

Dish: chafing dish; china; earthen; pewter; 'your dish'

Feather
Fingers: squeeze barm through them
Fire

Gigging iron,
Glass: unspecified; high, for serving cream
Griddle: hot griddle with clear coals around; spread on a griddle or coarse sieve

Heat: heat of the day for gathering strawberries

Jar: small jar; close stone jar, for pickling lemons
Jug: earthen

Kettle: fish kettle; tea kettle

Leather: for over bladder

Moulds
Mortar: clean; marble; stone
Napkin: warm, for covering dough

Oven: after great heat is gone out; after bread is taken out; hot enough for white bread; slow; moderate

Pan: broad, for drying mushrooms; dripping pan; earthen pan; frying pan; preserving pan; stew pan; tin pan
Paper: brandy papers for potting damacines; paper dashed with sugar; for filtering through; oiled; sleeked; strong
Paste: water and flour paste for covering crock; puff paste for sealing
Peel: for putting bread in oven
Penknife; for pricking walnuts
Pipkin: small round cooking pot, usually earthenware
Pitcher
Platter: wooden
Pot: 'such as you boil beef in'; well glazed

Reeds: basket maker's reeds for laying dried pippins on
Rolling pin

Salamander: for browning top of dishes,
Saucepan: flat, for frying onions; mostly unspecified
Saucer: for measuring batter
Sieve: unspecified; fine hair; lawn
Skimmer
Skillet
Spit
Spatula
Spoon: for shaping and measuring; 'thick as a spoon can stand in'; soup spoon, for stirring in flour in Naples biscuits
Store: 'your storeroom
Strainer: thin cambric
Straw
String
Sun: the sun, for drying lemons

Table: clean table; for draining salmon on overnight
Thimble: for coring an apple
Tub: large wooden
Tureen: Argyle or Sauce Tureen; for serving mock turtle soup
Time: a month; a day; next day

Vessel: flat, for cooling gravy; earthen; wooden; small

Whisk
Wire
Wood: flat for tenderising meat

Table V: Terminology Vol. I

A limber jelly: not too stiff
A warm or two: of liquid on the fire

Boil: close covered till half consumed; boil it well 'till it takes the burn quite clean from the pan' before adding in collops; boil quick; boil smartly; boil softly; boil to candy height; 'when it leaves off boiling as hissings'

Dashed: with sugar, on paper

Fire: of the fire, clear; gentle; pretty smart; slow; the fire,

Froth falls: for butter, when the froth falls

Hot: as hot as you can bear your hand in; very hot; hot enough; boiling hot

Pyramid: 'it will serve as a pyramid of sweet meats' of almond butter

Run: when butter 'runs' to oil

Strew: of sugar and salt
Shift: of water, change the water
Shire: of liquor off mushrooms, draw off
Strength: of raspberries, strength drawn from them when making brandy
Strong: of salt pickle, strong enough to bear an egg

Thick: so a spoon can stand in it
Throw: 'throw' almonds in cold water; also walnuts and pears; sugar

'Until the flesh rises along with it': tenderising pork

Wasted: 'if the vinegar be wasted', evaporated
Wet: by degrees

Table VI: Measurements Vol. I (Fig. 5.9)[690]

Cut small as the head of a miniken pin (the smallest pin)
Handful
Ounces
Pint
Pottle

[690] On wider issues of weight and measures relating to Ireland see Dermot Feenan and Liam Kennedy, 'Weights and Measures of the Major Food Commodities in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature,* Vol. 102C, No. 2 (2002), 21-45.

Quart
Spoonful
Teacup
The bigness of a pea/walnut/pigeon's egg

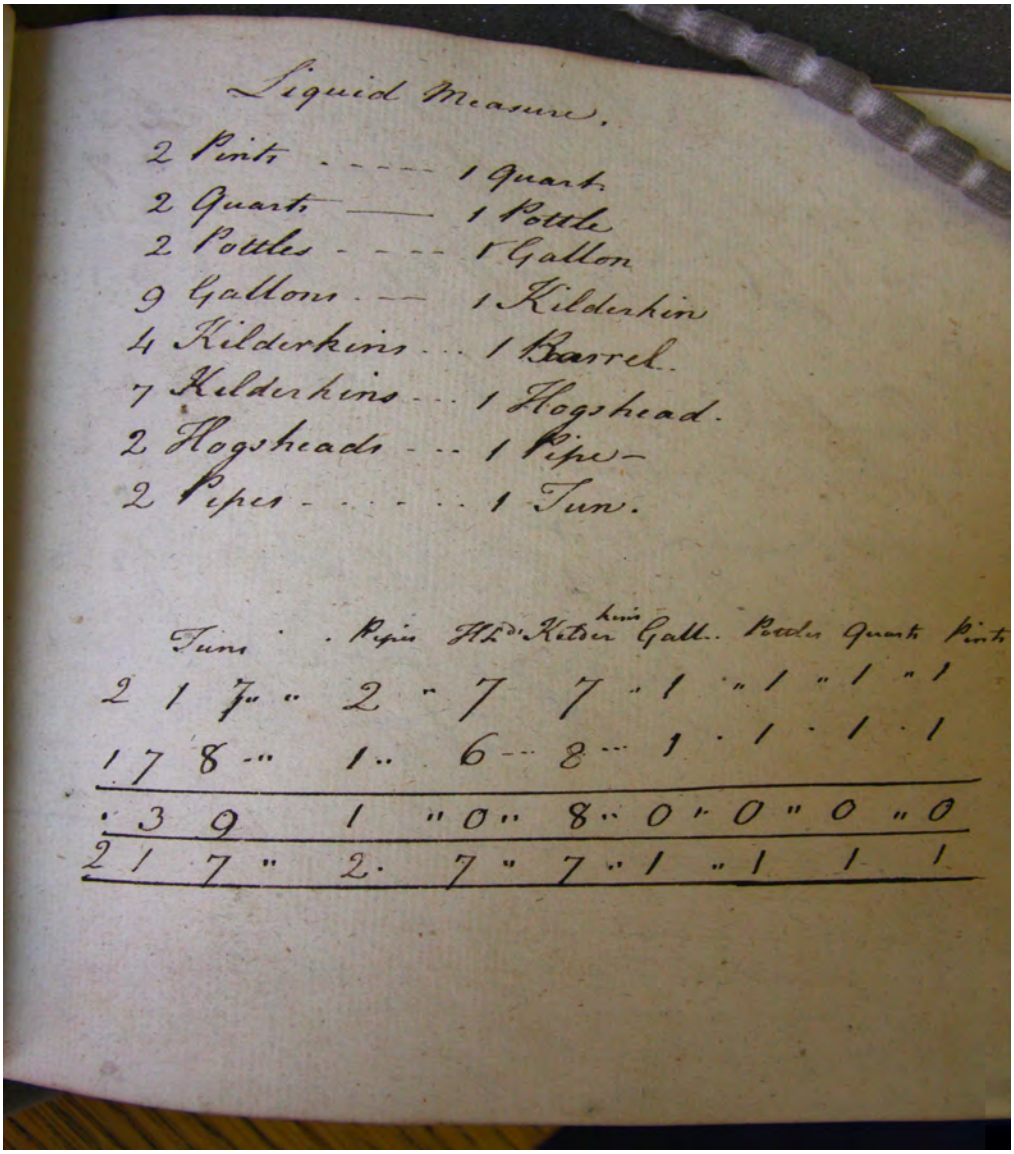

Fig. 5.9 NLI MS 42,007, Household Account Book belonging to A. W. Baker. Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

There is no description for Ballaghtobin House in this period, and as noted above it was extensively remodeled in modern times, with the Barrack Room being the only retained feature. Craig is mute on kitchens,[691] and while some kitchens from the

[691] Maurice Craig, *Classic Irish Houses of the Middle Size* (London, 1976). As Pennell, *English Kitchen*, 2 notes, kitchens make rare appearances in architectural

period have been preserved they are from more architecturally notable houses than Ballaghtobin.[692] This is in comparison to the situation in Britain where there is a more established tradition of preserving the fabric of historic houses, including domestic quarters, and of text relating to kitchens.[693] It is somewhat ironic that it is precisely the kitchen that is frequently removed from a historic house to be replaced by a visitor tea room, as for example has happened at Russborough House.[694] Somerville-Large quotes an unattributed description of the kitchen at Hamwood House in Dunboyne in modern times and from the items in the foregoing tables it is remarkably consistent with how one could imagine Ballaghtobin House. The floor is described as slate covered, scattered with mats, the walls and ceiling whitewashed every spring. The furniture consisted of a big scrubbed deal table, serviceable wooden chairs, and the room was further furnished with a big salt-box, an old-fashioned dresser of dark oak covered with china, pepper mills, a coffee mill, pestle and mortar for crushing sugar and pounding almonds, with the deep cupboard under the dresser 'used as a coop for a hatching hen and glowing copper preserving pans' fondly remembered.[695] Descriptions of kitchens in the houses of the Anglo-Irish and elite classes become

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histories. That their presence is noted more in architectual histories dealing with the vernacular is curious. In contrast to this the Duchess of Leinster and her sister, Lady Sarah were much exercised about the plans for the kitchen at Frascati House, see Brian Fitzgerald, *Correspondence of Emily Duchess of Leinster (1731-1814),* III Vols., Vol. II, (Dublin, 1953), 171-173.

[692] Strokestown House Co. Roscommon, Fota House Co. Cork, Ardgillan Castle and Newbridge House Co. Dublin have kitchens that are preserved. The Georgian House Museum at 29 Fitzwilliam Street and Howth Castle are also commendable. The butler's pantry at Castletown House, Co. Kildare, dates from the 1760s. See also Christina Hardyment, *Home Comfort: A History of Domestic Arrangements* (London, 1992) for discussion of Florence Court and Castle Ward in Northern Ireland.

[693] Christina Hardyment, *Home Comfort: A History of Domestic Arrangements in Association with the National Trust* (London, 1992); Sambrook and Brears (eds.), *The Country House Kitchen*; Pamela Sambrook, *A Country House at Work: Three Centuries of Dunham Massey* (London, 2003); Pennell, *English Kitchen*. For modern Ireland see Rhona Richman Kenneally, 'Towards a new domestic architecture: homes, kitchens and food in rural Ireland during the long 1950s' in Fitzpatrick and Kelly (eds.), *Proceedings, Section C, Vol. 115* (Dublin, 2015), 325-347.

[694] This would not have been the original kitchen that was removed but would no doubt have been equally interesting to researchers in the future.

[695] Peter Somerville-Large, *The Irish Country House: A Social History* (London, 1995), 336. See also Olive Sharkey, *Old Days, Old Ways: An Illustrated Folk History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1985), 49-64 for discussion and illustrations relating to kitchen equipment in an Irish context in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

more apparent in the literature that describes their demise as a class, the visibility of the kitchen paralleling their downward spiral.[696]

Generally inventories are a resource that can be useful in reconstructing the bones of a kitchen. However as a resource for research in Ireland they have limited scope due to the destruction of the Four Courts referred to earlier.[697] As ffolliott notes, it is hard to establish a norm from the records and researchers should err on the side of quoting possessions and not drawing conclusions.[698]

A Mrs Byrne conducted an inventory of the kitchen furniture at Ballaghtobin on April 30th 1818. There is no information as to what precipitated this inventory, as the date does not coincide with any death or other known life event in the family. Mrs Byrne lists the following:

20 Pewter plates, 2 ditto dishes, 2 cullanders (sic), 4 baking pans, 2 jelly shapes, 1 (?) pan cover and fish plate, 2 graters, 1 copper stew pan large, 1 large fish kettle, 1 small copper stew pan, 2 small copper saucepans, 3 iron saucepans, 1 iron stew pan, 2 iron candlesticks, 2 iron spoons, 3 roasting spits, 1 iron dripping pan, 1 pair of iron spit racks, 1 tongs, 1 poker, 1 gridiron, 1 fire shovel, 3 wooden dishes and 3 tumblers, 2 kitchen tubs, 3 (?poss. churns), 2 stools, 1 brass skillet, 1 skimmer, 4 iron pots, 1 ladle, 1 flesh fork, 1 dredging box, 2 hand hooks, 1 griddle, 1 salt box, 1 digester, 1 spice mill, 6 meat tubs, mould stand with 12 moulds, candle through 1, 2 large crocks, barm keg, 2 large wooden dishes, block and cleaver, 1 pair niggars.[699]

It is apparent from cross referencing this with Table IV that despite Mrs Byrne compiling a reasonably comprehensive inventory, much kitchen equipment would by

[696] For example Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*, where the kitchen is a focal point; Henry Green, *Loving* (London, 2000 [1945], where the drama is equally sited above and below stairs; Molly Keane, *Time after Time* (London, 1983) where the title of the first chapter is 'In the kitchen', the area in the house that the Swift siblings have retreated to.

[697] Rosemary ffolliott, 'Household Stuff', *The Irish Ancestor,* Vol. I, No. I, 1969, 43-49.

[698] *Ibid.,* 43. On inventories see also ffolliott, *The Irish Ancestor,* Vol. II, No I, 1970; Vol. IX, No II, 1977; Vol. X, No. I, 1978; Vol. X, No. II, 1978; Jane Fenlon, *Goods and Chattels: A survey of Early Household Inventories in Ireland* (Kilkenny, 2003).

[699] NLI MS 21,039 Baker Papers.

its nature remain unrecorded, even allowing for the fact that equipment specified in a recipe may not be the equipment used in a practical sense. It can be inferred from this that sometimes what the manuscript provides is a ghostly inventory of the equipment available in the kitchen of the person who contributed the recipe, rather than that at Ballaghtobin. One obvious category missing from the inventory when compared with Table IV is the absence of any textile. Textile is manifest in straining cloths, filter cloths and flannel and also as a medium for containing food. Whole spices and colouring materials could be bound up in scraps of cloth and retrieved later from liquids they were immersed in.[700] Bishop Synge was sufficient dismayed by a dinner served to him by his cook, Carleboe, that he wrote to his daughter with the command,

> Carleboe wants linen to make cloths in which to boil his Meat. This demand is owing to an hearty chiding He got the other day for sending up a very fine Turkey with so very bad a look, that No one car'd to meddle with it. He seems in earnest resolv'd to take more care for the future. But without these same cloths, He cannot do it. Pray let them be provided, that He may have no excuse (June 5, 1750 from Elphin).[701]

Cloth can be used to refine another utensil, as in the recipes for Whip Cheese,

Whip Cheese

> Take one pound of thick cream sweetened to your taste, put in the juice of two lemons, keep the rhind of one of them in a spoon full of white wine and a little orange flower water, whip it as thick as possible, then have a sieve ready the size of your dish, put in a thick cambrick cloth, and put in the cream by spoonful till the sieve is full, put the remainder of the cloth over it and let it lye all night, so that the whey may run out, next day turn it on the dish, be careful how you turn it for fear of breaking it.[702]

In another recipe the cloth is used to maintain the integrity of stuffed meat,

[700] Peter Brears, 'Introduction' in Elizabeth Cleland, *A New and Easy Method of Cookery, Facsimile Edition* (Totnes [Edinburgh], 2005[1755]), ix-xxxi, xx.
[701] Legge, *Synge Letters,* 191. Carlebo features regularly in Synge's letters and his recipes are included in NLI MS 5606, Mary Ponsonby's manuscript. According to Pollard, *Dictionary*, 551 a Ms Carlebo of Grafton Street, Dublin, married the printer and bookseller Richard Stewart in 1768.
[702] NLI MS 34,952 (Baker), recipe number 73, page 29.

Savoury Corner Dish, L A Fitzg

> Take a fillet of veal cut in slices not too thin, make some savoury force meat, crumbs of bread, sweet herbs and spice rolled in butter and the yolk of an egg, roll this in the slices of veal and tie them up close in any form you please like small birds boil them in clothis (sic) when done have some savoury white gravy ready with oysters and anchovy and a bit of butter rolled in mushroom powder, toss it up and pour it on your meat which must be stewed in the gravy, garnish yr dish and meat with oysters. Put a little w wine in the sauce.[703]

The digester listed in the inventory was originally an invention of Denis Papin, a Frenchman, and was demonstrated at the Royal Society in London in 1682.[704] Field notes that it appeared to be considered nothing more than a scientific novelty and was not developed commercially.[705] One aspect of the increased commercialisation of the nineteenth century was a proliferation of kitchen gadgets.[706] Field states that the digester came back into fashion and was developed commercially for a very specific reason, to render down with long cooking imports of chilled Argentinian beef, which was used to supplement British stock. Kitchen ranges, fuelled by coal, were an expensive way to render this beef palatable. The digester reduced cooking time and 'was, even in its early cast iron form, extremely efficient in rendering tough meat into a tender, appetizing stew'.[707] The date of the Ballaghtobin inventory is 1818. Field cites the first of the digesters being made in England in the 1860s. However the records of the Hudson Bay Company record 'a Pot or kettle called a digester' being dispatched from their offices in London to York, Manitoba, in 1799.[708] The fact that the apparatus is recorded in Ballaghtobin in 1818 may indicate that the benefits of the digester were perceived in Ireland relatively quickly. The 'pair niggars' refers to a

[703] *Ibid.,* recipe number 180, page 78.
[704] Field, *Irons,* 90.
[705] *Ibid.*
[706] *Ibid.,* 210-231.
[707] *Ibid.,* 23.
[708] Transcript of a letter from London to York Factory, Manitoba, Reel 1M258 B.239/b/78, transcribed and available on http://listsearches.rootsweb.com/th/read/CAN-HUDSONS-BAY-COMPANY/2012-01/1327608966 . More about the Hudson Bay Company Archives may be accessed through http://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/about/hbca.html
The Hudson Bay Company was incorporated in 1670 by English Royal Charter, as The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay. See Theodore Binnema, *Enlightened Zeal: The Hudson's Bay Company and Scientific Networks, 1670-1870* (Toronto, 2014).

moveable side attached to the grate that allowed the cooking area to be expanded and contracted.

As Nevin notes, the servants' ware consisted of wooden bowls and noggins, described in Mrs Byrne's inventory as wooden tumblers.[709] In her inventory for 1837, Charity Baker lists four wooden bowls and a pair of noggins. The recipe for raspberry brandy in NLI MS 34,952 specifies 'three noggins of raspberries',[710] which would indicate that the vessel was used in much the same way as a modern cup measure. Kinmonth has recently conducted extensive research on this small wooden drinking and eating vessel (Figs. 5.10 and 5.11).[711] *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines the noggin as a small drinking vessel or cup, conflating it with the use of the word naggin, which in Hiberno-English is more appropriately applied to a measure of drink.[712] Closely related to the piggin,[713] also a small wooden vessal, both descriptors are also used in Britain.[714] Very cleverly constructed, unfortunately few have survived. Fig. 5.11 demonstrates one aspect of the design; the handle of the vessel is designed to hold it steady when inverted to drain, preserving the integrity of the wood.

[709] NLI MS 21,039. Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook', 15.
[710] NLI MS 34,952 Raspberry Brandy.
[711] Claudia Kinmonth, 'Revolution in the Farmhouse Kitchen: Modernisation and the Irish Noggin, a Wooden Vessel for Food and Drink', a paper delivered at the Dublin Gastronomy Symposium, 2016.
[712] Dolan, *Dictionary*, 162.
[713] On glass piggins see Mary Boydell, 'The Origins of the Glass Piggin*, Irish Arts Review*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1986, 22.
[714] Claudia Kinmonth, '"The nicest work of all": Traditional Irish Wooden Vessels for Drinking and Eating' in *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies,* Vol. XVIII, 2016, 130-147; 'I put a noggin of whiskey in a bottle and left Kilkenny at seven', De Bhaldraithe, *Diary,* 124. See also Alexander Fenton, 'Pigs and Mugs', in Alexander Fenton and Janken Myrdal (eds.) *Food and Drink and Travelling Accessories, Essays in Honour of Gösta Berg* (Glasgow, 1988), 38-49.

Fig. 5.10 Noggin

Fig. 5.11 Inverted Noggin

Kind permission of Claudia Kinmonth

As noted previously, the seminars that Wheaton conducts at Radcliffe College on reading historic cookbooks attract individuals from across disciplines, both within and beyond academia. The kitchen is a complicated working environment. This is graphically demonstrated in the case of a modern flow chart drawn up for Hannah Wooley's kitchen of 1662 as constructed by one of the participants on the seminar, Koenig Richards (Fig. 5.12).[715]

[715] Hannah Wooley, *The Ladies Directory in Choice Experiments and Curiosities* (London, 1662). As Wall observes, Wooley 'ushered the recipe consumer from the literate closet into the literate and practical kitchen'. As can be seen by the complexity of this flow chart, Wall's contention that Wooley's defense of female kitchen expertise was aimed at changing the popular view of culinary knowledge and discourse, has much merit, see Wall*, Recipes for Thought,* 41-43, 42.

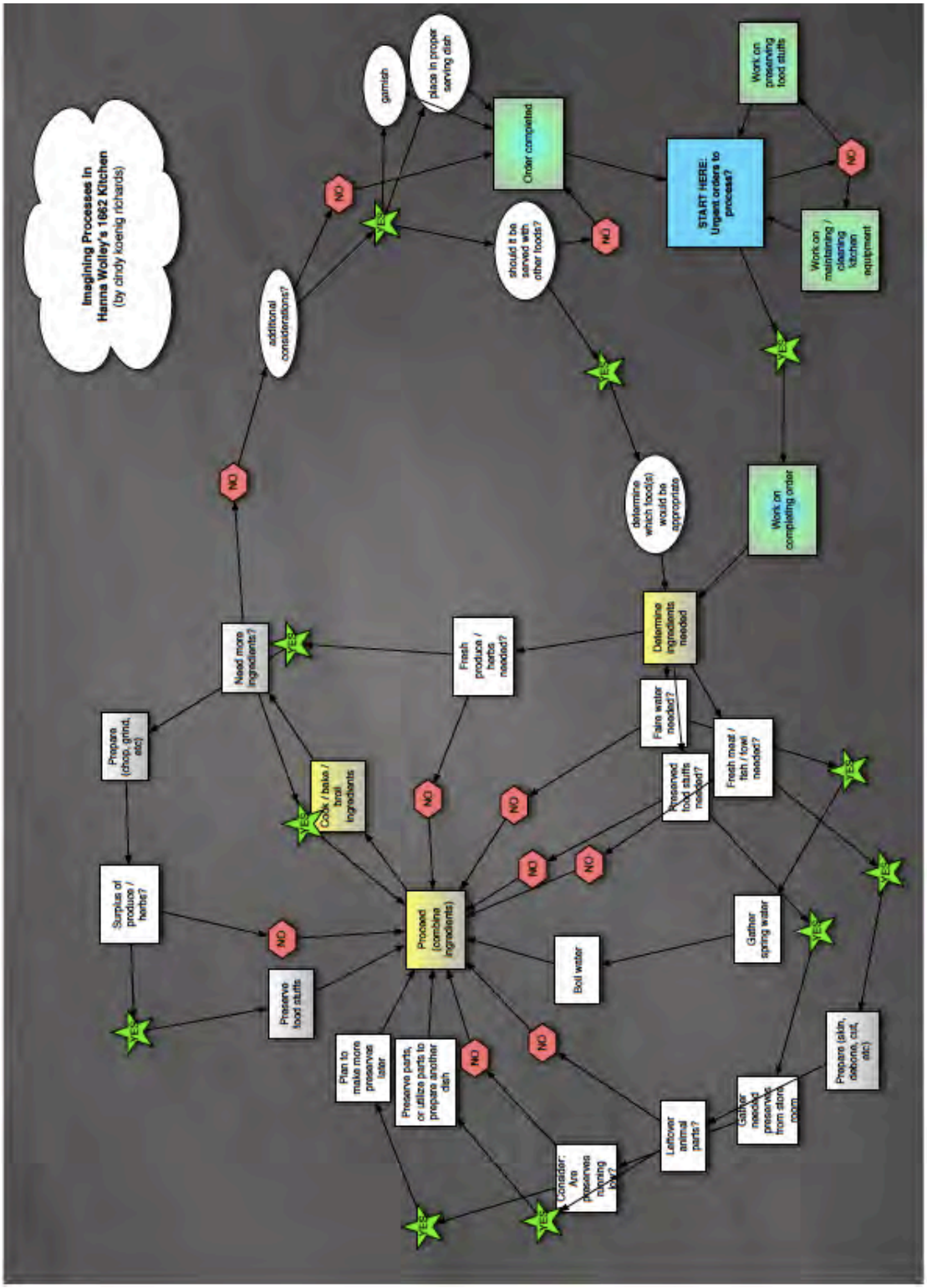
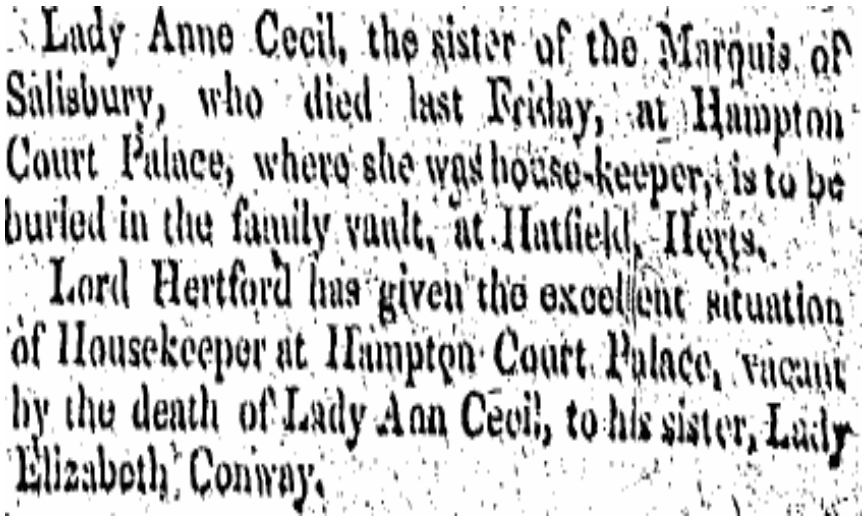


Fig. 5.12 Imagining Processes in Hannah Woolley's 1662 Kitchen
Kind permission of Cindy Koenig Richards

At the centre of the flowchart above is human agency, and it is this element that is one of the least visible aspects of the functioning of the kitchen. Mrs Baker references Mrs

Costello, 'my uncle Dysart's housekeeper' in the recipe for Walnut Catsup, and the Mrs Ellis referred to at the end of a section may have been a housekeeper to Lucy Gorges (Appendix Three). The 1818 inventory of kitchen equipment at Ballaghtobin,[716] referenced earlier, was conducted by a Mrs Byrne, the later inventory of *ca*.1820 by Charity Baker, with the comment 'taken up by Peggy'.[717] Housekeepers and cooks are shadowy figures in the manuscripts.[718] A Mrs Rigby features in NLI MS 34, 952 (Baker) in a recipe for turnip soup, about whom little can be established. However a reference to 'Mr Rigby's cook's receipt for turnip soup' does open up the prospect of the honorific 'Mrs' being applied quite loosely.[719] The housekeeper's role was managerial, in larger households second only in status to that of the steward.[720] The Earl of Moira, of Moira Castle in Antrim, advertised for 'a person in the capacity of cook and housekeeper' in 1795.[721] There is evidence that the role was sometimes filled from within the family (Fig. 5.13).


Lady Anne Cecil, the sister of the Marquis of Salisbury, who died last Friday, at Hampton Court Palace, where she was house-keeper, is to be buried in the family vault, at Hatfield, Herts.

Lord Hertford has given the excellent situation of Housekeeper at Hampton Court Palace, vacant by the death of Lady Ann Cecil, to his sister, Lady Elizabeth Conway.

Fig. 5.13 *Freeman's Journal* June 21, 1813.

[716] NLI MS 21,039.
[717] NLI MS 42,007.
[718] There is a portrait of a Mrs Parnell Moore at Castletown House, Celbridge, who was reputedly a housekeeper there in the eighteenth century.
[719] Appendix Three, Mrs Rigby. The same recipe is included in NLI MS 5606, To Make Turnip Soup by Mr Rigby's Famous Cook.
[720] Sara Paston-Williams, *The Art of Dining: A History of Cooking and Eating* (London, 1993), 290.
[721] *Belfast Newsletter***,** December 23, 1795.

O'Riordan points out that in some instances, 'there was little option but to know one's staff, a housekeeper was not always expected to carry out a managerial role'.[722] The skill-set expected was high as can be seen from an advertisement in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* of 1771, where a position is advertised for a 'complete woman cook'[723] sixty miles from Dublin, where the necessary skills include the making 'of all kind of made dishes, and French soups, and all kinds of pastry',[724] along with pickling, preserving, potting, collering, brewing, baking, fattening fowl, and 'understanding the conduct and management of a large family with the strictest economy'.[725]

In an aside in a letter to Lord Townsend in the late 1780s, Lord Caldwell, an improving landlord, informs that he had instructed his cook 'who is a very good one' to teach some of his tenants how to collar[726] eels (a recipe that Mrs Baker includes in her manuscript) caught on his weir on the Erne lough, 'and he has taught them to do it as well as himself. If I can find a demand for them it will enrich many a poor people'.[727] Herbert's comments about the staff in the Herbert household would indicate that the social architecture of that household was not particularly rigid. Of their housekeeper she comments 'Mrs Anne Wharton his wife lived with my Mother many years before she Married — She was a Wonderfully clever Housekeeper, Confectioner, Lady's Maid and Nursetender — and doubly valuable as being Strongly Attached to my Mother'.[728] The rider is added that Mrs and Mr Wharton married for love and were from a respectable background, 'far above the common Run of

[722] Maeve O'Riordan, 'Assuming Control: Elite Women and Household Managers in Late Nineteenth-Century Ireland' in Ciaran O' Neill (ed.), *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, 2013), 83-98.
[723] *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 12-15 Jan., 1771, cited in Mary O'Dowd, (ed.) 'Property, Work and Home: Women and the Economy c. 1170-1850' in Angela Bourke, Siobhán Kilfeather, Maria Luddy *et al* (eds.) *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing, Vol. V, Irish Women's Writings and Traditions* (Cork, 2002), 464-529, 512.
[724] *Ibid.*
[725] *Ibid.*
[726] A rolled length of meat or fish bound with tape for cooking.
[727] Mervyn Busteed, 'The practice of improvement in the Irish context – The Castle Caldwell estate in county Fermanagh in the second half of the eighteenth century' *Irish Geography,* Vol. 33, No. I, (2000), 15-36, 30.
[728] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 13.

Servants in their Manners, Education and Deportment'.[729] Synge's cook, Carleboe, emerges from the prelate's letters with some personality, as does the unnamed cook in the account of Bodley's visit to Lecale in 1602.[730] Several of Carleboe's recipes are included in Mary Ponsonby's collection, NLI MS 5606. Marianne Hamilton gives a jaundiced perspective on both cooks and 'Madam' in her poem on a country dinner party, noting how in the preparations for the party 'Madam' looks for the first time with kindness at her cook, 'who slyly exults in this lucky occasion/ to take her revenge for a year of starvation'.[731]

A kitchen that functioned well, in accordance with the procedures imagined on the flow chart, presided over by cook and/or housekeeper, resulted in both a well stocked and provisioned store and pantry, with serried rows of pickled, salted, smoked and sweet preserves, and a well presented table, where the third of Wheaton's categories, the meal, is brought into focus.

5.5 The Meal:

In Mrs Delany's well-ordered residence, Delville, the day likely began with a cup of whey, served in her chamber, after which she repaired to her morning room to prepare the bill of fare for the day or perhaps the week.[732] Breakfast as a social repast was usually taken between nine and ten o'clock in the morning, and the staples were bread, butter, tea, coffee and chocolate.[733] NLI 42,007 includes a record of purchases from the grocers by the Baker family. The list includes eight pounds of Souschong tea (black tea, fermented, tasting better with milk and sugar),[734] six pounds of Hyson (a green tea, unfermented) and twelve pounds of 'tea' (Fig. 5.14). The unspecified tea perhaps indicates a hierarchy of choice within the household. Herbert supplies a quite singular reference to where supplies of chocolate may have been obtained by the

[729] *Ibid.*
[730] 'Bodley's Visit to Lecale, County of Down, A.D. 1602-3', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, First Series, Vol. 2, 1854, 73-95. The cook in question is called Philip.
[731] John Kirwan (ed.), *Reminiscences of Marianne-Caroline Hamilton (1777-1861)* (Kilkenny, 2009), 90. The title of the poem is 'On a country dinner party'.
[732] Katherine Cahill, 'Breakfast, Dinner and Supper in Georgian Dublin', *History Ireland*, Vol. 15, No. I, Jan/Feb 2007, 18-23.
[733] Cahill, *Mrs Delany*, 45.
[734] Pippa Shirley, 'The New Hot Drinks', in Philippa Glanville (ed.), *Silver* (London, 1996), 36-37.

family, when on foot of the receipt of a present of a barm brack from friends while staying in Bonmahon, she remarks, 'How were they ashamed of their clumsy Present in the Land of Elegance and Plenty! – besides other good things we had remarkable Chocolate, as Cashel was famous for it'.[735]

Bread at breakfast for the gentry was refined bread, and this is reflected in Mrs Baker's manuscript by the many recipes for barm and the inclusion of the recipe for the French way of making leaven. It is unlikely that Ballaghtobin aspired to the social heights of Austen's Northanger Abbey, however Mrs Morland's comment to her daughter captures the social anxiety attached to the issue of bread when she issued the reproof that 'where ever you are you must always be contented, but especially at home. I did not like, at breakfast, to hear you talk about the French bread at Northanger'.[736]

Dinner was usually eaten between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, at a later time in more fashionable circles as the eighteenth century progressed.[737] As the main repast moved to the later hour, afternoon tea was taken to bridge the gap.[738] By the mid-nineteenth century luncheon, more properly termed lunch according to the Almack's Club in London, was a recognised mid-day snack, with breakfast taken five hours earlier.[739] As Lehmann notes, the class distinction between the word 'dinner', used to denote dining at midday or in the evening, has proved remarkably resilient.[740] By 1822 Fürst von Pückler-Muskau describes sitting at the dinner table after a day of snipe shooting until two o'clock in the morning.[741]

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[735] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 198.
[736] Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey* (London, 2011 [1817]), 225.
[737] Cahill, *Mrs Delany,* 55. Lighting was a factor in this, with candles and improvements in lighting wealthier people could dine later, see Carson, *Technology and the Big House*, 138-156.
[738] *Ibid.*; Wilson, *Food and Drink,* 414; See also Ivan Day*, Eat, Drink and Be Merry: The British at Table 1600-2000* (2000, London), 107-130.
[739] Lehmann, *British Housewife*, 319. Almack's Assembly Rooms (1765-1871) was one of the first clubs to admit both men and women.
[740] *Ibid.,* 320. At the funeral of Jackie Healy-Rae he was described as representing 'the plain people who eat their dinner in the middle of the day', Harry Mc Gee, *The Irish Times*, Dec. 8, 2014.
[741] Sarah Austin (ed.), *Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau, Tour in England, Ireland and France in the years 1826, 1827, 1828 and 1829* (2009), 416. Available on http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T820002-001/

Dining styles changed over the period in both the public and private domain. As Kaufman observes, the structure of the meal denotes complex choices regarding social and cultural identity.[742] Dishes moved from the side buffet to being served in place on the table.[743] In the case of *service à la française,* the range of dishes presented at table represented a belief in the early modern period of the importance of choice in balancing the humours, as discussed in Chapter Three. As Galenic theory fell out of favour, *service à la française* was perfectly designed to evolve into a 'self-consciously elegant display with its rule-bound choreography of dishes', [744] particularly suited to private as opposed to commercial dining where the range of delicacies on display was a testament to the good taste of the host. As Kaufman indicates, for public dining, *service à la russe,* where complete individual plates were presented to the diner by service staff, was an expeditious solution to the problem of the choreography of dish and diner involved in *service à la française.*[745] The replacement of the more elegant *service à la française* in England and Ireland was gradual and behind that of the rest of Europe, dating from around 1810 through to the late 1890s.[746]

[742] Kaufman, 'Structuring the Meal', 123.
[743] Matthew Cock, 'The Arrival of the Dinner Service' in Philippa Glanville (ed.), *Silver* (London, 1996), 38-43, 38; Barnard, *Grand Figure,* 122.
[744] *Ibid.,* 123.
[745] See also James Yorke, 'Regency and Empire' in Glanville (ed.), *Silver*, 50-55.
[746] *Ibid.*

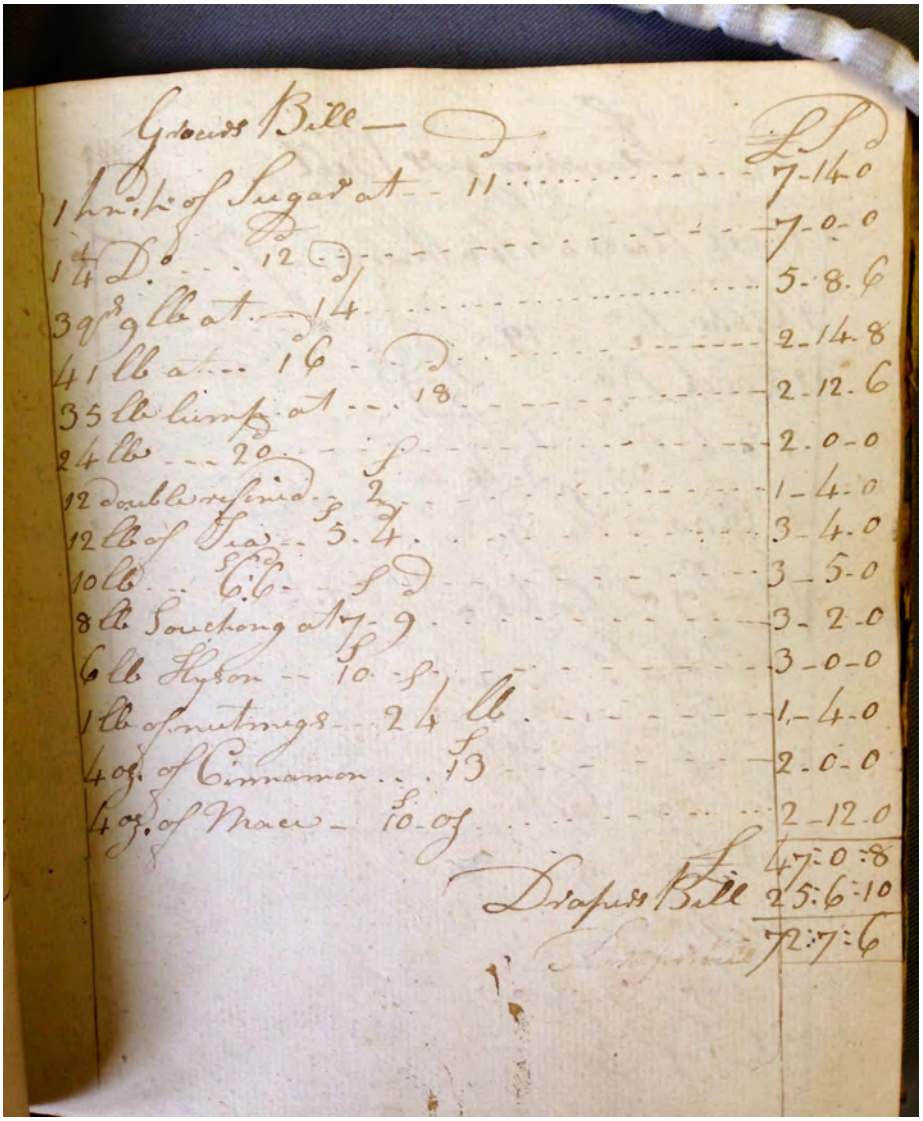

Fig. 5.14 NLI MS 42,007 Grocery Bill, Ballaghtobin House.[747]
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

The family of Archbishop Cox, of Castletown House,[748] who according to Herbert lived 'to the tune of 8000 a year and a vast accumulated Debt whilst fifty servants in Livery Graced their train besides others of all ranks',[749] were accustomed to dine in a grand style. The Archbishop was wont to observe the laying out of the dinner before the guests were present and seated, and was espied going round each dish 'with a

[747] See T. C Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven, 2004) for discussion of the allocation of household budgets to wives.
[748] Also known as Castletown Cox, a Palladian villa designed by Ducart for Michael Cox, Archbishop of Cashel, built in 1767, see Desmond Fitzgerald and James Peill, *Irish Furniture: Woodwork and Carving in Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Act of Union* (New Haven, 2007), 148.
[749] Herbert, *Retrospections,* 130.

Please God I'll Eat a bit of you, repeating the same Grace at every Delicacy'.[750] The only overt reference in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) to the prevailing dining fashion of *service à la française* is the reference in Lady Anne Fitzgerald's recipe, Savoury Corner Dish, referred to previously. There are none of the illustrations of table plans so popular in the printed texts of the time, neither are there many references as to how the dishes should be presented at table. The most frequent instruction is simply 'and so serve it up'. In the recipe To Make Almond Butter, there is an indication of the aesthetics involved in setting the table in the instruction at the end,

To make almond butter

> Take a pound of almonds and pound them fine, and mix in a quart of cream and strain it, put 12 yolks of eggs well beat in to it and set it on the fire, when it begins to curdle take it off, then tie it up in a napkin till all the whey runs off, then put sugar to your taste and some orange flower water. Take a glass bowl turn the mouth down and put it all over it, it will serve as a pyramid of sweet meats with lemon cream over it.[751]

Dishes were carefully arranged on the table, with height an important consideration. Charity Baker records a glass stand in her inventory notebook,[752] which Nevin identifies as a glass salver, used for holding glasses of custard, jelly or sweetmeats.[753] She also lists an epergne, which functioned as an ornamental centerpiece for the table. Cutlery is listed by Charity Baker as 'The White Set' and 'The Green Set'. Both were ivory handled, the green one stained. Jonathan Swift favoured the green stain, his cased set of six steel two-pronged forks having recently come to auction.[754] Nevin notes the absence of fish knives and forks, a Victorian innovation.[755] The proliferation of tableware in the Victorian period coincided with the demise of *service à la française* at a domestic level. The void left on the table by the removal of the pre-laid

[750] *Ibid.,* 40.
[751] NLI MS 34,952 (Baker), recipe number 63.
[752] NLI MS 42,007.
[753] Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook', 12. On Irish Glass see Michael Seymour and Dudley Westropp, *Irish Glass: An account of glass-making in Ireland from the XVI century to the present day* (London, 1920).
[754] Lot 53, Fonsie Mealy Auction, February 22-24, 2015.
[755] Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook', 12.

food was quickly filled by a proliferation of glass and flatware.[756] In 1778 when Abraham senior and Sophia Blunden married, Mr Baker purchased '3 pair of fine plated salts', with spoons to match, a plated tea kitchen (possibly a tea samovar, or tea kettle), a coffee urn, sugar bowl and creamer, along with a fine emerald 'hoop'.[757] NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) makes few references to how food should be served, in contrast with the later inventories of her daughter-in-law who exhibits a more Victorian appreciation of the *accouterments* associated with dining,[758] what Bourdieu would categorise as embodied cultural capitol, a concern with asserting ones position in social space.[759] During the nineteenth century the etiquette involved in using and choosing from the suite of flatware available to the diner resulted in heightened anxiety and social stratification, solved by the adoption of the basic principle of 'working from the outside in'.[760]

The recipes in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) attest to an interest in a table that was well provisioned, where guests and family ate well. What is difficult to glean from the manuscript is whether there was a distinction between formal dining where guests were present, and dining *en famille.* MS 21,013 (4) has a receipt for a bill of duty paid by the Baker family dated 1816. It provided the information that there were three male servants in the employ of Abraham Whyte Baker. A tax on employing male servants for non-essential services had been introduced in the United Kingdom by Lord North in 1777, extended to Ireland in 1812, and reduced again in 1817.[761] There is no indication from the archive how many female servants were employed, other than Charity Baker remarking on various items missing or broken by their hand.[762] Herbert describes Desart Court in her Grandfather's time, when 'the family met and

[756] Darra Goldstein, 'Implements of Eating' in Sarah D. Coffin *et al., Feeding Desire: Design and the Tools of the Table 1500-2005* (New York, 2006), 116-164.
[757] NLI MS 21,013 (2). Herbert comments on the emeralds subsequently.
[758] Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook'.
[759] Bourdieu, *Distinction*.
[760] Goldstein, 'Implements', 173. Judgments are still passed as can be seen in Helmut Kohl's comments about the young Angela Merkel being unable to eat properly with a knife and fork at state dinners, Derek Scally, 'Merkel "couldn't eat properly with a knife and fork"—Kohl', *The Irish Times*, Oct. 6 2014.
[761] Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in 18th- century England* (Connecticut, 1999), 199; Brian Jenkins, *Era of Emancipation: British Government of Ireland 1812-1830* (Kingston, 1988), 135. See also Tighe, *Statistical Observations,* 468-470.
[762] NLI MS 42,007, regarding pewter plates Charity Baker writes 'Nancy lost one', and of a set of glasses that 'red head broke one'.

dined around a blazing wood fire after the Manner of Old Times', a more relaxed style preceding the formality of *service à la française.*[763]

The precise internal architecture of Ballaghtobin for the period is unclear. The inventories would indicate that the kitchen was well equipped and the dining room well furnished with the necessary material culture for elegant consumption. The recipes in Mrs Baker's manuscript are in the main suited to both formal and informal dining for a gentry family. The Jocelyn Dinner Book referred to in Chapter Four provides a table layout for both large gatherings and smaller more intimate ones. The norm when six dined was two courses of five dishes, with one remove. The removes increase as the numbers of diners rise.[764] It is in contrast to the information that Humphrey O'Sullivan, the schoolteacher in Callan, tells us of his dining arrangements in 1830, 'the food which I and my family eat is warm food, namely oatmeal porridge with milk in the morning, wheaten bread and milk at one o'clock…. Potatoes and meat or butter, in the coolness of the evening'.[765] Two years earlier he describes a meal he enjoyed in December in Waterford, in the company of Fr. Breathnach and his family, 'we had salted loins of beef, white cabbage, roast goose with bread-stuffing, a leg of mutton and turnips, bacon and pullets, a roasted snipe'.[766] What distinguishes it from the fare that could be reconstructed from Mrs Baker's manuscript for a dinner at Ballaghtobin is the absence of sweetmeats, jellies and creams.

This contrasts with the rather grim meals that Nicholas Peacock describes in his journal. Peacock was a freeholder and land agent (to his relations, the Hartstonge family), a member of the minor gentry whose rise in status is recorded through his marriage to Catherine Chapman. In January 1745 he dined abroad at H. Supples, where he had 'a rump of beef, pork and petatoes (sic) a pudding and roast torkey after

[763] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 23. Pennell, *English Kitchen*, 42 points out that the transition from the hall, where a cooking hearth was frequently located, to the kitchen as the main cooking space is representative of what Aidrian Green terms the emergence of the 'polite threshold', indicative of changing social relations, see Adrian Green, 'The polite threshold in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Britain', *Vernacular Architecture*, 2010, Vol. 41, No. I, 1-9.
[764] It should be understood that the term 'remove' confusingly refers to what actually replaces what is removed (one remove means one dish replacing another on the table).
[765] De Bhaldraithe, *Diary*, 104.
[766] *Ibid.,* 87.

wch we drank sidr and whickey till late I gott home by nightfall'.[767] At home in August 1745, he dined 'on beans and bacon'.[768] Herbert also references dining on beans and bacon, on evenings at home when the family played backgammon.[769] After Peacock's marriage his diary records purchases such as '3 hondred of sparrograss 4s 2 lobsters 1:2'.[770] In December of the same year he buys raisins, nutmeg, pepper and rice, 'tartpans and pottingpans'.[771] One hundred years later, Hussey describes growing up in the 1830s and 40s in Caherciveen in Co. Kerry. Coffee and cocoa were unknown, 'we seldom took lunch, nor did the ladies and afternoon tea was unheard of. Instead tea was brought into the drawing room at eight in the evening, and was always drunk very weak and sweet.'[772] The family dined at five, soup was 'a regular opening', 'made' dishes[773] were few and 'badly cooked', vegetables not popular excepting potatoes, and practically no fruit was consumed, 'except a few apples and oranges at Christmas'. Fish plentiful but 'sweets' considered a great extravagance.[774] Hussey recounts the story of dining with an elderly man, who lived near Cahirciveen,

> who had a turbot for which he must have paid at least eight shillings, but apologised for not having a pudding on account of the necessity for economy, though a pudding would not have cost him eightpence.[775]

It is not easy to categorise the variety of ways that people were sustained by food in the period that Mrs Baker's manuscript covers, and from the literature of the period it is evident that to generalise is unwise. Mrs Baker's recipes reach back at least one generation to the early 1700s and she was evidently updating her manuscript right up to the date when she compiled it. Herbert's diaries are packed with references to dining that range from the formal ball held at Curragmore House for 'Prince William

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[767] Legg, *Peacock*, 131. Legge notes that Peacock's spelling may reflect the pronunciation of the period. It is a feature of many of the culinary manuscripts also.
[768] *Ibid.,* 144.
[769] Herbert, *Retrospections,* 91.
[770] Legge, *Peacock*, 186, entry for May 6, 1748. sparrograss is asparagus.
[771] *Ibid.,* 195.
[772] Home Gordon (ed.), *The Reminiscences of an Irish Land Agent, being those of S. M. Hussey* (London, 1904), 22.
[773] Cock, 'Dinner service', 39 implies that a 'made' dish involves a sauce. Ivan Day defines a 'made' dish as what would now be classified as an entreé. http://foodhistorjottings.blogspot.ie/2012/08/dining-with-edward-vii-at-polesden-lacey.html
[774] Gordon, *Reminiscences*, 22.
[775] *Ibid.*

Henry the Duke of Clarence, the Kings third son',[776] to 'remarkable slim cakes for tea', enjoyed at Mrs Nicholson's parties.[777] Barnard's *caveat* regarding observers seeing what they had been told to expect has been noted in Chapter Four. It is for this reason that diary entries and inventories have been used extensively in this section on dining. What can be seen in exploring this category is the range of experiences that the act of dining in the period could embody. The choice was made to broaden discussion of dining beyond the scope of the manuscript to the wider populace. This was done in order to convey the richness of diverse experience that discussion of dining can convey. This breadth of scope is reined back in the next category, to the manuscript itself.

5.6 The Book:

Chapter Four provides the background to this section on the book, which takes the discussion to a description of the materiality of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). The first consideration must be that this is a manuscript that has been rebound. Unfortunately there is no record of what the original binding was. The book was rebound in a stiff dark blue binding (Fig. 5.15), rather than being conserved as would be deemed more appropriate now. In this it resembles NLI MS 9563, the manuscript of Jane Bury, which was rebound in calfskin in 1991. However the Bury manuscript has extensive information attached regarding the work and the condition of the original binding, information missing in the case of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). The manuscript in the Dublin City Library and Archive is bound in brown vellum with marbled endpapers (Figs. 5.16 and 5.17).

[776] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 165.
[777] *Ibid.,* 91

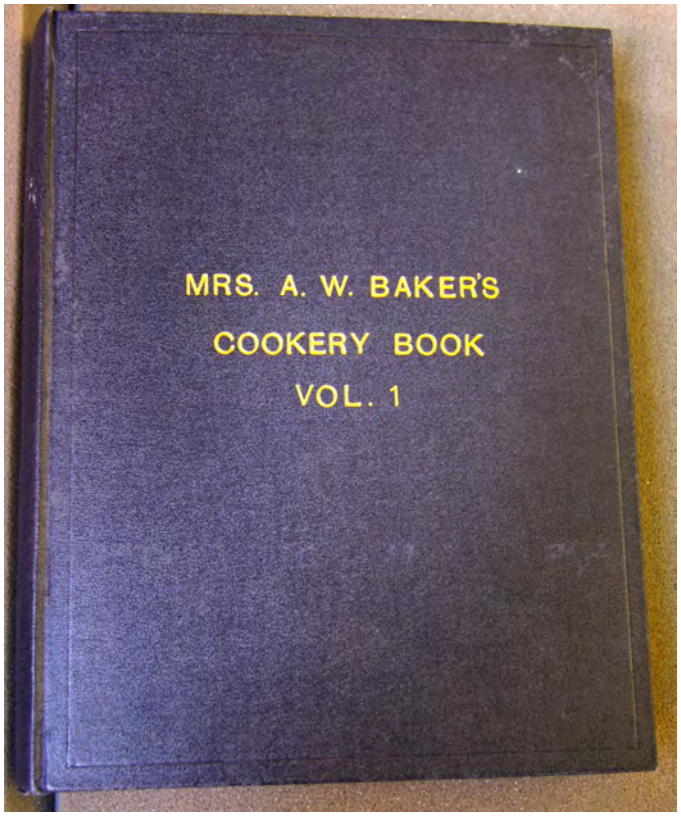

Fig. 5.15 Rebound Cover of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker).
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

Fig. 5.16 MS 162 (DCL).

Fig. 5.17 MS 162 (DCL).

Kind permission of Special Collections, Dublin City Library and Archive

NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) measures twenty-three by eighteen centimeters (approximately nine by seven and a half inches). Many of the manuscripts in the National Library are more impressive either in terms of physical size (NLI MS 42,134, the green vellum manuscript discussed in Chapter Four, has a more impressive stature in terms of the indented index and the size) or binding (NLI MS 5606 has an elaborately tooled cover). What NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) does convey is a sense of intimacy and scale, and the slight vestiges of gilding still visible on the side view would indicate that this was a manuscript that was accorded some status in monetary terms. There is no evidence that the earlier manuscript, MS 162 (DCL), was gilded.

NLI MS 34, 952 (Baker) is a planned volume, one of two, with an index to the first volume at the front, and an index at the back to the two volumes. Ten pages are left empty at the end of the last page of the index at the back, perhaps for memoranda to be added at some later stage, a sensible feature of many printed cookbooks also. Two of these pages are written on in Charity Baker's handwriting, written as if this was the front of the book, a common practice in the manuscripts especially if medical recipes are included, where the book is flipped upside down and started again from the other side. Charity Baker has added some recipes in her distinctive scrawl. NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) is relatively unusual among the manuscripts in the National Library in that there are no medical cures, and only one recipe that relates to household concerns, the recipe for making ink. In this Mrs Baker is reflecting published cookbooks in England, which by the 1750s were shedding the association between a medicinal notion of food and cuisine,[778] and also the increasing professionalisation of medical care available.[779] The absence of recorded medical knowledge becomes more pronounced in the manuscripts as the century advances.

[778] Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 9.
[779] James Kelly, 'Health for sale: mountebanks, doctors, printers and the supply of medication in eighteenth-century Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature, Vol. 108C* (Dublin, 2008), 75-113; Susan Mullaney, 'The 1791 Irish Apothecary's Act: The First Nationwide regulation of Apothecaries in the British Isles', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland/ Iris an dá chultúr,* Vol. 25, 2010, 177-190.

Writing of the period 1500-1700, Hunter makes the observation that every receipt book and manuscript has its recipe for ink, 'without ink, of course, neither the book nor the manuscript would exist, yet it is not an easy thing to get that balance of dense blackness with the essential quality of quick drying'.[780] Mrs Baker's recipe is for a 'marking ink', presumably for linens going to laundry.[781] This may indicate a commercial source for writing ink, or that the recipe for writing ink, like quotidian food recipes, was internalised and hence not recorded. Instructions for making 'mould candles' in Manuscript 162 (DCL) were not included in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker), despite Charity Baker recording the making of such candles in NLI MS 42,007, 'made 13lbs dipt. candles',[782] and the recording of the moulds for same in the inventory.[783]

Unlike many printed cookbooks of the period, manuscripts are devoid of illustrations and frontispieces. Some may be doodled on, and Mrs Baker did utilise the manicule in her early collection. NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) is dated 1810, two years after the death of Mrs Baker's husband, and four years after the marriage of her only child to Charity Challoner. On the death of Abraham senior, Charity would have become the *châtelaine* of Ballaghtobin. There is no sense that Mrs Baker's manuscript was a collaborative one in any meaningful way, although the culinary knowledge in the work holds true to Pennell's description of such knowledge as being collectively generated.[784] No recipes appear to have come down through her husband's family. The handwriting we now know, from manuscript 162 (DCL), is her own, with some later words scribbled in her daughter-in-law's hand. The knowledge embodied in the manuscript is focused back in time, not forward. While no doubt intended as a family heirloom to be passed to her daughter-in-law, it does not appear that Mrs Baker envisaged this work being added to by future generations. This was not a 'starter'

[780] Hunter, 'Women and Domestic Medicine', 96.
[781] Common marking inks contained iron, indelible marking inks contained silver, lunar caustic. Mrs Baker's receipt contains lunar caustic. See Anthony Florian Madinger Willich and Thomas Cooper, *The Domestic Encyclopedia in Three Volumes,* Vol. II (Philadelphia, 1821), 387; C. Ainsworth Mitchell and T. C. Hepworth, *Inks: Their Composition and Manufacture* (London, 1904).
[782] See also Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook', 6.
[783] Carson, *Technology and The Big House*, 144, notes that some houses had a room dedicated to making candles. Candles were a considerable item of expenditure, making your own reduced this.
[784] Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice'.

collection but rather closed, neither added to, nor customised in any meaningful way.[785]

What is extraordinary is the afterlife of the manuscript. As noted previously Dr. Nevin donated the manuscript to the National Library of Ireland, along with other culinary manuscripts.[786] Cashman and Sexton have commented on the missing volume and it remains missing.[787] However the discovery in the course of this research of the volume in Dublin City Library and Archive has allowed over half of the missing recipes from the second volume to be sourced, making it a remarkably intact archival collection available for research. Dr. Pollard, the distinguished historian of the book in Ireland, donated the manuscript in Dublin City Library. The provenance of the manuscript was apparently unknown to Dr. Pollard, however she used some of the material in it for two published limited editions of recipes, *St Sepulchre's Recipes* and *St Sepulchre's Recipes 1810. Christmas Cookery from an Irish manuscript recipe book* (Fig. 5.18).[788] Mrs Baker's manuscript has also been used in the compilation of *Cookery and Cures of Old Kilkenny*, referenced in Chapter Four, a compilation noted by Cullen when he drew attention to the richness of the material associated with the Kilkenny and Tipperary borderland.[789] Andrews drew on NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) for two recipes in his most recent book on Irish cooking.[790] This afterlife of Mrs Baker's manuscript is noteworthy evidence of a continuing virtuous circle between manuscript and print.

One has to view the survival of both the manuscript in the National Library and that in Dublin City Library and Archivr, along with the inventory notebook in Charity

[785] Elaine Leong, 'Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household', *Centaurus,* Vol. 55, No. 2, 81-103, 91.
[786] Allen includes a recipe for Monica Nevin's cheesecakes in *Irish Traditional Cooking* (London, 2012), 29. At a talk by this researcher on the manuscripts in the National Library three generations of the Nevin family attended.
[787] Cashman, 'This receipt'; Sexton, 'Culinary Cultures'.
[788] *St Sepulchre's Recipes* (Dublin, 1975); *St Sepulchre's Recipes 1810. Christmas Cookery from and Irish manuscript recipe book* (Dublin, 1976). Named after the hand press founded in 1964 by Dr. Pollard, housed within the Archbishop of Dublin's Liberty of St Sepulchre, http://www.nli.ie/en/udlist/ephemera-collections.aspx?article=d9b6fa01-3ca5-4bbf-9af5-35adc1aba64c
[789] Cullen, 'Comparative Aspects'.
[790] Andrews, *Cooking of Ireland*, 107, 244.

Baker's handwriting, in the context of the comment noted in the introduction by an academic regarding the worth of preserving these documents. That the manuscripts and the notebook were in effect rescued and donated for public use by women is worth noting. It should at this stage be stated that the academic who made the comment was male, and while this research aims to steer clear from any agenda associated with anything other than culinary knowledge, it does deserve being remarked on in the context of the trivialisation of the female sphere discussed in Chapter Four.[791] Wall expands this discussion of the trivialisation of the female sphere into discussion of literacy, citing the example of an instance of the cataloging of a culinary manuscript in the Wellcome Library as being in 'an illiterate hand'.[792] As she points out, if handwriting can be deemed illiterate, then 'literacy cannot refer to a clearly defined expertise (reading or writing) that signifies proper learning; it instead designates variant and subjectively assigned knowledge and skills'.[793] The cataloging entry also exemplifies the bias remarked on in previous chapters, which militates against the preservation of documents relating to the domestic sphere. In the context of Mrs Baker and her daughter-in-law what is interesting is the completely different quality of penmanship of the two women that is evidenced in the manuscript (Figs. 5.19 and 5.20). While the elder Mrs Baker's writing occasionally shows signs of deterioration it never tends towards the scrawl that her daughter-in-law exhibits.

[791] Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors,* 232.
[792] Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, 113.
[793] *Ibid*., 114.

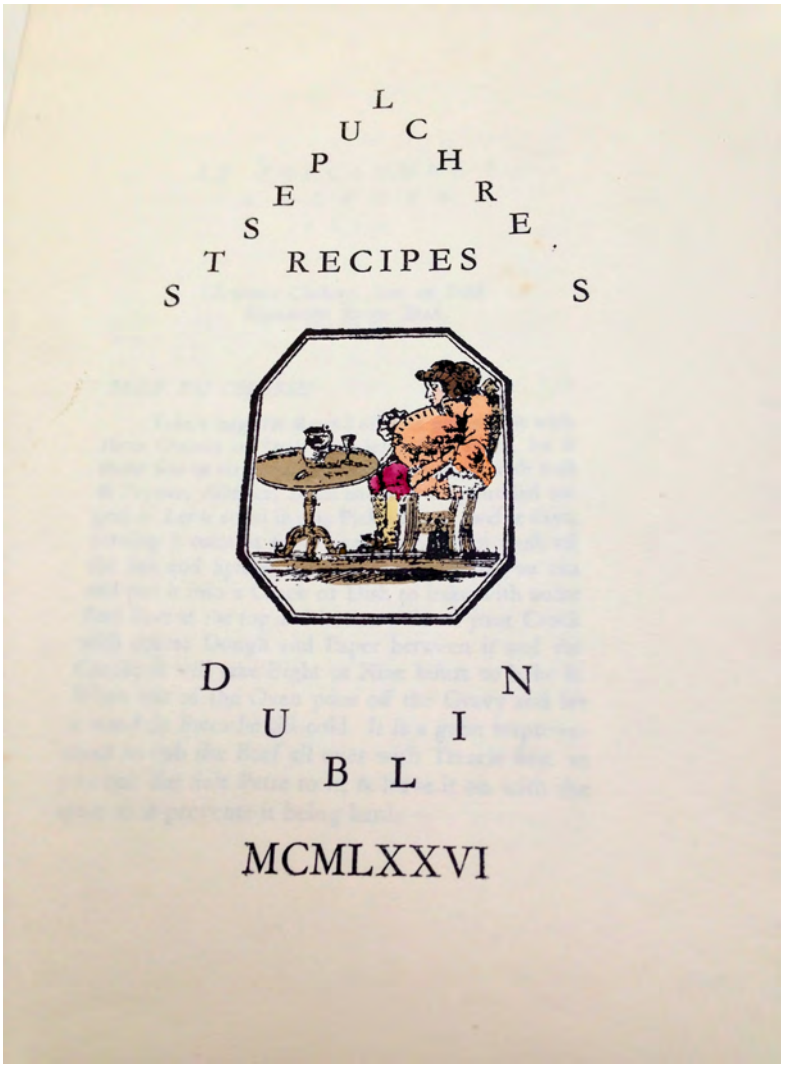

Fig. 5.18 *St Sepulchre's Recipes 1810*.
Kind permission of National Library of Ireland

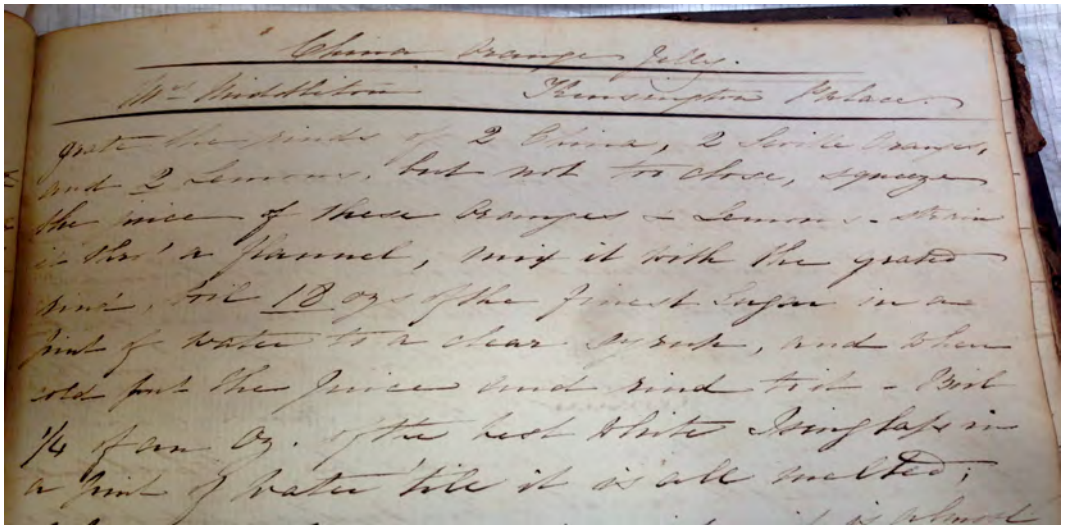

Fig. 5.19 MS 162 (DCL) Entry by Charity Baker.
Kind permission of Special Collections, Dublin City Library and Archive

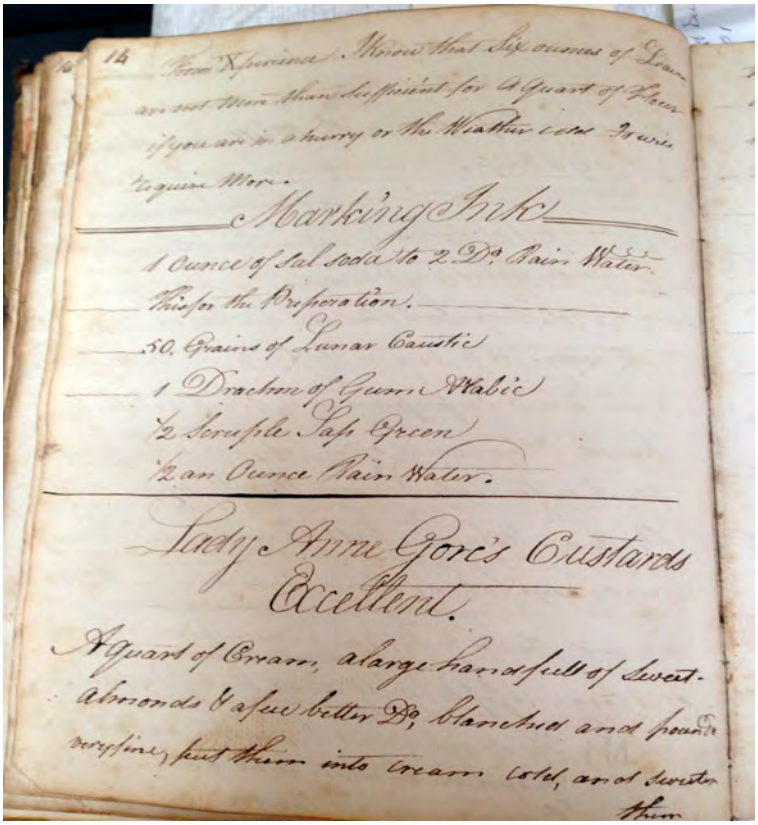

Fig. 5.20 MS 162 (DCL) Entry by Mrs Baker.
Kind permission of Special Collections, Dublin City Library and Archive

The observation that NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) is a manuscript that is collectively generated yet closed in content is important when considering the next category as structured by Wheaton, worldview. Having studied the manuscript in detail in the context of the other archival documents available, consideration will now be given to a view that what is at play here are two very different world views, a public, historical one and a private one personal to Mrs Baker.

5.7 Worldview:

MS 21,036 is a handwritten document, dated early nineteenth century, which describes the festivities at Ballaghtobin on the occasion of the coming of age of Abraham junior.[794]

[794] According to the law relating to the age of majority for the period this would indicate that Abraham was twenty-one, see http://www.lawreform.ie/_fileupload/consultation%20papers/wpAgeofMajority.htm section 2.5, 2.6.

> On Thursday the 24th ult. at Ballytobin the seat of AWB esq of this county, presented a scene of great festivity and rejoicing on the event of his only son coming of age. At 1o'c a most respectable Tenantry amounting to upwards of 500 assembled themselves in order, the principal tenants of each townland carrying an appropriate banner and preceded by an amateur band walked in procession to the old mansion house where they presented A W B junior esq with an address expressive of their gratitude and devoted attachment to the family and their hopes that his future life may realise the expectations that his youthful career has led them to anticipate… (illegible). Dinner was then announced which was laid out in tents on the lawn and truly may it be said that the tables groaned under the weight of roast beef, plumb pudding, (illegible, could be etc etc…) together with a copious supply of wine punch (and smithwick best ale, crossed out). A large assemblage of the neighbouring nobility and gentry were present to witness the happy scene and were sumptuously entertained in the long gallery of the dwelling house. The unremitting attention of the host and hostess to all parties was most conspicuous. At 3o'c the rural dance commenced and was kept up with great spirits until the somber shades of evening caused an unwilling departure.[795]

The content of the document conforms with much of what Mc Kenna has identified as strategies adopted by the elite for legitimising their position at a local societal level.[796] Drawing on Newby's argument for the concept of a 'deferential dialectic', McKenna extends the argument to the study of social ritual on the Clonbrock estate and the Dillon family. Newby grounds deferential behavior in a combination of types of behavior and sets of attitudes in set-piece social interactions 'which occur in situations involving the exercise of traditional authority'. [797] Paternalistic relationships, relationships between superordinate and subordinate partners, are at the core of the deferential dialectic.[798] Newby conducted his research among agricultural workers in England during the twentieth century. McKenna argues that this research can legitimately be extended to the study of the coming-of-age of landed heirs in an

[795] NLI MS 21,036. Although handwritten, the document reads as one prepared for newsprint. To date it has not been sourced in print.
[796] McKenna 'Elites, ritual, and the legitimation of power' O'Neill (ed.), *Irish Elites*, 68-82.
[797] *Ibid.,* 68. See also Howard Newby, 'The Deferential Dialectic', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Apr., 1975), 139-164.
[798] Newby, 'Dialectic', 'The relational and normative means by which (rurally based) elites maintain their traditional authority (and) the strategies they employ that attempt to ensure the stability of their power', quoted in McKenna, 68.

Irish context, in the Victorian period. The coming-of-age of the male heir in an entailed estate[799] is described by McKenna as the 'central ritual of the landed class that celebrated the forging of another link in the chain of descent'.[800] The festivities surrounding the Clonbrock event, although grander, certainly follow the pattern described for Ballaghtobin. The processional presence of the tenants, music, flags, the address and ceremonial presentation followed by festivities within the house for family and members of the elite, and on the lawn for the wider community and tenants. As McKenna observes, examination of these rituals can provide an opportunity to 'feel the pulse of landlord-tenant relations at these particular moments'.[801]

In his study of Kilkenny in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Cullen notes the importance of the Butler family's mixed religious background in accounting for a benign religious profile in the county.[802] Politically stable, with a strong town life, the region was prosperous and populous.[803] Kilkenny, the seat of the Butler family, was the only large inland town on the island,[804] with the family influence extending through the other towns of Carrick, Clonmel, Cahir, Callan, Kells and Inistioge, 'a chain of towns within a stretch of fifteen miles, a unique feature in Ireland'.[805] With a 'benign local profile on the Catholic question' in 1792 and 1795, the region largely escaped the 1798 upheaval and bloodbath.[806] Although Herbert does give an account of Whiteboy attacks on the family over the collection of tithes,[807] and a passing reference to the Battle of Vinegar Hill,[808] race and religion, 'to

[799] A settlement vested in the estate whereby it is caused to pass automatically to the next heir. In the case of Ballaghtobin the estate would subsequently pass down through the female line due to the absence of male heirs.
[800] McKenna, 'Elites', 72.
[801] *Ibid.*
[802] Cullen, 'The Social and Economic Evolution of Kilkenny'.
[803] See Tighe, *Statistical Observations,* for an over-view of the county and population statistics.
[804] Cullen, 'Evolution of Kilkenny', 274.
[805] *Ibid.,* 275.
[806] *Ibid.,* 284. See R. B. McDowell, 'The age of the United Irishmen: Reform and Reaction, 1789-94', 'The age of the United Irishmen: revolution and the union, 1794-1800' in T.W. Moody and W.E. Vaughan (eds.), *A New History of Ireland Vol. IV: Eighteenth-Century Ireland 1691-1800* (Oxford, 2009), 289-238, 239-370.
[807] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 22. See also R. B. McDowell, 'Colonial Nationalism and the winning of parliamentary independence, 1760-82' in Moody and Vaughan (eds.),

a degree rare in Ireland' were arguably not factors of major consideration in Kilkenny.[809] In this context, there appears to be a legitimate argument, while giving due consideration to McKenna's thesis, for taking a relatively sanguine approach to interpreting the festivities at Ballaghtobin. If the date of Abraham junior's birthday is correct as being 1781 then the celebrations took place in 1802, which year saw the signing of the Treaty of Amiens in March,[810] ushering in fourteen months of peace during the Napoleonic Wars — 'the year 1802 began Auspiciously — A General Peace was concluded after such a long and frightful universal war'.[811] Brown locates the Irish Enlightenment as being bookended by the War of the Two Kings (1688-1691) and the United Irish Rising of 1798, a period of relative stability on the island.[812] Herbert documents this Irish Enlightenment.[813] Some concerns regarding the threatened French landings of 1797 are registered in correspondence between Abraham senior and Lorenzo Nickson Izod, a friend living in Chapel Izod,[814] 'four ships of the line, six frigates and two transports were in Bantry Bay late on Sunday night', noting that the French landed a few troops on Whiddy Island and had taken

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A New History Vol. IV, 196-235, 201-2. Also known as Levellers, the rioters complained about tithes collected by the Church of Ireland, and high rents demanded for potato plots, first becoming active in the Herbert's own parish.

[808] Herbert, *Retrospections,* 373-374.

[809] Cullen, 'Social and Economic Evolution', 288. Herbert to an extent undermines this interpretation, when she notes the breakfast parlour, 'where my nurse was murdered some years after' and that the rebels murdered the nurse's husband, see Barbara Hughes, *Between Literature and History: The Diaries of Mary Leadbetter and Dorothea Herbert*, Reimagining Ireland Vol. 13 (Bern, 2010), 116-117. The Herbert family and those in their employ were subjected to many attacks due to tensions between the established Church and Catholic parishioners. Nothing is mentioned about the Baker family in this context.

[810] Signed on March 27, 1802 and involving complex territorial agreements between the signitories, see J. Holland Rosse, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era 1789-1815* (Cambridge, 1935), 131.

[811] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 400. Frustratingly Herbert does not record Abraham junior's festivities. By this stage her diary entries are becoming increasingly sparse.

[812] Michael Brown, *The Irish Enlightenment* (Harvard, 2016), 461.

[813] Hughes, *Between Literature and History*, 77.

[814] Chapelizod House, Kilkenny http://www.buildingsofireland.ie/niah/search.jsp?type=record&county=KK&regno=12402714 , see G. H. Bell (poss. John Travers) (ed.), *The Hamwood Papers of the Ladies of Llangollen and Caroline Hamilton* (London, 1930), 14.

away all of the cattle.[815] Lady Eleanor Butler provides an interesting aside about Nickson Izod when she records an entry for Saturday June 11th 1788,

> Went with Mrs Meadows to Chapel-Izod. Mrs Baker, the Harry Bakers, and Bob Wray dined there. We had for dinner a hog's cheek with beans under it, three chickens roast, a cut of salt salmon two inches wide, Mr Izod's own pudding and a salad. And our leavings of this, which there would not have been any of but that in complaisance to each other or rather charity we stinted our appetite, was all that was for the servants in the kitchen. In short none of us got enough and the servants were worse.[816]

The quotation is included here as it provides a bridge between the exterior 'historical' world inhabited by Mrs Baker and the interior world of her manuscript. Just as Mr Izod had his own pudding, so did Hampden Nicholson have his own way of preparing his dried mogul plumbs and of presenting them, as noted previously.[817] The world as constructed in the manuscripts is overwhelmingly female, however Pennell has drawn attention to the fact that the exchange of domestic information was 'clearly conceived as an acceptable conduit for communication between men and women, of whatever marital status'.[818] The frustrating element involved here is determining the level of involvement of the contributors of either sex, or indeed status in the case of cook or housekeeper, in both the contributing of the recipe and in their involvement in the cooking of it. Hampden Nicholson's involvement in the drying and presenting of the mogul plums is more credible than Sir Nicholas Parson's involvement in the making of the recipe that he contributes to Mrs Baker, for Mock Turtle and Mock Turtle Soup — one involved the hurly burly of the kitchen whereas the other could be enacted in the relative tranquility of the still room or some other room, described by Herbert as 'offices innumerable' below stairs.[819] In 1790, writing from a house rented in Irishtown to take the salt waters for his wife's health, Wolfe Tone recalls fondly 'the delicious dinners, in the preparation of which my wife, Russell and myself were all

[815] NLI MS 21,006 Letter from Lorenzo Nickson to Abraham Whyte Baker, dated January 1797.
[816] Bell, *Hamwood Papers*, 40-41.
[817] NLI MS 34,952 To Dry Mogul Plumbs.
[818] Pennell and DiMeo, 'Introduction', in DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing,* 12.
[819] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 20. Hardyment, *Home Comfort*, describes the pastry room as a small room adjacent to the kitchen but well away from the heat of the range, and often fitted out with cupboards and a drying cupboard for confectionary.

engaged'.[820] The context no doubt contributed to the relaxed convivial atmosphere surrounding the preparation and enjoyment of the dining. It remains the singular reference that this researcher has sourced where there is an immediate proprietorial 'hands-on' stamp on the preparation of food by both genders, other than those engaged in service.

Including these references is relevant in the context of NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) as it allows the reader to question the apparent formality of the attributions that Mrs Baker supplies so copiously. From the archive the reader has no indication regarding how formal the social hierarchy of the household was. It is only by pursuing such threads that one can glean information regarding the nature of the social relationships intimated by the complex layering of attributions evident in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). Pennell and DiMeo remark how the names of significant donors of recipes lend a certain *cachet* to a collection, and this is certainly credible.[821] However, in the case of Mrs Baker, the extent and scope of the donated recipes goes far beyond any desire to attain social prestige. Furthermore, as Appendix Three demonstrates, the contributors are traceable in the most part to within the extended family network. This was a formal age. That honorifics are sometimes applied within the close network of relations is an indication of this, not necessarily of any desire to elevate the contribution in itself. It is a formality that is observable equally in Mrs Baker's daughter-in-law, Charity, who refers to her own husband as 'Mr Baker' throughout her notes.

Sophia Baker's birth date of *ca.*1760 meant that she grew up in what could be described as a period of relative stability on the island of Ireland, after the famine of 1740-1, which had followed the year of the great frost, 'when Brandy froze before the fire, and a fair was held on the Ice of the Thames',[822] and before the 1798 rebellion. Herbert makes no reference to the Acts of Union, the defining event of Modern Ireland.[823] Her concern was not with what may be described as the political context,

[820] William Theobald Wolf Tone (ed.), *The Life of Theobald Wolf Tone, written by himself* (London, 1821), 42.
[821] Pennell and DiMeo, 'Introduction', 14.
[822] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 1; Cullen, *Life in Ireland*, 83.
[823] Patrick Geoghegan, *The Irish Act of Union: A Study in High Politics, 1798-1801* (New York, 1999). The Acts of Union, 1800, united the Kingdom of Great Britain

rather her preoccupation was with the violence surrounding the 1798 rebellion, descriptions of which she provides through to the new century, observing that 'In this Manner ended the Year 1799 and the Century closed with Blood and Slaughter'.[824] The expansion of trade in the early eighteenth century saw in a period of active road building.[825] Herbert narrates the round of dinners and balls that were facilitated by this increased ease of movement. As Cullen observes, 'travel for social purposes increased disproportionately as movement became easier' and Kilkenny was a hub for this as the largest inland town. Closer still to Ballaghtobin, Carrick, described by Edward Willes in 1760 as 'a very ill built town,[826] also held assemblies. Lady Blunden, Sophia's mother, writing to her son-in-law gives a sense of both the local social scene and the obligations involved in it, and the affectionate nature of the relations within the family,

> Love to Sophy, tell her Lady Ann Butler came here yesterday (Castle Blunden) to request us all and her to go to the assembly next Monday as Lady Carrick bespoke it and she and all the family is to come to it, now I think it would be a great complement to Lady Carrick for you and Sophy to come to the assembly that night. I hear my dr Baker saying that your old mother is a most confounded rake, but rake or not, be assured, I am most sincerely yr ever affectionate and humble servant, Lucy Blunden.[827]

Local dramatics were popular entertainments; in 1790 'The Young Gentlemen of Mrs Clindenin's Carrick Academy performed The Siege of Damascus to a full house and great applause'.[828] In December 1799 the Carrick Theatre staged *The Tragedy of Venice Preserved*, *The Tragedy of Douglas* and the farce of *Love a la Mode.*[829] By 1793 Carrick could boast about having its own coffee house.[830] In 1798 Thomas

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and the Kingdom of Ireland to create the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The act came into effect on January 1, 1801.

[824] Herbert, *Retrospections*, 386.

[825] Cullen, *Life in Ireland*, 73. Tighe, *Statistical Observations*, provides great detail regarding investment in roads and waterways.

[826] James Kelly (ed.), *The Letters of Lord Chief Baron Willes to the Earl of Warick, 1757-1762: An account of Ireland in the mid-eighteenth-century* (Aberystwyth, 1990), 45.

[827] NLI MS 21,004/1. The letter is difficult to date but could be 1781. If it is, a postscript added sending complements to Mrs Baker indicates that Abraham's mother was still alive and living at Ballaghtobin at that date.

[828] Ryan, *Commonplace Book,* entry for 1790, MS page 20.

[829] *Ibid.,* entry for 1799, MS page 21.

[830] *Ibid.*

McCarthy junior held a ball at his new house where there were two hundred present out of three hundred invited, 'the lower, middle and upper floors were all occupied; the lower and upper for Tea, Coffee, and dancing, and the middle for SQUELSHING (sic.). 'Tis said there was never such a FANDANGO in Carrick before'.[831] Subsequent to the upheaval of 1798 Ryan records the particulars of the curfew imposed on Carrick, which included orders to keep within doors from eight at night until sunrise, 'the bakers not to make any White Bread 'til further orders, but all ranged or household: and the Soldiers (Argyle Fencibles) got notice to discontinue the use of Hair-powder'.[832]

For all of the socialising and increased ease of travel, there is no indication in the archive that Sophia Baker and her husband travelled outside Ireland. As referenced previously, in *The Absentee,* Lord Clonbrony bemoans the financial ruin he faces as a result of living beyond his means in London at the behest of his wife, 'There need at all events be none of this if people would but live upon their own estates and eat their own mutton'.[833] It would appear that the elder Bakers did precisely that, living on their own estate and eating their own mutton, which the younger Mrs Baker records in her notebook. It is however with this younger generation that there is a discernible change in patterns of consumption and travel. Subsequent to the marriage of Charity Challoner and Abraham junior in 1806 there are three different inventories taken at Ballaghtobin, that of Mrs Byrne's in 1818 and two subsequent lists recorded in Charity's notebook.[834] Nevin has recorded Charity Baker's array of ornaments, china, glass and Dutch paintings meticulously.[835] Travelling for the younger Bakers involved frequent visits to Dublin, Bath and beyond. Charity Baker died tragically in an accident at Spa in Belgium,[836] seven years after Sophia Baker died at Ballaghtobin, perhaps in some way graphically illustrating the changes that had taken place. In the two Mrs Bakers the transition from Georgian to Victorian is evident and from a deep reading of the archive it is reasonable to

[831] *Ibid.,* MS page 23 trans.
[832] *Ibid.,* for 1799, MS page 160 and 161. The Fencibles were regiments raised by the British Army, the Arglyle Fencibles being one of the Scottish Highland regiments stationed in Carrick in 1798.
[833] Edgeworth, *The Absentee*, 67.
[834] NLI MS 42,007.
[835] Nevin, 'Georgian Household Notebook'.
[836] *Ibid.*

postulate that the elder Mrs Baker, Sophia, grasped this change in worldview and what she set about was recording for posterity a generation of accumulated knowledge and a record of the dense familial network that was obviously important to her. Carrigan writes that in the beginning of the nineteenth century,

> a Mrs Baker, who then occupied Ballytobin Ho., utterly destroyed the graveyard, alleging its too close proximity to her residence as her reason for such a sacrilegious proceedings. No interments have taken here since.[837]

The date coincides with Charity Baker becoming mistress of Ballaghtobin. It is difficult not to draw the conclusion from the described desecration that this was very definitely a new hand steering the household.

5.8 Summary:

Each of Wheaton's categories has opened up a different perspective on NLI MS 34, 952 (Baker). It is of inestimable value however that the manuscript is so embedded in the literature of the period and that it can be brought alive by reference to several able diarists, who have recorded a 'unique store of particulars'.[838] Furthermore, the fortuitous existence of the related archive in the National Library, and the discovery of Mrs Baker's other collection in Dublin City Library and Archive allows for an extraordinary amount of specific detail to be drawn into the study of the manuscript. This is a unique and groundbreaking study of an Irish culinary manuscript that has tested the adaptability of Wheaton's methodology to the manuscript form. Pennell and DiMeo have used the word palimpsest in connection with recipe texts.[839] The complexity and familial density of Mrs Baker's sources elevate her manuscript above that of a simple instructional manual. In her documenting of the provenance of her recipes Mrs Baker goes far beyond the norm of culinary networking; her legacy resides not only in an impeccable piece of culinary history, but equally in the fact that her manuscript is a remarkable palimpsest of her family and social circle. Kitchenalia is subject to the vagaries of physical loss and temporal redundancy; recipes shift shape and go in and out of fashion. Culinary manuscripts are particularly vulnerable to destruction and carelessness. The survival of Mrs. Baker's manuscript and

[837] Carrigan, *History and Antiquities*, Vol. IV, 44.
[838] Hughes, *Between Literature and History*, 34.
[839] Pennell and DiMeo, 'Introduction', 10.

Dorothea's '*Retrospections*', and the ability of those documents to converse with each other, allows for a very particular glimpse of elite female life, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even taking into account their relatively elevated social status, both Mrs Baker, a widow, and Dorothea Herbert, a spinster, as noted previously were females easily unremarked, because seemingly unremarkable.[840] Hughes describes Herbert's diary as primarily existential, she has written herself into being for posterity.[841] Arguably, through the unique records they have left of their existence, both women have escaped that fate of being unremarkable. In a talk on reconstructing the king's chocolate kitchen at Hampton Court Palace, Meltonville made the observation that 'people who lived in the past did not live in the past, they lived in the present and were proud of it'.[842] This resonates with Pennell and DiMeo describing these manuscript compilations as prime sites for conversations with a 'distant present',[843] a past not adequately described with a simple grammatical tense. What remains here is to delineate how and what these culinary manuscripts, and NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) specifically, contribute to a deeper understanding of Irish culinary history.

[840] Barnard, *Anatomy,* 16 uses the phrase in the wider context of the many members of the Protestant community who were unremarked.
[841] Hughes, *Between Literature and History*, 33.
[842] Marc Meltonville, The Reconstruction of the King's Chocolate Kitchen at Hampton Court Palace, a lecture given at Dublin Institute of Technology, Cathal Brugha Street, October 8, 2015.
[843] Pennell and DiMeo, 'Introduction', 13.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have described how a food culture has evolved in Ireland through a series of external influences and stresses down through the centuries. There are many ways of constructing a food history. The choice was made here to describe Irish food history within the narrative arc of the different forces of invasion and settlement that the island of Ireland has been subjected to. Mac Con Iomaire has described these forces on the wider European map, this research narrows this perspective further.[844] Christian adapted to Gael, Viking adapted to Christian, and Norman adapted to Viking. As has been demonstrated, all contributed to how the story of food on the island evolved. As Laudan observes, by the mid-seventeenth century Europe was witness to a culinary revolution 'occasioned by a new culinary philosophy that followed from new ideas in chemistry, theology and political theory' in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[845] Spices and sugar were displaced within the culinary repertoire; ragouts, dishes flavoured with herbs, and light sauces became the hallmark of the high cuisine of France, replacing traditional Catholic cuisines.[846] In discussion about Irish food, Christian or Catholic hegemony is rarely if ever cited beyond discussion of the Middle Ages. That right through the Tudor and Georgian periods Ireland still operated within this cultural spectrum, albeit within a confessional split, is unremarked. Irrespective of that, by the late seventeenth century a pan-European aristocracy had adopted the new cuisine.[847] As Laudan observes, French high cuisine expanded among elites almost to the end of the twentieth century.[848]

In Ireland that elite is most closely associated with the Protestant ascendency. The statistic that Barnard cites is bald; in the period that he studies (1649-1770), up to seventy-five percent of the population were barred from higher offices because they were Catholic. Confession, gender and income were 'the determinants of complete or

[844] Mac Con Iomaire, 'Emergence', Vol. II, 399-412.
[845] Laudan, *Cuisine,* 207.
[846] *Ibid.*
[847] Mennell, *All Manners,* 71-83; Laudan, *Cuisine,* 208.
[848] Laudan, *Cuisine*, 208; Mac Con Iomaire, 'Emergence'. Parkhurst-Ferguson, 'A Cultural Field', 601, on how culinary institutions and texts effected the transformation of a class-based culinary product into a marker of national identity.

incomplete membership of the state.'[849] Barnard sums up the existential situation of the Irish Ascendency by adding that 'this statistic was both the foundation and the nemesis of the Irish Protestant Ascendency'.[850]

Nationalist discourse is an important consideration when discussing culinary history and cookbooks. Nationalism in Western Europe is a nineteenth-century construct,[851] and the narrative of cookbooks participated in it.[852] It is of fundamental importance that this research is understood as having as its starting point the fact that there was no tradition of producing original cookbooks in Ireland and that the study of cookbooks is an important contributor to understanding how culinary narrative both shapes and responds to political and social influences. Food signifies.[853] One of the sites of this signification is the cookbook, largely absent in Ireland before the foundation of the State. This makes Ireland a complicated proposition to examine within a text-based narrative. Insight into the potential difficulty surrounding the inclusion of the manuscripts in that narrative may be gained from a short history of how Irish cookbooks developed subsequent to the foundation of the Irish State.[854]

6.2 Modern Irish Cook Books

As described previously, Irish authored cookbooks prior to the twentieth century have a very slight presence in the historiography of the genre, despite, or perhaps because of, a healthy market in the country for reprinting of English editions, as set out in Appendix One. It was only subsequent to the foundation of the Irish State that the genre established itself, slowly, on the island. The first cookery book sourced by this researcher is the Department of Agriculture's *Cookery Notes* of 1923, reprinted several times and updated specifically during the period of the Second World War.[855]

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[849] Barnard, *Irish Protestants*, 330.
[850] *Ibid*.
[851] Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990); Priscilla Parkhurst-Ferguson, 'Is Paris France?', *The French Review*, Vol. 73, No. 6 (May 2000), 1052-1064, 1054.
[852] Mennell, *All Manners*; Parkhurst-Ferguson, 'Cultural Field', 621; Anderson, *Cooking.*
[853] Barthes, 'Towards a Psychosociology', 168.
[854] For the purposes of this discussion this is taken as 1922, when the Irish Free State, *Saorstát Éireann*, was established under the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921.
[855] Irish Government Publications (1923) *Cookery Notes, For Use in Schools and Classes* (Dublin).

The 1942 edition incorporated 'A Simple Guide to Wholesome Health' from the Department of Local Government and Health, and the 1949 edition reflected the post-war situation in noting that 'some of the ingredients referred to in the recipes are at present scarce or unprocurable'.[856] Like Roper and Duffin's *Blue Bird Cookery Book for Working Women* of the same period,[857] the tone is not overtly nationalistic, whatever about the content reflecting a domestic ideology as articulated in the Constitution.[858] Ann Hathaway's *Homecraft Book* of 1944 is ideologically neutral, a compendium of tips and advice on provisioning and running the home.[859] It is with the publication of *Ulster Fare* in 1945 that a specific geographical location within Ireland is highlighted (Fig. 6.1).[860] The book includes a recipe for Chancellor Pudding, a legacy from the manuscripts and cookbooks of an earlier period. Other than that it reflects participation in a more globalised world with recipes for American Scones — American soldiers had been stationed in Northern Ireland during the war,[861] — Australian Sandwiches, Portuguese Pudding, Italian Salad, Norwegian Cream, Spanish Cod and Russian Fish Pie. Many English regional dishes, identified by name, are also included (Norfolk Pastry, Lancashire Nuts, Dorset Apple Cake) along with recipes reflecting the war and subsequent peace (Peace-Time Cake, Wartime Apple Charlotte). Ironically, given the title, nothing is labeled as being of Irish origin, despite the inclusion of a recipe for 'Barn brack', perhaps reflecting that where a recipe was attributed to an individual, for example 'Ann's Pudding', that it should be read as being local.

[856] *Ibid.,* 1949 edition.
[857] Margaret Roper and Ruth Duffin, *The Blue Bird Cookery Book for Working Women* (Dublin, 1939).
[858] Clear, *Women of the House*, 5. Clear disagrees with Sexton, *Little History*, 29 in her categorisation of the women of the period as being kitchen-bound, pointing to the fact that women, while placed by the Constitution in the home as mothers and housekeepers, were not barred from factory or service work, learned professions, midwifery, shop keeping, farming and laboring.
[859] Ann Hathaway, *Homecraft Book* (Dublin, 1944).
[860] The Belfast Women's Institute Club, *Ulster Fare* (Belfast, 1948).
[861] War and Navy Departments, *A Pocket Guide to Northern Ireland* (1942, Washington).

Fig. 6. 1 Frontispiece, *Ulster Fare* (Belfast, 1948).

It is not until Maura Laverty's attractive book of 1948 that specifically Irish titled recipes appear (Fig. 6.2).[862] The language and illustration is clever and humorous, reflecting the literary style of the author, with chapter headings such as 'Hey Presto, Quick Cooking' (Fig. 6.3), and 'Maigre but not Meagre'. Myrtle Allen in her *Ballymaloe Cook Book,* achieves a similar effect with Mel Calman illustrations (Fig. 6. 4).[863]

[862] Maura Laverty, *Maura Laverty's Cookery Book* (Tralee, 1948). Originally published as *Kind Cooking* in 1946, the later edition included drawings by Louis Le Brocquy and a section on diet by Sybil Le Brocquy. A basic edition, sponsored by the Electricity Supply Board (ESB) was published in 1955.
[863] Myrtle Allen, *The Ballymaloe Cookbook* (Ireland, 1977).

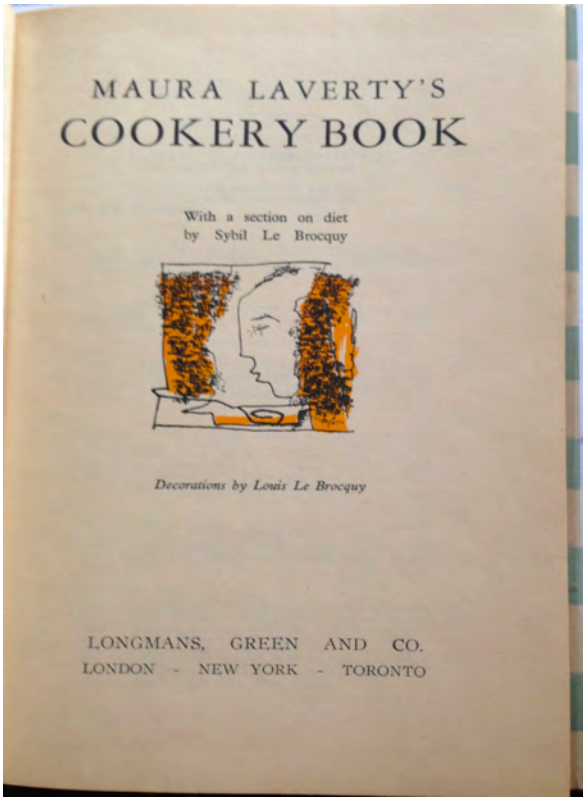
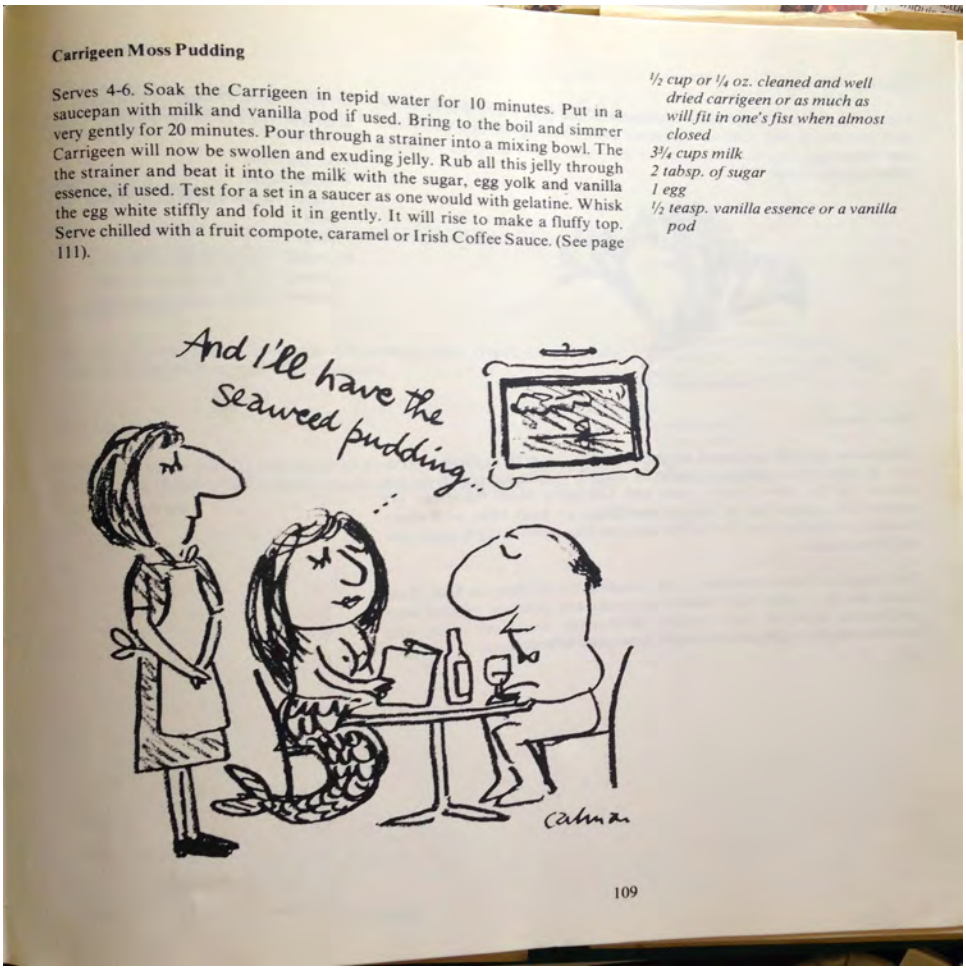


Fig. 6.2 Frontispiece, *Maura Laverty's Cookery Book* ([1946] 1948).
Published by Longmans, Green and Co,
'printed in Éire by The Kerryman Ltd. Tralee'.

Fig. 6.3 Chapter Heading, *Maura Laverty's Cookery Book*,
Published by Longmans, Green and Co.



Carrigeen Moss Pudding

Serves 4-6. Soak the Carrigeen in tepid water for 10 minutes. Put in a saucepan with milk and vanilla pod if used. Bring to the boil and simmer very gently for 20 minutes. Pour through a strainer into a mixing bowl. The Carrigeen will now be swollen and exuding jelly. Rub all this jelly through the strainer and beat it into the milk with the sugar, egg yolk and vanilla essence, if used. Test for a set in a saucer as one would with gelatine. Whisk the egg white stiffly and fold it in gently. It will rise to make a fluffy top. Serve chilled with a fruit compote, caramel or Irish Coffee Sauce. (See page 111).

½ cup or ¼ oz. cleaned and well dried carrigeen or as much as will fit in one's fist when almost closed
3¾ cups milk
2 tabsp. of sugar
1 egg
½ teasp. vanilla essence or a vanilla pod

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Fig. 6.4 Courtesy of Joanne Murphy, as taken from *The Ballymaloe Cookbook* by Myrtle Allen, published by Gill Books.

What is described as Irish food in Laverty's book is done so in informative and sometimes surprising ways, and exhibits a desire to adapt foreign recipes to an Irish audience. A recipe for 'Thump' is introduced by asserting that 'this is really the Irish way of serving mashed potatoes. In some places it is called champ'.[864] Macnamara's Borsch is described as an imitation of the soup 'on which Volga boatmen are weaned'.[865] The recipe for Fresh Cod *a La Madrilena* reflects Laverty's knowledge of Spanish cuisine accumulated while working as an *au pair* in Madrid and subsequently as secretary to Princess Bibesco.[866]

[864] Laverty, *Cookery Book*, 31.
[865] *Ibid.,*14.
[866] To date a biography of Maura Laverty has not been written. Basic details about her life and a list of her novels and plays are available on http://www.ricorso.net/rx/az-

The fact that Laverty was a novelist and storyteller in the oral tradition is inextricably linked with her food writing in a singularly unique way for the period.[867] By the time she published *Feasting Galore: Recipes and Food Lore from Ireland* in 1952, with several reprints up to 1962 (Fig. 6.5), Laverty had aligned the promotion of Irish food with a much more commercial intent, appealing to an Irish diaspora.[868] Laverty established a narrative of Irish cooking that had a close association with regionality, home and hearth,[869] where confessional affiliations, reflecting the contemporary social structures, were embedded in the story that she wrapped around the recipe, exhibited to good effect equally in her novel *Never No More*,

> I always looked forward to Shrove Tuesday and to Gran's pancakes, which were not made in the Kildare way with an ordinary batter of milk and eggs and flour. She made them as they make them in the West of Ireland, with grated raw potato. She got her recipe for boxty potatoes from her mother who was a Mary Kelly from Galway…. The boxty pancakes were crisp little crumpet-like cakes that were eaten hot with butter and sugar as they came from the pan. Shrove Tuesday was unthinkable without boxty-on-the-pan. They were the fortunetellers that gave you a glimpse of what the coming year held for you.[870]

The passing of recipes down through the female line is reflected there as the human impulse that it is, regardless of social class, as is exhibited by Mrs Baker in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). It is never revealed whether Gran had a notebook where she recorded her recipes or whether they were passed down and retained within the oral tradition.

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data/authors/l/Laverty_M/life.htm RTE Radio One also has a radio documentary, *Never No More—Maura Laverty Remembered* (2011) available to download on http://www.rte.ie/radio1/doconone/2011/0617/646727-radio-documentary-mauar-laverty-agony-aunt-cook/ See Cashman, 'Exploratory Study' for analysis of Laverty's cook book *Full and Plenty*.

[867] Cashman, 'Exploratory Study'.

[868] Maura Laverty, *Feasting Galore. Recipes and Food Lore from Ireland* (New York, 1961), with a Foreword by Robert Briscoe, T.D.

[869] Emmett McCourt, *Feast or Famine: A Cultural Food Journey of the North West of Ireland* (Derry, 2013), 10, notes that 'through the research I developed a huge understanding of what it is to be Irish through the centuries; the importance of the hearth; the heart break of land-loss and dispossession; the pain of emigration; and the ache as identity was eroded'. Trish Deseine's *Home: Recipes from Ireland* (unspecified, 2015). See also Abigail Carroll, 'Of Kettles and Cranes: Colonial Revival Kitchens and the Performance of National Identity', *Winterthur Portfolio,* Vol. 42, No. 4 (Winter, 2009), 335-364, 336, on the public's fascination with the kitchen as a 'storied space'.

[870] Maura Laverty, *Never No More* (London and New York, 1944), 109.

Fig. 6.5 Maura Laverty *Feasting Galore* (New York, 1961).
Published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

It is unnecessary to trace the entire narrative arc of Irish cookbooks other than to note both their strong identity with rural Ireland, and an early tradition of acknowledging the traditions of the Big House. Colman Andrew's specifically defines country cooking, of which he says that 'there is a sense in which all Irish cooking — at least the good stuff, the real thing is country cooking',[871] as anything not associated with either Dublin or Belfast.[872] The food historian Wilson chose recipes from the manuscript at Birr Castle for inclusion in *Traditional Country House Cooking*, introduced by Lady Alison Rosse, who notes *inter alia* that several of the nineteenth century recipes in the manuscript reflect 'the ancient Irish tradition of food linked

[871] Andrews, *Country Cooking*, Introduction, unpaginated.
[872] *Ibid.,* 'About the recipes', unpaginated.

with the pre-Christian festivals of the Celtic year'.[873] She does not specify which recipes other than one for the 'Hallowe'en barm brac'. Recognition of the importance of the Irish manuscripts and the Big House culinary traditions was recognised by Darina Allen who included a section on the manuscripts in her 2012 edition of *Irish Traditional Cooking.*[874] Ballymaloe House itself is steeped in the history of the period.[875] One final book of importance is that published under the aegis of the European Union as part of the inventory of traditional food products from the regions of the European Union, Cowan and Sexton's *Ireland's Traditional Foods: an exploration of Irish local and typical foods and drinks*.[876]

6.3 Discussion

In 1914 The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland published a cookery section in its *Home Worker Series.* A cheap chapbook, the frontispiece nevertheless subscribed to the iconography of the modern Irish state in its depiction of a ruined ecclesiastical building on its logo and in its use of Irish script (Fig. 6.6). On the inside cover it carried an episcopal approbation which quotes the Archbishop of Tuam with respect to 'various printing presses in Great Britain which daily pour out a flood of infidel and immoral publications, some of which overflows to this country'.[877]

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[873] Wilson (ed.), *Country House Cooking*, 130. See also Rosie Tinne, *Irish Countryhouse Cooking* (Dublin, 1974) for recipes from Farmleigh, Castle Leslie, Russborough House, Castletown House, Classiebawn Castle and several other of the Big Houses; Gillian Berwick, *Recipes from Irish Country Houses* (Cavan, 1987); Deirdre McQuillan, *The Irish Country House Table* (Dublin, 1994) which includes a recipe for Clonbrock scones.

[874] Dorothy Cashman, 'Ireland's Culinary Manuscripts' in Darina Allen, *Irish Traditional Cooking: Over 300 Recipes from Ireland's Culinary Heritage* (London, 2012), 14-15.

[875] Jane Hayter-Hames, *Ballymaloe—The History of a Place and its People* (2016).

[876] Cathal Cowan and Regina Sexton, *Ireland's Traditional Foods: an exploration of Irish local and typical foods and drinks* (Dublin, Teagasc). For Britain see Laura Mason and Catherine Brown, *Traditional Foods of Britain* (Totnes, 1999).

[877] E. M. M. Black, *Home Worker Series* Part V, Cookery, Book III (Dublin, 1914), inside cover. The Archbishop of Tuam was John Healy, translated from Clonfert to Tuam in 1903, and died in office in 1918.

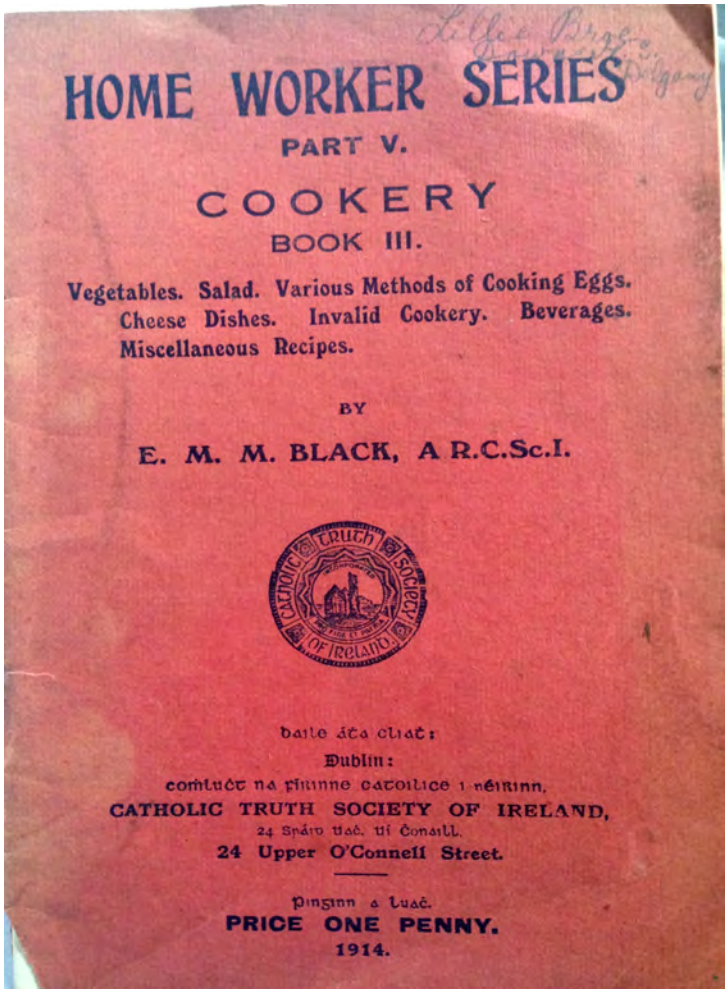

Fig. 6.6 E. M.M. Black, *Home Worker Series* (Dublin, 1914) front cover.

It is to be hoped that the Archbishop was not referring to foreign cookbooks, which were unlikely to be a significant import in the period. Neither was his target audience likely to be consumers of the genre. Nevertheless, it was, and is, true that 'because Ireland was an Anglophone country, most of the household and childcare books produced in Britain found their way into the country'.[878] The same held true for cookbooks as can be seen by the references to specific authors in the manuscripts, the singular reference to an edition of Glasse in the Clonbrock Library Catalogue and the Earl of Fingall's receipt, also for a copy of Glasse.[879] The impetus for recipe books to

[878] Clear, *Women of the House*, 68.
[879] These may have been Dublin editions of Glasse, given the dates involved. See also Nuala Cullen, 'Women and the preparation of food in Eighteenth-Century Ireland' in Margaret Mac Curtain and Mary O'Dowd (eds.), *Women in Early Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 1991), 265-275.

be popular was twofold. Besides the fact that they were in English, they also spoke to shared traditions, and featured foodstuffs that were familiar and grown in Ireland.[880]

Shanahan has conducted extensive research on the manuscripts from an archaeological perspective. She correctly identifies the importance of the printing press to the circulation of culinary knowledge and the role this played in the collapse of medieval food culture, [881] and places colonialism to the fore as the motivating force behind the manuscripts as a genre.[882] Noting the standardising impulse that is an element of the printed circulation of recipes in the period — although equally it could be argued that the manuscripts are evidence of a form of resistance to that in the variation that they exhibit in adapting recipes — Shanahan continues by saying that 'much of what made Ireland's food culture distinct in the medieval period was lost, as the country was swept into the modern capitalist world and the British empire'.[883] The difficulty with this is that while there is much discussion about the medieval period, without specifying which part, there are few specifics about what constituted a distinctly Irish food culture. Undoubtedly there are elements of the Irish food culture of the period that are distinctive, particularly attitude to hospitality, whether that makes the food culture in its totality distinctive has not been proven. Shanahan cites the accounts of Spenser, Derricke, and Moryson as testamentary witnesses for the culinary practices of the period, even while acknowledging that these accounts depicted the Irish as barbarous, immoderate and uncultured savages, yet she does not describe what the alternative food culture was, assuming that she credits it as being more sophisticated than the racialised descriptions cited. On the other hand she appears to implicitly argue for the medieval period in Ireland as some 'Golden Age' of authenticity. The archaeologists Kerr, McCormick and O'Sullivan, within which discipline Shanahan is writing, have questioned the validity of this paradigm.[884] Their

[880] Allen, 'Statement at Ballymaloe Cookery School'.
[881] Mennell, *All Manners,* 64; Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, 104.
[882] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, 16, 17, 109; 'Whipt with a twig rod', 197, 199, 205, Shanahan characterises the manuscripts as a cultural import that was colonial in intent.
[883] Shanahan, *Manuscript Recipe Books*, 105.
[884] Thomas R. Kerr, Finbar McCormack and Aidan O'Sullivan, 'Early Medieval Archaeology Project (EMAP2), Reconstructing the Early Medieval Irish Economy EMAP Report 7.1', The Heritage Council and Irish National Strategic Archaeological Research Programme (INSTAR), December 2013, 8-9.

description of how early medieval Ireland was adopted as 'the poster image for a new nation'[885] has been the subject of much discussion historically by political theorists and historians.[886] Kerr *et al* conclude that 'the self-sufficiency model of the early medieval Irish economy is becoming less tenable',[887] a view that is sympathetic to the review of the historiography of Irish food in Chapter Two, which implicitly argues that the culinary culture of the island was one that was constantly evolving, subject to external and internal influences and factors, and can not be regarded as being fixed in any one period. As Elias has observed, 'nothing is more fruitless, when dealing with long term social processes, then to attempt to locate an absolute beginning', or by extension, an absolute end.[888] Flavin has demonstrated that immigration from England, colonialism, was not the driving factor in rising consumer imports into Ireland in the early modern period that it has previously been assumed to be.[889] Ireland was independently gaining access to a diversified and sophisticated range of goods that were being traded in England and mainland Europe, participating in an 'evolving European consumer culture during this period, even if it was not at the forefront of it'.[890]

If one takes the outer limit of 1650 as being the end of the Middle Ages then de Casteau's recipes cited above are the singular recipes that this researcher has sourced as being Irish. While it is most welcome to identify these three as being acknowledged as being Irish, original to this research, there is nothing in them to specifically identify their origin in terms of ingredients. It is the recipe and not the ingredients that is attached to an Irish source, as being cooked 'in the Irish style'. On their own, while leaving an interesting and valuable footprint, it could be argued that

[885] *Ibid.,*8.
[886] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 1-14; Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Highland Tradition of Scotland' in Hobsbawm and Ranger, 15-42; On strategies employed by the state see Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London, 1995); Cusack, 'A "Countryside Bright with Cosy Homesteads"'; Tom Garvin, 'National Identity in Ireland', *An Irish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 95, No. 379 (Autumn, 2006), 241-250; Norbert Elias, *Essays II: On Civilising Processes, State Formation and National Identity,* Vol. 15 of The Collected works of Norbert Elias (Dublin, 2008).
[887] Kerr *et al*, 'Early Medieval Archaeology', 69.
[888] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (Oxford, 1983), 232, cited in Mennell, *All Manners,* 109.
[889] Flavin, 'Consumption and Material Culture', 213.
[890] *Ibid.*

they do not present sufficient evidence to reinforce an argument for a distinctive food culture articulated in recipe form. Leaving recipes aside, while Shanahan references Sexton's *Little History of Irish Food*, she unfortunately does not indicate that she has factored in the earlier research referred to above on Ireland's traditional foods, which describes a wide variety of foods, both processed and un-processed available across the classes on the island, across time. Cowan and Sexton's research indicates a much more gradual adaptation to historic forces than the rapid upset subsequent to the Tudor settlement that Shanahan describes, and in this they echo Elias' comment noted above. Jouvain's description of a salad he enjoyed in 1668 appears to demonstrate that Irish people maintained a liking for medieval flavours, alongside openness to continental influences, well into the seventeenth century. The salad is described as being made thus,

> according to the mode of the country, of I know not what herbs; I think there were sorrel and beets chopped together; it represented the form of a fish, the whole without oil or salt, and only a little vinegar made of beer, and a quantity of sugar strewed over it, that it resembled mount Etna covered in snow, so that it is impossible to be eaten by any one not accustomed to it. I made my host laugh heartily in the presence of a gentleman, a lord of the town, on asking for oil to season this salad, according to the French fashion, and after having dressed it, I persuaded the gentleman to taste it, who was pleased to hear me speak of the state and customs of France, and told me he was extremely desirous of seeing France.[891]

Cowan and Sexton state that 'a substantial number of the typical foods of Ireland, while not unique or indigenous to the island, have become part of the cultural fabric of Irish life'.[892] It is the subtlety of this situation, which arguably confuses discussion about Irish food and the contribution that the manuscripts make to this discussion, because it is there that the interplay between text (the recipe) and ingredient is witnessed. As can be seen by referring to the list of ingredients in Table I, there are proportionately very few that one could say with certainty were imported. Soft fruits such as the nectarine and fig were possibly imported but were also cultivated either under glass or in the walled gardens, as indeed they still are at Ballymaloe House and

[891] Albert Jouvain, 'Description of England and Scotland under the restoration (1668)' in C. L. Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish History* (London, 1904), 408-26 available on http://www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100075.html

[892] Cowan and Sexton, *Ireland's Traditional Foods*, ix.

School. Oranges certainly were imported along with nuts, spices, sugar, gum Arabic, isinglass and perhaps hartshorn. The practice of home distilling meant that rosewater and orange flower water were likely produced locally.[893] Nicholas Peacock has an entry in his diary for June 1745, 'gott ye Roses pickd and began to still'.[894] The barberries are an interesting case. Viewed in contemporary modern recipes as an exotic ingredient,[895] the berries are indigenous over the greater part of Europe.[896] They are the dried fruit of the shrub *Berberis vulgaris L.*, and were regularly used in confectionery and cookery recipes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[897] Ceres included recipes for pickling and for preserving the berry in her book.[898] The berries disappeared from the culinary canon in the British Isles in the nineteenth century, as they were a vector for blight.[899] Preserved lemons are possibly more familiar to modern cooks through middle-eastern recipes, however they were a condiment the recipe for which was frequently recorded in the manuscripts.[900] Rather than this being an example of being swept up into the colonial empire, it seems more logical to view it as the practical application of a necessary skill in an era where preservation skills were very important to maintain a food supply over the entire year.

Appadurai's essay on cookbooks and national cuisines of contemporary India provides insights that are worth considering in the context of Ireland. Language and literacy, cities and ethnicity, and women and domesticity are all issues that he identifies as important underlying factors in the production of cookbooks by a

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[893] C. Anne Wilson, 'Stillhouses and Stillrooms' in Sambrook and Brears (eds.), *The Country House Kitchen*, 129-143.
[894] Legge, *Peacock*, 142.
[895] Yotam Ottolenghi and Sami Tamini, *Jerusalem* (London, 2012); Ariana Bundy, *Pomegranates and Roses: My Persian Family Recipes* (London, 2012); Sabrina Ghayour, *Persiana: Recipes From The Middle East and Beyond* (London, 2014).
[896] George Bentham, *Handbook of the British Flora: A Description of the Flowering Plants and Ferns Indigenous To, Or Naturalised In The British Isles* (London, 1858), 68.
[897] Ivan Day, Food History Jottings blog http://foodhistorjottings.blogspot.ie/2013/08/of-lumbard-pies-green-puddings-and.html
[898] Ceres, *The Lady's companion,* 45, 81.
[899] *British Critic: And Quarterly Theological Review for 1805, Vol. 25* (London, 1805), 311.
[900] NLI MS 34,952 recipes for 'Lemon Pickles, my G. Mothers' and 'Lady Tyrone's receipt for pickling lemons'.

particular type of society at a particular moment of its history,[901] and describes the construction of a national cuisine in India as being a postcolonial, postindustrial process, positing several possible reasons for this, some of which may go towards understanding why there are no recorded recipes from sources that could be considered native Irish or Gaelic in the Irish manuscripts. Appadurai argues that 'if we take the long view of Hindu thought, which has left ample textual deposits, it is possible to assert that while *gastronomic* (sic) issues play a critical role, *culinary* (sic) issues do not'.[902] While copious records exist about the immense amount of food that was consumed, little is recorded in the Hindu tradition about how it was cooked. This absence extends across legal, medical and philosophical texts; while there is an amount of information regarding taboos, prescriptions and injunctions concerning food, there are no recipes — 'the processes that transform ingredients into dishes are invariably offstage'.[903]

This is consistent with Kelly's research into early Irish farming, where there are numerous sources that provide valuable information, but nothing that could be constructed as a recipe.[904] Early medieval Ireland is understood to have been an oral culture, yet as Gillespie explains 'writing was, however, part of the world of those who operated on a wider stage; the world of the learned classes who dealt with religion, the law, medicine and the literature'.[905] To describe Gaelic Ireland as an oral culture is to posit a half-truth, or an over simplification of the complex relationship between oral traditions and written documents.[906] Gillespie describes how 'social memory in matters such as land ownership and genealogy was regulated by oral tradition rather than written documents'.[907] Written documents served to reinforce this oral culture and to promote it. More importantly, Gillespie notes that as the sixteenth century progressed 'the social conventions which surrounded the use of writing began to shift as an ever-increasing range of situations generated written texts'.[908] The

[901] Appadurai, 'National cuisine', 3-4.
[902] *Ibid.,*11.
[903] *Ibid*.
[904] Kelly, *Farming,* 6-15.
[905] Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: Print, Reading and Social Change in Early Modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005), 28.
[906] *Ibid*.
[907] *Ibid.*
[908] *Ibid., 29*.

association of an oral culture and native Irish society with lack of literacy is something that Gillespie questions.[909] As noted previously the expansion of literacy is in part related to the increased circulation of the various print media. Regardless of whether Gaelic Ireland remained an independent entity, all the evidence suggests that it would have engaged with printed cookbooks, and those produced in Britain would have been most easily assimilated by virtue of traditional associations and shared *terroir.* Even if you subscribe to Ireland as a colony, for the purposes of this discussion the colonial endeavor was never going to be as pronounced in culinary terms as it was in India. Too much was shared across the islands in terms of religious hegemony alone, besides the fact that climate and terrain meant that ingredients were familiar across the islands. So while there is undoubted merit in putting the case that the recipes in the manuscripts are evidence of Ireland being swept into a colonial world, it is perhaps an over-simplification of the situation as it appears to suggest that a Gaelic culture would not have adapted to the civilising tendencies of the modern world, amongst which can be counted the desire to formulate text for the advancement of culinary refinement. Just as early medieval Ireland participated in a wide range of mercantile relationships across the continent, surely an uncolonised Ireland would have equally participated in the English mercantilist economy of the eighteenth century, absorbing ideas about how food should be prepared and presented according to the fashions of the day.

To emphasise the lack of 'expressly "Irish" recipes'[910] without explaining what those recipes are, or to indicate what social class they are expected to be drawn from, is thus to steer the discussion in a way that feeds into the alienation of the class, in all its diversity, that is represented in the traditions of the 'Big House' and who are largely, but not solely, responsible for the content of the manuscripts. Shanahan consistently argues that the manuscripts speak from an elite tradition. This is true, however if one looks closely at the recipes in the manuscripts, and those in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) are fairly representative of the norm, it is clear that they are consistent with the imperatives of 'practical housekeeping on modest country estates',[911] which no doubt contributed to their recorded survival in modern Irish cookbooks. In this

[909] *Ibid.,* 40.
[910] Shanahan, 'Whipt with a twig rod', 201.
[911] Mennell, *All Manners*, 116-133, 116.

they resemble more closely their British counterparts than the traditions of French cuisine — witness the cook grappling with French terminology and techniques quoted above in the recipe for Beef Steak Pie (Fig. 4.10). This research would also suggest that a plausible suggestion for the lack of 'expressly "Irish" recipes' is not perhaps an indicator that vernacular types of cooking did not exist in the houses that produced the manuscripts, but rather that such recipes fell within the canon of those unrecorded as being simply 'known', most particularly by those who were cooking them.[912] This parallels what happens processes or techniques that in early books need explaining but gradually become familiar, what Pennell refers to as the 'routinization of culinary processes', whereby they become invisible in terms of explanation.[913]

One of the barriers to acceptance of the manuscripts as a legitimate part of Irish culinary history is an ideological tension between those who view the presence of the Big House as the physical symbol of centuries of oppression by an occupying force and those who view their presence on the landscape as something that has the ability to reveal a more complex story. Bowen describes it thus, 'each of these houses, with its intense centripetal life, is isolated by something very much more lasting than the physical fact of space; the isolation is innate; it is an affair of origin'.[914] Daniel Corkery's book *The Hidden Ireland*, published two years after the foundation of the Irish Free State, 'deliberately set out to celebrate the culture outside the Big House, a culture of poetry and poverty, the sacralisation of hardship resonant with the grim asceticism of the new State'.[915] Cronin and O'Connor trace how this view of Ireland has been ameliorated in recent years in large part due to the commercial imperatives of a diversifying tourism industry, arguing that the 'Real Ireland', the land epitomised by manufactured zones such as the cultural quarters in Dublin, exists side by side with that hidden Ireland of Corkery.[916] In a television programme broadcast in 2012 this

[912] On the choice of the word vernacular see Cashman, 'This receipt' where the word is borrowed from the architectural lexicon where it is used to represent localised needs and traditions, as opposed to stylistic features incorporated for aesthetic reasons in polite architecture.
[913] Pennell, *English Kitchen*, 76.
[914] Bowen, *Bowen's Court*, 13.
[915] Cronin and O'Connor, 'Gombeen to Gubeen', 165; Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland* (Dublin, 1924). See also Diner, *Hungering for America.*
[916] The facility with which culinary heritage has been absorbed and driven by the tourism industry has been questioned by Laudan, 'Is "Culinary Heritage" A Good

dichotomy was evident with the voiceover in the introduction describing the life of Ireland as being dominated by the seasons and outside influences, where the 'humble potato could be our national emblem' and accompanied by archive footage of an unidentified Big House, continued with the statement that,

> the life of rural Ireland was dominated by the landlord, the man in the big house held the broad acres and behind the stone walls and iron bars he raised cattle for the English market while a rack-rented tenantry struggled to hold a scrap of land which was their lease of life. For land to the people meant food, a living.[917]

This statement collapses all social classes between the higher echelons and those struggling at the lowest levels,[918] — there is no room in this narrative for a Mr Dexter and his wife as discussed previously, with their cakes, syllabubs, tarts and pies. The statement also highlights the identification of Ireland with, and reification of, the rural environment — no recognition of a cosmopolitan commercial class such as the confectioners as researched by Cashman.[919] Yet the literature and diaries of the period open up a much more nuanced picture. Brenda Fricker contributes one of the more astute observations when she remarks on what she considers to be the absence of a food culture in the modern Ireland of her childhood, noting that its absence is comparable to the lack of an architectural culture or a visual culture, 'because they don't teach us anything about visual beauty, and they certainly don't teach you

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Idea?', *Zester Daily, The culture of Food and Drink*, (Nov. 2010) online magazine, available at http://zesterdaily.com/cooking/unesco-culinary-heritage/ ; Richard Tellström, Inga-Britt Gustafsson and Lena Mossberg, 'Consuming heritage: The use of local food culture in branding', *Place Branding* Vol. 2, No. 2, 2006, 130-143; John Mulcahy, 'Gastronomy in Tourism is important, but perhaps not in the way that we thought' a paper delivered at the Association Franco-Irish Studies conference May 2015; John Mulcahy, 'Future Consumption: Gastronomy and Public Policy' in Ian Yeoman, Una McMahon-Beattie, Kevin Fields, Julia Albrecht and Kevin Meethan (eds.), *The Future of Food Tourism: Foodies, Experiences, Exclusivity, Visions and Political Capital* (Bristol, 2015), 75-86.

[917] Programme broadcast on *Raidío Telefís Éireann*, RTE I, 'It's an Irish thing', episode 7, 'Food'. All are direct quotes.

[918] See Thomas M. Wilson, 'Culture and class among the "large" farmers of eastern Ireland', *American Ethnologist,* Vol. 15, No. 4 (Nov.) 1988, 678-693, for an understanding of the different strands within the farming community.

[919] Dorothy Cashman, 'Domestic and Commercial 'dainties' in Georgian Ireland', *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, Special Issue, Irish Food Studies, forthcoming.

anything about food and what food should be'.[920] Ardal O'Hanlon exploits the comedic potential of a particularly bleak view of Irish food, a view belied by the facts,

> our food culture is more about quantity, volume, it's like if you ever go to a wedding and you get slabs of meat hanging over the plate, and drumlins of vegetables boiled to within an inch of their lives.[921]

The views expressed in the programme are relevant contributions to this discussion, notably Fricker's statement which ties in with observations regarding the importance of oral culture in the medieval period and the prioritising of this in the narrative constructed by the Irish State. It is a tension that is not limited to modern Ireland.

6.4 Conclusion

The questions fundamental to this research were twofold, how and what does knowledge of the culinary manuscripts of the island of Ireland contribute to an understanding of Irish food history. Their contribution exists on many different levels, reflecting the fact that the story of food in Ireland is both deeply personal and highly political. The relatively haphazard, if not poor, survival rate of the manuscripts reinforces the arguments Vickery and Pennell noted above, the disdain for the mundane, especially when it is associated with the feminine sphere.[922] It may also be traced in part to attitudinal reactions to their association with the Big House. However as Pennell notes, the history of domesticity is not just about gender but is rather 'social history more broadly conceived'.[923] The methodology employed in this research has aimed to bring to discussion of the manuscripts an appreciation of the lives of the people involved. In some sense, to feel their pulse. The story of food is ultimately one founded in human agency, and this story is highly political in an Irish context. This research has brought to light new findings at several different levels. An Irish presence in the history of the early cookbook has been mapped. The manuscripts fill the gap between that presence, and modern Irish cookbooks, where the only recipes for how food was prepared that was both grown in Ireland and imported into the country in this period exists. NLI MS 34,952 (Baker) is a fine manuscript in itself, however it is the judgment of this researcher that it only truly reveals its potential

[920] Brenda Fricker, 'It's an Irish thing'.
[921] Ardal O'Hanlon, 'It's an Irish thing'.
[922] Pennell, *English Kitchen*, 2.
[923] *Ibid.,* 15.

when studied in the context of the related archive and the literature of the period. Pennell observed that writing the history of the kitchen was a process of mosaic making, and this holds true for this research.[924] Using Herbert's diary allows both the descriptive and the analytical to complete a circle. Deconstructing the manuscript using Wheaton's methodology allows for a three-dimensional view while yet giving place to the human scale. This is where the last category, the worldview, contributes far beyond what one would expect. Close reading of the accompanying archive allows the reader to make more considered judgments. It is here that one may evaluate how deeply personal this collection was to Mrs Baker. What cannot be established from the archive is how much was the personal also political for Mrs Baker. Brown proposes that it was in this period, in the aftermath of the 1798 rebellion and the Anglo-Irish Act of Union of 1800, that confessionalism and civility yielded to sectarianism and nation, '"who is Enlightened?" gave way to the toxic query "Who is Irish?"'. [925] Subsequent to the Act of Union, confessions were divided internally in their support or rejection of the Act.[926] This is the political backdrop to the familial and social attributions in NLI MS 34,952 (Baker). Did Mrs Baker sense a world slipping away on several levels? If as Palmer argues food, along with the body and landscape, is a 'flag of identity' what does this say about the impetus behind the assembly of recipes in Mrs Baker's manuscript?[927] On a practical level the manuscript reveals what was consumed, and this detail is most valuable for practical analysis of the food consumed in the period. On a more philosophical level the manuscript details how food has been and remains immersed in the political sphere. Neither story should be privileged over the other. Tellström describes the Nordic region as sharing in a common cultural and political history, with a partially shared food culture, the outer frame of which is based on a common religious belief, 'these were heathen beliefs during the Viking Age which then became a mutual Christian faith'.[928] This research has studied one small period in a much grander story, the story of food in Ireland. This story is bigger than the binary oppositions that it tends to be discussed in terms

[924] *Ibid.,* 15.
[925] Brown, *Irish Enlightenment*, 14.
[926] *Ibid.,* 162.
[927] Catherine Palmer, 'From Theory to Practice: Experiencing the Nation in Everyday Life', *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1998, 175-199, 175.
[928] Richard Tellström, 'A brief history of Nordic Cuisine' in Magnus Nilsson, *The Nordic Cook Book* (unspecified, 2015), 23-36.

of, Gaelic versus settler, Big House versus impoverished tenant, feast versus famine. Yet these stories are fundamental to understanding the complexity of Irish culinary history. Scrutinising the manuscripts contributes precision in respect to culinary detail while opening up the wider world of culinary discourse. In the introduction to this research the question was posited as to whether printed cookbooks would prove to be the manuscript's nemesis? This is particularly pertinent in an Irish context where the printed cookbook became caught up in a particular nationalist narrative and where there are understandable barriers to acceptance of the traditions that may be viewed as being embodied in the manuscripts. Curran, writing about plasterwork in Dublin in the Georgian period, points to the fact that the excellence of it was due to 'outside stimulus. In the arts, no more than in nature, there can be no Declaration of Independence, since to be isolated is to be sterile and an organism is strong only in so far as it can assimilate'.[929] The culinary history of a country or region develops by rubbing off its neighbours, and absorbing influences. This history, in all its complexity, of a country and nation, is recorded in text in Ireland in manuscript and cookbook. It is precisely this that the manuscripts reveal about Irish culinary history.

6.5 Assessment of Research Goals

The main research question that motivated this thesis was what do Irish culinary manuscripts of the Georgian period (1714-1830) contribute to an understanding of Irish culinary history. To answer this a number of other questions arose that had to be examined in order to contextualise the initial question:

1. To examine the methodologies surrounding the academic study of food history.

From initial discussion on commencing this research project it became apparent that Chapter One was necessary in order that a full review of the situation regarding the current status of the academic status of food history be set out. This chapter also clarifies the decision to adopt the approach of the micro-historian to this research material.

[929] C. P. Curran, *Dublin Decorative Plasterwork of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1967), ix.

2. To assemble a narrative of Irish culinary history up to the period under consideration.

This narrative found in Chapter Two spans the period from when Christianity was introduced to Ireland, through the Viking and Anglo-Norman invasions, the early modern period of the re-conquest of Ireland by the Tudor monarchs and the post-Reformation plantation period when confessional divide became a defining characteristic of the island of Ireland. In delineating that history and in the subsequent discussion of the Georgian period the motivating principle was to beware of Ginzburg's comment noted above in Chapter One concerning 'anachronistic history', a history that imposes the researcher's own values on the research topic.[930] This narrative of Irish culinary history reframes the colonial narrative within a larger narrative of empire, an approach that is influenced by Laudan. This allows discussion about the history of food in Ireland to take place without a sense of the historical clock stopping or starting at any one particular point. Fundamental to this approach is Elias' statement, again noted above, 'nothing is more fruitless, when dealing with long term social processes, then to attempt to locate an absolute beginning', or by extension, an absolute end.[931]

3. To examine the history of the printed cookbook and map out an Irish presence within that history.

The history of the printed cookbook has been the subject of much research. This has not extended to a study of the topic from an Irish perspective. Chapter Three extends the argument in the previous chapter about the importance of the Christian Empire to discussion about food history. In discussion about the importance of an internationalised elite to the spread of consumption practices it is perhaps overlooked in an Irish context how important an ecclesiastical elite is to that discussion. De Casteau's three recipes 'in the Irish style' are to date the first recipes to have been discovered in print relating to the island, and they are placed here within the context of the importance of the ecclesiastical world and trade links within that world to the development of culinary history. The importance of La Varenne to the medieval

[930] Muir, 'Introduction: Observing Trifles' in Muir and Ruggiero (eds.), *Microhistory*, xii.
[931] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (Oxford, 1983), 232, cited in Mennell, *All Manners,* 109.

world transitioning to a new gastronomic style is noted and the working out of a culinary narrative in England in reaction to that new French style is discussed. It was important to establish whether there was any evidence of a detectable Irish presence in this genre of the printed cookbook. Perhaps unsurprisingly the association between the potato and Ireland becomes evident gradually in the cookbooks. Again this discussion is contextualised within wider European discussion with reference to Vincenzo Corrado and Parmentier. This research has assembled for the first time a narrative with respect to another dish identified with Ireland, Irish stew and notes how a dish with humble origins is refined according to French taxonomy in Mollard's recipe. Culinary manuscripts were the precursors to printed cookbooks in Ireland and again to contextualise this, the American trajectory was identified as being important. One of the most important issues identified here is the fact that an independent cookbook market emerged not only in response to the loosening of colonial ties but also to the need to express recipes for New World foods. Almost thirty years before the first American-authored cookbook, Ireland did produce what appears to be the only Irish-authored cookbook before the nineteenth century. This research looks at this book in depth. Physically the book is slight and the ramifications of this are set out in the discussion about it. The world of cookbook publishing abounded in oddities and plagiarised work. This is brought to an Irish context with discussion of Mary Cole's book. Discussion of the early Irish cookbook would be incomplete without including the important contribution of Catherine Alexander, although strictly speaking outside the timeframe. One of the issues identified regarding the printed work and the manuscript was their circularity. Manuscript went to print, print went back to manuscript and within that context is a further sub-set of manuscripts going to print, not as professional cookbooks, but rather in the spirit of the facsimile cookbook, as an archival document in and of itself. Ireland has witnessed several iterations of this, which are also discussed.

4. To examine the culinary manuscript as an archival document, its accessibility, survival rate and authorship.

Chapter Four, with Appendix Seven, provides an overview of the location and accessibility of the manuscripts within the island and beyond its shores. This is the first time a wide review of the Irish manuscripts has been conducted. More research is called for in this area. Two manuscripts came to this researcher's attention following

public talks in the National Library of Ireland and the Bishop Hervey Summer School in Downhill. A twentieth-century manuscript was donated through this researcher to the National Library of Ireland as a result of another talk for the Irish Georgian Society. The National Library of Ireland also purchased two important manuscripts following on from research conducted here. While the manuscripts may be viewed as initially formulaic this chapter identifies the quirks and eccentricities that they are witness to. This chapter also discusses how they played their part in the wider circulation of knowledge in the period and concludes with a general introduction to the Baker family and their social milieu. As contextualisation was identified from the outset as of prime importance to this research this last section continues with this process. This contextualisation of the individual again owes much to Ginzburg's desire to promote a genre of historical research that was centred on social relationships and interactions 'among historical persons who, in contrast to analytic categories, actually existed and who experienced life as a series of events'.[932]

5. How to access the information in a manuscript was fundamental to this research.

From participation in two workshops with Wheaton the skills had been built up in applying the food historian's categories to the printed book. Two interesting issues emerged in subjecting the manuscript to the Wheaton methodology. Many of the cookbooks of the period have introductory prefaces and frontispieces from which much information about espoused, if not actual, authorial beliefs may be gleaned. This was largely absent in manuscripts. In place of this was a more trustworthy sense of personal involvement that could be sensed from the best of the manuscripts. Early on in the research it was identified that archival support for the manuscript was of importance if Wheaton's categories were to be explored in depth. This was one of the most important reasons for the selected manuscript. By delving deep within the archival material the category that may have proved the most resistant to interrogation, worldview, in fact proved the most satisfactory in bringing the manuscript alive. From the inception of this research, which included early work on confectioners, two references were identified as being of particular interest. One was a reference that Maria Edgeworth makes to a portrait of the confectioner Mrs Godey

[932] Muir, 'Introduction: Observing Trifles' in Muir and Ruggiero (eds.), *Microhistory*, ix.

that was exhibited at Somerset House in London in 1814. It cannot be traced. The other was the second volume that Mrs Baker compiled and which is missing. However, much of that second volume is now available through this research, as an earlier work of Mrs Baker has been sourced in Dublin City Library and Archive, Pearse Street. The identification of the authorship of this volume and how it is connected with the two publications of Pollard means that the Baker archive is one of the most complete food history and recipe archive available to researchers in Ireland.

6.6 Recommendations

Brears' two volumes of food history devoted to medieval, Tudor and early Stuart England comprise close to twelve hundred pages of dense detail.[933] The study of food and culinary history in Ireland has gathered pace as has been noted throughout this research, while it still has some distance to travel before a work such as Brears has compiled will be produced in Ireland. The historiography of Irish food history conducted for this research complements that of Mac Con Iomaire.[934] Ireland is arguably lacking in the wealth of archival material that food historians in Britain have at their disposal. However much detail remains to be researched in order for a comprehensive history of Irish food to be assembled. O'Neill remarked just under thirty years ago about Irish medieval history that the fact that it is imperfectly known arises not from lack of material but rather the imperfect exploitation of what is available. In line with the themes developed in this research the following research topics have been identified:

Religious Orders: The influence of religion on the historiography of food within and beyond Ireland has been an important consideration in this research. The religious orders based in Ireland, including monastic and mendicant, have archives that have not been explored for culinary detail yet their reach extended to seminaries, universities, hospitals and residences including bishop's palaces.

Quaker and Huguenot Records: Both groups were a significant presence in Ireland and both have active societies that have retained records and archival material.

[933] Brears, *Cooking and Dining*; *Tudor and Early Stuart.*
[934] Mac Con Iomaire, 'Emergence'.

Neither has been researched with the specific purpose of ascertaining whether they contain material relating to food history.

Household accounts: In researching archival material in the National Library of Ireland it was obvious that extra material remains to be examined that has the possibility to yield valuable information. This material includes commonplace books, household and farm accounts, and many miscellaneous documents that are detailed in the individual Collection Lists.

A comprehensive history of Irish cookbooks and their place within the narrative of the modern Irish state: This would complement research being undertaken by Mahon on Irish diplomatic dining since the foundation of the state.

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MS 8040: A collection of forty receipts and billheads mostly relating to the Earl of Fingall.

MS 9560: Townley Hall Papers. Book of recipes and prescriptions, late eighteenth-century.

MS 9561: Townley Hall Papers. Lady Florence Balfour's book of recipes and prescriptions, *ca.* 1800.

MS 9563: Townley Hall Papers. 'Mrs Jane Bury, Her Receipt Book 1700'. A collection of recipes and prescriptions.

MS 10,134: Pakenham Mahon Papers. A single fragment, contains a recipe for Quaker cake.

MS 14,786: Inchiquin Papers. Collection of domestic recipes, mid to late-seventeenth-century.

MS 14,887: Inchiquin Papers. Early eighteenth-century, compiled by Elizabeth, Countess of Thomond, wife of Henry O'Brien, 8th earl of Thomond.

MS 19,674: Clonbrock Papers. Small notebook containing prescriptions for animal ailments, also a recipe for a substitute wine for the poor; 1 vol. *ca*.1800.

MS 19,946: Clonbrock Papers. A catalogue of the Clonbrock Library dated May 1809.

MS 19,948: Clonbrock Papers. A catalogue of the Clonbrock Library dated October 1832.

MS 21,001: Baker family. Miscellaneous letters, 1715-1750.

MS 21,004/1: Letters to Abraham White Baker of Ballaghtobin, Co. Kilkenny, also a letter by him, mainly re family matters but with references to local affairs, *ca*. 1777-1793.

MS 21,004/1: Ten items of correspondence dating 1777-1793.

MS 21,004/2: Nine items, includes letter from A.W. Baker senior to A.W. Baker junior re his engagement, 1806-1836.

MS 21,006: Letter from Lorenzo Nickson to Abraham Whyte Baker, dated January 1797 reporting the French at Bantry Bay.

MS 21,013: Collection of twenty items dating from 1750-1799. Includes receipts and billheads.

MS 21,036: Description of festivities at Ballaghtobin on the occasion of the coming of age of Abraham Whyte Baker junior, early nineteenth-century.

MS 21,039: An inventory of household furniture by Mrs Byrne, Ballaghtobin, 1818.

MS 29,785/3: Bruen of Oakpark Papers. Manuscript recipe book, 1821 to *ca.* 1872, C. J. Connolly and Mrs Bruen.

MS 34,952: Manuscript recipe book, Mrs A. W. Baker, Ballaghtobin House, Co. Kilkenny, Vol. 1st. Dated 1810.

MS 41,603/4: Smythe of Barbavilla Papers. Folder two of four, relating to the Smythe family of Barbavilla, 1698-1763.

MS 41,603/5: Folder three of the above.

MS 42,007: Household account book belonging to A. W. Baker for Ballaghtobin House 1797-1837.

MS 42,105: Manuscript recipe book, unknown author. Marbled covered boards with old calfskin backed spine dated 1811-1831. Recipes written in black ink on laid watermarked paper.

MS 42,134: Eighteenth-century recipe collection in preserved original green binding, unknown author.

D. 27,175: Marriage settlement Anna Baker.

D. 27,240-27/248: Deeds by members of the family of Baker relating to lands at Ballytobin and Ballinelinagh, and elsewhere in Co. Kilkenny, 1752-1798.

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