The Travels of Soda Bread: From Everyday Staple to Heritage Food

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ABSTRACT: Soda bread, a class of quick breads using baking soda and usually buttermilk as the rising agents, is today firmly associated with Ireland. It is presented internationally in the food industry, cookbooks, and tourism materials, as embodying Irish history and culture. As such, it has come to be seen as a heritage food. Not surprisingly, its history and contemporary reality are more complicated, as is Irish cultural identity in general. Three geographic sites for this identity are the Republic of Ireland (Ireland), Northern Ireland (Ulster), and the US Not only does the bread appear in different forms and play different roles in daily and celebratory meal systems within these locations, but the heritage it represents also varies, reflecting distinctive political, economic, and cultural histories.

In this paper, I look at the "travels" of soda bread from quotidian, everyday staple to heritage food. I focus on this trajectory in the US but contextualize it within the other two localities. Soda bread illustrates the complexities of heritage as a concept and is a reminder that the heritigization process is neither uniform, linear nor embraced by all members of a culture.

Food moves across time and space, both literally and figuratively. It is transported by people, animals, the wind, ocean currents, or human inventions, and it can last across generations, or die out and then resurface later as a revitalized memory. The meanings attached to food can also move as conditions, needs, tastes, and personalities change. One such shift is the move of a foodstuff from a quotidian part of common, everyday foodways to being celebrated for representing culinary heritage. Such heritigization is a shift in the perception of that food's value and identity. It frequently occurs today when certain foods become currency for tourism, marketing, or nationalism. Heritage foods can be defined "as the dynamic actualization, adaptation, and reinterpretation of elements from the past attached to a given group, its knowledge, skills, and values" (Bessiere 1998, in Zocchi 2021, 6). As such, these foods also become a medium for people to negotiate who they were in the past with who they want to be in the future.

Soda bread, a genre of quick breads using baking soda and (usually) buttermilk as the rising agent, is today firmly associated with Ireland. It is presented internationally in cookbooks, tourism materials, and literature as distinctive to and embodying an Irish heritage defined by a rural past, political oppression, natural disasters, and hearty good cheer. Not surprisingly, its history and contemporary reality are more complicated.

In this essay, I offer a broad overview of the trajectory of soda bread from everyday staple to heritage food in three different contexts: the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and the US. The bread itself is defined and used differently in each locality and by different groups and individuals within those cultures. The meanings assigned to it and the heritage it represents also vary. These cultural groups are neither homogenous nor unified in their perceptions of the bread.

I focus here on soda bread in the US, contextualizing it within immigration history as well as American culinary and cultural history. I draw from my own ethnographic research conducted over three decades in all three locales (Long 1993, 2014),[1] historical research, and scholarship in food studies, Irish culture studies, and American studies. It is a broad sweep, however, and I may be uncovering more questions than answers, but an important point is that heritage is a matter of perception rather than historical realities. An overview of the heritigization process is a history of changing perceptions of the people associated with soda bread as well as of the bread itself.

Defining Soda Bread

The definition of soda bread hinges on the leavening agent used. Bicarbonate of soda (called "baking soda" in the US and "Natron" in parts of Europe) is a naturally occurring salt that seems to have been widely known and used in the ancient world. Combining this soda with an acid produces carbon dioxide, causing dough to rise. The lactic acid in buttermilk was a reliable activator, and buttermilk happened to be commonly available in the dairy-heavy food cultures of Ireland and of colonial and pioneer America.[2]

Baking soda's modern history begins in 1771 when "soda ash" (sodium carbonate) was produced in France. Sodium bicarbonate was discovered in Berlin in 1801, an English chemist in 1840s proposed that baking soda and cream of tartar could be mixed together just before using, and in 1846, a factory in the US began producing it commercially. Baking powder, which combines baking soda with an activating acid, was patented in 1856 by a Harvard professor, and quickly became the more popular rising agent for quick breads (American Chemical Society).

The chemical characteristics of baking soda causes confusion today in the classification of soda bread since some contemporary and historical recipes call for the addition of baking powder or cream of tartar. Baking soda, however, is an essential component. Buttermilk is usually the activating agent, although sour and even sweet milk

can be used. Other ingredients can vary, as can the cooking methods and the shapes in which it is formed.

Soda Bread in Ireland

Bread historically played a significant role in Irish foodways (Lennon 1990). Oats, barley, rye, peas, and some wild seeds were the staple grains for the "peasantry," but wheat flour, considered "more palatable and more fashionable" (Danaher 1962:46), was the preference of the wealthier classes and for special occasions among the poor. Potatoes were added to the list of ingredients after the early 1600s, and maize meal (cornmeal) was introduced from the US during the famines in the mid-1800s. Breads were baked in a bastable oven (covered cast iron pot placed into embers), on a griddle, or on an "iron" set next to the fire. A number of homemade and commercial leavening agents were used, but these were oftentimes unreliable.[3] When bicarbonate of soda became available in the 1830s, it seems to have been rapidly adopted, partly because it was less sensitive to moisture and the resulting dough required less handling and waiting time than yeast-risen breads. The latter were usually made by commercial bakeries rather than in the home.

It is difficult to assign a specific date for the emergence of the class of baked goods known as soda bread. The earliest known printed recipe comes from an Ulster newspaper, *Newry Telegraph*, in 1836, and was repeated in a London paper, *The Farmer's Magazine* (O'Dwyer 2003). Commercial patented baking soda became available in the 1840s, and by the 1860s, soda bread seems to have become the common, everyday bread made in homes across Ireland (O'Canachair 1981; Ormeau Bakery Limited, 1992).

Its use in the Republic declined sometime in the early and mid-1900s (Long 1993, 4), where it carried associations of backwardness and lack of sophistication and seemed to be a reminder of the traumatic past of rural Irish people. Yeast-risen, commercial "shop bread" made of refined wheat flour had long been the more desirable bread (FitzGibbon 1991, 184), and, in the nation-wide push to modernize, it became the standard daily staple. These breads carried more prestige and would have been the choice for offering visitors.

In the 20th century soda bread branched into two main varieties. The first is "soda bread" which comes in loaves or rounds, usually made of white flour with optional sugar, currants, or dried fruit, and carries rustic, "farmhouse" associations as a remnant of the past. These, in my observations from the early 1990s through the present, are oftentimes sold in specialty bakeries or in supermarkets in the section marked "traditional." Overall, they are presented by the general populace, food industries, and tourism marketing as a food from the past that can represent Irish heritage.

"Brown bread," on the other hand, is also a loaf made from baking soda, buttermilk, and whole-wheat flour (and sometimes additional grains, such as oats, barley, spelt, and others), but it is rarely referred to as "soda bread." As recently as November of 2021, when I asked a waitress at the official welcoming center restaurant in the well-known tourist town of Adare, if the slice of bread served with soup was soda bread, she was adamant that it was "brown bread" rather than "soda bread." She then did say that it was probably made with baking soda. It was clear that she did not think of the two categories as being the same type of bread.

Interestingly, this variety of soda bread seems to be playing a role in what food studies scholar, Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire (2018), refers to as a renaissance of Irish food. Whether this is only among chefs and "foodies" needs more research, as does the question of whether the general Irish public perceives it as representing their heritage. The response of one middle-aged homemaker living in southeast Ireland suggests that it does not hold such a place in the public imagination. She makes brown bread on a regular basis for her family, and when asked in November of 2021 if she thought of it in connection to her Irish identity, she stated: "it's just what we eat."

Soda Bread in Northern Ireland

Meanwhile, the older forms of soda bread remained popular in Northern Ireland where they continue to be an everyday and ubiquitous part of the meal system, made at home as well as purchased from bakeries and supermarkets. The most common form stands out as distinctive from those found in the south. Farls, the word coming from Scots Gaelic, are quarters of rounds of soda bread usually cooked on a griddle and turned so that they are flat on both sides. These are made with white or whole wheat flour as well as other grains and additions of treacle, sugar, eggs, currants or other dried fruits, and are eaten throughout the day. The "plain" soda farls are felt to be essential to an Ulster Fry (fried egg, sausage, bacon, black and white pudding, potato farls) and Ulster Fry sandwich, both of which are featured as breakfast meals but are actually prepared any time day or night (Long 1993).

When I conducted research on soda bread in Northern Ireland in the 1990s, many residents were unaware that these farls and other varieties of soda bread were now distinctive to that region. Those who were aware of them had usually traveled to the South and to the US, and had seen the contrast. Such observations of difference is a standard process in the recognition of cultural forms signifying regional identity (Lockwood 1991), but in Northern Ireland it carried extra emotional baggage of a complicated heritage that was not always recognized as Irish (Long 2014).

The tourist board, meanwhile, frequently featured displays in their marketing literature, and cookbook writers and historians pointed out that the foodways of the past lingered in Ulster but had "disappeared from tables in the south (Lennon 1990, 57). Today, these northern

varieties of soda bread, farls, in particular, are recognized and celebrated as culinary heritage by some official agencies, scholars, and in selected food or Irish-connected popular publications. As more residents have traveled in the South, it is possible they are now more aware of the distinctiveness of their soda bread traditions. Whether they hold it up as an icon of culinary heritage seems to depend on individuals and specific contexts.

Soda Bread in 18th Century American Culture

Soda bread is today widely presented as a heritage food in the US by Irish American organizations, certain individuals, and food industries that market "ethnic" foods around specific holidays, in this case, St. Patrick's Day. More research is needed to determine if it has a continuous history of common uses, forms, and meanings among Irish immigrants and Irish Americans.

Some accounts credit Native Americans with the earliest form of the bread (O'Dwyer 2003), pointing out that they used pearl ash (potassium carbonate derived from potash from wood ashes) combined with an acid such as citrus or sour milk for leavening.[4] Whether this can be identified as "soda bread" raises questions about a direct connection between the two as well as whether there was any recognition of that lineage by participants at the time. Such flat breads, leavened and unleavened, were common throughout Europe, so it seems more likely that there was an interchange of ingredients and leavening agent, rather than of identity and meaning. Pearl ash was a staple in American kitchens in the 1700s and was presumably replaced by baking soda components when they became available later in that century. The first printed mention in the US of using soda in baking seems to be in 1824 prior to its commercial production and has no Irish association. Mary Randolph's *The Virginia Housewife* contains a recipe for "Soda Cake," which calls for a half pound of sugar and half pound of melted butter along with two pounds of flour, a pint of milk, and a teaspoon of soda (O'Dwyer 2003).

This recipe bears little resemblance to soda bread in Ireland. There was a common American form of quick bread, however, called "biscuits," which are usually unsweetened and made in smaller rounds suitable for an individual serving. These are similar to scones in Ireland but different in texture, sweetness, and use.[5] Made with baking soda and usually buttermilk, biscuits were standard fare in homes and some eating establishments throughout the country in the 19th century, probably because of the ease and speed with which they could be prepared. The buttermilk they relied on to activate the soda was also commonplace. At some point, buttermilk biscuits, as they came to be called, became associated with pioneer foodways and the Southern region, including the Southern Appalachian Mountains, an area heavily settled by Ulster Scots in the 1700 and early 1800s (Dolan 2008).

It seems likely that Irish immigrants to the US were introduced to these biscuits and found them convenient and inexpensive, just as established American households did. Those coming in the 1800s and later brought with them their knowledge and experience of soda bread and may have recognized in biscuits a familiar food, although there is no historical evidence of that. A question still to be answered is whether these immigrants adapted to the American customs or intentionally continued making the larger rounds of soda bread and, if so, did they think of them as carrying Irish identity.

The common assumption among historians is that food was never a significant cultural form for Irish immigrants. Hasia Diner, in comparing Irish with Italian and Jewish immigrants in New York City in the late 1800s, concluded that they "diminished food as a marker of ethnicity" (2003). This may have been due to the centuries of oppression and poverty that forced attention to food for its nutritional and biological functions rather than its expressive and creative potentials (Sexton 2016). Any sense of pride in their food was further complicated for those Irish immigrating to the US throughout the potato famine and following years. As primarily Catholic, these immigrants were automatically seen as undesirable intruders to the more Protestant-based culture of the US (Knobel 2001). Furthermore, the derogatory stereotypes held by the English of the Irish "race" were carried on in the US, where the poverty of many of the immigrants forced them into menial jobs and living circumstances that then helped perpetuate those stereotypes (Wallach 2013, 122).

The negative judgments of Irish immigrants in the 1800s and first half of the 1900s may have led many Irish to give up their food traditions, especially if they tended to not value them as markers of identity, anyway. At the same time, attitudes towards food may have differed according to class as well as to the specific circumstances of individuals. Historian Mary Wack describes one woman, Agnes McCloskey Hefferman, who emigrated in 1881 from County Londonderry in Ulster to New England. She ran a boarding house and cooked for her boarders with menus "staged [...] to appeal to the aspirations of the first- and second-generation Irish who ate at her table" (2018, 107). Her cooking included French-inspired dishes fashionable at the time as well as items from steamship dining carrying those immigrants back to the homeland for visits. Significantly, though, "upward mobility did not mean necessarily a rejection of Irish tastes (Wack, 109). Some foods as well as flavor principles were carried over, including "lean Ulster doughs," oat cakes, and soda bread made without butter or other fats. Butter, when available, was used as a spread rather than a baking ingredient. Caraway seeds and ginger were also used generously. Wack concludes that the recipe collecting and cooking of McCloskey Heffernan widens our view of food, migration, and memory beyond the paradigm of famine and loss, challenging the critique by Diner and others.

As historian Peter Scholliers points out, not every culture or individual within that culture chooses food as the form through which they intentionally perform or convey their identity (2001, 9). Food implicitly expresses identity, but it is not always explicitly used to do so (Long 2015), an important point in the construction of heritage. This may have been the case with Irish immigrants, especially since the general anti-Irish climate would not have encouraged the public celebration of foodways specific to their heritage. I also suggest the possibility that their customary foodways blended in with the tastes and ingredients of mainstream America at the time. Their reliance on bread, potatoes, dairy, and meats (particularly, pork and beef) would have been considered "normal" and would have made it easier for them to assimilate than some other European immigrant groups.

Soda Bread in 20th Century American Culture

For a variety of reasons, those negative sentiments towards the Irish began changing in middle of the 1900s, and Irish ethnicity was generally assimilated under the generic category of White Americans.[6] Older stereotypes, however, tended to linger in the collective memory, sometimes shaping the ways in which Irish Americans presented their ethnicity by self-consciously acting the opposite of those stereotypes. Be that as it may, soda bread does not seem to have been a common part of Irish American life. Respondents to an informal survey I conducted of Irish Americans growing up in the 1940s through 1990s had no memories of soda bread of any variety being made at home nor of being able to purchase commercially-made soda bread. Even individuals living in long-standing Irish neighborhoods in cities known for their Irish populations (New York, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland) did not recall seeing it.

At some point, though, soda bread was perceived as carrying Irish ethnicity and started being celebrated in certain contexts. One individual from St. Louis, Missouri, a Midwestern city known for its Irish pubs and music traditions, recalls her mother being inspired to make soda bread specifically for a *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* event in the early 1970s. Her mother identified herself as Irish American and a folksinger, and soda bread may have been self-consciously adopted as an expression of her ethnicity. She probably learned her recipe from a local dance and music teacher hailing originally from Limerick. Interestingly, the individual's mother made both whole-wheat soda, a choice probably reflecting her counter-cultural ethos, and the sweetened cake-like raisin soda baked in a loaf pan that has come to represent soda bread in the U S. Corresponding to a common pattern among ethnic groups, this latter variety would historically have been saved for special occasions. She also included caraway seeds, which in the US are considered a traditional Irish ingredient. The mother frequently offered soda bread as a gift and felt that it highlighted her Irishness.

Such explicit performances of Irishness through soda bread seemed to occur primarily among in-group contexts—dance competitions, meetings of Irish American social clubs, Irish Catholic school functions. For most Irish Americans, however, soda bread was not a significant part of their everyday foodways, and it was not available commercially. Lingering negative stereotypes attached to Irishness may partly explain that absence. Jeff Smith, a popular cookbook author and star of a NPR Television series, attempted to dispel those stereotypes in 1987 in a section on "The Irish Immigrants" in *The Frugal Gourmet On Our Immigrant Ancestors: Recipes You Should Have Gotten From Your Grandmother*.

> "I know you have heard that Irish cooking is bland and boring. This is not so. Yes, there are a few potatoes about, but then that is what the Irish lived on in the old country and that is what the immigrants lived on in this country. However, you will find the food to be really delightful. Give it a chance. The Irish Soda Bread alone should be enough to convert you to some Irish feasts." (1990, 210)

Smith then offers two recipes for "Irish Soda Bread" and "Irish Dark Soda Bread," with both using baking powder and baking soda as well as buttermilk. (1990, 214–215) Both recipes are re-workings based on the bread he ate when he toured Ireland as a student in 1960.

Another source for a recipe for soda bread comes from the 1997 edition of the *Joy of Cooking*, found throughout many homes in the US. First published in 1931 by an American of German descent, the early editions did not mention it, but more positive associations with the Irish had emerged by the 1990s. This edition includes a recipe in the section on "Quick Breads," calling it "Irish American Soda Bread." It adds: "The American idea of Irish soda bread looks like a giant golden brown scone studded with raisins and caraway seeds. It is richer, sweeter, and more cakelike than authentic Irish soda bread, which we are assured never made the acquaintance of a raisin or a caraway seed either" (Rombauer 1977).

The recipe gives the option of making the bread as a mound on a greased baking sheet or in a loaf pan as a "tea loaf." Ingredients include sugar, raisins, caraway seeds, an egg, buttermilk, and baking powder as well as baking soda.

Soda Bread in 21st Century American Culture

Perceptions in the US of Irish culture have continued to grow more positive, so that in the 21st century, Irish identity is seen as highly attractive, albeit stereotyped as witty, good storytellers, and inclined to drink but knowing how to embrace life and enjoy a good time (Leerson 2006; Rains 2007). There is now a sense of pride in claiming Irish ancestry and in participating in Irish cultural forms.[7] St. Patrick's Day has become an unofficial national holiday with bars opening unusually early in the morning, parades, performances of Irish dance and music, and general revelry.

Alongside this change in perception is a growing appreciation of Irish food, although, consistent with patterns seen in other ethnic foodways, the dishes and practices that are celebrated are those that stand out in contrast to American culture. Foods identified as Irish in commercial settings include butter and cheese from Irish cows, cream liquors (Bailey's is particularly popular), whiskey, and pub fare. The word "pub" in the US usually connotes Irishness and oftentimes serves invented pseudo-Irish dishes, such as fish and chips, Scotch eggs (hard boiled eggs rolled in sausage, then deep fried), Irish stew, shepherd's pie, Reuben sandwiches (corned beef with sauerkraut and Swiss cheese on rye bread). Other dishes are associated specifically with St. Patrick's Day (March 17th), such as Jiggs' Dinners (corned beef boiled with potatoes, cabbage, carrots, and onions),[8] which are offered at celebrations of the holiday by Irish American cultural organizations. Restaurants having no connection to Irish ethnicity oftentimes serve the dinner on St. Patrick's Day. The accompanying bread is usually a slice of rye or sourdough, or even a yeast-raised "dinner roll."

Soda bread is sometimes included within this generic emergence of appreciation for all things Irish, but does not seem to be part of the everyday foodways of most Irish Americans. When it does appear, it is primarily in the form of a sweet raisin (substitute for currants) soda loaf that would have been kept in Ireland for special occasions, and is now usually served as a dessert or snack. The general public and even many Irish Americans I have spoken with are unaware of varieties other than this Americanized version of "currant soda."[9]

This variety of soda bread shows up primarily at Irish cultural events or international festivals where it is offered as an "ethnic" dish. It is usually visible and available to the general public only around St. Patrick's Day, when it is featured in supermarkets and bakeries, oftentimes displayed alongside foodstuffs marking other seasonal holidays, such as Mardi Gras king cakes. Periodicals and websites also highlight soda bread recipes during this season, but it is rarely mentioned otherwise.

Recipes for soda bread can now be found in more mainstream cookbooks, although it is usually for the sweetened version. The 2006 edition of the *Joy of Cooking* suggests a growing recognition, describing "Irish Soda Bread," as a round loaf made with both baking powder and baking soda, white flour, sugar, raisins, and optional caraway seeds (Rombauer, Becker, and Becker, 629). As part of a general expanding of the American palate, social media and Internet sites are creating more awareness of soda bread, and some now include variations of the sweet raisin soda. Farls are even introduced, partly as a curiosity for those with culinary touristic interests, but also because they carry an aura of authenticity. *Allrecipes.com*, a popular website that features recipes from readers, offers a variety of soda breads, including one from an Irish American home cook for "Irish soda farls," described as: "Traditionally this was the quickest way to make soda bread for unexpected guests who drop by for a bit of *craic* (good fun). It's best eaten fresh with butter and jam but is also delicious fried as part of an Ulster breakfast" (Ita).

These observations suggest that soda bread is considered a heritage food in the US by both Irish and non-Irish-Americans, although many are aware only of the sweetened variety with raisins. It tends to be reserved for occasions that celebrate Irishness, such as St. Patrick's Day or Irish cultural events; it is presented as distinctively Irish; and "Irish" is almost always in the name. This symbolic status is illustrated by a website established in 2003 for The Society for the Preservation of Soda Bread which also runs a private Facebook group with over 3200 members (http://sodabread.info). The website offers information and commentary on soda bread's history and encourages readers to appreciate "traditional Irish soda bread as created by our ancestors," defining "traditional" as using only four ingredients--flour, baking soda, buttermilk or sour milk, and salt (O'Dwyer). Farls are included in this definition. While the author recognizes that changes have occurred over time, he emphasizes the need to preserve the practices and forms of the past as a way not only of paying respect but also of keeping that culture alive today.

Soda bread in the US now serves symbolically as a connection with a culture perceived by many Americans to be steeped in the past. Ireland is romanticized as an idyllic "emerald isle" full of people with hearty good humor and wit and a strong creative muse that has led to a wealth of literature, music, and dance (Leerson 59). Among Irish Americans, the bread represents a people who overcame extreme hardships both at "home" and in their adopted country to successfully become accepted into mainstream society (Leerson 57). As one food studies scholar observes: "…Ireland had a history of poverty and the cuisine of the poor often isn't celebrated until it is clearly in the rearview mirror and looked back on nostalgically" (Lizzie 2015, 308). It is from this current position that soda bread is promoted as a heritage food.

Conclusions

As Bessiere (1998, 2013) and others (Zocchi 2021) have stated, food heritigization is a dynamic process that involves multiple activities and multiple agents. The process, however, is neither straightforward nor unified. Groups within a culture may disagree over the definitions of the foodways itself, of the heritage it represents, or to whom it belongs. Cultural politics over who has the power to decide those definitions are also at play, with different groups receiving different benefits from a food being celebrated as representing heritage (Long 2014, 2019).

Soda bread's potential to represent heritage is now being recognized and celebrated by specific actors in all three cultures, but it is questionable whether that recognition extends to the general public. The tourism industry, food

industry marketers, cookbook writers, and now some scholars promote soda bread as a heritage food, but the definition of that heritage as well as the bread itself seems to vary. Different histories have shaped those cultures, and the varying interpretations of that history are also attached to soda bread. Similarly, individuals and groups within those cultures have their own relationships with the bread as well as with "Irishness." The bread, then, like any cultural object, can mean different things to different people.

Soda bread has "traveled" over the years and across the seas, but it has very different roles in the foodways systems and in the collective imaginations of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and the US. It appears in different forms in those three cultures and carries different associations that reflect their varied histories. As such, it offers a case study for continued research on the complexities of culinary heritage.

Notes

1. I lived in Bangor, County Down in 1991–1992 where I conducted an extensive ethnography on soda bread (and on traditional dance in Ulster). I continued this research periodically with informal observations and conversations in the Republic of Ireland as well as throughout the US where I researched Irish dancing in the US and participated on a personal level in feaseanna, music sessions, and Irish American cultural events. The Irish diaspora in the US extends beyond well-known urban centers, however, the general pattern outside of those enclaves was for Irish heritage to be subsumed within a general "white" heritage. I saw this in my own southern and Appalachian family.
2. Buttermilk historically was the liquid left after churning butter from "cultured cream," that is, cream that either had been allowed to sit and ferment or to which bacteria had been added. "Cultured" buttermilk, which is what is now most commonly sold commercially, is made by adding lactic acid bacteria to pasteurized milk. Biddy White Lennon offers a recipe for making "buttermilk for bread making" (1990, 66–67).
3. One leavening agent was "barm," a by-product of beer making. A late 18th century recipe for making barm is printed in Sexton, 2016, 278.
4. Flour would have been made from dried corn (maize), nuts, such as acorns and chestnuts, and a variety of tubers. The resulting dough would be shaped into a flattened round cake cooked over a hot stone or wrapped and cooked next to a fire or in its embers (Berzok 109–114).
5. The scones I have had throughout Ireland are sweetened, have a more cakelike texture than soda farls, and are eaten for tea ("snack" in the US) usually with tea. Scones in the US are more cakelike and frequently have a triangular shape. American biscuits are unsweetened, commonly eaten at breakfast, and can be filled, similar to a sandwich, with bacon, fried egg, or a slice of ham. They can also be slathered with butter and jam (honey or molasses were also traditional) or used as a base for gravy (usually a thickened roux sauce from sausage drippings).
6. Acceptance, however, was not universal, particularly in the heavily Protestant American South that tended to claim English and Scottish ancestry.
7. I observed this change in attitude in the mid-1990s in the southern Appalachian region where the identifier for heritage is commonly said to be Scots-Irish. The emphasis in pronunciation shifted from the first to the second ethnicity. Also, the term Ulster-Scots began being used.
8. The dinner is said to be named after an early 20th century comic strip, "Bringing Up Father," by George McManus featuring an Irish immigrant named Jiggs. Boiled dinners featuring any meat and vegetables were traditional throughout the New England region of the US as well as Newfoundland and Labrador in eastern Canada, but the name "Jiggs dinner" was used specifically for corned beef after the comic began running in 1913. For its history in Canada, see Hauthorn 2021. It is unclear when it became common in the US, and, even now, restaurants frequently include a description for those customers unfamiliar with it. I observed it being served and advertised by Irish American organizations in Midwestern cities for St. Patrick's Day celebrations since at least the early 1990s.
9. A 2007 New York Times article corroborates this observation (Clark 2007).

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