Memories of Recipes in Twentieth-Century Irish Cookbooks

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Abstract

This paper analyses and categorises the ways in which authors and their publishers have chosen to include the author's culinary, food and personal memories within the texts of twenty twentieth century Irish Cookbooks. Cookbooks are subjects of culinary nostalgia with the reading of a recipe capable of triggering in the reader a memory of a meal enjoyed, a dish cooked in times past by a loved one, or recollections of the disgust felt for a food hated in childhood. Independent from the reader, the culinary memories of the author can be captured at the time of publication in the text of their cookbook. The recipes of community cookbooks may include personal memories of contributors, cookbooks authored by professional chefs frequently include the storytelling of their kitchen careers, while the texts of domestic science can be devoid of any personal reminisces. Chains may be formed by these memories where authors have made explicit references to other authors' recipes, or where a reading of the text of recipes suggests an implicit memory relationship between cookbooks. Timelines of autobiographical culinary recollections can be explored in the context using of memory to locate a recipe in place and time. This analysis aims to shed light on an informal network of culinary memories within and between the recipes of Irish Cookbooks that traces the exchange of culinary knowledge from author to author.

Keywords

Irish cookbooks; food memories; recipe memories

Chef and restaurateur Sean Kinsella described the fleeting nature of culinary expression when he proposed that "the only difference between an artist and a chef is that an artist will do a painting and it will hang on the wall, a chef will make a fabulous meal and the next day it is gone" (Mac Con Iomaire 2009, 627). This paper is a preliminary study to evaluate food memories, one aspect of what remains when the meal is gone, as a source of information for the analysis of recipes found in Irish cookbooks. The study is part of the early-stages of a research project which aims to analyse recipes from Irish cookbooks using a knowledge graph and seeks to classify recipes and identify trends in ingredients and cooking methods over time. A structured reading of twenty Irish cookbooks has been undertaken to explore the

food memories and recollections found in the texts and their relationship to the recipes.

Barbara Ketcham Wheaton suggests that through a structured reading of many recipes from a particular time and place, an understanding can be acquired of the character and the style of cooking of the particular period covered by the cookbooks (Ketcham Wheaton 1996, xix). Marzena Keating's study of the introductory chapters of seven Irish cookbooks identified nostalgic childhood memories of the Irish countryside, tastes and smells of traditional dishes, and of farmhouse and community self-sufficiency (Keating 2022). This study has applied Wheaton's structured approach to categorise the culinary, cultural and personal memories found within the introductory and recipe chapters of twenty Irish cookbooks. The aim of this study is not intended as an exhaustive examination of all food memory types, instead it is to explore the different ways in which authors' memories are related to the many recipes in the selected cookbooks.

			General Food Memories			Memories about One Particular Recipe			
Year	Cookbook Title	Who's Memories	Early Food Memories	Changes over a Lifetime	Chef Anecdotes	Shared Recipes	Recipes & Travel Memories	Recipes from Cookbook	Recipe Invention
1905	Domestic Economy Reader for Irish Schools.	Charlotte O'Connor Eccles, Mrs Fitzgerald (Fictional)				✓		✓	
1907	High Class Cookery: Book II – Fish & Fish Sauces	Josephine Redington							
1910	Ui <u>Breasil</u> Home Receipt Book	Members of Dolphin Barn Branch of National Women's Health Association		✓			✓		
1915	Young Housewives Cookery Book	Bridgit Russell							
1926	First Lurgan Presbyterian Church Cookery Book	Recipe Contributors							
1929	Tailteann Cookery Book	K. E. Warren							
1939	Irish Country Recipes	Florence Irwin, St John Irvin, Recipe Contributors	✓	✓		✓		✓	
1941	Our Daily Bread	Frances Wrenne, Alfred O'Rahilly		✓					✓
1946	Kind Cooking	Maura Laverty	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
1955	Adelaide Hospital: Our Favourite Recipes	Recipe Contributors							✓
1963	Women's Institutes of Northern Ireland 1933-63 Cookery Book	Members of Women's Institute of Northern Ireland					✓		✓
1965	All in the Cooking, Book 1, 2 nd Edition	Marnell, Breathnach, Martin & Murnaghan							
1971	The Irish Cookbook	Carla Blake				✓	✓		✓
1978	The RTE Guide Cookbook. High day and everyday recipes from Honor Moore	Honor Moore	1					1	
1985	Sean Kinsella's Cookbook	Sean Kinsella	✓		✓		✓		
1985	The North Leitrim Vegetable Growers' Cookery Book	Co-Op Members & Customers							
1988	Modern and Traditional Irish Cooking	Ethel Minogue	✓	✓				✓	
1991	St Patrick's Pantry	Parish Members and Invited Public Figures	✓			✓	1	✓	✓
1992	The Drimcong Food Affair	Gerry Galvin	✓		✓	✓			✓
1994	Wining and Dining At Home in Ireland	Sandy O'Byrne, Jacinta Delahaye							
Total Number of Books in which memory type was identified				5	2	6	6	6	7

Figure 1: Twenty Irish Cookbooks with Categories and Types of Food Memories

Cookbook titles were selected to provide variation in terms of place of publication in Ireland and date of publication with at least one book from each decade of the twentieth century. The selection includes community cookbooks, cookbooks authored by professional chefs and domestic science textbooks. The majority of the cookbooks and individual recipe contributions are authored by women, with just two of the cookbooks authored by men and few of the community cookbooks having significant recipe contributions from men. The list of the twenty Irish Cookbook titles along with the categories and types of food memories identified are presented in Figure 1.

Food Memories

Two broad categories of food memories were identified through a structured reading of the cookbooks:

- Memories relating to one particular recipe such as an anecdote about how the author learned a recipe during foreign travels, or their recollections of a recipe being handed down through generations of their family.
- General food memories and observations on changes in food, culinary practices or ingredients in the author's lifetime which are not specific to any one recipe.

An increase in the frequency of food memories in Irish cookbooks is observed from the 1940s onwards in the books examined. Cookbooks written by chefs, food writers and broadcasters tend to have a higher number and types of food memories. Domestic science textbooks and fine dining cookbooks contain no personal food memories and instead concentrate on culinary procedures and practices. Community cookbooks were found to contain few personal food memories, with the exception of *St Patrick's Pantry* which contains invited recipe contributions and anecdotes from public-figures (St Patrick's Cathedral 1991, 3).

Food memories from childhood and adult life

Early memories of the taste of dishes, ingredients in the kitchen, or recollections of meals prepared in the home are found in seven of the cookbooks. Author and broadcaster Maura Laverty and chef Gerry Galvin both emphasise the importance of childhood food memories in their cookbooks, describing how parents and chefs are investing in the next generation of home cooks and a future generation of discerning customers by taking the time to bring children into the kitchen or restaurant to learn the pleasure of cooking and eating (Galvin 1992, 32; Laverty 1946, 2-3). In his introduction to a recipe in *St Patricks Pantry* the recently retired Irish Senator David Norris explains that he rarely cooks which he attributes to being "rather spoiled by virtue of the fact that my mother was a superb cook and resolutely kept me out of the kitchen" (St Patrick's Cathedral 1991, 43).

In his introduction to Florence Irwin's *Irish Country Recipes* dramatist and critic St John Ervine fondly remembers dishes from his Belfast childhood: champ with green peas or broad beans; broths with barley, cabbage and carrots cooked on Saturday night in preparation for the Sabbath; the delicacy of treacle farls made with a light hand; and asks "Is there a tin-opener on this earth who can fill a mind with such memories as that?" (Irwin 1937, 6). Maura Laverty recalls the six vegetables of her childhood as being onions, cabbage, turnips and potatoes either steamed, boiled or mashed; and that peas, beans, parsnips and carrots were associated with vegetable-growing Protestants (Laverty 1946, 29). Honor Moore's earlier food memories include preparing fruit for Christmas cakes and making butter on her family's farm in Co. Down (Moore 1978). Gerry Galvin recalls the fries, simple stews and roasts from his childhood in provincial West Limerick in the 1940s and 1950s, and remembers his father bringing home Hafner sausages from Dublin as a treat (Galvin 1992).

Related to early food memories are observations about how food has changed since the author's childhood and the positive or negative impact of modernisation. In the *Ui Breasil Home Receipt Book* the recipe "Porridge" contributed by the proprietors of Milltown Mills, Ballymoney, Co. Antrim is printed beside an advertisement for their mill's oatmeal that includes a quote from a Sir John Byers: "I asked a friend in the Country to send me some Oatmeal, the good old-fashioned Oatmeal, made by Stone; not any of the new-fangled machine made or American stuff" (Dolphins Barn NWHA 1910, 68). St John Ervine bemoans the younger generations lack of technical culinary skills and their belief that dinner can be assembled from cans and other synthetic foods (Irwin 1937, 5-6). By contrast a decade later, in *Kind Cooking*, Laverty celebrates the American food brands of Heinz and Campbell "who conferred on harassed hostesses the inestimable benefits of canned foods" but warns that canned soup is like whiskey as "it can blow your budget to bits if you take it straight" (Laverty 1946, 110).

Domestic economy instructress Frances Wrenne introduces her practical recipes in *Our Daily Bread* with the observation that at the time of World War II the practice of bread making had not disappeared in Ireland and that in rural areas bread was still commonly made in bastables over turf fires, and she encourages housewives with access to modern gas and electric ovens to similarly take an interest in making their own bread (Reilly 1941, 57). London based Irish chef Ethel Minogue, writing in the late 1980s, remarks on changes in the availability of ingredients during her lifetime recalling when "it was almost impossible to buy any fresh vegetables apart from potatoes, onions, cabbage, carrots" outside of larger towns in rural Ireland and that she "felt quite shocked last year being able to buy peppers and kiwi fruit in a small village in West Clare" (Minogue 1988, 12). The recollections of culinary professionals typically include their training, anecdotes of preparing memorable meals, and sourcing ingredients for their kitchen. Sean Kinsella describes his experiences in Dublin as an apprentice chef in Frascatti's restaurant and in the

kitchens of the Gresham Hotel under head-chef Karl Uhlemann, from when he recalls a vivid memory of "cycling at dawn behind a horse and cart loaded with cabbages on its way to the market" (Kinsella 1985, 1-5). Gerry Galvin describes how recipes in the Vintage restaurant in Kinsale were developed to take advantage of the fresh herbs available from the garden of two friends, which in turn led to the early planting of an herb garden and the transplanting of watercress to a stream when he and his wife Marie later established Drimcong House in Galway (Galvin 1992, 43-44). In her introduction to the recipes "Mutton Broth with Barley" and "Mutton in Caper Sauce" Minogue explains the decline in preparation of both dishes as being due to the scarcity of mature mutton meat brought about by a change in taste for younger lamb meat (Minogue 1988).

Memories of recipes from family, friends, travel and cookbooks

Over half of the cookbooks examined include memories or anecdotes that the author associates with learning, tasting or preparing one particular recipe which are frequently also associated with a particular person, place or time in the author's life. The recipe "Marie's Brown Soda Bread" is described as being passed down to Gerry Galvin's wife Marie from her mother who in turn received it from her own mother (Galvin 1992, 47). The fictional Mrs Fitzgerald in *Domestic Economy Reader for Irish Schools* recalls her grandmother from the North of Ireland teaching her how to make potato and suet dumpling which is given the family nickname of "Fox in the Bag" (O'Connor Eccles 1905, 92-95). Carla Blake tells of how she learned the recipe for "Irish Turnip Soup (Traditional)" from an old friend who cooked the recipe in a bastable over the fire and that her friend in turn recalled her mother using the bastable for cooking roast goose and Christmas fruit cake (Blake 1971, 87-88).

Maura Laverty's Kind Cooking includes recipes that she recalls tasting or learning in Spain during her early-adulthood including "Salt Cod (Spanish Style)" or Bacalo á la Vizcaina and "St. Rocks Fingers' (Laverty 1946). The dish "Spanish Omelette" in Kind Cooking was described by Laverty two years previously in her novel No More than Human first published in 1944: "A loaf as flat and as round as a griddle-cake, split and buttered and with a thin savoury omelette sandwiched in it" (Laverty 1946, 101; Laverty 1986, 212). Historian Roy Foster recalls how the recipe "Red Pepper with Anchovy Salad" that he learned in Princeton, New Jersey, benefits from an American oven-grill with "the power of a dozen blowtorch welders" to correctly char the skin of the peppers (St Patrick's Cathedral 1991, 116). Geographic connections are found in recipe titles such as Miss Rice's recipe for "Koor Mah (Indian Recipe)" made of poultry fried in butter and onions along with clove, cardamom, mace, allspice, cinnamon and cayenne (Dolphins Barn NWHA 1910, 68). The Irish Cookbook includes recipes from Carla Blake's native South Africa such as "Curried Mince" or Bobotie, and recommends using freshly made curry powder in recipes but frustratingly does not provide a curry powder recipe (Blake 1971, 42). There are also memoires of Irish dishes traveling beyond Ireland such as Sean Kinsella recalling preparing and demonstrating a recipe for "Dublin Coddle" in Bloomingdales in New York as part of an exhibition promoting Ireland (Kinsella 1985, 38).

Florence Irwin was a passionate collector of old cookery books and included favourite and notable recipes from a selection of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century cookbooks in the *The Cookin*" *Woman* (Irwin 1949, pp. 13-23). Her earlier book, *Irish Country Recipes* includes recipes for preserving pork as bacon and hams that she recalls as being from an unnamed cookery book published in Dublin in 1779 (Irwin 1937, 26). Laverty references a recipe for broth that "occupies a whole page of *The Lady's Assistant*, a mouth-watering book published in the eighteenth century by A Professed Housekeeper who had upwards of Thirty Years' experience in Families" (Laverty 1946, 18). Charlotte O'Connor Eccles" fictional character Mrs FitzGerald plans to give her daughter a copy of *The Skilful Cook* which suggests that O'Connor Eccles had read Mary Harrison's cookbook (Harrison 1884; O'Connor Eccles 1905, 155). In *Modern and Traditional Irish Cooking* Ethel Minogue attributes recipes to Theodora FitzGibbon and Monica Sheridan and introduces the recipe for White Onion Soup as "Theodora FitzGibbon's recipe; like her I remember onion soup being a cure-all in the same league as hot whiskey" (Minogue 1988, 13).

Memories of recipe invention out of necessity and for reasons of novelty

The final type of memories are those that describe the creation of a novel recipe or the evolution of an existing recipe due to changed circumstances. Carla Blake's recipe "Economical Chicken and Pork Brawn" is made with pig's feet and a large boiler chicken, with the explanation given that the traditional ingredient of pig head meat has been replaced with chicken due to the low price of mass-produced poultry (Blake 1971, 80). Frances Wreene's recipes including "Rye Drop Scones (very palatable)" and "Barley Soda Bread" are provided as adaptations of existing bread and cake recipes to encourage the adoption of rye, oats, barley and potato for home baking in Ireland during World War II (Reilly 1941). Gerry Galvin recalls the recipe "Baked Brill with Mushroom Pâté and Elderflower Cream" as the dish that won him first place in the "Taste of Ireland" competition in 1980 that was judged by Theodora FitzGibbon (Galvin 1992, 72). FitzGibbon's report on the competition for the magazine Ireland of the Welcomes describes Galvin's dish as an "utterly original, even to using the flowers of the hedge-rows which he gathered in May" and "one of the finest fish dishes I had ever had" (FitzGibbon 1981). Carla Blake recalls the creation of a novel menu for a St Patrick's Day dinner party where each of the dishes served were coloured green, white, and gold, which includes a dish of poached eggs on spinach with hollandaise sauce, and a dish of Irish ham with "Salad St Patrick" featuring sliced oranges, diced celery and apples, and a rich mayonnaise (Blake 1971, 10-11).

The community cookbooks examined include recipes that are ostensibly provided as the novel creation of the recipe's contributor. "Beefsteak Bathed in Rich Brown Gravy (Brian's Dish)" was a post-war invention by composer Brian Boydell

when "financial considerations didn't allow for regular visits to the Dolphin Hotel for their famous steaks" (St Patrick's Cathedral 1991, 55). The writer Edna O'Brien contributed a recipe titled "Easter Potatoes" that she recalls improvising one Easter Sunday evening when the only ingredients in the house on returning from a long journey were new potatoes, Roquefort cheese and rosemary from her garden (St Patrick's Cathedral 1991, 86). The recipe "Cowboy's Delight" contributed by a Mrs Lavery of Lisbellaw Women's Institute in Co. Fermanagh includes instructions to sing the cowboy themed songs "Ghost Riders in the Sky" or "Home on the Range" while preparing this novel renaming of a mince casserole recipe to encourage schoolboys to eat their dinner (Women's Institutes of Northern Ireland 1963, 69).

Use of memories in the analysis of Irish cookbook recipes

The study now turns to how the memories previously discussed might be used as information for a research project that seeks to analyse recipes and identify trends in recipes, ingredients and culinary methods in Irish cookbooks. This section explores how information from food memories might be combined with information from recipes, cookbooks and authors in a knowledge graph. A knowledge graph is an information technology architecture for integrating heterogenous information into a graph database and ontology in order to apply machine reasoning to derive novel knowledge (Ehrlinger and Wöß, 2016). Two examples are used to frame the discussion, firstly an analysis of recipes for "Potato Apple Cake" from four cookbooks, and secondly an analysis of three recipes that are common to Irish Country Recipes and the novel Never No More (Irwin 1937; Laverty 1942). The implementation of graph database is beyond the scope of this exploratory study, and instead the information for the two examples are shown in graph diagrams made up of nodes and edges. The diagram in Figure 2 illustrates how a graph can be used to represent information from a cookbook. In this example the nodes are the book Irish Country Recipes, the recipe "Potato Apple Cake" and author Florence Irwin which are joined by the lines or edges "is a recipe in" and "is author of."

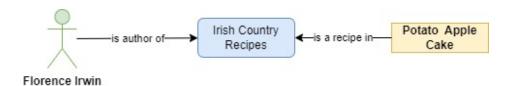


Figure 2: Example of Cookbook Graph Nodes and Edges

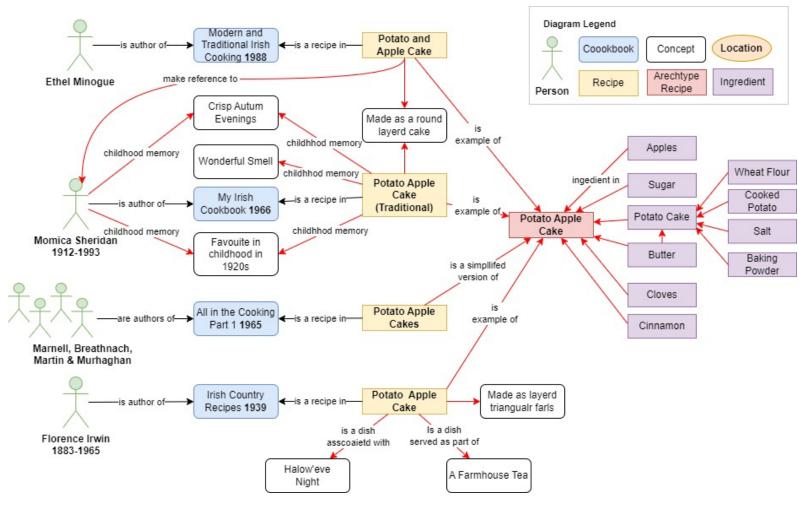


Figure 3: Graph Diagram of Four Potato and Apple Cake Recipes

The first analysis uses recipes and food memories from three variations of the recipe "Potato Apple Cake" to characterise the recipe and describe the trajectory of the recipe as it is published in cookbooks. Irish Country Recipes has a recipe for "Potato Apple Cake" which is apple baked between triangular farls of potato cake on the griddle with butter and spices added near the end of baking to create a sauce, and this dish is described as the "piéce de resistance of a farmhouse tea in apple season or on Halloweve Night" (Irwin 1937, 46). A simpler recipe "Potato Apple Cakes" that does not include butter or spices in the filling is found in the breakfast and savoury dishes chapter of All in the Cooking Book 1 (Marnell et al. 1965, 169). Irish Cooking Traditional and Modern includes a recipe "Potato and Apple Cake" introduced by Ethel Minogue as being the Monica Sheridan version of the recipe but no reference is provided (Minogue, 1988, 117). An attempt to follow this reference led back to Monica Sheridan's My Irish Cook Book which contains the recipe "Potato Apple Cake (Traditional)" that Sheridan associates with autumn evenings and has nearly identical ingredients and method to the recipe given by Minogue (Sheridan 1966, 131-132). These four recipes are represented in Figure 3 as a graph diagram that includes the relationship between recipe, author and cookbooks as black lines, and the relationships from early childhood memories, cookbook references, cultural associations and inferred relationships as red lines.

The result of this analysis of the recipe "Potato Apple Cake" is that the recipes appear in four Irish cookbooks published between 1939 and 1988. The recipe is for a sweet cake of apples, butter, sugar and spices baked between two round or triangular layers of potato cake on a griddle or heavy pan on top of the stove or hearth fire. The combination of authors biographical information and childhood memories characterise this as a farmhouse dish being eaten in the 1900s-1920s when it was considered a special dish and childhood favourite associated with the late autumn apple season and Halloween. In the 1960s the recipe is being remembered as a traditional dish but a simplified version of the recipe is given as a savoury breakfast dish in a domestic science textbook. By the 1980s an author is referencing earlier cookbook recipes rather than recalling their own memories of the dish suggesting that the recipe is passing out of use in Irish kitchens. This analysis demonstrates how food memories and recipes can be gathered and integrated from across cookbooks in order to characterise one recipe and plot its publication over time. The analysis prompts further questions which can both plot out and allow us to understand the apparent decline of the recipe; is it part of a wider trend in the replacement of home baked goods with commercially baked alternatives; or is the recipe eclipsed over time by similar cookbook recipes such as oven baked "Apple Tart" or "Apple Cake"; or has the recipe been reinterpreted on modern Irish menus as "Apple and Cinnamon Boxty'? (Sheridan 1966, 148; Marnell et al. 1965, 144; The Boxty House 2023)

The second analysis is centred on Maura Laverty's author's note on the last page of *Never No More* in which she recalls how reading Florence Irwin's cookbook *Irish Country Recipes* transported her back to the childhood described in the novel:

Some time ago, a copy of *Irish Country Recipes*, compiled by Florence Irwin, fell into my hands. Brawn, white pudding, boxty-on-the-pan — as I read of these familiar dishes I found myself back in Derrymore again, standing in the buttery with Gran, helping her to prepare her lovely meals (Laverty 1942, 263).

While *Never No More* was not included in the original scope of books in this study, the connection between Irwin's cookbook of collected folk recipes and Laverty's novel invited an analysis of recipes between the two books. The comparison spans the border between cookbooks used as manuals in the kitchen, and works of gastronomic literature that describe the pleasures of the table and evoke nostalgia for cooks and cooking (Notaker 2015, 172-177). The graph diagram in Figure 4 represents the information integrated from the two books, their author's biographical information and descriptions of fictionalised people and events. The diagram demonstrates the quantity and variety of information that rapidly accumulates with this method of analysis and is the same challenge that led culinary historian Barbara Ketcham Wheaton to create a series of databases including "The Sifter" (Wilson 2015; Ketcham Wheaton 2023).

The diagram illustrates how the combination of author biographical information and food memories from cookbooks can locate a recipe both geographically and in time. The three recipes of "Brawn," "White Pudding," and "Boxty" on the Pan are shared between memories of 1920s Co. Kildare and the Ulster folk-recipes collected by Irwin in her time as cookery instructress for the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (DATI) between 1905 and 1913. The recipe of Boxty-on-the-Pan is associated with counties Galway and Cavan, and there is an anecdote of the recipe being passed down through four generations of fictional women in *Never No More*. The descriptions of making "Brawn" and "White Pudding" in *Never No More* are told as part of a two-day episode that includes the killing of a pig, preparation of dishes from the offal, and the curing of the meat. These two recipes are printed on nearly adjacent pages in both books which emphasises their practical association with the slaughtering of a pig.

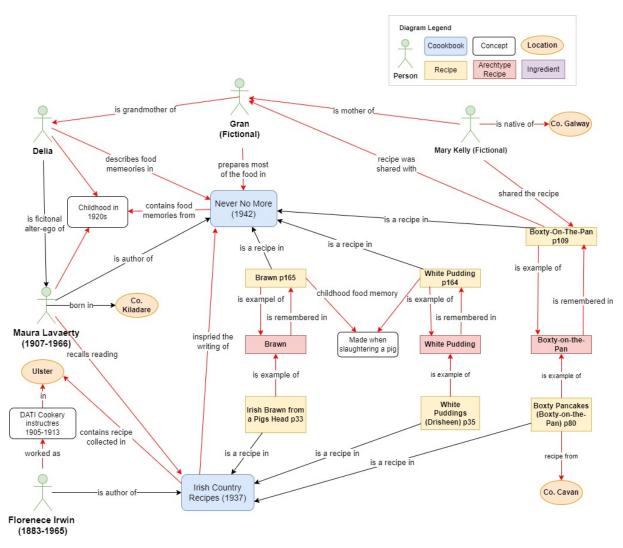


Figure 4: Graph Diagram of Recipes from Author's Note in Never No More

The analysis prompts us to ask if the detailed food memories found in *Never No More* should be considered recipes, and if so, is *Never No More* a cookbook? The food memories in the novel have a similar level of detail about ingredients and methods as the recipes in cookbooks and while the descriptions in *Never No More* do not include ingredient measurements many of the recipes in Laverty's" cookbook *Kind Cooking* similarly do not contain specific ingredient amounts (Laverty 1946). However, there are suggestions that many of the dishes cooked by the fictional "Gran" in *Never No More* are based on Laverty's research in the folklore archive or were "lifted" by Laverty from Irwin's *Irish Country Recipes* (Wills 2006). Rebecca May Johnston's observation that "Culinary knowledge has no authority in a text-only format" is a salutary warning of the need to utilise secondary cultural and academic information when analysing factual or remembered recipes in cookbooks (May Johnston 2021, 114).

Conclusions

This preliminary study of Irish cookbooks found early food memories from rural and urban Irish childhoods, anecdotes from domestic and professional kitchens and authors' recollections of learning, sharing or creating recipes. The publications of Irwin's folk-recipe collection *Irish Country Recipes* and Maura Laverty's *Kind Cooking* appear to form an inflection point in the early 1940s after which there is evidence for an observable increase in the number of memories in Irish cookbooks (Irwin 1939; Laverty 1946). The majority of memories identified belong to a small number of food writers and professional chefs whose cookbooks were published in the second half of the twentieth century. There are a far larger number of individual authors and recipe contributors whose food memories were not recorded in the texts of the books studied. The community cookbook *St Patrick's Pantry* is an exceptional publication due to the large number of recipes with an associated anecdote that were invited from public figures (St Patrick's Cathedral 1991).

Memories and recollections in Irish cookbooks are a source of a wide variety of culinary, bibliographical, biographical and cultural information that can be utilised in the proposed Irish Recipe knowledge graph. Early childhood memories of eating a particular dish or an author's memory of first preparing a recipe can locate it in place and time. Recollections of recipe invention and observations of changes in foods over the author's lifetime can act as signposts of when the trajectory of a particular recipe changed. Memories from multiple authors about one recipe can be combined to provide explanations for changes in the recipe's popularity such as variation in ingredient availability or replacement with a more fashionable recipe or commercial alternative. Care is required to avoid privileging the memories of a relatively small group of individuals in the analysis of the recipes, suggesting that memories from published cookbooks need to be complimented with memories from

other sources such as manuscript cookbooks or culinary accounts from folklore collections.

This study suggests related topics for future research. The references made by cookbook authors to other authors or their cookbooks could be analysed to identify the connections between contemporaneous and historical cookbook authors. Such a network could be integrated with biographical and bibliographical information to explore the evidence of an informal networks of professional influence or mutual respect between cookbook authors. A "mapping" of community cookbook recipes in Ireland is suggested by the practice of printing the town or village name of the contributor after each recipe, and this information could be combined with other sources of recipes with a geographical location to analyse and display the spatial distribution of groups of related recipes.

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