The Technical Recipe: A Formal Analysis of Nineteenth-Century Food Writing

Lindsay Anne Middleton
M.A. (Hons.), M.Litt.

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Arts)

School of Critical Studies
College of Arts
University of Glasgow and University of Aberdeen

Abstract

In my thesis, I apply a literary analysis to nineteenth-century recipes and cookbooks to interrogate the period's overarching discourses of historicity and innovation. I argue that food writing was a literary genre in which authors constructed, enacted, and questioned their relationship to the past, present, and future. I analyse the literary techniques that nineteenth-century authors utilised within recipes and cookbooks, arguing that they were inherently literary texts that communicated more than practical instructions. I demonstrate that recipes and cookbooks formed a vital part of the nineteenth-century literary marketplace, becoming sites where important debates concerning globalisation, class, and gender played out.

Central to my analysis are the links between food writing and material technologies. I posit that recipes and cookbooks were literary technologies, written to help readers make sense of material implements and cooking processes. Authors wove narratives of tradition and innovation around material implements in their culinary writing, and I unravel those narratives to illuminate how technological discussions percolated through domestic texts.

To investigate the preoccupation with historicity and innovation in food writing fully, my thesis contains a two-fold methodology and structure. Chapters One and Two are based on the structural breakdown of a data set of recipes which refer to specific material technologies. Chapter One investigates representations of the gridiron: an implement with a longstanding history of tradition and cultural symbolism. In Chapter Two I turn to tinned foods: an innovation that was new within my chosen period. This delineation of a data set of recipes allows me to analyse how technologies were interpreted by multiple authors and to argue that recipes are worthy of sustained analysis as individual literary forms. In Chapters Three and Four, I turn to entire cookbooks to investigate how authors utilised literary techniques across whole texts. In Chapter Three I study the cookbooks of Alexis Soyer, a chef with a marked interest in technological innovations and history. Chapter Four considers the works of Agnes Marshall and Georgiana Hill, two successful cookbook authors who employed very different kinds of rhetorical innovation to depart from traditions. I use this whole-text analysis to question how authors engaged with the wider literary culture of the nineteenth century, subverting the expectations that governed the cookbook genre to engage with discourses of historicity and innovation.

Contents

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

Like many good recipes, this thesis has been formed by several valued ingredients, traditions, experiments, and conversations. First and foremost, my thanks go to my PhD supervisors Dr Dahlia Porter and Dr Ben Marsden for their unending generosity, encouragement, and support. You have been a formidable team who have challenged me to think in new ways, imparting wisdom that extends far beyond the pages of this thesis. I will always value my time spent working with you and be grateful to you both for making this PhD a wonderful experience (and for putting up with my half-baked culinary puns…).

This research would not have been possible without funding from the Scottish Graduate School of Arts and Humanities, who facilitated many invaluable opportunities during my time as a PhD researcher. I would also like to thank the College of Arts and English Literature department at the University of Glasgow, and colleagues at the National Trust for Scotland for their engagement and support in my professional development. Thanks also to my teammates at Transatlantic Literary Women for providing a community of joy and learning.

I could not have completed this PhD without the help and encouragement of my friends and loved ones. Thank you to my comrades-in-arms Joshua Phillips and Mariana Rios-Maldonado. This journey has been much more enjoyable with your companionship. Thank you also to Chiara Bullen, who is one of the best inspirations, cheerleaders, and friends I could have asked for, and to Hanna, Jas, and the others who have been there to lend a sympathetic ear and share a meal with throughout. My heartfelt thanks go to David, even though we are now on different paths, for listening to every talk and making sure my weekends were filled with fresh air and love.

But the biggest thanks must go to my family. To James and Liam, my big little brothers who have kept me laughing and indulged my geekiness by matching it with their own, albeit not about tinned foods. And to my parents, Ali and Paul Middleton. You have always encouraged me to reach my best potential, fulfil my dreams, indulge my creative appetite, and learn from the world around me. Thank you for always listening, talking, and being there unfailingly. My love of food, cooking, learning, and reading was born with you, and so this thesis is an ode to you and all you have given me. Thank you, I love you.

This work was supported by the Arts and Humanities Research Council [Grant Number AH/L503915/1]

Introduction: The Technical Recipe

In his review of *Anticipation: or, an Hundred Years Hence,* Thomas Carlyle describes the 'two Eternities' of the moment: 'made up of currents that issue from the remotest Past, and flow onwards into the remotest Future' (Jun 1829: 439). This comment reflects the obsession with the past that flowed through discourses of nineteenth-century life. From building on it, romanticising it, or departing from it, commentators used history to conceptualise the present and future. This is represented in the period's material culture and writing. Authors across genres turned to the past to grapple with increasing religious diversity and mechanisation, shifting international relations, and changing class structures. As Helen Kingstone writes, upheaval meant 'History with a capital "H" accrued new respect as a singular, unifying, and teleological national narrative' (2017: 1). Simultaneously, this 'grand narrative' clashed with attempts to capture the contentious recent past, and endeavours to historicise rapid political, technological, and social change added to the fixation with temporality (Kingstone 2017: 2). Previously, history constituted a knowledge of ancient civilisations, with doubt over whether the Greeks or Romans could be surpassed. Over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, intellectual movements across Europe including the Enlightenment proposed that the past could be transcended. Whether that was evidenced or not, history was reconceived as something that could service the present: a model to inspire, change or validate.

Integral to longue durée histories and those of the recent past was the idea of innovation, or how the past could be improved upon to form the basis of 'progress'. This discourse reflected a whiggish belief in the progression of gradually better ideas and practices. It stemmed from the historical projects of the political Whigs who 'studie[d] the past with reference to the present', forming an artificial 'line of causation' (Butterfield 1965: 11, 12). Between 1750 and 1900, this idea of progress 'reached its zenith in the Western mind' and went '[f]rom being *one* of the important ideas in the West [to become] the dominant idea' (Nisbet 1980: 171). Robert Nisbet describes 'the universality of the idea in the scholarly, scientific, literary, and other spheres of thought and imagination in this period' (1980: 175). Gerrard Lee McKeever notes that the 'concept of improvement' was 'a collision between – at its most basic – the old and the new, a key component of the culture of modernity' (2020: 2). Material technology was inextricable from discourses of progress. Nineteenth-century innovations including stereotype printing, the railway, steam ships and the telegraph were lauded as markers of the 'inexorable march of material technological progress' (Marsden and Smith 2005: 1, 2). Innovation, both in technological and rhetorical form, was a key component of nineteenth-century appraisals of the past, present, and future.

The concepts of historicity and innovation are thus distinct but interrelated 'grand narratives' for a study of nineteenth-century texts. They form the key themes of this thesis, and I define them in line with the *Oxford English Dictionary.* Historicity is taken to mean the 'quality or character of being situated in history', including the present and future (*OED Online* 'historicity' 2022). Innovation is read as 'the introduction of novelties; the alteration of what is established by the introduction of new elements or forms', to encompass material technologies and literary play (*OED Online*, 'innovation' 2022).[1] These central themes are the subject of a wealth of scholarship from historians and literary critics of the nineteenth-century. Christine Macleod, Maxine Berg, Ben Marsden, Crosbie Smith, Stathis Arapostathis and Graeme Gooday are amongst those who study representations of technological innovation in the period. Ruth Livesey, Billie Melman, Rohan Amanda Maitzen and Kingstone interrogate the presentation of history in nineteenth-century fiction. Cultural historians have explored historicity and innovation through numerous written and material case studies (novels, periodicals, museums, factories, clothing, etc) demonstrating how interlinked and prevalent these discourses were.

Throughout studies which span fields and disciplines, however, there has been no sustained analysis of these key themes through the medium of food writing. Food has huge potential for interrogating how innovation was deployed, established, and questioned in the nineteenth century. Technological innovation altered food production, dissemination, preparation, and consumption throughout the century, whether via the transportation of food by steamship or the production of commercialised meat extracts. The circulation of printed texts increased dramatically in this period due to lower printing costs, steam-powered printing presses and stereotype printing (Raven 2009: 5.85-87). This, and the expansion of the middle classes, created a heightened demand for domestic instruction, resulting in an increase of single recipes and printed cookbooks that interrogated material innovations in turn (Rich 2020: 412). These texts were part of a broader field of literary and popular writing which was concerned with technological innovation and the cultural meanings of food. Political reformers, social commentators and authors of fiction took food as their subject, questioning its place in changing nineteenth-century society.

Food is also a valuable window into the past, providing an edible link to 'History with a capital "H"' (Kingstone 2017: 1). Nineteenth-century authors could refer to culinary traditions, provenance, and historical cooking practices to evoke specific cultural resonances. In turn, those resonances were positioned in relation to the present to indicate

[1] I am not using the term innovation in any of the technical senses associated with forms of economic history or discourse.

difference or continuity. As with other written forms, tracing how food writing was situated in historical traditions can illuminate how nineteenth-century authors viewed their position in time and civilisation through the universal need to eat and prepare food.

The pervasive and unexplored linkages between food writing, historicity and innovation prompt the research questions tackled in this thesis. Food authors were participants in established writing cultures, which have been deeply explored by literary historians in ways not quite yet assimilated fully by historians of food. Authors of cookbooks and recipes were readers of other works, so how did they borrow and play with existing genres? What literary techniques were employed in food writing to promote practical use and aesthetic aims? Writers of recipes could position themselves as novel or traditional, so how did they reflect on their place in history to do so? How did authors seek to influence readers' perceptions of the technological innovations they discussed? And how was food writing constructed in ways that reflected the agency of readers, and attempted to sway the meanings readers created from the texts they consumed? My contribution to the fields of food history and food studies seeks to answer these questions by approaching food writing from a literary perspective.

To do so, I analyse how literary strategies are used within recipes and cookbooks. I argue that nineteenth-century recipes and cookbooks are technological and literary forms in which the grand narratives of historicity and innovation were constructed, enacted, and contested. Demonstrating this will transform current understandings of the nineteenth-century discourses of innovation and historicity and refigure our perception of food in the period. In the remainder of this introduction, I review existing scholarly literature in the fields of food history, the history of technology, and nineteenth-century studies which my research builds upon. I demonstrate the gaps in these fields I aim to address, before outlining the methodology designed to fill them. I then detail the topics of my four main chapters before concluding with examples which demonstrate how my innovative approach to nineteenth-century food writing will operate.

Historical Studies of Recipes and Cookbooks

Food studies spans numerous disciplines. Cultural and literary historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and scientists are paying increased attention to what food and consumption show about the past, present, and future. Briefly outlining principal approaches to food illuminates the critical backdrop this study is situated within, and gaps therein which I hope to fill. Beginning with structuralist theories which provide the cornerstone for numerous

understandings of food, I then outline the characteristics of food histories. Finally, I summarise key studies of nineteenth-century food.

Structuralist approaches to food from Claude Lévi-Strauss, Mary Douglas, Roland Barthes and Pierre Bourdieu defined the field in the mid-twentieth century. Their work is concerned with how food and the language describing it imposes meaning upon culture. This laid the foundation for critical thinking about how preparing and eating food structured life.[2] I will take Lévi-Strauss and Mary Douglas as examples. Lévi-Strauss's understanding of eating habits relies on linguistic and anthropological methodologies. In *Structural Anthropology* (1958) he introduces the idea of 'gustemes', the culinary equivalent of 'phonemes' which in structural linguistics constitute units of meaning in language (Lévi-Strauss 1958: 85). By demarcating units of cuisine, Lévi-Strauss analyses differences in national tastes, deciphering how English and French foods are codified. In *The Raw and the Cooked* (1964) he considers cooking processes as markers of cultural relationships. Douglas's structuralism, conversely, analyses meal structures via their placement within a day or week, examining the expectations that accompany dining practices and arguing that they maintain boundaries and hierarchies (Douglas 1972: 66). Their work, alongside that of Barthes and Bourdieu, gives weight to idea that food is a window into wider living patterns, which they often reveal by examining written texts and language. *Food and Cultural Studies* (2004) positions structuralism as a linchpin of food within cultural studies: 'what the various structuralisms share is a valuable sense that meaning is not a wholly private experience, being instead the product of shared systems of signification' (Ashley et al 2004: 7). While I do not adopt a structuralist approach, I adhere to the perception of food and food writing as cultural signifiers, considering how shared meaning is created in nineteenth-century food writing.

In histories of food, scholars typically adopt one of two conceptual interrogation points. Firstly, scholars study the social or cultural history of food by tracing eating patterns across time and locales. The focus here is on 'foodways', or the customs and habits that surround food-based practices. Secondly, they read the history of food by paying attention to the textual traits that characterised historical food writing. In *Food in History* (1973), for example, Reay Tannahill presents a cultural history concerned with changing ingredients,

[2] For the predominant structuralist approaches to food see: Roland Barthes. *Mythologies* (London: Granada, [1957] 1973); ----- 'Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption', in *Food and Drink History,* ed. by R. Forster and O. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, [1961] 1979) pp. 166-173; Pierre Bourdieu. *La Distinction* (Paris: La Minuit, 1979); Mary Douglas. 'Deciphering a Meal', *Deadalus,* 101.1(1972): 61-81; ----- 'Food as an Art Form', *Studio International,* September (1974): 83-88; and Claude Lévi-Strauss. 'The Culinary Triangle', *Partisan Review,* 33(1965): 586-595; ----- *The Origin of Table Manners* (London: Jonathan Cape, [1968] 1978).

food production and nutritional values but uses texts only in passing, as source material. Conversely, authors of the essays collected in *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions* (2010) view texts as historical products rather than entry points. Gilly Lehman and Francisco Alonso-Almeida demonstrate the value of closely analysing recipes in their chapters in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800* (2013).[3] That is not to say cultural and literary historians seek different conclusions or that firm lines exist between them, but that they use different methodologies to reveal how food is imbued in culture and vice versa.

Stephen Mennell's *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (1985) is an influential text in culinary history which blurs the lines between these methods. Mennell reviews but departs from the more static elements of a structuralist approach and is thus open to historical change. To 'show how changing structures of social interdependence and changing balances of power within society have been reflected in […] food', Mennell uses evidence from cookbooks and the press to trace how culinary trends fluctuated throughout the long period he considers (1985: 17). A developmental approach to food contains inevitable gaps even in studies with contextual sensitivity, however, and many histories of food cover extensive periods.[4] Mennell relies upon texts as his primary sources, and in one section considers how nineteenth-century gastronomic writing constituted a literary genre. Texts are not subjected to literary analysis, however, and in his wide-reaching overviews of food, recipes and cookbooks are often treated as sources of information rather than objects of study.

Even if studies like Mennell's do not consider the literary intricacies of culinary texts, they highlight how important written sources are for interpreting wider issues like class or globalisation through food. Rachel Laudan's *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History* (2013) and John Burnett's *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day* (1966) demonstrate that cultural histories of food use cookbooks, recipes, trading ledgers, or autobiographies to uncover foodways. Ken Albala promotes a tactical reading of these sources. He notes that while recipes and food writing are not necessarily

[3] I explore Alonso-Almeida's quantitative approach further when outlining my methodology on pp. 26-28.
[4] For examples of extensive food histories see: Linda Civitello. *Cuisine and Culture: A History of Food and People* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2004); Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterick. *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 3rd edn, ed. by C. Counihan and P. V. Esterick (New York: Routledge, 2013); Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari. *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present.* trans. by A. Sonnenfield (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Denise Gigante. *Taste: A Literary History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Rachel Laudan. *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Sidney W Mintz. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985); Colin Spencer. *British Food: An Extraordinary Thousand Years of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); David E. Sutton. *Remembrances of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (Oxford: Berg, 2001)

representative of how people ate, attention should be paid to context, author, readership, and production, among other stages in a recipe's existence (Albala 2014: xix). Although he does not put this book-historical strategy into practice, he highlights its importance. Historians of food are 'trying to discern larger historical questions about gender roles, conceptions of class or caste, how food is used to denote ethnicity or status, or how nationhood is expressed through foodways and how that consciously excludes outsiders' (Albala 2014: xix). Paying attention to how culinary texts were produced and circulated, as well as considering the contexts within which they are read, reveals how food interacted with and represented cultural constructs including politics and nationality.

Between food histories that use texts to illuminate social practices, and the broadly structuralist approaches which are concerned with customs and hierarchies but less so with texts, exists a gap which I begin to fill. I interrogate the reading and writing which were enacted through food. My study is not simply interested in how people sat around their tables and in the foods found there, but also in how food writing encoded habits of reading and writing. While I do not make reader reception a focal point of this thesis, these intentions become visible if we consider food writing as literature. By examining the processes inherent in these texts, including structuring and intertextuality, it is possible to reveal how authors positioned readers as active participants in the co-creation of meaning within their work. As literary texts, recipes and cookbooks offer scholars more than insights into past dining practices. In this thesis I unpack the literary strategies that operate within food writing to reconceptualise the value of these texts as windows into concepts of innovation and historicity.

Interrogating these themes with a heightened focus on how texts were written, produced, circulated, and read is particularly pertinent to a study of the nineteenth century. Increasing literacy and lower printing costs resulted in a wide sample of texts including cookbooks (Mennell 1985: 235). Those texts provide the basis for food scholars to delve into the particularities of nineteenth-century life. In *Plenty and Want* Burnett uses working-class autobiographies to chart how living conditions, employment opportunities, and political movements influenced the food people ate. Andrea Broomfield's *Food and Cooking in Victorian Britain: A History* (2007) looks at changing dining habits over the course of the nineteenth century. Fashions like dining *à la Française* (where the various dishes of a meal were served at once) were replaced by dining *à la Russe* (where courses were served individually) because kitchen innovations made it easier to keep courses warm (2007: 112). Changes in the techniques recorded in recipes and cookbooks are the basis of Broomfield's observations, and she refers to authors including Alexis Soyer (1810-1858), Charles Elmé

Francatelli (1805-1878), John Charles Buckmaster (1820-1908), Isabella Beeton (1836-1865) and Eliza Acton (1799-1859). Nineteenth-century recipes and cookbooks thus reveal patterns of consumption that give insight into technological use, buying habits, and labour structures.

The nineteenth-century publishing industry meant food writing was used in ways that differed from previous centuries. Earlier printed cookbooks from authors including Hannah Glasse (1708-1770), Elizabeth Raffald (1733-1781) and Elizabeth Cleland (?-1772) circulated widely, but were typically aimed at, read by, and used by the wealthy. The recipes within only showcase what the upper classes ate. A widening pool of readers and writers provides an increase of source material. It means nineteenth-century food writing can be used to explore society with greater nuance, whether through the extravagant menus of the elite or through working-class diaries. These texts, written, read, and circulated by people across the societal spectrum, are vital resources for an investigation of the nineteenth-century concepts of historicity and innovation outlined earlier in this introduction.

The nineteenth century also saw an increase in people who made their names writing about food, including Soyer, Beeton and Acton. Critical exploration of those writers shows how nineteenth-century attitudes towards food were sometimes derived from the practices of certain figures. This is best exemplified by the culture of gastronomy. Mennell, Ruth Cowen and Priscilla Pankhurst Ferguson chart how the concept of the celebrity chef arose around a group of men in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Men including Alexandre-Balthazar-Laurent Grimod de la Reynière (1758-1838), Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755-1826), and Carême established gastronomy through restaurant culture and their own writings. Chefs including Soyer and Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935) then gained fame by participating in gastronomic culture, creating a circle of big names who defined nineteenth-century taste.[5]

Publications were crucial to gastronomy. Ferguson argues that Carême's writings 'took his practice out of the kitchen' and created a system whereby 'his publications endowed culinary practice with the base of expert knowledge upon which all professions depended' (Ferguson 2004: 51). Mennell discusses gastronomy as a genre of four

[5] For detailed overviews of the rise of gastronomy see: Stephen Mennell. 'Of Gastronomes and Guides', in *All Manners of Food* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1985), pp. 266-290; Priscilla Pankhurst Ferguson, 'A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19th-Century France', *American Journal of Sociology*, 104.3 (1998), pp. 597-641; -----, *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). Mennell outlines famous French gastronomes, gastronomic writing, the social role of the gastronome and the dispersal of gastronomic values. Ferguson's article discusses the rise of the 'gastronomic field' in France, considering how cultural conditions, sites of cultural production, and models of authority were constructed in gastronomic writings. Her book expands these ideas, exploring French culinary identity from the seventeenth to twentieth century via an examination of culinary texts.

components: ideas surrounding 'correct' dining practices; an interest in nutrition; historicity, or what Mennell calls 'a brew of history, myth, and history serving as myth'; and nostalgia (Mennell 1985: 270-271). Even in this brief analysis of the gastronomic genre, however, Mennell does not outline or analyse how food, menus, or recipes were described by gastronomic authors, and individual recipes are not considered. Moreover, he does not trace how the engagement with different histories brings a nuanced depth of meaning to the texts he considers. While scholarship on gastronomy demonstrates how important written texts were in establishing attitudes towards food, more needs to be done to understand the literary and rhetorical strategies at play within those texts.

Studies of gastronomic figures reveal that gender is vital to an analysis of nineteenth-century food writing. The language that conveys gastronomy is masculine. Mennell notes that the Greek-derived term 'gastronomy' was taken up in French and English to signify 'the art and science of delicate eating' (1985: 266). 'Gastronome', 'gastronomer', and 'gastronomist' followed to identify male judges of fine eating, and these terms overlapped with 'epicure', 'gourmand', and 'gourmet' (Mennell 1985: 266-267). 'Gastronome' was the key term, however, signifying the distinguished palate of the male practitioner (Mennell 1985: 267). This masculine professionalism relied on the exclusion of women. Deborah A. Harris and Patti Giuffre describe Carême and Escoffier closing doors to women, so male chef roles were not feminized via links with domesticity (Harris and Giuffre 2015: 30). Mennell notes the same gatekeeping, as competition between men and women for professional cookery roles resulted in French men differentiating between 'their own *grande cuisine* and the ordinary domestic cookery associated with women cooks and housewives' (1985: 203, 204). Work on gender and gastronomy gives an important contextual basis for this thesis. It showcases the culinary and gender conventions many nineteenth-century authors aligned or played with. I explore these issues in Chapter Three and Chapter Four in my examination of Soyer and Georgiana Hill (1825-1903).

Women also achieved success through culinary writing, however. Many British women gained recognition for their publications, particularly during and after the 'significant' uptick in cookbook publishing in the 1850s and 60s (Rich 2020: 412). Beeton, Acton, Agnes Bertha Marshall (1855-1905) and Eliza Warren Francis (1810-1900) were amongst numerous writers who became household names because of their cookbooks, which were typically (though by no means exclusively) targeted at and read by middle-class women. Their publications were just as popular as male-authored texts, with Beeton's *Household Management* selling 60,000 copies in its first year (Humble 2000: vii). These cookbooks were generally better suited to the middle-class housewife who used them within

the home. As with male gastronomes, however, scholarship on female cookery authors circles around prominent figures.

Beeton, Acton and Soyer are the nineteenth-century cookbook authors who receive the most scholarly attention.[6] Work addressing them is often biographical, and career-focused. Studying well-known individuals inevitably narrows the breadth of conclusions, however, monopolising the field. In her chapter on the nineteenth century in *Culinary Pleasures: Cookbooks and the Transformation of British Food* (2005), for instance, Nicola Humble compares Beeton, Acton and Soyer. Humble links Beeton's ordering in *Household Management* to a shift away from Romantic ideas of pleasure to a Victorian focus on utility, whereas Acton and Soyer emphasise sensory pleasure (Humble 2005: 13). Humble's analysis of their recipes does not examine their literary workings, however. While she notes the 'pared down' tone of Beeton's recipe in comparison with Acton's, 'alive with adjectives and opinions', she does not excavate the recipes to reach conclusions about how these texts operate on functional or aesthetic levels (2005: 13). She also emphasises parallels between nineteenth-century writers and modern celebrity chefs, which loses sight of nineteenth-century conceptions of the past by keeping conclusions centred in the present. More successful writers are set against Beeton to highlight how cookbooks connected with the ideologies of class, Empire, and fantasies of wealth (Humble 2005: 25). However, this present-centred, narrow focus gives the false impression that nineteenth-century food culture revolved around Beeton, which is particularly jarring as Beeton did not write her own recipes (Hughes 2006: 257-261).

In this thesis I consider a wider range of written sources. When I do focus on individual authors, I am concerned with the literary workings of their texts that are largely bypassed elsewhere. While I decentre Beeton, other critics use her to illuminate specific aspects of nineteenth-century life including imperialism, industrialisation, and domestic labour. Rich examines how *Household Management* and other domestic guides frame time within the home. While she gestures to historicity, she is more concerned with daily and annual timetables (2015: 99-101). Elsewhere, Rich considers how unlike Beeton (whose husband was a publisher), Georgiana Hill struggled to earn a living from her cookbooks (2020: 423). I analyse Hill's cookbooks in detail Chapter Four. Modhumita Roy considers how imperialism percolated through nineteenth-century recipes, analysing mulligatawny

[6] For biographies of Beeton, Acton and Soyer see: Kathryn Hughes. *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs Beeton* (London: Harper Perennial. 2006); Sheila Hardy. *The Real Mrs Beeton: The Story of Eliza Acton* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011); Ruth Brandon. *The People's Chef: Alexis Soyer, A Life in Seven Courses* (West Sussex: Wiley, 2005); Ruth Cowen. *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef* (London: Phoenix, 2007).

soup recipes from Beeton, Acton, and expatriates based in India: Flora Annie Steel (1847-1929) and Wyvern (i.e. Kenny-Herbert) (Roy 2010: 70).[7] Broomfield focuses on Beeton's contributions to the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine (EDM)*. She discusses the temporal lag recipes have as texts frequently recycled from older sources, noting that the *EDM* initially published recipes that 'reflected a pre-industrial nation' (Broomfield 2008: 102). These examples demonstrate how Beeton's food writing and that of her contemporaries expressed timely political and social issues. Other than Beeton, the commonality between these studies is that they focus on the details of recipes and cookbooks more closely than wider-reaching histories of food. Much can be discerned from the study of nineteenth-century recipes and cookbooks, and the themes that emerge across these studies – gender, empire, class, technology – run through my own analysis. My project builds on these recent studies to reveal how authors use food writing to communicate those themes in deliberate, constructed and inherently literary ways, actively creating meanings which resonate beyond the text.

Re-reading recipes: Literary Reflections on Technology and History

Having given an overview of the field and posited that the concepts of innovation and historicity in nineteenth-century food writing have not been explored fully, it is useful to outline scholarship's partial engagement with these discourses. Here, I outline three interconnected gaps centred on the perception of food writing as a form and its engagement with technology and history which I seek to fill using my literary analysis.

Margaret Beetham argues that Beeton's *Household Management* 'needs to be read as a literary text whose structure and rhetorical strategies merit attention, and as an example of the way popular print developed through the invention and circulation of new forms of reading' (Beetham 2008: 395). Beetham highlights Beeton's logical formatting, used to differentiate between recipes and other information. Beeton 'enacted in the very type and layout of the book, that order which she advocated as the first principle of the kitchen' (Beetham 2008: 398). Even in this convincing account of Beeton's literary strategies, recipes are discussed only in passing. Further, no one has taken Beetham's suggestive analytical insights and extended them to other examples of nineteenth-century food writing. Broader studies which lack a depth of textual analysis like Mennell's and Humble's pay little attention to the literary workings of recipes and cookbooks: the way they are structured,

[7] On this topic, see also: Zlotnick, Susan. 1996. 'Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England', *Frontiers,* 16.2/3 (1996), pp. 51-68.

appearance on the page, word-choice, use of techniques like allusion, satire, and intertextuality, for example. This delineates a gap I will address.

Recipes can be consulted independently, but they are rarely surveyed as individual texts. I give them the literary attention they deserve individually and within cookbooks, because reading a cookbook is not always a linear process. The form of most nineteenth-century cookbooks implies that authors did not expect them to be read consecutively. Cookbooks begin with contents pages, and chapters are often grouped by food types (fish, poultry, eggs, etc) or placement within a meal (entrée, dessert). Individual recipes are numbered or alphabetised for easy reference; the order is listed at the cookbook's beginning. Cookbooks frequently ended with indexes. Readers thus had frameworks to guide them to specific recipes without reading the whole cookbook. Or they may have turned to a recipe directly, without consulting the surrounding material. They may have cut recipes from books or copied them elsewhere, and annotations and clippings within archival and personal collections showcase individualised patterns of use.

Recipes in periodicals function independently in different ways. The connections between recipes and the surrounding text may seem arbitrary, as the writing of different authors on different subjects is gathered. Periodical scholarship accepts that these 'arbitrary' relationships have significance and meaning, however, and I follow this approach. Elizabeth Anderman notes that 'the components of a periodical work together to create meaning' and cites scholars including Laurie Garrison and Deborah Wynne who argue that editors knew that connections between the visual and textual elements of a periodical created meaning (2019: 28). The meanings recipes carry may have therefore been influenced by the producers of the surrounding publication. Even so, periodical recipes could be read on their own without readers digesting the surrounding text.

Because recipes can be consulted independently, they merit attention as individual textual forms, just as a poem could be studied in isolation even if it were situated in an anthology. This constitutes the first gap I fill. Unlike cookbooks, nineteenth-century recipes have not been subjected to sustained systematic analysis, which is an oversight given their rich and varied nature. Authors of cookbooks frequently engage in discourses like gender, class, and imperialism, but how did these discussions feature in individual recipes? I have shown that there is a lack of work which applies a rigorous close reading to individual recipes *and* the writing that surrounds them within cookbooks, and the relationships between them. More can be gained from the multi-layered analysis I present, which pays attention to how authors construct their texts on a micro (recipe) and macro (cookbook) level.

The second gap concerns innovation. While scholarship has examined nineteenth-century consumption, food writing, and material technologies, the links between them have not been investigated fully. From a scientific perspective, Caroline Lieffers demonstrates how quantification was adopted by nineteenth-century cookbook authors (2012: 936). She traces how empirical thought was integrated into cookbooks, as recipes reflect a shifting emphasis on quantification. Though her article has a scientific rather than technological focus, it showcases a convincing demonstration of how culinary writing is a site for empirical thought. This provides a starting point for my focus on innovation: I expand Lieffers's approach by exploring the representation of technologies in nineteenth-century food writing. In terms of technology, Broomfield analyses how cookbooks and recipes reflect technological developments. She does not, however, focus on how recipes were written to help readers understand culinary technologies. Rebecca J. H. Woods analyses how British working-class consumers refused to purchase tinned meat but uses medical journals including the *Lancet* as source material, rather than consulting recipes (2020: 126). Sara Pennell's *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (2016) considers how heat sources, implements and cooking processes changed over time due to innovations in material and fuel use. While Pennell uses archival texts including cookbooks as the basis of her observations her focus is on innovations, not their literary representations. It was, however, through cookbooks and recipes that consumers were taught to make sense of innovations like tinned foods, new oven designs and freezing cabinets.

Considering the technological change which marked the period, scholarship on the nineteenth-century will benefit from my investigation of how authors adapted recipes to shape or contest that change. I show how food writing facilitates discourses of innovation, considering both material technologies and literary forms. I propose that the technological innovation dealt with by cookbook and recipe authors is co-produced with literary innovation in their writing. Dealing with technologies new and old necessitates literary innovation, which expands the form and purpose of food writing so it performs technological mediation and transformation.

Finally, the third gap lies where scholarship has overlooked how nineteenth-century authors utilise literary techniques to engage with historicity. Beetham and Rich note how authors including Beeton integrate encyclopaedic entries on history and science around their recipes; Rich writes that:

> The Victorians' preoccupation with history has been identified as part of an interest in the presence of the past and with the emergence of 'time consciousness' and 'historical memory', ways of thinking which made the passage of time central to the contemporary mindset. Advice writers interested in dining and manners often began

> with an overview of the history of mealtimes, which culminated in the triumph of British civilization. (2015: 99-100)

Beyond observations that these references 'signall[ed] the importance of change but with a clear eye on tradition and continuity', however, there are no works that follow the usages of historical allusions to understand their resonances to nineteenth-century readers (Rich 2015: 100).

Despite existing studies hinting at the benefits of a literary analysis of nineteenth-century recipes and cookbooks, they have not been subject to close, systematic literary investigation. The relationship between food writing and technologies remains underexplored. Scholars have noted historical allusion in food writing, but treatment is partial. My sustained literary analysis will fill these gaps. To show how those concerns are manifest in culinary writing, I have developed a method that goes beyond the existing preoccupation with canonical figures and sheds new light on how authors engage with issues like gender, national identity, and tradition. To amplify the importance of addressing these gaps, I explain my methodology in the following section.

Recipes and Cookbooks: Towards a Methodological Solution

Both literature and technology have tangible relationships with historicity. Authors of all genres sought to improve, depart from, or participate in the traditions of the past, ruminate on the present or speculate about the future. Similarly, technologies were derived from previous practices and often framed by the people who produced them as having the power to innovatively transform the present or future. Authors of food writing engage with these three elements. I argue that their work is a powerful lens through which to investigate ideas of historical 'change', the historical 'past', and 'innovation'. The intervention of my research is twofold: I situate food writing in a literary context and I go on to conduct a deeper analysis of the representation of innovation and historicity in that writing. To achieve a rich analysis within the scope of this thesis I focus on recipes and cookbooks that engage with technologies in direct ways, and, still more specifically, that represent attitudes to historical change in particular ways. This section outlines the theoretical works I derive my methodology from, beginning with my focus on historicity and innovation, before moving through theories of textual form and reading, and the structural breakdown of recipe texts.

Historicity

Even a brief glimpse at recipes and cookbooks demonstrates why a focus on historicity is of worth, and how it conjoins literary culture and technological innovation. Skimming through a nineteenth-century cookbook shows that authors use allusions to historical figures, cite the provenance of dishes, or outline the history of an implement or process in their writings. Authors do this by either illuminating how food and cookery are rooted in tradition, or highlighting the places where food is innovative, novel, or improved. Often writers engage with both discussions at once, creating a sense of historical context or understanding that resonates throughout their texts.

In *Household Management,* Beeton contrasts the fire cookery of the Ancient Greeks with the 'simplicity of the primitive ages', and declares that 'the use of fire, as an instrument of cookery, must have coincided with this [Greek] invention of bread' (1861: 26). Beeton frames 'instruments of cookery' as things that distance Greeks and nineteenth-century readers from 'primitive' peoples, aligning the nineteenth century with the Golden Age of ancient Greece. In doing so she suggests the Greeks and Romans used food to indicate cultural separation, framing their civilised practices as superior to an animal-like, barbarian lack of restraint. The banqueting scenes in Homer's *Iliad* 'cultivate[d] moderation, good sense and good manners' (Dayton 2013: 32), and so Beeton's allusion is a historical practice in itself. Likewise, Soyer discusses the three-legged iron pot in *A Shilling Cookery for the People* (1854) by questioning whether 'we can make [the pot] do anything more, […] in accordance with the enlightenment of the nineteenth century' (1854: 29). This demonstrates his preoccupation with progress, explored through a utensil: Soyer asks whether a longstanding implement has a place in the changing technological field of the nineteenth century. In a following recipe, Soyer personifies the pot as 'our old hero', to whom Soyer writes 'in a few lines about twenty new subjects in the shape of receipts to his kingdom' (1854: 30). This characterisation figures the pot as a participant in history, making Soyer's recipes playful, entertaining texts. In yet another example, in *The Housekeeper's Guide to Preserved Meats, Fruits, Vegetables, &c* (1880), Arthur Gay Payne invokes history and progress, declaring that global food trade is 'the history of civilisation itself' and asking 'how our ancestors did so well without' tinned foods (1880: iv).

Nineteenth-century food writing is peppered with temporal comparisons of this ilk. These quick observations denote how rich even short statements within or around recipes are in terms of historical resonance. Cooking and kitchen implements symbolise placement in the history of civilisation and become a starting point for wider discussions of how food

defines Britain's past, present and future. Recipe writers often weave further narratives into their recipes, investigating global trade, empiricism, masculinity, and literary culture through their engagement with historicity. Analysing these connections will reconfigure the literary function of food writing. I illuminate how nineteenth-century authors use food to construct pervasive cultural attitudes by transforming food, time and technology into mediums which could express stability or change. Interrogating the techniques authors use to participate in such debates requires a new analytical approach. While scholarship does not offer a comprehensive methodology for understanding these texts as literary works that investigate innovation and historicity, I have adapted techniques from different fields to suit my requirements.

Textual and Technological Innovation

To investigate how technological and textual innovation are enacted in food writing, I derive my approach from the history of science and technology, combining this with close reading and structural analysis. I argue that recipes are a 'literary technology', deriving the term from Steven Shapin's 'Pump and Circumstance: Robert Boyle's Literary Technology' (1984). Shapin investigates how experimental philosopher Robert Boyle 'constructed experimental matters of fact' in writing about his mid-seventeenth-century air-pump (Shapin 1984: 483). To make his results credible, Boyle mobilised assent through 'virtual witnesses', because the air-pump was not easily accessible for public experimentation (Shapin 1984: 486). To get around this issue of 'seeing-is-believing', Shapin notes that Boyle established 'matters of fact' with three technologies:

> a *material technology* embedded in the construction and operation of the air-pump; a *literary technology* by means of which the phenomena produced by the pump were made known to those who were not direct witnesses; and a *social technology* which laid down the conventions natural philosophers should employ in dealing with each other and considering knowledge-claims. (Shapin 1984: 484)

This conceptualisation of three technologies can be applied to recipes and is particularly relevant to the nineteenth-century, given that cookbooks often had a focus on empiricism. Lieffers refers to Shapin briefly in her evaluation of cookbooks. Discussing similarities between scientific and culinary equipment, she writes:

> Material technologies complemented the literary and social technologies of the cook-book; all three were part of a "language of experiment" that reinforced the authority of the writer and the possibility that cookery could be consistent, scientific, and rule-bound. (Lieffers 2012: 945)

Though Lieffers does not push this further, she highlights that food writers were concerned with material technologies like tinned foods; their writing was a literary technology as it gave participants (readers and cooks) the means to participate in and witness culinary experiments; and these texts expanded the social technology of cookery as they were used by multiple readers and sometimes established standards between them. Recipes and cookbooks are thus technological. Following them facilitates the transformation of ingredients into meals, and authors used them to educate readers about technological or experimental processes.

Like Shapin, I assert that 'the three technologies are not distinct: the working of each depends upon and incorporates the others' (Shapin 1984: 507). There are differences between his study and mine that mean his methodology is not directly transferrable, however. Shapin's investigation of Boyle centres on a specific group of natural philosophers who shared a consensus about the evaluation of knowledge and truth, producing conventions to standardise it. Nineteenth-century food writing is a wider and more contested field. Cookbooks and recipes took different shapes and authors had different aims and approaches. Engagement with historicity in these texts is also variable rather than conventional. Shapin's emphasis on Boyle's 'plain' style of writing does not apply to the verbose flourishes employed by some food writers (1984: 495). Moreover, Boyle's authority was bound to his name, and often the writers of cookbooks or recipes were obscured. As such, Shapin's hypotheses must be adapted when considering food writing.

Despite these differences, Shapin's theory demonstrates how recipes can be used to interrogate the material technologies they interact with, and how attitudes to innovation are enacted within them. Boyle's writings are literary technologies because they are not 'merely a report of what was done elsewhere' but are 'a most important form of experience and the means for extending and validating experience' (Shapin 1984: 484). Instrumental to the function of those writings is that '[o]ne could deploy the same linguistic resources in order to encourage the physical replication of experiments or to trigger in the reader's mind a naturalistic image of the experimental scene' (Shapin 1984: 491). Shapin asserts that experimental reports indicate 'sensory experience that lies behind the text' (1984: 491). These points are true of recipes. Recipe authors extend cooking experiences into the world, giving readers the tools required to recreate them. Authors often establish a sense of veracity by assuring readers that their methods are best or describing potential mistakes. While some recipes contain scantier instructions, authors often call upon their reader's senses. In Soyer's toast recipe, readers are instructed to use their sight and 'move it gradually to and fro until the whole surface has assumed a yellowish-brown colour' (1849: 2). By paying attention to

the language used within recipes and cookbooks, I show how food writing is a literary technology that relies on recognisable aesthetic characteristics that serve functional purposes.

Paratexts

To strengthen my examination of food writing as a literary technology, structural analysis is useful for unpacking the literary characteristics of recipes and cookbooks. Though I consider recipes as individual texts, they were rarely published alone. Recipes often exist within larger textual frameworks and are surrounded by other text-types: more recipes, inventories, introductions, menu plans, articles, advertisements, etc. Often, it is in interactions between these texts that ideas of innovation and historicity are established as authors use them to gesture to wider discussions. They thus require thorough exploration. To interrogate them I refer to recipe surroundings as 'paratexts'.

My use of 'paratexts' is derived from Gérard Genette's *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997). Genette defines paratexts as 'highly diversified object[s] that must be brought into focus inductively, genre by genre and often species by species', and while he considers plays, novels, other works of fiction and criticism, his theory can be applied to recipes and their surroundings (1997: 13). Paratexts mediate between text and reader, lending context which clarifies or modifies the meaning of the work they address: 'they surround [the text] and extend it, precisely in order to present it' (Genette 1997: 7). Authors regularly gesture to paratexts within recipes. In Acton's *Modern Cookery for Private Families* (1860) for example, the recipe 'To Broil Beef Steaks' contains the sentence: 'the fire, as we have already said in the general directions for broiling (page 175), must be strong and clear' (Acton 1860: 187). This intratextual reference directs the reader to another section of the cookbook so they may understand the cooking process fully. Likewise in the 1851 edition of *Modern Housewife*, Soyer added an intratextual linkage to his recipe for 'Rump Steak, Broiled' which was not in the 1849 edition. The recipes between the editions are identical, but the 1851 recipe ends with an additional parenthetical note: 'a little oil might also be added. (*See* BROILING.)' (Soyer 1851: 180). This directs the reader to the earlier section on broiling. Soyer added and elaborated cross-referencing between cookbook editions. These instances show that recipes sometimes rely upon and refer to other parts of their textual surroundings. Genette's theory provides a useful framework for understanding these linkages.

Genette describes multiple kinds of paratexts: those originally within (peritext) and outside (epitext) the book, those that come before the book, those added when the book was written versus later additions, and those contributed by external parties versus authorial changes, for example. Individual chapters are not conventionally viewed as paratexts in a novel while introductions or prefaces are. In a cookbook, however, chapter sections or introductory chapters operate paratextually by lending information to the recipes that follow. The above intratextual references extend Acton and Soyer's broiling recipes by linking to additional information, but paratexts could also be outwith the text. Paratexts come in a multitude of positions around nineteenth-century recipes. Some cookbooks lack paratexts, and paratexts in periodicals have varying degrees of relevance. Moreover, a recipe reader may not consult paratexts, and as Genette notes: 'just as the presence of paratextual evidence is not uniformly obligatory, so, too, the public and the reader are not unvaryingly and uniformly obligated: no one is required to read a preface' (1997: 4). Therefore, when I describe a recipe's paratexts, I use Genette's term because they do one or more of the following: 1) extend, surround and present the recipe, 2) add context to or clarify the significance of the recipe, 3) are not necessarily crucial to the reader's understanding of the recipe, and the reader is not obliged to read them, and 4) have a function that is dedicated to the service of the recipe. Delineating recipes within their textual surroundings is an essential aspect of my analysis, which allows me to illuminate how recipes were written as deliberately literary texts which gestured beyond themselves to participate in discourses of historicity and innovation.

Radial Reading

While Genette's theory informs my analysis of how food writing functions, the multidirectional ways recipes and their surroundings can be read means methods from book history are useful, particularly theories of reading. Authors often employ literary techniques like allusion, intertextual links, or fictionalised narrative voices to expand the reach of recipes. These extensions are important for an understanding of how recipes were read and used. Considering the act of reading, Jerome McGann's *The Textual Condition* (1991) introduces three types of reading that 'operate in every act of reading': linear reading, spatial reading and radial reading (McGann 1991: 108). Linear reading is tracing words on a page from left to right, i.e. the typical Western reading style. Reading recipes, however, may not always be linear: a reader may skip forward to preparation time before they read a whole recipe, ascertaining whether they have time to cook it, or scan the ingredients before reading

the whole recipe. Spatial reading involves 'the physical space occupied by the text' and between text types, space is 'very different and calls out correspondingly different modes of reading' (McGann 1991: 113). By this, McGann means not just how words are arranged on a page, but the spaces between words and the space and/or other writing surrounding them. This applies to recipes as they are often spaced and positioned in deliberate ways which influences how they are read. Some are integrated into paragraphs to form part of a larger narrative, whereas in others gaps or lists are employed to guide the reader's eye.

Of the three reading types, radial reading is the most pertinent to my analysis of recipes and cookbooks. This is the process 'in which the activity of reading regularly transcends its own ocular bases', and to explain this, McGann describes that '[t]he elementary sign of radial reading is probably illustrated by a person who rises from reading a book in order to look up the meaning of a word in a dictionary or to check some historical or geographical reference' (1991: 116). Texts that can be read radially 'typically driv[e] one to other books and acts of reading, ancillary or related materials which have to be drawn into the reading process in order to expand and enrich the textual and the reading field' (McGann 1991: 120). Nineteenth-century recipes frequently contain allusions or references that authors use to drive readers to other texts or materials. This could be as simple as Soyer suggesting 'a little Harvey's or Soyer's sauce is an improvement' in his recipe for broiled mushrooms: by steering the reader towards the purchase of a condiment, Soyer 'enriched' the textual and reading field, and the resulting meal, with sauce (1849: 322). Other authors radially refer to other texts, as in a recipe for tinned beef with mushrooms in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (*EDM*) from 1875, which opens with the sentence 'Stew some mushrooms according to Recipe 1171 in Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management, but do not put in either the lemon-juice or grated nutmeg' (Grey 1875: 267). This direction meant the reader could not make the dish without consulting *Household Management,* so the recipe is expanded by another text. By applying McGann's theory to these instances I illuminate how nineteenth-century recipes were written to operate within the fields of culinary writing, literary culture, technology, and beyond – operations which are also traceable through paratexts. I use these literary tools to reveal how authors promote embodied practice in their writing. Authors encouraged readers to view food through a historical lens by referring to past cultural traditions or practices, and foregrounded innovation by mentioning specific new material products or technical processes.

Structural Analysis and Genre

Genette and McGann's theories reveal connections between recipes and their textual surroundings, and how authors use them to participate in discourses of historicity and innovation. Other approaches can be adapted to analyse the internal structure and function of recipes. Though he does not focus on nineteenth-century recipes, Alonso-Almeida demonstrates a close formal reading of manuscript recipes. Using the Corpus of Early English Recipes, he compares the titles, ingredients, preparation, application, efficacy statements, storage and expiry date, and virtues of recipes across the corpus. He identifies common characteristics to determine a rudimentary historical norm. This approach uses quantitative analysis of recipe components to reach larger conclusions about literary and historical trends, demonstrating the value of analysing individual recipes to understand a larger whole.

Alonso-Almeida's case-study raises the important question of genre. None of the aforementioned studies discuss recipes as a definitive genre. My study, which emphasises the literary nature of recipes and cookbooks, requires a generic definition. Alonso-Almeida argues these texts do constitute a genre, declaring:

> [T]he concepts of genre, text-type and register are fundamental to understanding what sorts of changes recipes have undergone historically. Genre is understood as a cultural construct and thus genres vary according to the speaking community that circulates them. This concept is crucial to identifying and managing changes in the structure of texts. (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 70)

Alonso-Almeida views food writing, and recipes specifically, as a genre that changes over cultures and communities. Fluctuations within the genre are trackable by paying attention to the sections (or linguistic 'stages') and text-types contained within recipes (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 70). Alonso-Almeida also defines text-types as grammatical and language features like narration and instruction, which are iterated across genres (2013: 70). Stages are the features outlined above which constitute recipes, and 'may appear following a strict order, and they may be compulsory or optional. However, since genre must be easily identifiable by readers and speakers of the same community, a set of stages may appear' (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 70). While Alonso-Almeida's analysis is linguistic, his definition of recipes as a genre made of recognisable but unfixed stages and text-types can be applied to my literary reading of nineteenth-century recipes. My approach recognises the recipe as an individual unit that constitutes part of a wider recipe and cookbook genre. Changes over time lead to conclusions about that genre. Adopting this theoretical stance creates the groundwork from which I analyse how recipe characteristics inform how they were read and used, and

how this textual formation affects the genre's effectiveness in disseminating ideas of innovation and historicity.

Alonso-Almeida undermines the links between recipes and their surroundings, however. He introduces Michael Hoey's theory of 'discourse colonies', which posits that 'larger textual entities (such as recipe compilations) may be studied as single units, rather than as a collection of smaller texts (the recipe itself)' (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 82). Discourse colonies have nine characteristics:

> [M]eaning not deriving from sequence; adjacent units that do not form continuous prose; a framing context; no single author and/or anonymous compilation; single components that can be used without referring to others; components that can be reprinted or reused in subsequent works; components that may be added, removed or altered; components serving the same function; and components possessing alphabetic, numeric or temporal sequencing. (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 82-3)

Alonso-Almeida concedes that not all discourse colonies have all nine characteristics, and that they vary in strength. He argues, however, that cookbooks are 'discourse colonies' because 'recipe texts within recipe books share function, if not always format' and that linkages between recipes are arbitrary (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 83). The examples I provided above contest this, however. The links created between recipes, paratexts, and external sources demonstrate that recipes gain meaning when read alongside other texts, images and material objects within and outside their textual surroundings. By creating these links, authors derive agency by directing how readers use their recipes: either guiding them between cookbook sections or sending them to other texts or products. Intertextual and intratextual links mean recipes like Soyer's and Acton's are not self-contained or intended to 'be used singly, without reference to other recipes' (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 83). Nor can the recipes and paratexts 'be removed, copied out and altered without requiring any change to any other text within the "colony"' (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 83). A variety of ordering principles govern nineteenth-century cookbooks: recipes are grouped by food type, meal structure, menu, alphabetically, seasonally, and in other ways. Recipes are sometimes numbered, or grouped conceptually. Removing and reordering recipes while ignoring these structures would wreak havoc: their meaning often *is* 'deriv[ed] from sequence' (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 82). In Marshall's *The Book of Ices* (1885) the 'Coffee Cream Ice' recipe contains instructions to 'add this to 1 quart of custard (p. 6.) Freeze and finish as above' (13). These would not make sense if the recipe were removed from its position within the cookbook. Nineteenth-century cookbooks are not discourse colonies, again showing the need for an original methodology.

I adapt and apply these theoretical interventions within my close literary reading of food writing. Throughout, I refer to the 'paratexts', 'characteristics' and 'radiality' of recipes and cookbooks to understand and illuminate how they could be read, and how authors used food writing to construct and interpret attitudes towards innovation and historicity. Having introduced the theoretical standpoints that shape my intervention, the next section outlines the methodology I have designed to answer the research questions of this thesis, which I now revisit.

A Dual Approach to Recipes and Cookbooks

Exiting scholarship provides techniques that I shape into a methodology for analysing food writing using a combined literary and historical approach. I have shown, however, that the questions posed at the beginning of this introduction have not yet been answered satisfactorily.[8] Scholars have not uncovered how authors of cookbooks and recipes borrow and play with existing genres. The literary techniques employed in food writing, to promote either practical use or aesthetics, are largely overlooked. There have been no studies which consider fully how recipe authors reflect on their place in history to participate in discourses of tradition or innovation. And the question of how authors sought to influence readers' perceptions of technological innovations remains unanswered.

To answer these questions, I choose specific source material from the broad field of nineteenth-century food writing. Given my interlinked but dual focus on innovation and historicity in nineteenth-century recipes and cookbooks, both the methodology and structure I employ are two-fold, designed to answer these questions on two levels. In the first two chapters, I interpret how individual recipes interact with specific material technologies, tracing innovation and historicity through them. In Chapters Three and Four I apply close literary analysis to whole cookbooks, to examine how authors use literary techniques to integrate innovation and historicity throughout their work. Between the two halves is a short '*trou normand'* course, which outlines context important to my cookbook-focused chapters by turning to *The Cook's Oracle* (1817) by William Kitchiner (1775-1827). This dual approach is constructed to understand how recipes and cookbooks were written to fulfil distinct purposes when it came to interpreting technology and time. In this final section, I outline the methods and material of my four main chapters.

[8] See p. 10.

Chapters One and Two: Technologies and Technical Recipes

My chapters form a series of four case studies. The first two are conceptually anchored around two material technologies used in the kitchen: gridirons and tin cans. These were chosen because they feature prominently in nineteenth-century cookbooks, but had different lifespans. Gridirons had a long history before the nineteenth century but their use faded as the century progressed. Tinned foods were first made in Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and were increasingly advertised, sold, and used throughout it. To investigate how these material technologies were interpreted across a set of recipes, I have adopted a technical, structural approach. For each chapter I researched and selected recipes relevant to gridirons and tinned foods (around thirty, on average) and analysed them in terms of their structural characteristics to create a data set from which I built my conclusions. This reading allowed me to flag thirty-nine characteristics which frequently occur in recipes. Ten of these are descriptions of an already-identified characteristic after I had ascertained whether it was there (**Relevant paratexts [yes/no]**), and two (**source [library or website],** and **access**) serve organisational purposes. I selected the rest of the characteristics because their inclusion or exclusion alters the functionality and/or aesthetic quality of a recipe.

For each recipe I identified where possible an **author/editor**, recognising that recipes were often published anonymously, under pseudonyms, and reproduced from previous texts. I assigned **gender** from the author's name, researching to ascertain whether they wrote under pseudonyms, though authorial self-identification may also have influenced gender presentation. **Source** records the title of the text the recipe was found in, **format** describes the text-type, and **access** accounts for where I consulted it (online, or in a physical copy). **Bibliographic information** records the text's details for referencing purposes, while **date** records when the recipe was published, rather than tracing provenance. I determine both **intended audience class** and **intended audience gender** by reading the introduction to cookbooks or researching the cost and readership of periodicals. Authors often addressed themselves to 'young housewives' or 'epicures', suggesting a male/female divide, or stipulated a budget or lifestyle that denoted the class of their perceived readership. While it cannot be assumed that readers aligned with imagined audiences, these intentions give insight into how recipes were written to appeal to certain groups. **Relevant paratexts** allows me to record sections of text around the recipe that influence its use, whether they are mentioned in the recipe or obviously related: an advert for gridirons next to a broiling recipe, for instance. Under **paratext technologies** I list material technologies mentioned in these paratexts. Similarly, under **radiality** I record instances where there are links to external texts

or products. **Recipe title** records the title of the dish, while **recipe setting** notes its location in the wider text. **Page number** accounts for the numbered page the recipe is on and **recipe number** lists whether the recipe had an allocated number. These categories allow for a structural delineation of recipes that allows me to investigate their relationship to the surrounding text.

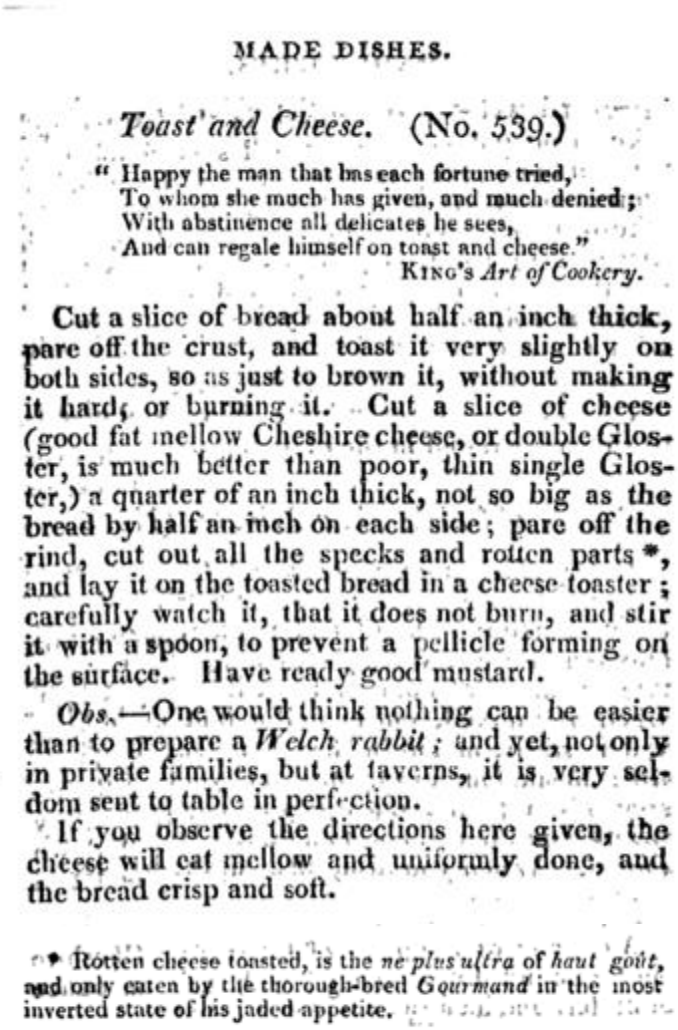
The rest of the categories unravel the internal workings and appearance of recipes. **Number of paragraphs** is self-explanatory. **Recipe summary** gives an overview of content, while **ingredients list, main ingredient, measurements (general/precise), timings,** and **cost of ingredients** measure the recipe's characteristics, and whether they are integrated or form separate sections. **Quantity** describes whether the author mentions how many people the recipe serves, while **seasonality** records references to seasonal ingredients, or when the dish should be eaten throughout the year. **Recipe technology** accounts for implements mentioned within the recipe so I can gauge the commonality of items. Finally, **ability** refers to whether the author evaluates a recipe's difficulty or stipulates a level of experience from the cook/reader.

Applying this structural typology to recipes with attention to intratextual and intertextual references, radial reading, and allusion allows me to pinpoint key elements of a subset and identify illuminating diversions between recipes. There are characteristics not included: the highly variable nature of recipes evades a definitive list. I have not included **font,** for instance, as the use of different fonts to change meaning is not common throughout the recipes I analysed. If an author does use font for an effect, however, I still investigate the impact that has. Rather than reductively considering recipes as parts of a wider cookbook, I make my intervention by closely examining individual recipes and their radial networks, probing their reoccurring tropes, and investigating how authors like Payne or Kenney-Herbert merge functionality with generic and aesthetic attributes. This allows me to interpret how recipes function as literary technologies, and analyse instances where authors engage in discussions of innovation and historicity through their inclusions of different structures and subjects.

In Chapters One and Two I apply this analytical strategy to broiling and tinned food recipes, though the chapters record my conclusions rather than process. It is therefore useful to give here a brief demonstration. While this introductory example just skims the surface of the recipes addressed, it shows how my methodology allows me to access and analyse their literary components.

As noted, recipes come in a vast array of shapes. There was, however, a common nineteenth-century recipe form which also dominated earlier printed cookbooks. It is

demonstrated by this recipe for '*Toast and Cheese'* from Kitchiner's *The Cook's Oracle*. Kitchiner's style was derived from earlier gastronomic writings and went on to influence later cookbooks:



MADE DISHES.

Toast and Cheese. (No. 539.)

"Happy the man that has each fortune tried,
To whom she much has given, and much denied;
With abstinence all delicates he sees,
And can regale himself on toast and cheese."
KING'S *Art of Cookery.*

Cut a slice of bread about half an inch thick, pare off the crust, and toast it very slightly on both sides, so as just to brown it, without making it hard, or burning it. Cut a slice of cheese (good fat mellow Cheshire cheese, or double Gloster, is much better than poor, thin single Gloster,) a quarter of an inch thick, not so big as the bread by half an inch on each side; pare off the rind, cut out all the specks and rotten parts *, and lay it on the toasted bread in a cheese toaster; carefully watch it, that it does not burn, and stir it with a spoon, to prevent a pellicle forming on the surface. Have ready good mustard.

***Obs.*—One would think nothing can be easier than to prepare a *Welch rabbit*; and yet, not only in private families, but at taverns, it is very seldom sent to table in perfection.**

If you observe the directions here given, the cheese will eat mellow and uniformly done, and the bread crisp and soft.

* Rotten cheese toasted, is the *ne plus ultra* of *haut goût*, and only eaten by the thorough-bred *Gourmand* in the most inverted state of his jaded appetite.

Figure 1: 'Toast and Cheese' (Kitchiner 1817: np)

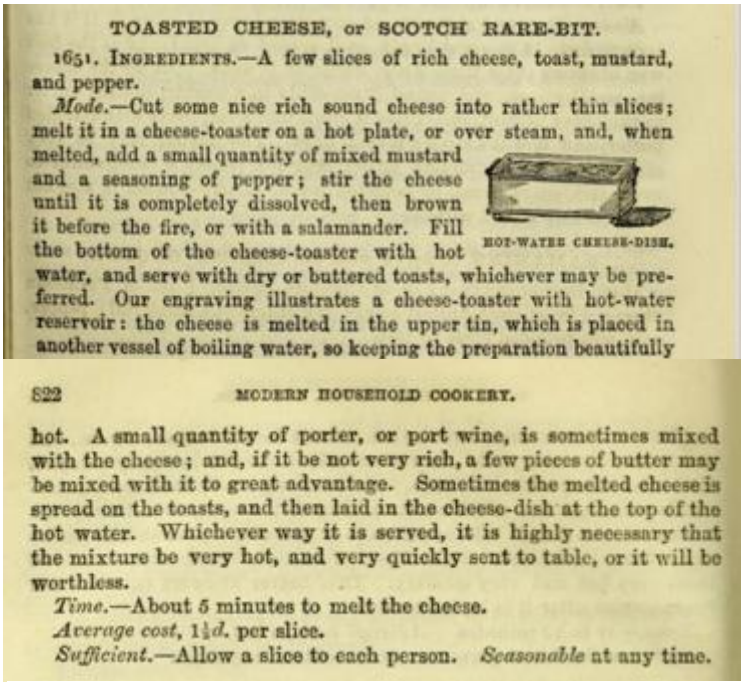
This recipe is **set** in a 'Made Dishes' chapter and followed by two more toasted cheese recipes that follow a **numbered** sequence. Kitchiner groups his recipes by **ingredient** within the chapter: a series of six egg recipes follow the cheese variations. The **numbers** act as an organising framework, allowing Kitchiner to make intratextual **radial** links throughout his cookbook. In the 1822 edition Kitchiner altered the observation under the recipe: 'We have attempted to account for this in the last paragraph of *Obs* to (No. 493.)' (1822: 435). This radially sends the reader to recipe No. 493 to see what Kitchiner advised. The recipe itself is formed of **three paragraphs**: the first contains a **summary** of the method**, ingredients**, and the **recipe technology** of the cheese toaster without structural differentiation. The second 'observation' paragraph provides the reader with additional information regarding an **ability** statement. This layout of one or more paragraphs of continuous prose was the

norm in nineteenth-century cookbooks. Delineating their structural layout indicates how they would have been read and used.

While the toasted cheese recipe outlines a simple cooking process, the lack of **ingredients** list, method section, **timing** section or utensil list means readers have to read the whole recipe to gauge that they need a specific type of cheese, a 'good mustard', and a **cheese toaster.** Kitchiner repeats this approach even in longer, more complicated recipes, so readers cannot skim the cookbook and ascertain whether they have the necessary foods and tools quickly. Instead, they may read as they cooked and risk encountering an ingredient they lack, or they may engage in linear reading before cooking. The recipe's first line shows that Kitchiner relies on the reader/cook having a certain level of tacit knowledge, or **ability**. He does not give timings for perfect toasted bread, or instructions for positioning the bread over the fire. The reader must judge this for themselves, rather than having the process laid out for them comprehensively. The form of Kitchiner's recipe is informed by its narrative structure: Kitchiner gives readers a basic description, introducing relevant information only when they require it as they cook. This chronological, linear form results in a loosely structured recipe that is guided by the actions required of the cook, rather than providing the reader with a list to consider before beginning.

Historicity is traceable even in this short recipe. Kitchiner uses the quote under the recipe's title to create a **radial** reference to William King's *The Art of Cookery: A Poem in Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry* (1708), which then establishes a further intertextual link to Horace's 'The Art of Poetry'. Kitchiner's toasted cheese is thus situated in both Roman and eighteenth-century literary traditions, as he showcased his literary and culinary knowledge. This is accented in the 1822 edition, which contains the added line at the end of the recipe that if the instructions are followed, the dish 'will well deserve its ancient appellation of a "*Rare Bit"'* (Kitchiner 1822: 432). The alliterative 'ancient appellation' adds a humorous historical heft to the recipe, achieved through literary techniques. The asterisked footnote adds another layer of resonance through Kitchiner's reference to gourmands and gastronomy, tying his recipe into the larger movement of masculine taste. The word-choice of 'pellicle' to describe the cheese's skin had longstanding medical connotations, evoking the history of medicine (*OED Online* 'pellicle' 2022). Paying attention to the literary intricacies of a single recipe reveals how it was written to connect with numerous histories. Kitchiner uses associations beyond the recipe to signify that his instructions gain cultural significance from a longer history of masculine literature, culinary tradition, medicine, and eating toast and cheese.

Many nineteenth-century cookbook authors utilised linear paragraphs. Some opted for a different approach, however. Beeton's *Household Management* is one famous example, even though she was not the first to use this structure. Her recipes include different sections which are repeated throughout the whole cookbook. Her recipe for 'Toasted Cheese, or Scotch Rare-bit' illustrates the difference between this approach and Kitchiner's:



TOASTED CHEESE, or SCOTCH RARE-BIT.

1651. INGREDIENTS.—A few slices of rich cheese, toast, mustard, and pepper.

Mode.—Cut some nice rich sound cheese into rather thin slices; melt it in a cheese-toaster on a hot plate, or over steam, and, when melted, add a small quantity of mixed mustard and a seasoning of pepper; stir the cheese until it is completely dissolved, then brown it before the fire, or with a salamander. Fill the bottom of the cheese-toaster with hot water, and serve with dry or buttered toasts, whichever may be preferred. Our engraving illustrates a cheese-toaster with hot-water reservoir: the cheese is melted in the upper tin, which is placed in another vessel of boiling water, so keeping the preparation beautifully

HOT-WATER CHEESE-DISH.

822 MODERN HOUSEHOLD COOKERY.

hot. A small quantity of porter, or port wine, is sometimes mixed with the cheese; and, if it be not very rich, a few pieces of butter may be mixed with it to great advantage. Sometimes the melted cheese is spread on the toasts, and then laid in the cheese-dish at the top of the hot water. Whichever way it is served, it is highly necessary that the mixture be very hot, and very quickly sent to table, or it will be worthless.

Time.—About 5 minutes to melt the cheese.

Average cost, 1½*d.* per slice.

Sufficient.—Allow a slice to each person. *Seasonable* at any time.

Figure 2:'Toasted Cheese, or Scotch Rare-Bit' (Beeton 1861: 821-822)

The 'Mode' paragraph of Beeton's recipe contains similar information to Kitchiner's. Both mention how thickly the cheese should be cut, how it should be put in the toaster, and how to stir and monitor it. Beeton also surrounds her recipe with other cheese recipes, **set** within a 'Milk, Butter, Cheese, and Eggs' chapter, and uses consecutive **numbers** for organisation, although her recipes are also arranged alphabetically. Unlike Kitchiner's continuous paragraphs, however, Beeton's framework provides readers with additional information in a delineated form. The segments for **ingredients,** mode, **time, average cost,** sufficiency (or **quantity**), and **seasonality** highlight the required information, rather than burying it in a **paragraph**. This negates the need for initial linear reading. Readers can skim through recipes, looking for **ingredients** or **costs** that suit them. Beeton's structural differentiation mobilises spatial reading as defined by McGann, because the shape of the recipe informs how it was approached.

Kitchiner's historical engagement is absent from Beeton's recipe. Instead, her recipe shows an increased preoccupation with technology and innovation. While Kitchiner mentions the **technology** of the cheese toaster, Beeton also lists a hot plate and salamander. These additional implements are accompanied by an engraving of the cheese toaster and a

detailed description of how the 'hot-water cheese-dish' functioned. The combination of the plate with the technical description creates an instructive tone. Beeton's recipe reads more like an instruction manual, emphasised by her quantitative structure. Rather than Kitchiner's historical emphases, Beeton's recipe is concerned with how implements could improve cooking techniques. While Beeton does include historical allusions in some recipes, their absence here makes technical instruction the dominant mode of discourse. Once more, attending to the literary intricacies and structure of Beeton's recipe illuminates how it interacts with the overarching themes of this thesis.

These are just two examples – one of a traditional, paragraph-based recipe and the other of a stratified approach to recipe structure. Briefly applying my methodology to them demonstrates that paying attention to recipes' literary characteristics and structural attributes illuminates how they were written and read according to differing authorial and/or editorial approaches. Beeton's recipe implies order, a rigorous instructional pattern for comprehensive information, and a focus on materials and implements. Kitchiner's recipe presents a fluid approach to cooking whereby readers rely on tacit knowledge or learn as they cook, trusting their instincts. He weaves a tapestry of historical significance into his recipe. Recipes for the same foods could be written using vastly different styles and structures, showcasing different attitudes towards cookery and the intended function of recipe texts.

Demarcating the shape of recipes to trace how they reflect historicity and innovation underscores my investigation of gridirons and tins in Chapters One and Two. I chart if, when, and how implements are mentioned, and how those references relate to other texts and resources. This will create a new understanding of how recipes function as pieces of radial, technical, and literary writing that are innately tied to the concerns of historicity and innovation.

Chapters Three and Four: Literary Recipes and Cookbooks

Analysing a set of recipes in Chapters One and Two will allow me to gauge how multiple authors use gridirons and tinned foods to engage in temporal debates, revealing how those debates were formed by numerous participants. It is also valuable, however, to investigate how specific authors engage with historicity and innovation throughout the entire body of their texts.

My structural analysis charts how recipes, even when they took different shapes, share characteristics that form a typology. Cookbooks are far larger than individual recipes,

but even so, they share generic features. While variations occur, most nineteenth-century cookbooks include a front and back cover; title page; contents page; preface; introduction; kitchen inventory; a series of recipe chapters; an index; and appendices, which feature menu plans, seasonal shopping lists, and/or advertisements. Different authors utilise different organising principles, some focusing on specific foods like confectionary, while others address every meal stage. There are outlying features, too. Warren Francis wrote her cookbooks through fictional narratives and published a set of cookery cards held together with a metal ring, both of which challenged the dominant cookbook form. The similarities and differences in the use of cookbook characteristics means a structural methodology could be applied to cookbooks. A typology could be created by analysing the characteristics of a set of cookbooks in the same way I analyse recipes. While this would provide a valuable overview of the generic features of nineteenth-century cookbooks, such a reading risks flattening how cookbooks operate as literary texts.

In Chapters Three and Four, I have shifted my approach from the quantified breakdown of individual recipes to engage in a closer reading of entire cookbooks. I unravel the literary workings of nineteenth-century food writing further by focusing on fewer primary sources. While there is not scope within this introduction to demonstrate this extensive reading practice, this methodological move allows me to analyse and present food writing as a literary genre fully. Considering whole cookbooks reveals how authors mobilise historicity and innovation in numerous ways, corresponding with or subverting generic expectations to create works of literature which are a key site for the interrogation of my overarching themes.

To continue my investigation of innovation and historicity, I have selected authors who engage with those concepts in their writing. Chapter Three investigates *The Gastronomic Regenerator* (1846) and the *Modern Housewife, or, Ménagère* by Soyer. I focus on Soyer because he indulges in literary play which resonates with numerous literary and culinary traditions. He also patented a line of implements and produced food products, and his writing records his fascination with innovation and technologies. Chapter Four considers women authors as a gendered balance to Soyer, focusing on cookbooks written by Agnes Marshall and Georgiana Hill. A comparison of their work is productive as historicity and innovation are integral to both Marshall and Hill's cookbooks, but in markedly different ways. Hill subverts the traditions and historical resonances that ran through the cookbook genre. Like Soyer, Marshall sold a line of patented implements and manufactured foodstuffs, and her engagement with material innovation can be read in her textual stylings. Rather than the shape of these cookbooks, it is a close analysis of the styles of language, and techniques

like allusion and intertextuality which the authors employ, which will illuminate how they integrate innovation and historicity into their work and redefine the importance of culinary writing within those discourses.

By deploying this dual methodology across the four chapters of this thesis, I will demonstrate the value of both a micro (recipe) and macro (cookbook) analytical strategy, to nineteenth-century food writing. Putting food writing at the centre of my investigation of historicity and innovation will reconfigure the current understanding of these central nineteenth-century concerns, in a way that showcases food's inherent value as an object of historical and literary study.

Chapter One: 'A nation that relishes, always did relish, and probably always will relish, broils': Gridirons, Broiling and Narratives of Tradition in Nineteenth-century Recipes

Introduction

In a *London Magazine* review of William Kitchiner's cookbook *Apicius Redivivus, or, The Cook's Oracle* (1817), the author describes a cooking process as such: 'The lyre-like shape of the instrument on which it is performed, and the brisk and pleasant sounds that arise momentarily, are rather musical than culinary' (*London Magazine* October 1821: 436). The instrument being described is the gridiron: a grid of parallel iron bars with a handle that had been used for cookery in Britain since at least the fifteenth century.[9] The musical method it engenders is called broiling: a type of cooking that was perhaps even more longstanding than the gridiron. It typically involved holding meat over flames by sitting it on a gridiron and turning it until it was cooked by the fire and the hot metal bars. While in North American English the word 'broiling' is still used to describe the process of grilling food within an oven, the word has faded and become archaic as a cooking term in British parlance. In nineteenth-century British cookbooks, periodical recipes, and popular culture, however, broiling is prevalent, appearing in food texts more often than it is absent. Though the *London Magazine* review of Kitchiner's cookbook is written in a satirical tone which pokes fun at the rich, poetic way Kitchiner wrote, the musical description suggests that nineteenth-century recipes and food writing presented the gridiron and broiling as more than just an implement and type of food preparation. Calling the gridiron a 'lyre' brings connotations of history and myth to this description of the implement's harp-like shape, conjuring images of figures from classical Greek mythology playing the ancient instrument.

Over thirty years later, an article by 'an Epicure' in the *National Magazine* also describes broiling meat on the gridiron in a comical, imaginative way:

> See the gridiron, with its geometric bars checking with black lines the ground-colour of incandescent charcoal; the steak itself nicely lined with oleaginous bark, frizzling for your good, and gradually changing from sanguinary red to palatable brown; then how the gravy runs from it in luscious streams. (*National Magazine* March 1857: 335)

[9] A 'gredyrn' is mentioned in two fish recipes in 'Cookery Book II', copied from Harleian MSS. 4016 (1450) in the British Library and then compiled by Thomas Austin in *Two Fifteenth-century Cookery-Books* (1888). The first is a recipe for 'Salmon fressh [*sic*] boiled' and the second is 'Sole, boiled, rost [*sic*] or fryed' (Austin 1888: 102, 103).

The repeated references to colour and shape, paired with evocative and onomatopoeic words like 'sizzling' and 'luscious', have an ekphrastic effect on the image of the gridiron, elevating it to become an instrument or tool which creates art. Both articles therefore animate the process of cooking meat on a gridiron, playfully describing it with elaborate word choice in a manner that transforms the act of cooking into an artistic production which gestures to tradition and myth.

These unusually imaginative descriptions stimulate questions about the representation of broiling food using the gridiron in nineteenth-century food writing. Why did authors describe broiling in such terms? What was it about gridirons and broiling that made them so provocative and open to creative, artistic interpretation? How did nineteenth-century descriptions of broiling relate to history and tradition, and how was the gridiron itself used over the course of the century? Were these authors playfully satirising narratives that existed in recipes and cookbooks? And if so, what were those narratives, and why did they centre on the gridiron?

To answer these questions, this chapter uses gridirons to unpack the relationships between recipes as literary devices, the implements authors described within them, and the discourses of history and innovation they used to do so. Material objects and technologies are the subject of plentiful nineteenth-century scholarship, given that 'one universally acknowledged truth about the Victorians is that they loved their things' (Plotz 2008: 1). Scholars including Asa Briggs, Deborah Cohen, Thad Logan and Jane Hamlett study nineteenth-century interiors and objects to reveal how interpersonal and social relationships were reflected in material culture. Thomas P. Hughes and Arnold Pacey are amongst historians of technology that investigate how technologies were inscribed with meaning: 'aspiration and achievement, progress and purpose were all part of the public meaning of technology' (Pacey 2001: 1). Literary historians including John Plotz and Suzanne Daly turn to the representation of commodities in nineteenth-century literature, as fictional texts 'took on the project of making sense of resonant but potentially marketable objects' (Plotz 2008: 1). Even if these studies venture into the kitchen, as Briggs does in *Victorian Things*, their consideration of domestic writings like cookbooks, inventories or periodical articles are not conducted via a literary analysis.

Material histories of the kitchen by Andrea Broomfield and Sara Pennell outline how cultural and technological changes altered the way foods were cooked, eaten, and represented.[10] In an Early Modern context, Pennell describes how 'the moral resonances of

[10] See Andrea Broomfield, *Food and Cooking in Victorian England: A History* (Westport: Praeger, 2007); Sara Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

hearth goods and vessels projected them as key items of social capital, in household formation and maintenance' (1998: 211). Even in considerations of culinary objects and technologies, however, little attention has been paid to the role food writing plays in transforming implements into symbols which express technological meaning and change. Indeed, Pennell writes that 'recipe[s] would provide only partial insight into process, and little information at all as to what utensils to employ, how they worked, how they were to be cleaned, maintained and replaced' (1998: 212). This is not true of nineteenth-century recipes, which both outline the practical use of implements and situate them in wider discourses of innovation and history. Despite broiling becoming an increasingly outdated process as cooking technologies changed over the nineteenth century, the gridiron and broiling continued to have a prominent place in food writing. Using a structural analysis of thirty broiling recipes and one relevant non-recipe text published between 1822 and 1899 across four different text-types (cookbooks, journals, magazines, and newspapers), this chapter explains why.

The recipes that form the basis of this chapter have been selected because they describe the process of broiling in a variety of formats. The numerous approaches adopted in the recipes can be delineated to understand the techniques that recipe writers used to frame the broiling process in their texts, and in the wider cultural context of the nineteenth century. Structurally analysing a broad sample of recipes in keeping with the methodology outlined in the introduction has allowed me to identify the tropes that occur in broiling recipes. The consistency or rarity of these tropes reveals the multi-layered symbolisms that accompany broiling food on the gridiron. I start by considering how broiling was undertaken in the nineteenth-century home as a technical process, using excerpts from recipes to question its practicality and economy. I then look more closely at the instructions given by nineteenth-century authors to explain the broiling process. I examine how they perceived its strengths and weaknesses, questioning how those perceptions may have influenced the reader/cook. Finally, I focus on the points where recipes and writing about broiling do *more* than just outline the process, probing examples where an author uses a broiling recipe to radially extend outwards into wider discussions about tradition, history, and time.

Ultimately, I consider what these instances represent about the intersections between food and the literary techniques used to address it, asking what broiling recipes say about wider attitudes towards culinary and written traditions in the nineteenth century. In particular, I will examine how the themes of masculinity, nation, innovation, and history are constructed through representations of the gridiron. I use the act of broiling food on the gridiron as a case study to build upon the existing interest in nineteenth-century objects and

technologies, expanding this focus into the kitchen and, crucially, the recipes which describe implements. Applying a literary analysis to the hitherto unexplored connection between a utensil and recipes allows me to draw out the range of cultural meanings expressed in recipes, and to show how these are often expressions of tradition and history. I argue that recipe writers enlisted cultural discourses and literary techniques to interpret changing times and practices via interactions with culinary implements.

'We have no means of using a gridiron!': Broiling's Fading Functionality

To understand how representations of time and tradition are centred on broiling meat and gridirons in nineteenth-century recipes, it is first important to analyse how broiling instructions are conveyed in those recipes. This provides crucial insights into how authors perceived broiling as a mode of cookery, and the gridiron as a utensil. Indeed, chops or steaks that had been broiled on a gridiron were commonly served in nineteenth-century chophouses, restaurants, and clubs. In this chapter, however, I focus on how cookbooks written for domestic readers represented broiling, conveying instructions that were intended to be followed within the home. It is therefore, perhaps counterintuitively, useful to start at the century's end with a statement that sheds doubt on the prevalence of broiling and gridirons within the home. In an article called 'Grilling and Devilling' by Dora de Blaquière in the *Girl's Own Paper* in 1899, the author provides the following take on cooking meat on gridirons:

> I have taken the trouble to look in the dictionary for the word "grill," and I find it is derived from the French word "grille" - a grate or gridiron. But to-day, in point of fact, grilling is rarely performed in this manner, few people having the gridiron; and if not done in the oven, it is performed in an open frying pan.
> I have begun with this piece of information because some of my readers may say on seeing the word, 'Oh, we can't grill! We have no means of using a gridiron!' (de Blaquière Aug 5 1899: 710)

While the notion that the author had to look up the word 'grill' adds a satirical tone to this statement, the publication of this piece during the last year of the nineteenth century suggests that by the century's end, gridirons and broiling had fallen out of fashion and practical use. While she uses the term grilling rather than broiling (also indicative of the process fading), de Blaquière implies that broiling was typically done in an oven or in a pan, rather than over an open fire. In this account, the gridiron was no longer part of the typical kitchen inventory – something her readers were unlikely to own.

Despite de Blaquière's emphasis on the oven, the recipes in my sample suggest that broiling was closely linked to the gridiron. Of the thirty-one recipes analysed in this chapter, eighteen contain specific references to gridirons. Two suggest wrapping meat or fish in paper before broiling over the fire, and one other suggests broiling in a pan. The broiling process could therefore be done without a gridiron, but most authors explicitly mention it in their instructions. Indeed, recipes which do not mention the gridiron tend not to suggest alternative implements, implying that readers knew what broiling required. But importantly, both of de Blaquière's points about owning a gridiron and cooking in an oven are technical, concerned with whether gridirons functioned in kitchens that had enclosed ovens or ranges.

Paying attention to the language used in the data set of recipes shows that the word 'fire' is used in seventeen, implying the need for an open flame. Moreover, in these recipes and the paratexts that address broiling around them, authors frequently mention the kind of fire required: a 'bright', 'clear' or 'sharp' fire, i.e. a fire that had enough oxygen to burn so hotly it did not emit smoke. This reliance on a hotly-burning flame may have complicated the practicality and economy of broiling, however, illustrated well by broiling instructions which changed between different editions of *Mrs Beeton's Everyday Cookery and Housekeeping Book*.[11] The 1888 edition contains very little instruction about broiling as a process, though broiling on gridirons over a 'bright' or 'clear' fire is recommended in several recipes, indicating it was done over open flames at this time. In a later edition published c.1900, however, there is a far more detailed section outlining the broiling process in the 'Methods of Cooking' chapter. Here, the author declares that broiling, '[l]ike roasting, it is not an economical mode of cooking, as a great deal of fuel is needed for a good broiling fire, the meat loses weight, and only the best kinds can be submitted to this process with satisfactory results' (Mrs Beeton c.1900: lxv). Achieving a flame hot enough for broiling demanded more fuel than cooking in ovens or ranges that contained heat within themselves, and it was therefore more expensive – not economical. This note about economy, fire, and De Blaquière's reference to the 'oven' as the standard tool for grilling suggest that broiling would have seemed like a wasteful cooking method to some home cooks as a direct result of the heat sources that were typically found in their kitchens.

While it is important to acknowledge the multiple factors that affect technological uptake, over the nineteenth century enclosed ovens and ranges gradually became more common. They were used from the late seventeenth-century onwards, and both fixed and

[11] Neither of these books was written by Isabella Beeton, as she died in 1865, but publishers kept on publishing cookery guides under her name as a sales tactic well into the twentieth century. The cookbook was first published in 1877, though the earliest edition I could find was published in 1888.

portable models like Dutch ovens were continually redesigned, becoming increasingly enclosed over the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. These units worked with coal or wood, concentrating heat within the range and its surfaces, whereas open hearths allowed valuable heat to escape into the room around them. Closed ranges were advertised as a material technology that would save money, fuel and time, and as Pennell writes when discussing how fuel and the manipulation of heat distribution changed cooking over the nineteenth century, they were 'vaunted as *the* development that would rid the kitchen of its smoke and soot' (2016: 67). Pennell then notes that 'by the end of the eighteenth century, the fully closed range (with the fire shut away in a fire box), supplemented by an oven on one side and a water boiler on the other, took the closure of the hearth to its logical conclusion' (2016: 67).

Of course, not all homes had the resources, wealth, or space to incorporate new technologies like ranges, exemplified by the uneven uptake of ovens for baking in the home: communal ovens in commercial bakeries were still prevalent in the nineteenth century, particularly in cities (McGeevor 2014). Moreover, many stoves and ranges gave the user limited access to open flames or coals, meaning that gridirons could still be positioned over direct heat. People would also have had open fires in other parts of the house for heating, which could theoretically be used for broiling, or they may have lived in lodgings without access to a kitchen. Indeed, a couple of the recipes suggest that broiling food on the gridiron was suited to people who were on a budget in terms of space, or the amount of food they needed to prepare. In Isobel Christian Johnstone's *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* (1826), Johnstone notes that broiling is 'recommended by comfort and economy to solitary diners and small families' and 'not the cookery of the cottage economist' (Johnstone 1826: 47-48). Then in *Buckmaster's Cookery* (1874), Charles Buckmaster writes that 'It is an easy method of making a small portion of fish or meat savoury, and may be recommended to bachelors. It is not the cooking for families' (1874: 203). In Soyer's *A Shilling Cookery for the People*, a cookbook for the 'industrious classes', Soyer centred the cookbook around the implements accessible to working-class people, and he focuses on 'such humble utensils as the gridiron, frying- pan, iron pan, and black pot' (1854: 3). While using a gridiron over a fire was uneconomical for those who could afford a range or had to feed multiple mouths, broiling a couple of chops over a fire was probably more suited to those who lacked a range or who only had to provide for themselves. Using a fire that was already lit for warmth to cook a small meal was less expensive than lighting a whole range for the sake of a solo supper. With the ebb of hearth cookery, then, open flame-cookery was *supposedly* at its end by the early years of the nineteenth century. But as with all domestic practices, numerous

circumstantial differences meant that while a closed range was a good but expensive option for some, for others it was impractical. Flame-based cooking methods like broiling were being used throughout the nineteenth century, as the frequent recipes for it show. The number of increasingly economical cooking technologies that came on to the market over the nineteenth century, however, suggests that those who continued to engage in broiling were facing against or unable to embrace changing cooking practices due to a myriad of socio-economic factors like space and poverty. As Beeton and de Blaquière's references to ovens and fuel suggest, broiling was being left in the past – for the middle and upper classes, at least.

Aside from the note about few people having gridirons, the scathing tone throughout de Blaquière's column hints that gridirons and broiling may have fallen out of fashion as well as practicality. Her use of dialogue – 'Oh, we can't grill! We have no means of using a gridiron!' – and the repeated exclamation points suggest that readers would be shocked at the implication that they owned a gridiron. This makes the idea comical: gridirons were so unfashionable that owning one would be uncouth. Indeed, the fact that some recipes associate broiling with bachelors or those without money implies that there may have been a class snobbery around broiling – a cooking method for those with few other options. This notion links back to the discussion of how implements were often used as signifiers of improvement on the past, raised in the introductory chapter with reference to Beeton's Greek fire and Soyer's heroic old pot.[12] Here, however, material cooking technologies were still a means of signifying advancement and differentiation from the past, but the gridiron fell into the category of primitive cooking technologies that were being left behind – replaced by implements that were more convenient, economical and fashionable.

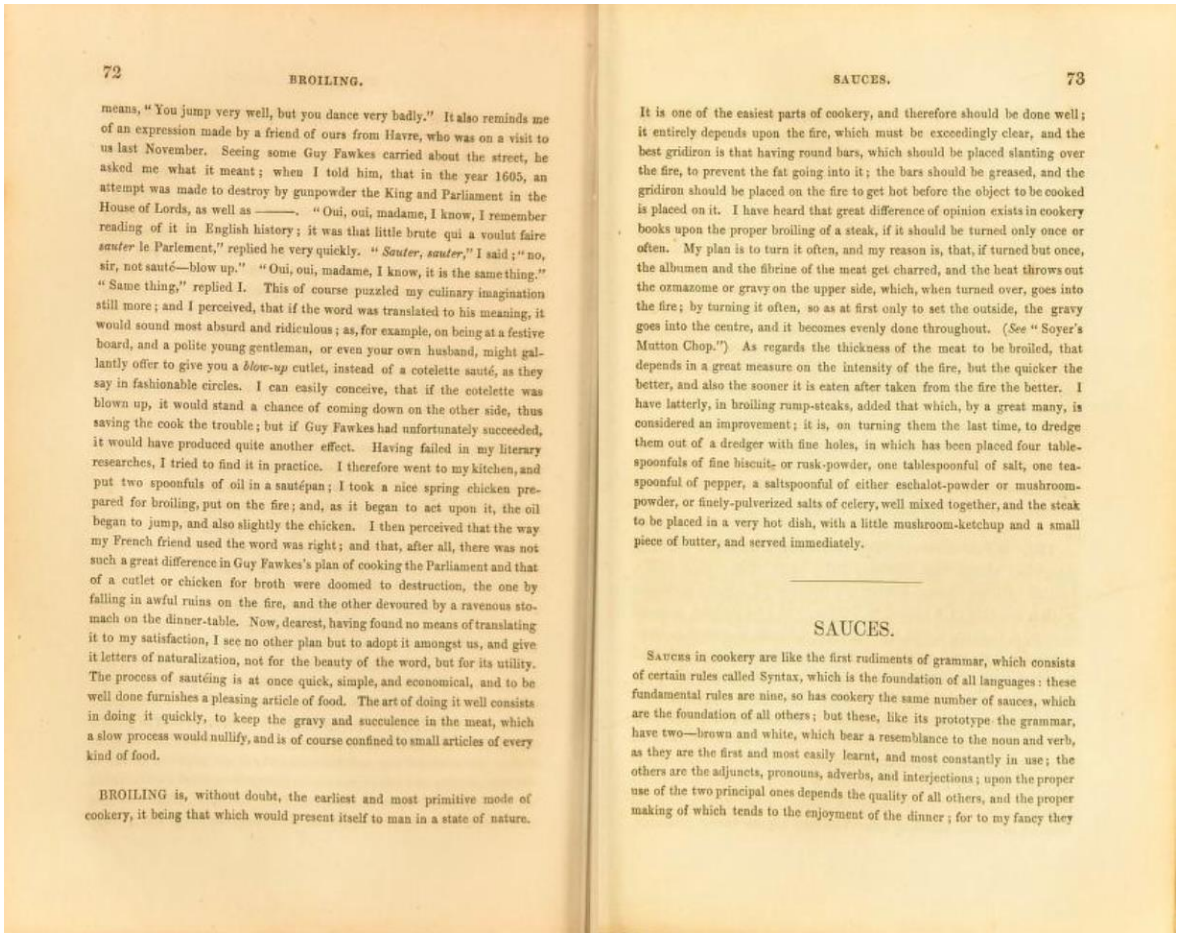
If, at the end of the century gridirons were so obsolete that the idea of having one was the basis of a joke, then why did they continue to be mentioned in cookbooks and recipes? Or on the contrary, if broiling was commonly viewed as impractical, expensive, or unfashionable, what were the other reasons that prompted cooks to broil meat? Turning to recipes can answer questions both about the practicalities and pitfalls of the process, which in turn points to the narratives that attempted to keep gridirons relevant.

'One of the easiest parts of cookery': Recipes and the Broiling Process

In a descriptive section on broiling in Soyer's *The Modern Housewife, or Ménagère* (1849), Soyer dispels any notion that broiling was impractical, difficult or outdated by stating that it

[12] See p. 14.

‘is one of the easiest parts of cookery, and therefore should be done well’ (Soyer 1849: 73). This paints the picture of a simple cooking process that any cook could master to a high standard. The description of the process that followed, however, contradicts any pretence of ease, which is mirrored in the long form of the section, split over two pages:



72 BROILING.

means, "You jump very well, but you dance very badly." It also reminds me of an expression made by a friend of ours from Havre, who was on a visit to us last November. Seeing some Guy Fawkes carried about the street, he asked me what it meant; when I told him, that in the year 1605, an attempt was made to destroy by gunpowder the King and Parliament in the House of Lords, as well as ——. "Oui, oui, madame, I know, I remember reading of it in English history; it was that little brute qui a voulut faire *sauter* le Parlement," replied he very quickly. "*Sauter, sauter,*" I said; "no, sir, not sauté—blow up." "Oui, oui, madame, I know, it is the same thing." "Same thing," replied I. This of course puzzled my culinary imagination still more; and I perceived, that if the word was translated to his meaning, it would sound most absurd and ridiculous; as, for example, on being at a festive board, and a polite young gentleman, or even your own husband, might gallantly offer to give you a *blow-up* cutlet, instead of a cotelette sauté, as they say in fashionable circles. I can easily conceive, that if the cotelette was blown up, it would stand a chance of coming down on the other side, thus saving the cook the trouble; but if Guy Fawkes had unfortunately succeeded, it would have produced quite another effect. Having failed in my literary researches, I tried to find it in practice. I therefore went to my kitchen, and put two spoonfuls of oil in a sautépan; I took a nice spring chicken prepared for broiling, put on the fire; and, as it began to act upon it, the oil began to jump, and also slightly the chicken. I then perceived that the way my French friend used the word was right; and that, after all, there was not such a great difference in Guy Fawkes's plan of cooking the Parliament and that of a cutlet or chicken for broth were doomed to destruction, the one by falling in awful ruins on the fire, and the other devoured by a ravenous stomach on the dinner-table. Now, dearest, having found no means of translating it to my satisfaction, I see no other plan but to adopt it amongst us, and give it letters of naturalization, not for the beauty of the word, but for its utility. The process of sautéing is at once quick, simple, and economical, and to be well done furnishes a pleasing article of food. The art of doing it well consists in doing it quickly, to keep the gravy and succulence in the meat, which a slow process would nullify, and is of course confined to small articles of every kind of food.

BROILING is, without doubt, the earliest and most primitive mode of cookery, it being that which would present itself to man in a state of nature.

SAUCES. 73

It is one of the easiest parts of cookery, and therefore should be done well; it entirely depends upon the fire, which must be exceedingly clear, and the best gridiron is that having round bars, which should be placed slanting over the fire, to prevent the fat going into it; the bars should be greased, and the gridiron should be placed on the fire to get hot before the object to be cooked is placed on it. I have heard that great difference of opinion exists in cookery books upon the proper broiling of a steak, if it should be turned only once or often. My plan is to turn it often, and my reason is, that, if turned but once, the albumen and the fibrine of the meat get charred, and the heat throws out the ozmazome or gravy on the upper side, which, when turned over, goes into the fire; by turning it often, so as at first only to set the outside, the gravy goes into the centre, and it becomes evenly done throughout. (*See* "Soyer's Mutton Chop.") As regards the thickness of the meat to be broiled, that depends in a great measure on the intensity of the fire, but the quicker the better, and also the sooner it is eaten after taken from the fire the better. I have latterly, in broiling rump-steaks, added that which, by a great many, is considered an improvement; it is, on turning them the last time, to dredge them out of a dredger with fine holes, in which has been placed four tablespoonfuls of fine biscuit- or rusk-powder, one tablespoonful of salt, one teaspoonful of pepper, a saltspoonful of either eschalot-powder or mushroom-powder, or finely-pulverized salts of celery, well mixed together, and the steak to be placed in a very hot dish, with a little mushroom-ketchup and a small piece of butter, and served immediately.

SAUCES.

SAUCES in cookery are like the first rudiments of grammar, which consists of certain rules called Syntax, which is the foundation of all languages: these fundamental rules are nine, so has cookery the same number of sauces, which are the foundation of all others; but these, like its prototype the grammar, have two—brown and white, which bear a resemblance to the noun and verb, as they are the first and most easily learnt, and most constantly in use; the others are the adjuncts, pronouns, adverbs, and interjections; upon the proper use of the two principal ones depends the quality of all others, and the proper making of which tends to the enjoyment of the dinner; for to my fancy they

Figure 3: 'Broiling', from Alexis Soyer's Modern Housewife (1849)

Soyer’s passage is full of conditionals and choices that complicate his instructions rather than providing one set recipe or collection of rules. The lengthy, capacious form of the excerpt structurally reflects this, despite Soyer’s claims of ease. To begin, Soyer writes that broiling ‘entirely depends upon the fire, which must be exceedingly clear, and the best gridiron is that having round bars’ (1849: 73). This creates numerous places for error before the cooking had even begun: the reader must know how to make an ‘exceedingly clear’ fire and have the right type of gridiron, otherwise they are at a disadvantage. There is also a note that the ‘thickness of the meat […] depends in a great measure on the intensity of the fire, but the quicker the better, and also the sooner it is eaten after taken from the fire the better’ (Soyer 1849: 73). This direction does not give the reader any real answer about how thick the meat should be. Instead, the process of broiling is made even more unstable because even the cut of meat depends on how the fire happens to be burning at the exact moment of

cooking. It is implied that thicker meat will take longer to cook and should therefore be avoided, but Soyer does not make that explicit. Then, despite his initial claims about ease, Soyer directly states that broiling is a cookery process surrounded by contrasting advice: 'I have heard that great difference of opinion exists in cookery books upon the proper broiling of a steak, if it should be turned only once or often. My plan is to turn it often' (1849: 73). There were clearly numerous approaches to broiling, with 'great difference' between the methods advised by writers, and even Soyer's positive depiction contains plenty of room for error. Rather than being straightforward then, perhaps broiling was not as easy as Soyer declares, unless the reader had existing knowledge.

Soyer employs a conflicted rhetoric by giving a long description of a seemingly 'easy' process. Other nineteenth-century recipes engage with the difficulty of broiling more directly. In a recipe for broiled 'Chops or Steaks' in *The Cook's Oracle* (1822) William Kitchiner writes:

> It requires more practice and care than is generally supposed to do Steaks to a nicety; and for want of these little attentions, this very common dish, which every body [*sic*] is supposed capable of dressing, seldom comes to table in perfection (1822: 201-202).

This is a revision from the first edition of Kitchiner's cookbook, which lacks the statement about practice and care, and so the expansion between cookbook editions emphasises how difficult broiling was. Despite being a 'very common dish' seemingly achievable by 'every body', Kitchiner indicates that perfect broiling was rarely achieved, and so he provides a recipe for readers with presumed inexperience. In a recipe for 'Broiled Beef-steaks or Rump Steaks' in *Household Management* (1861), Beeton writes that 'Broiling is the most difficult manual office the general cook has to perform' (1861: 264), while Charles Dickens writes in an article titled 'Leaves from the Mahogany Tree' in *All the Year Round* (Jul 18 1868) that 'Broiling, to tell the truth, however, requires no common mind […] a thousand impish difficulties surround the broiler' (Jul 18 1868: 129).[13] At the century's end, Mary Jewry writes in *Warne's Model Cookery and Housekeeping Book* (1890) that 'much care, niceness, and skill are required to broil properly' (1890: 20). These excerpts are amongst ten recipes from the data set which contain a reference to ability that depict broiling as a tricky cooking process. In comparison, only two (including Soyer's) refer to it as easy. Difficulty, rather than simplicity, is thus a recurring trope in broiling recipes from the start, middle and end of the century. These authors convey that broiling required instinct, skill, and experience.

[13] In this chapter I will discuss two articles from *All the Year Round.* Neither is attributed to other authors, and so I will credit them to Dickens.

Despite being such a longstanding process in culinary history, broiling seemed to cause problems for cooks throughout the nineteenth century. The reasons for this difficulty can be ascertained from an overview of broiling recipes. Soyer's contradictory statement about broiling's ease, and the frequent references to fire throughout the data set of recipes, highlight that fire was a fluctuating entity that could ruin the process. If the fire was not 'bright' or 'clear' the bars of the gridiron would not get hot enough to cook the meat, or the fire would smoke, charring the chop or steak. If the fire was too hot, the meat would burn. Timing and instinct had to be employed by the cook, because recipes could not provide a fool proof account of how to manage a fire. This was particularly true given the many ways fire could feature in nineteenth-century kitchens, as I have discussed: within a hearth, through an opening in a range, fuelled by coal or wood.

Figure 4: Fluted Gridiron with reservoir for gravy (Bosomworth [c.1883] 1991: 220)

Figure 5: Fluted Gridiron, all bright, with gravy receiver (Bosomworth [c.1883] 1991: 221)

Figure 6: Fluted Gridiron, with well (Bosomworth [c.1883] 1991: 221)

Figure 7: Iron Gridiron, with adjustable receiver for gravy, and hooks (Bosomworth [c.1883] 1991: 221)

Much of the difficulty that made broiling an 'impish' cooking process, however, was centred on the gridiron itself. Recipe writers frequently comment on the shape of the gridiron and the pitfalls that await the user, with ten of the thirty-one recipes explicitly stating what kind of gridiron was best. In Johnstone's *Cook and Housewife's Manual*, she writes that the gridiron's bars should 'be narrowest at the top, that they not interrupt the heat of the fire' (Johnstone 1826: 48). Nearly fifty years later, Buckmaster complains of the same problem in *Buckmaster's Cookery*, declaring that gridiron bars are often too large and 'obstruct heat' from the fire (1874: 203). In *Two Thousand Five Hundred Practical Recipes in Family Cookery* (1837) James Jennings stipulates that gridirons should have hollow bars (1837: 64), while in his instructions Soyer identifies rounded bars as the best in gridiron design (1849: 72). The shape

of gridirons therefore caused issues, coming between the fire and the meat in a counterproductive way, and recipe writers had contrasting opinions on what kind of bars suited the process best: these were among the 'great differences' Soyer alluded to.

Comments about the material form of the gridiron throughout these recipes indicate that there were different models on the market throughout the nineteenth century. Despite gridirons being part of kitchen inventories for centuries, nineteenth-century sales catalogues show a variety of shapes that speak to innovation throughout the period. The parallel bars, handle, and feet shown in Figures 4, 5 and 6 were consistent with earlier gridirons, and some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century models had personalised ornamentation (Lindsay 1964: 29). Over the nineteenth-century, however, numerous shapes and adaptations became available as manufactures reimagined the gridiron. A reproduction of *The Illustrated Catalogue of Furniture and Household Requisites* (1883), a trade catalogue published in London by Silber and Flemming, shows an increase in gridiron features: fluted, enamelled, with forked feet for propping on a grate or range, with or without reservoirs for catching gravy – even upright gridirons that could hang in front of a fire or an opened range (Figure 4; Figure 5; Figure 6; Figure 7). Unless they had inherited a gridiron, nineteenth-century consumers had a myriad of purchasing choices.

Recipe authors, with their frequent comments on gridiron shape and efficacy, worked both implicitly and explicitly to sway readers when it came to which design was best. Eleven of the thirty-one recipes warn against the potential loss of juices or gravy into the fire when meat was broiling, as when the author of *Beeton's Everyday Cookery* notes that the meat 'loses weight' or when Dickens warns against 'the constant flare and smoke, from the fat streaming into the fire, will spoil the steak' (Dickens Jul 18 1868: 129). The potential loss of these juices was obviously one of the biggest flaws of the broiling process, which was not helped by the gaps which were integral to the gridiron's design. In Eliza Acton's 'Broiled Beef Steaks' recipe in *Modern Cookery for Private Families,* she recommends the use of 'the dish in which they are to be sent to the table' to catch 'any gravy which may threaten to drain from them when they are moved' (1860: 188). Rather than using a dish to catch hot, dripping fat while simultaneously balancing the gridiron and watching the meat, readers might instead be tempted to purchase a gridiron with a 'reservoir for gravy', 'gravy receiver', 'well' or 'adjustable receiver of gravy' (Bosomworth [c.1883] 1991: 220, 221). Indeed, the similarity in the language between Acton's recipe and the descriptions in the sales catalogue suggests that cooking instructions influenced how gridirons were adapted and advertised to provide technological solutions to the issues faced by cooks.

There were some gridiron designs which did not seem to be popular with recipe authors, however. Buckmaster declares that 'perpendicular gridirons are objectionable, because there is always a current of cold air on one side of the thing broiled' (Buckmaster 1874: 203). Earlier, in Acton's *Modern Cookery in All its Branches* (1845) which became *Modern Cookery for Private Families* c.1860, Acton writes that:

> The upright gridirons, by which meat is rather *toasted* than broiled, though used in many kitchens and generally pronounced exceedingly convenient, where they have been tried, do not appear to us so well adapted for dressing steaks as those of less modern fashion, which are placed *over,* instead of before the fire. (1845: 173-4)

Both statements suggest that upright gridirons of the kind displayed in Figure 7 obstructed a successful broil because they could not be positioned close enough to the fire to obtain adequate heat. Instead of being held or balanced over the flames, these gridirons were stood in front of them. Indeed, Acton's use of the italicised '*toasted*' suggests that steaks or chops cooked in these implements were not broiled because they were placed 'before the fire' rather than '*over'* it. Acton's judgement is also in later editions of her cookbook, and so despite upright gridirons being 'exceedingly convenient' in 'many kitchens', it is clear that she thought gridirons of 'less modern fashion' were preferable for cooking steaks. The temporality implied by Acton's use of 'less modern' highlights that modifications to material technologies like gridirons were not always beneficial or appreciated by their users. Recipes may therefore have pointed readers in the direction of certain purchases, and the stakes were high given that choosing the wrong gridiron could ruin dinner. These writings in turn affected both the way implements were designed, and which of those designs stood the test of time. These frequent references to gridirons, and the specificity with which authors debate the implement's shape, illuminates that recipe authors were clearly invested in the form of the gridiron as a material technology and how that would influence their reader's experience. As instructive texts that mediated between producers, buyers, readers and cooks, recipe authors had the power to sway what was bought and how it was used.

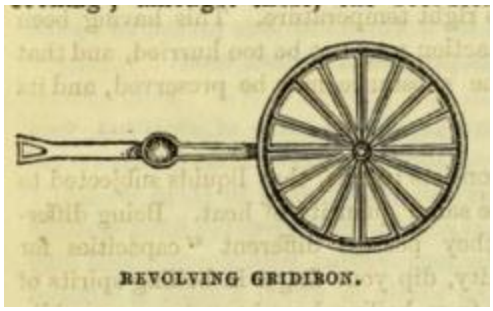


Figure 8: 'Revolving Gridiron' (Beeton 1861: 264)

As Acton's note about 'less modern' gridirons implies, there is a thread of temporality woven into nineteenth-century discussions of the gridiron's shape. Another instance regarding the shape of gridirons and their relationship with time and proliferation is worth a closer look. In *Household Management,* Beeton discusses a type of gridiron not mentioned

in any of the other broiling recipes in the data set: the revolving gridiron (Figure 8). In her description on the broiling process in the chapter on 'Various methods of cooking meat', Beeton includes a section on the 'Utensils Used for Broiling' in which she writes that the gridiron 'possesses some advantages of convenience, which will soon be apparent' (Beeton 1861: 264). This use of the 'soon' suggests that the revolving gridiron was a modern improvement that was yet to earn its place in the kitchen inventory, but before this note Beeton writes:

> The common gridiron, for which see engraving at No. 68, is the same as it has been for ages past, although some little variety has been introduced into its manufacture, by the addition of grooves to the bars, by means of which the liquid fat is carried into a small trough. (1861: 264).

As the reference to 'ages past' suggests, Beeton goes further than just commenting on her preferred gridiron shape. She also provides readers with a history of the implement. By directing the reader to the 'engraving at No. 68' Beeton radially sends them back through the previous pages of the cookbook. The act of turning back the pages physically represents turning back in time to the content found there.

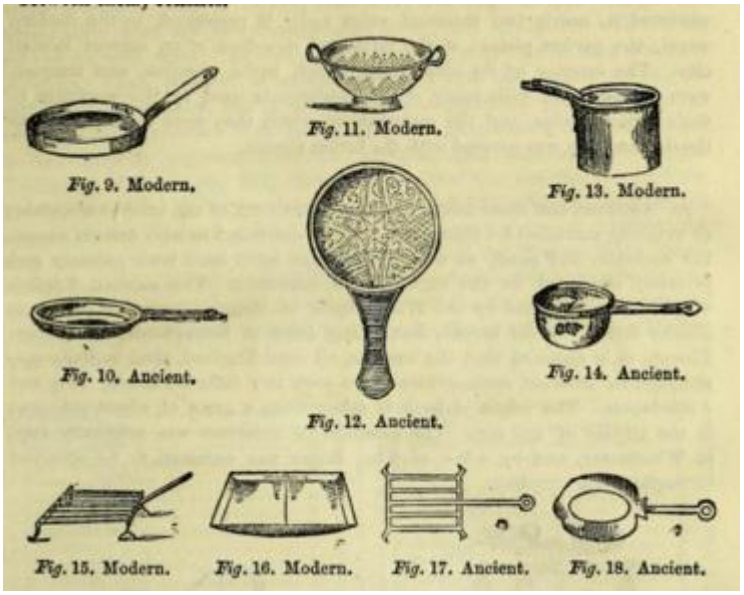


Figure 9: 'Ancient Implements' (Beeton 1861: 29)

Over two-hundred pages earlier in a chapter entitled 'Economy of the Kitchen' are two numbered entries on the 'ancient utensils', accompanied by a plate (Figure 9). Beeton writes that 'the braziers, ladles, stewpans, saucepans, gridirons, and colanders of antiquity might generally pass for those of the English manufacture of the present day, in so far as shape is concerned', and the plate is provided 'so that the reader may, at a single view, see wherein any difference that is between them, consists' (1861: 28, 29). At the bottom of the plate is a 'modern' and an 'ancient' gridiron, and a 'modern' and an 'ancient' dripping-pan, visually juxtaposed so the reader can see their differences and similarities. In the next section, Beeton writes that 'Some of the ancient utensils represented in the above cuts, are copied from those found amid the ruins of Herculaneum or Pompeii', before going into a short description of the discovery of the two settlements which 'presented, to the modern world, the perfect picture of the form and structure of an ancient

Roman city' (1861: 29, 30). Beeton therefore uses familiar kitchen implements to segue into a history lesson, and the gridiron is figured as an artefact that is still in use in nineteenth-century kitchens: broiling upon one connects readers to the Romans, who broiled on similar gridirons in their kitchens in Herculaneum and Pompeii.

The shape of the gridiron changed and stayed the same over time (and had the potential to spoil your dinner), but in Beeton's cookbook it represents the passing of time and history itself. Indeed, the image of Herculaneum and Pompeii's inhabitants, using their gridirons before being 'entombed' and forever suspended 'as [they] existed immediately before the catastrophe that overwhelmed [them], nearly two thousand years ago', metaphorically suggests that implements like gridirons are rooted in time, both in terms of their preservation in ash, and in terms of their continued use (Beeton 1861: 30). Beeton situates the gridiron in a teleological history whereby the implements readers cook with tangibly connect them to points in history: gridirons are relics that are as functional to the nineteenth-century home cook as they had been in the kitchens and public bakeries of Herculaneum and Pompeii (Ault 2015: 210-211). As Acton's preference for 'less modern' gridirons emphasises, the 'common gridiron' prevailed because it worked. Not just a tip on what kind of gridiron to buy, then, Beeton's reference to the gridiron's shape uses historical allusion and radiality within the cookbook to elevate the gridiron into a symbol of the passing of time, and the remnants of the past which remained relevant.

In addition to passing judgement on the individual elements of the fire and the gridiron's shape, recipe authors frequently comment on how they should be positioned in relation to one another. This positioning was also a key area where readers could easily get into difficulty when broiling, and again, a plethora of advice is offered in recipes. Buckmaster notes that cooks should 'arrange [the] gridiron so that it may be from two to five inches above the fire', and suggests that distance may be better when cooking more delicate meats, like fish, but that closeness is necessary (Buckmaster 1874: 203). Then in his 'easy' account of broiling, Soyer writes that the gridiron 'should be placed slanting over the fire, to prevent the fat going into it' (1849: 73), while in an article called 'Chops' in *All the Year Round* (May 15 1869) Dickens agrees with Soyer, declaring that though '[s]ome cooks use enamelled gridirons, with channelled bars, to keep the fat from running into the fire; but these refinements are not at all necessary if the gridiron is placed well slanting forward'(May 15 1869: 564). By Dickens's assertion, positioning a gridiron well meant that cooks could overcome the need to buy a specially designed gridiron (like the enamelled number in Figure 6). This puts the onus of success on the reader/cook, however, rather than on the type of implement they were using, again highlighting that broiling was fraught with potential

mishaps. Indeed, even with an enamelled, channelled gridiron, meat could be ruined if the gridiron was positioned wrongly, adding yet another mistake that cooks had to be careful to avoid.

Dickens satirically captures the numerous difficulties that surrounded the broiling process in an excerpt of his 'Leaves from the Mahogany Tree' article:

> If the gridiron is not bright as silver, and clean between the bars, the meat will suffer. If the bars be not rubbed with suet they will print themselves on the steak. If the fire be not bright and clear, there is no hope for the broiler. If the broil be hurried, it will be smoked or burnt. If the gridiron be over-heated before the steak is put on it, it will scorch the steak. If the gridiron be cold, the part of the meat covered by the bars will be underdone. If the gridiron be not kept slanting, the constant flare and smoke, from the fat streaming into the fire, will spoil the steak. If no salt be sprinkled on the fire, the meat will very likely taste of brimstone, which the salt should exorcise (Dickens Jul 18 1868: 129)

This passage constitutes a kind of 'anti-recipe' in which the instructions are all conveyed in negative terms: what not to do, rather than what to do. Dickens's list of errors – an unclean gridiron, not sufficiently greased, that was too hot, too cold, in the wrong position, over an unsalted fire, and used in a hurried manner – could well have struck fear into the reader's heart. Successful broiling is made to seem like an insurmountable task through the piling up of potential errors. While the inverted structure and mocking tone inspired by images of exorcism and brimstone create an irony, indicating that this is not a recipe to be taken seriously, Dickens's directions are closely aligned with the recipe snippets I have utilised above in terms of how he addresses the process. He mentions the type of gridiron, the fire, timings, and position, just like the authors of serious broiling recipes. Indeed, in his recipe for broiled chops Buckmaster notes 'There are only a few places in London where you can have these things cooked to perfection' (1874: 203), also implying that it was rarely done well, even in commercial establishments. Moreover, Dickens's reference to brimstone is evocative of the images of charred Pompeii that Beeton conjures in her description of gridirons. These similarities consolidate that broiling was not an easy cooking process within the home, and that using a gridiron was not a simple, self-explanatory task. The entertaining nature of Dickens's anti-recipe emphasises that difficulty: broiling was clearly so fraught with peril that it could be turned into a joke – a parodical recipe that emphasises failure over success was just as 'helpful' as an instructive broiling recipe.

Delineating the characteristics and approaches amongst a set of recipes shows that, despite initial appearances of simplicity, there were numerous challenges facing the gridiron user. This could have been down to changing values surrounding what was 'easy' or 'safe'

in the kitchen, as enclosed ranges and ovens made cooking over an open fire seem uneconomic or needlessly complicated. The historical references throughout these recipes, however, even down to Soyer's use of the resonant term 'primitive' in my opening example, contrastingly illuminated that broiling was not difficult enough to have faded from use over hundreds of years. Rather than the broiling process becoming difficult at this point, then, the rhetorical workings of these nineteenth-century recipes show that broiling on the gridiron came to be presented as difficult in a manner than illuminated the concerns of a specific historical moment. Indeed, other aspects of broiling recipes can be analysed to understand why writers continued to include it in their culinary vocabulary. As I noted above, Beeton's discussion of the ancient gridiron demonstrates that there were larger historical, cultural, and symbolic narratives at play in these recipe texts. Recipe authors frame the gridiron as unfashionable or broiling as difficult (or not) to comment on nation, history, and innovation. The rest of this chapter thus turns to these instances of symbolism within broiling recipes to determine why a cooking process that was seemingly troublesome, antiquated, and precarious remains so prevalent across nineteenth-century food texts.

'The national beef steak and mutton chop have made us the best of broilers': The Symbolism of Broiling in Nineteenth-century Recipes

When considering the symbolism of broiling in nineteenth-century recipes, it is crucial to bear in mind that broiling was a method of meat cookery. Meat was one of the most expensive items on the nineteenth-century table, and in nineteenth-century Britain it was highly symbolic. The breakfast bacon and supper roast joint are lauded in fictional, culinary, and social writing as symbols of British identity. This is demonstrated by inclusions like this verse, which comes after the 'Roast Ribs of Beef' recipe in Beeton's *Household Management*. The paratextual note, included in smaller font underneath the recipe, reads:

> ROAST Beef has long been a national dish in England. In most of our patriotic songs it is contrasted with the fricasseed frogs, popularly supposed to be the exclusive diet of Frenchmen.
>
> 'O the roast beef of old England,
> And O the old English roast beef.'
>
> This national chorus is appealed to whenever a song-writer wishes to account for the valour displayed by Englishmen at sea or on land. (Beeton 1861: 307)

While Beeton's light-hearted inclusion under a roast beef recipe plays into the nationalistic rivalry between French and English cuisine, the inclusion of a patriotic 'national chorus' aligns eating meat – and particularly roast beef – with English national identity, tradition, masculinity, travel and imperial expansion. Scholars frequently comment on this symbolism,

and the importance of meat in British (and in most cases, English) culinary history. Ben Rogers writes a history of the English preoccupation with beef, which traces roast beef as the national dish in England from 'the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for it was during those periods that roast beef, the bulldog and John Bull were first taken up by patriots as emblems of manly English virtues' (2003: 2). Nadiya Durbach investigates the class politics of food in Britain and begins with a discussion of the associations between Englishness and roast beef that were proliferated by works like Henry Fielding's popular song 'The Roast Beef of Old England', which was taken from his play *The Grub-Street Opera* (1731) – the very song Beeton quotes above (2020: 27-28).[14] Nick Fiddes considers the British roast dinner as 'a scene of considerable ceremony', but expands the importance of meat to other cuts, writing that 'whilst a roast of meat is still the epitome of the proper meal, it is the idea of any meat, the feeling of meat, the spirit of meat, that is essential' (2004: 16). It is clear, both from historical scholarship and in nineteenth-century writings, that meat cookery is loaded with cultural resonance, even if regularly eating meat was reserved for the wealthy due to its cost. In this context, I will analyse the broiled chop or steak (meat dishes that, as I show, also frequently occur in literature and food writing), the process of broiling, and the gridiron, to determine how they figure symbolically in the culinary and literary culture of the nineteenth century.

In *Modern Housewife,* Soyer opens the passage in which he describes the ease of broiling with this statement: 'BROILING is, without doubt, the earliest and most primitive mode of cookery, it being that which would present itself to man in a state of nature' (1849: 72). Soyer's use of 'primitive' is worth a closer look, harking back to Beeton's discussion of fire cookery as a signifier of the 'simplicity of the primitive ages' which was noted in the introduction of this thesis (1861: 26).[15] Rather than trying to distance himself from outdated and archaic practices and highlight his place in modern civilisation, however, Soyer creates a teleological history of cooking techniques in which he encourages readers to participate by providing a (supposedly easy) recipe for broiling. This history carries certain resonances due to the image Soyer creates. The notion of 'a state of nature' situates broiling at the very start of the history in which people used fire to cook, connecting the reader to what is depicted as a masculine history of self-sufficiency: visions of ancient 'man' cooking his quarry over an open fire are evoked by Soyer's description. This opening statement creates a form of tradition and historical significance that is thus coded in masculine terms. It encourages the reader following Soyer's recipe to picture themselves engaging in a process that had been

[14] *The Grub-Street Opera* was never performed but remained in circulation in print.
[15] See p. 14.

around for as long as human beings have cooked. Like Beeton, Soyer integrates broiling into a long history. Broiling, therefore, carries symbolic weight depending on where the author places it within the teleology of cookery depicted in their recipes. Looking to other broiling recipes determines that this historic symbolism became embroiled in specific cultural and national debates in the nineteenth century.

Soyer's primitive man was not the only model of masculinity that ran through accounts of broiling and turning to Dickens gives valuable insight into how broiling and gridirons were situated within different histories. The recipe in Dickens's 'Chops' article (May 15 1869) is not presented as a list of instructions, but is obscured and scattered within a lengthy essay that covers three pages of densely-packed text in *All the Year Round.* This essay is concerned with chops as a food but approaches them not from the perspective of the cook in need of a recipe, but rather as a symbolic representation of consumption in Britain, and particularly in London. Striking intertextual references and allusions dominate the article, and Dickens opens it with an exchange between Portia, Antonio and Bassanio from Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice.* Situating Shakespeare's characters in London, Dickens places them in 'the coffee-room of the Cock, in Fleet-street' and has them ordering chops (Dickens May 15 1869: 562). This allusion sets the tone for a discussion of chops that transcends culinary boundaries and transforms the chop from a cut of meat into a national emblem. Dickens's allusion draws out the nationalistic symbolism of meat in Shakespeare's time. Citing lines from *Henry V* in which the Constable of France forewarned that the English eat 'great meals of beef' before battle, Rogers writes that 'Shakespeare's lines show that the English already saw themselves as a bullish, mastiff-owning, beef-eating people by the end of the 1590s and that this was connected, in their minds, with their valour' (Rogers 2003: 9). In Dickens's adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice,* however, the broiled chop rather than roast beef is the star.

Dickens uses the literary and cultural clout of Shakespeare as one of Britain's greatest literary men to draw attention to the longstanding place of broiled chops and gridirons in British history. Moreover, by using a play as the intertextual backdrop of his article, Dickens nods to the links between the theatre and broiled foods that had been established in the eighteenth century. This indicates the public aspect of broiled foods, and their prevalence in social rather than domestic arenas. Rogers discusses the establishment of the 'Beef-steak Club' – clubs that arose in cities including London, Cambridge and Dublin which typically consisted of patriotic writers, artists, actors, and politicians, including famous figures like William Hogarth and George Lambert. The initial appearance of these clubs was distinctly tied to the English theatre – 'it fell to a small band of playwrights, managers and actors to

stand up for serious, manly English theatre – and to champion the virtues of roast beef' – and both on the stage and at club gatherings, songs like Fielding's would be sung while the members ate steaks and ruminated on the past, present and future of British theatre (Rogers 2003: 72, 79).

While the focus of these clubs was the steak rather than the chop, the gridiron featured prominently in their iconography. Gridiron-shaped badges or medallions were worn by members, emblazoned with the motto 'Beef and Liberty' in the case of the Sublime Society of Beefsteaks founded in 1736. By choosing to adapt a play in his discussion of chops and gridirons, then, Dickens evokes numerous literary and theatrical histories from different points in British history – the sixteenth century, the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth century, and all the chops or steaks broiled in between. This weaves a history of famous men and masculine literary tradition around Dickens's account of chops: he brought his fame, Shakespeare's, and the esteemed defenders of broiled foods together in this piece, playing with different literary forms and their catalogue of associations.

Dickens does not just allude to Shakespeare, however, but actively satirises his characters. Analysing how he does so reveals the nuanced manner in which Dickens comments on British tradition. Merging his culinary narrative with Shakespeare's play, Dickens writes that 'Portia is unhappily in delicate health – indeed, she never quite recovered from the fright that horrid Jew gave her' (Dickens May 15 1869): 562). This refers to Portia's encounter with Shylock, when the latter demands 'a pound of flesh' from Antonio, but characterises Portia as a sensitive, delicate woman: a feminine character perhaps better suited to a nineteenth-century novel (Shakespeare [1600] 2007: 410). Dickens then uses bodily descriptions to draw comparisons between broiled chops and the mutilation that nearly befalls Antonio in the play, writing that 'the bare mention of' chops 'had frozen the very marrow in Antonio's bones, and curdled every drop of blood in his veins' (Dickens May 15 1869: 562). This draws attention to the fact that the human body could be reduced to 'a pound of flesh' and bone, just as chops are. On an adaptive level, this suggests a symbolic cannibalism that is representative of Dickens's hypertextual reworking of Shakespeare's plot. Connotations of flesh and torture are also present in Dickens's anti-recipe discussed above, via the references to the 'taste of brimstone, which the salt should exorcise' which evoke hellish torments and demonic possession (Dickens Jul 18 1868: 129). Both this and the Shakespeare parody intriguingly align with a different thread of the gridiron's history.

Before being cited in a culinary context, the words 'broiling' and 'gridiron' both appear in descriptions of human torture over fire. In *The South English Legendary* published in 1290, a 'gredire' is mentioned as a torture device (OED 'gridiron' 2019). 'Broil' or 'brule'

first appear c.1375 in a text by the Scottish poet John Barbour called *St Georgis,* with the gendered pronoun in the line 'He gert brandis of fyre [til hyme] bynde, To brule it wes lewit behynde' once more suggesting the burning of human flesh (OED 'broil' 2019). Even the first culinary reference to broiling is marked by male pronouns that blur the lines between cooking and torture: 'broille' first appears in Chaucer's *Prology* c.1386 in the sentence: 'He koude rooste and seethe and broille & frye … and wel bake a pye' (OED 'broil' 2019). Antonio's pound of flesh could therefore be cooked in the same manner as the chop, and depending on how the recipe is phrased, readers may not know the difference. Through this manipulation of Shakespeare's narrative, Dickens situates the act of eating chops in a long history of meat being cooked over the fire, just as Soyer does with his primitive man. Dickens, however, takes up the correlation between cooking meat over flames, human flesh, and human torture, and through these subtle yet grotesque allusions to a classic British play, highlights the power cooking meat had in the culinary and literary imagination as something that could instil pleasure and fear in equal parts.

Through his allusion to Shakespeare and mention of identifiable London eateries, Dickens turns broiled chops into a symbol which is both imbued in literary history and framed as an integral part of life in nineteenth-century London. Broiled meat is a trope from the past and is simultaneously positioned as a food of particular relevance to nineteenth-century readers. Though the reference is comical – the idea of Bassanio and Antonio eating chops on Fleet-street in the 1860s is bizarre – it sets the tone for the rest of the essay, which discusses the broiled chop as 'the alpha and the omega, the first and the last, the best and the worst of British dishes' (Dickens May 15 1869: 562). There is a touch of self-mockery here, as Dickens's repetitive phrasing is reminiscent of 'it was the best of times, it was the worst of times' from *A Tale of Two Cities* (Dickens [1859] 1999: 3), which works to integrate Dickens's own writing into the great tradition of British literature he highlights through Shakespeare. The satirical tone that accompanies Dickens's description implies that as 'the last' of British cuisine, broiled chops mark the end of culinary prowess. This suggests a stasis in the development of new dishes or food trends and perhaps in British theatre, which can be read as melancholic given that the driving force of the eighteenth-century Clubs was to protect both traditions. The allusion to Shakespeare, however, groups chops and the playwright together as the best of what the country has to offer: quintessentially, the best of British. This is pertinent, as the entertainment value of the piece uses the cultural ubiquity of broiled chops as its currency. Readers in 1860s' London, and in wider Britain, were as familiar with broiled chops as they were with Shakespeare, and so this comic accentuation of their national resonances would have been amusing. The gag would not operate, however,

if broiled chops were not viewed as culturally and nationally symbolising 'Britishness' in the first place.

Beyond this drive to entertain, Dickens's definition of chops as 'the first and the last' of British cuisine highlights the temporality of food. This allows him to ruminate on how the things we consume are integrated into history, and what particular strands of history are relevant to the broiled chop. By relocating characters from a play set in sixteenth-century Venice to London, and having them order broiled chops – a food they were familiar with – Dickens invokes 'the taste as well as the traditions of food cooked over an open fire', which Pennell argues is one reason flame cookery persisted as a method: '[f]or every domestic manual cautiously welcoming technological change in the mid-Victorian kitchen […] there was an influential defender of the flame' (2016: 69-70). Moreover, Dickens highlights that recognisable chophouses in London were serving a food that had been part of Britain's culinary identity for centuries, and his use of Shakespeare to do so – arguably the most famous British author – accentuates this. Dickens writes:

> [t]he numberless excellencies of a properly cut and well-cooked chop, such as you get at the Cock, in Fleet-street, at Thomas's, in George-yard, or at any other first-class City tavern. It is a singular thing, and the American author of English Photographs has arrived at the same conclusion, that it is only within the realms of the Lord Mayor that the foremost dish in the whole range of British cookery is to be had in full perfection. (Dickens May 15 1869: 563)

By giving this specific, street-by-street description of the chophouses where one can get the 'foremost dish in the whole range of British cookery' Dickens frames London as the epicentre of both a culinary and a literary tradition.

In his mention of the 'American author of English Photographs' Dickens is referring to *English Photographs, being sketches of English life, by an American* (1869) by Stephen Fiske. *English Photographs* is a collection of articles that Fiske had first published in *Tinsley's Magazine* which were then released in book form. They are entertaining travel pieces intended to 'give my own countrymen exact descriptions of English manners, habits and customs as they appeared to an American newly arrived in Great Britain' (Fiske 1869: viii). In the chapter on 'English Houses' Fiske tells his American readers to do the following:

> Go to one of the old London chop-houses up the narrow courts leading from Fleet-street or the Poultry, and, after having eaten a rump-steak broiled, you can lay your hand below your heart and confess that you have tasted meat for the first time in your life. By what occult science, or by what happy knack, the cooking of this speciality is brought to such perfection it is useless to imagine. (Fiske 1869: 206).

These geographical directions and celebration of London's broiled steaks align with Dickens's article, and moreover, Fiske's book is dedicated to Dickens: 'with hearty admiration and affection' (Fiske 1869: v). Dickens's allusion to Fiske therefore not only affirms his point about London chophouses as the home of British culinary tradition, but it is also a subtle act of self-promotion. Dickens again utilises other literary genres to make a case for his place in the British canon: he is as iconic as the chops he describes. London was thus the epicentre of writing, as well as eating, and there is yet another allusion that can be traced in the above passage from Dickens which emphasises the importance of London to British traditions.

In *Great Expectations* (1861), there is a scene in which the protagonist Pip eats at a 'geographical chophouse':

> I dined at what Herbert and I used to call a geographical chop-house, where there were maps of the world in porter-pot rims on every half-yard of the tablecloths, and charts of gravy on every one of the knives, —to this day there is scarcely a single chop-house within the Lord Mayor's dominions which is not geographical. (Dickens 1996: 383)

The reference to the 'Lord Mayor's dominions' in *Great Expectations* is closely replicated in the 'Chops' article when Dickens mentions 'the realms of the Lord Mayor'. Both phrases utilise nouns that evoke power and geographic dominance. These intonations of nationalism and imperialism are accented by Pip's observations of maps in porter foam and charts of gravy, which both hint at naval and military expansion from London into the rest of the world. This point is emphasised by the fact that both porter and chops are intrinsically British – and moreover, associated with London – foodstuffs, though as James Sumner writes, the London-based identity of porter was interrogated and contested over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (2008: 301). London chophouses were therefore not just the centre of culinary and literary tradition, but broiled chops and steaks are positioned as a food that fuelled imperialism and the expansion of the British empire. The people (namely, men) who ate in them were participating in that expansion simply by engaging in the best of British culture and tradition. Not only was broiled meat ingrained in literary and theatrical history then, but also in culinary, national, and notably masculine history – the food of successful men who symbolised British power and who bolstered it by participating in the tradition of visiting a chophouse and indulging in a broiled steak and pint of porter.

In the remainder of the 'Chops' article Dickens provides an entertaining recipe, which is not titled or separated from the rest of the prose, but which is full of directions that are closely aligned with the language used in recipes within cookbooks or household

columns. For instance, he writes that 'our chop must be put down over a bright, clear, and somewhat fierce fire' and notes that the gridiron should be of 'iron or silver' and should be kept clean, before asserting that 'chops should be served on a dish kept hot' (Dickens May 15 1869: 564).[16] Sometimes, however, Dickens intentionally contradicts himself. He remarks that cooks are 'not to let a drop more of these doubly valuable juices escape us than is absolutely unavoidable', but later tells the reader to make sure the 'gridiron is placed well slanting forward, so the fat may trickle along the bars and drop into the fire away from the chop' (May 15 1869: 563, 564). This latter instruction is in direct opposition to Dickens's other mention of fat, and to the advice within most broiling recipes. Kitchiner, for instance, writes that 'Gridirons should be made concave, and terminate in a trough to catch the Gravy and keep the Fat from dropping into the fire and making a smoke, which will spoil the Broil' (1822: 107). Dickens's playful inversion of the typical broiling recipe makes a mockery of the detailed, even pedantic instructions that are recycled and repeated between cookbooks, as this chapter has shown. But (like chophouses) something needs to be culturally resonant to be laughed at, and so by satirising these features Dickens draws attention to the literary patterns recipes rely upon for affect. Recipe writers created and utilised a recognisable culinary vocabulary that was suited to their context. A nineteenth-century reader would know that a 'bright' fire referred to the fierceness of flame, and that dripping fat was to be avoided. It was these tropes and writing traditions that gave Dickens the material for pastiche. He is therefore not just using intertextual satire to draw attention to the traditions of literature and masculinity that surrounded broiled foods, but he is also pointing to the generic traditions that governed cookbooks and recipes.

Humorous interjections keep Dickens's recipe circling back to the narratives of tradition and historical legacy that dominate the article, however. He writes that '[t]he cook that would turn a chop by sticking a fork into it, and so letting out all its most delicious gravy, ought to be treated in a precisely similar manner, and then broiled over a slow fire' which once more evokes the history of broiling as human torture (Dickens May 15 1869: 564). When describing table setting, Dickens continues this tone by imploring his reader not to 'profane the altar on which the victim is sacrificed by incongruous adjuncts' and then ends the article with an address to 'worshippers at the shrine of chop' (Dickens May 15 1869: 564). Indeed, these comical notes point to the visual and satirical history Dickens taps into

[16] In my research into gridirons I found no reference to silver gridirons, but in his other recipe in *All the Year Round* Dickens notes that gridirons should be 'bright as silver', suggesting that this may refer to polished appearance, given that a silver gridiron would easily tarnish, or melt (Dickens Jul 18 1868: 129). Or, Dickens may be satirically suggesting that some readers are wealthy enough to own silver gridirons without knowing how to use them.

throughout. While Pip's imperial chop spoke to British dominance, the filthy chophouse self-mockingly intones that the British empire was something of a mess. The intertextual connections between *Great Expectations,* 'Chops', and Shakespeare also extend to James Gillray's visual representations of the greedy British empire. In 'Plum Pudding in Danger' (1805), William Pitt and Napoleon carve up the globe in the form of the traditionally English dessert. This represents imperialism and colonialism as 'un petit souper' or 'a light supper', and the image is captioned with an adapted line from Shakespeare's *The Tempest:* 'The great Globe itself and all which it inherit [*sic*], is too small to satisfy such insatiable appetites' (Gillray 1805). Then in 'John Bull taking a Luncheon' (1798), a grotesque John Bull swallows French ships as if they were chops with a pitcher of 'True British Stout' to wash them down, while figures outside the window exclaim 'Oh, curse his Guts, he'll take a chop at Us next' (Gillray 1798). Dickens thus takes up the correlations between chops, Shakespeare, British nationality and the empire which had been established throughout literary and visual culture, both as sources of national pride and as a satirical critique of imperial greed. Cooking from Dickens's recipe thus became a means for readers to situate themselves in the numerous histories evoked in his 'Chops' article. Readers could create the 'foremost dish in the whole range of British cookery', and imagine themselves sitting alongside Shakespeare's characters, the members of the Beef-steak clubs, Pip, and even Dickens and Shakespeare themselves, enjoying the best of what Britain has to offer, whether that is coded with national pride or ironical gluttony.

Dickens's 'Leaves from the Mahogany Tree' also enlists numerous histories to play with the nationalist sentiments of traditional broiling, though in this article he turns to the history of culinary writing. He writes that 'To broil, is to perform an operation which is the result of centuries of experience acquired by a nation that relishes, always did relish, and probably always will relish, broils' (Jul 18 1868: 129). These musings identify the perceived paradox of broiling, in that it was a process honed by centuries of practice, yet it required skill that was difficult to teach. Dickens's notion that Britain 'relishes, always did relish, and probably will always relish, broils' once more brings temporality into broiling's significance: broiled dishes are important to British history, its present and its future simultaneously (Dickens Jul 18 1868: 129). Moreover, culinary writing is a means of ensuring that import, and teaching the skills required to uphold it.

Dickens thus positions broiled foods within a history of culinary writing by alluding to cookbooks and recipes. In a statement that links his article to the *London Magazine* excerpt with which I opened this chapter, Dickens cites 'the eccentric Dr Kitchiner', who writes that mutton 'requires a brisk fierce fire, quick and clear; but beef, a large sound one'

before outlining the different dredgings Robert May recommends in his *Accomplisht Cook* (1665) (Jul 18 1868: 129). Through these references Dickens demonstrates his knowledge of historical recipes, bringing another written tradition into his discussion. Historical culinary technologies are Dickens's next point of reference. He mentions the 'steel spits and pewter plates' of the 'distant ages' of the 'old cocked-hat days': apparently 'in those days it was Swift, in his droll bitter way, [who] advised the cook to carefully leave the winders on whilst the jack was going round' (Dickens Jul 18 1868: 129). The use of historical implements to discuss Jonathan Swift actively demonstrates how writers could elevate material technologies so that they became symbols which represented literary tradition. Dickens then quotes an entire poem by Swift which 'enriched our literature with a rhyming recipe to roast mutton', the first stanza of which reads as follows:

> Gently stir and blow the fire,
> Lay the mutton down to roast,
> Dress it quickly, I desire,
> In the dripping put a toast,
> That I hunger may remove –
> Mutton is the meat I love. (Dickens Jul 18 1868: 129)

After this, Dickens cites two more rhymed recipes, one about veal from John Gay (which is also reproduced in Kitchiner's *Cook's Oracle*) and one about a winter salad, written by Sydney Smith, c.1800. The choice of these figures was not coincidental, as Swift and Gay both ran in the same circles as the members of the beef-steak clubs that made these tropes famous. John Gay wrote *The Beggar's Opera* in 1728, which inspired Fielding's *The Grub Street Opera* and was produced by Hogarth. Swift was an acquaintance of many of these men and defended the English stage against European influence: of the first opera performed in England entirely in Italian – Handel's *Rinaldo,* performed in London in 1711 – he wrote that the country would 'be overrun with Italian effeminacy and Italian nonsense' (Rogers 2003: 73). Swift and Gay were key patriotic figures who rooted the fight for English culture in traditional English cooking, a movement emblemised by the gridiron.

Dickens's allusions thus work to position both broiled foods *and* recipes in a longstanding cultural history. Henry Notaker discusses rhyming recipe poems, pointing to the 'long tradition in European literature of verses about food, often with a comic or playful element, and the humour is quite obvious in the collections of rhyme recipes ("poetic cookbooks") from the eighteenth century onwards' (2017: 156). Dickens's humorous approach to food is thus historical in itself – and this is not the only 'long tradition' that Dickens references in 'Leaves from the Mahogany Tree'. Prior to his mention of recipes and rhymes, he discusses how 'Homer is a great authority on the question of how the Greeks of

the heroic ages cooked their meat' and outlines perceptions of Homer's cooking in contemporary German and French scholarship (Jul 18 1868: 128) Citing examples of rhyming recipes written by men with tangible links to the beef-steak clubs after his discussion of food in translations of myth and historical cookbooks, means the structure of Dickens's article elevates recipes and cookbooks so they are on the same intellectual level as translations of Homer. Whether it was a bowdlerised recipe to be sung with friends over a broiled steak, a mention of beef in the *Iliad,* or a recipe in a cookbook, Dickens demonstrates that all these writings were active in the creation of tradition, and thereby gives cultural and historical weight to culinary texts and their adaptations.

Several other historical and literary figures are mentioned throughout the rest of Dickens's 'Leaves from the Mahogany' article, which ends with a description of a 'gridiron-grating' as a 'portcullis: over which was inscribed the apt quotation from Macbeth, If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well / It were done quickly' (Dickens Jul 18 1868: 131). Alluding to another Shakespearian play, this returns to the conflation of human bodies, meat, and torture, in this case the murder of Shakespeare's Duncan. This final description also figures the gridiron as a canonical architectural feature which connotes conflict: the part of historical castles that could be lowered to defend noble families from invaders and keep valuable resources safe inside. Indeed, the visual representation of the portcullis creates an ekphrastic allusion to Hogarth's painting, *The Gate of Calais* (1749), which was sold as a print with the title *O The Roast Beef of Old England* (Figure 10). The painting depicts a scene Hogarth captured before he was arrested under suspicion of being a spy in Calais in 1748. Food and patriotism are at the centre of the painting, with subtle symbolic gestures throughout, like the tartan-clad Jacobite veteran who fled to France after the 1745 rebellion, now reduced to begging, with no food other than an onion beside him.[17] The focal point of the painting, however, is a kitchen porter carrying a large joint of beef 'destined for the English tourists staying at "Madame Grandsire's", a local, English-owned hotel' (Rogers 2003: 100). A portly French monk and pair of French soldiers interrogate him, while in the background the city gate is half in shade, half in sunlight, and the gridiron-like portcullis gate protrudes like teeth from the archway. Dickens's use of 'portcullis' therefore creates another link to visual art which was a site in which national tensions were played out.

[17] This onion links to another Gillray painting, 'French Liberty – British Slavery' (1792) which depicts an emaciated Frenchman in threadbare clothing eating nothing but onions and raw snails after supposed victory in the French revolution, while a fat Englishman cuts into a huge joint of beef.

The large cut of beef at the centre of the painting, simultaneously lusted-after and threatened by the French, conveys Hogarth's patriotic culinary message: English beef surpasses the food of the French, emphasised by his use of Fielding's song for the print's caption. Rogers comments on the use of shadow on the gate: 'while the bottom half of the gate and everything in front of it are cast in shadow, the top half, bearing the English coat of

Figure 10: The Gate of Calais, by William Hogarth (1749)

arms, is bathed in gorgeous evening light' (2003: 101). The portcullis in Hogarth's painting thus emphasises the patriotic need to defend English food and tradition, and through his use of the same symbol Dickens transforms the image of the gridiron into a protector of British people, values and honour. This was accented by the quote from Shakespeare, which works in the same way as the *Merchant of Venice* satire in 'Chops' – to paint British art, literature, theatre and broiling food as the bastions of British history and identity. Running through these parodical recipes and allusions, however, is an anxiety about the standing of Britain in the nineteenth-century. If chophouses were filthy, British greed was grotesque and Britons

struggled to cook their national dish, what did that say about British national identity in the nineteenth century? The sheer number of text-types and allusions Dickens employs, however, stands in the face of this culinary and national uncertainty. Cookbooks, rhyming recipes, plays, paintings, myths, adaptations, and travel writing are invoked across Dickens's two articles, creating a dense web of intertextual allusion across media. This layered approach leaves no room to escape the nuanced historic symbolism that broiled foods and gridirons are saturated with, and that Dickens in turn is contributing to. Even if these culinary motifs made British eaters the butt of the joke, it was the weight of cultural resonance that made such literary play possible.

The other satirical articles with which I opened this chapter also engage with literary and historical traditions of masculinity, emphasising that the process of broiling was inextricable from these narratives, even in book reviews and writings by anonymous authors. The article by 'an Epicure' in the *National Magazine* notes that 'If a steak feeds one, it has its moral uses also; it suggests country, and calls to mind whole pages of Thomson, and Clare, and Carrington, and Tom Miller' (*National Magazine* March 1857: 354). This notion of 'moral uses' suggests that consuming of broiled foods nourishes the eater (and reader) on a symbolic, as well as nutritional, level: to eat broiled steaks is to consume the essence of Britain, and the humble broiled chop signifies British masculine intellectualism. The article in the *London Magazine* which contains the opening quote about the 'lyre-like' gridiron is akin to Dickens's 'Leaves from the Mahogany Tree', as the author provides a description of the gridiron that depicts it as part of a mythology:

> We are transported at the thought of the golden gridiron in the beef-steak club, which seems to confine the white cook in his burning cage, which generates wit, whim, and song, for hours together, and pleasantly blends the fanciful and the substantial in one laughing and robust harmony. (*London Magazine* October 1821: 436).

Here, the 'golden', lyre-like gridiron evokes myth, with the reference to beef and lyres perhaps referring to the Olympian god Hermes. In Homer's *Hymn to Hermes*, the child Hermes creates a lyre from the shell of a tortoise and the innards of cows and sheep, before stealing Apollo's cattle and 'cutting their fat-rich / meat, / Transfixed on wooden spits he roasted together the flesh' (Homer 2001: 47). This sensuous description becomes an in-joke that only those well-versed in the classics can enjoy. The gridiron is thus framed as a signifier of knowledge, and is once more transformed into an instrument the nineteenth-century reader could use to access the civilisations of the past. Like Dickens's chophouse, this mythical history is then tethered to British eating practices through the mention of the 'beef-steak club', and so the imaginative framing of the gridiron and broiling extends into British

cultural belonging. Indeed, the phrase 'golden gridiron in the beef-steak club' carries particular relevance when considered in the context of the historic clubs discussed earlier. In the earliest known example, the 'Beef-Steak Clubb', the 'Providore' Richard Estcourt 'got to wear the club badge, a small gold gridiron or grill, "hung about the neck on a green Silk Ribbon"' (Rogers 2003: 79-80). Again, the gridiron becomes a multi-layered cultural symbol, which playfully enlivens multiple histories. Both Dickens and these anonymous authors create a group of British eaters and readers across time and media who could laugh at the stereotypes that defined them while simultaneously protecting and propogating them.

It was not just periodical articles that aligned broiling on gridirons with British tradition and prosperity, however. While Dickens refers to rhyming recipes that were written to entertain as well as to instruct and his own broiling recipes were intended to be amusing rather than functional, many practical paratexts and recipes also portray broiling and gridirons through a nationalistic, historical lens. The narrative, historical threads I revealed through my analysis of Dickens can be used to draw out the way that these seemingly more pragmatic forms of writing do something similar, but extend it to comment on the dissemination of the British empire. Buckmaster notes that '[t]he national beef steak and mutton chop have made us the best of broilers' with his reference to broiled steaks and chops as national indisputably laying claim to them, and to the broiling process, as a symbol of Britishness (1874: 203). In *Household Management* Beeton also ties chops into the national identity of England but relates it to the rest of the world. She declares that 'the beef-steak and mutton chop of the solitary English dinner may be mentioned as celebrated all the world over' (Beeton 1861: 264). Beeton lauds broiled chops and steaks as the cornerstone of celebrated English cuisine, and to posit that they are 'celebrated all the world over' effectively puts English cooking on a pedestal. Beeton's description of the international acclaim of chops and steaks also carries tones of imperialism, akin to Pip's mapping of the globe through gravy, although here there is no sense of irony. Yes, these dishes would have been eaten all over the globe, but only because colonisers brought them on their travels. Broiled mutton chops were celebrated all the world over by colonisers who had left British shores, rather than because they were necessarily renowned for their deliciousness.

These imperialistic connotations play out in reverse in Arthur Robert Kenney-Herbert's *Culinary Jottings for Madras* (1878). Kenney-Herbert, sometimes known as 'Wyvern', was a colonel who had served in several positions within the Indian Army, predominantly based in Madras. He wrote about cooking and the maintenance of domestic life in India and published widely in Anglo-Indian periodicals on the subject, also producing several books. In *Culinary Jottings,* Kenney-Herbert opens with a discussion of how to

manage your 'native cook', who he pejoratively refers to using the common Indian name 'Ramasámy'. Part of this section is concerned with the difference between the 'native' and 'British system of cookery', and Kenney-Herbert details the 'novel utensils' that expatriates could introduce to their Indian cooks in a tone that is largely patronising: 'In frying-pans he is not hypercritical: I do not think he perceives the difference between a *sauté* pan and an *omelette* pan' (1878: 14-16). Regarding gridirons, however, Kenney-Herbert lumps Indian and English chefs together, writing:

> Like many English cooks, the native is apt to disregard the grid-iron and take the frying-pan for many things which ought invariably to be cooked in the former vessel: this tendency requires watching, for, in many of the receipts I hope to give, broiling is essential. (1878: 16)

For Kenney-Herbert, both Indian and English cooks participated in a concerning trend of forgoing the gridiron – a trajectory that alarmed him. Later, when describing what entrées should be prepared for dinners, he asks:

> Can anything be more acceptable than a nice juicy little chop from a *neck* of mutton, on whose sides the mark of the grid-iron are plainly visible, reposing against a circle of really well-mashed potatoes, or of savoury rice, holding in its centre a *purée* of celery, *petit pois,* or sauce soubise. The grid-iron is invaluable. (Kenney-Herbert 1878: 52)

It is clear from this evocative description that Kenney-Herbert was a fan of the 'little chop' – indeed, no other entrée is more acceptable. The 'invaluable' gridiron is the key component of this remark: it gave the chop the signature branding that could not be recreated in the frying pan. Moreover, by suggesting that the chop is served either on (British) mashed potatoes or on (Indian) rice, Kenney-Herbert implies that the gridiron is invaluable to cookery in both Britain and the colonies. Modhumita Roy writes about the tendency in nineteenth-century cookbooks to use the positioning of food as a subtle act of colonisation, as when Acton 'wedges' her version of mulligatawny soup between recipes for pheasant soup and green pea soup without referencing its foreignness, which points to the incorporation or appropriation of foreign recipes into British cuisine (2010: 69). By suggesting a chop could be served over potatoes or rice, Kenney-Herbert uses the meaty centrepiece to dominate both culinary traditions. This reverts to his comment about English and Indian cooks disregarding the gridiron: if they did so, appetising food risked being lost in both countries. And not just appetising food, but a food that as we have seen, was a symbolic lynchpin of British tradition and national identity.

It cannot be forgotten that the broiled chop was only being requested of the Indian cook by a British diner (and master) because of colonisation. Indeed, many Indians would

have been vegetarians or avoided eating meat – particularly beef or pork – for religious reasons. The very fact that Kenney-Herbert provides directions with the intention of helping British people instruct their 'native' cooks to prepare foods like broiled chops is representative of the culinary colonisation expressed elsewhere by Dickens and Beeton. Roy writes that 'food – the cooking, serving and eating of it – was one ritual among many where the British in India sought to reproduce and maintain the caste system of imperial life' (2010: 68). The fact that the gridiron features so prominently in Kenney-Herbert's discussion of culinary traditions and practices showed that it was a lynchpin between Britain and its colonies – the implement represented the cultural imposition that maintained imperial life. Indeed, after his description of the broiled chop, Kenney-Herbert writes:

> For the little Club-dinner this class of *entrée* is always popular. I noticed that a plain cutlet such as I have described figured in almost every Club *menu*, I had the pleasure of discussing at home last year. (1878: 52)

This mention of the 'Club-dinner' alludes to the London gentleman's clubs, beef-steak clubs and chophouses that I have shown featured prominently in discussions of broiled foods. By then mentioning 'home' Kenney-Herbert explicitly positions the broiled chop or steak as a food that elicits nostalgia for the coloniser: a taste of what they had left behind on British shores, and what was waiting for them in the Club on their return. Again, masculinity dominates the narrative Kenney-Herbert weaves around his recipe and inventory instructions in numerous ways: through the military connotations of his position, the fact he refers to 'English cooks' rather than housewives and consistently calls the 'native cook' 'he', and through his mention of the masculine space of the Club. Given that these connotations are pervasive in writing about gridirons, then, both the broiled chop and the gridiron itself become devices that British men in India use to remind themselves of home, and to connect to the numerous histories of Britishness and tradition that broiled foods evoke. The 'tendency' to forget the gridiron was therefore a risk to British prosperity on multiple levels: it was not just good food that was in danger, but if broiled foods were to fall out of fashion, the resulting loss of masculine tradition would be damaging both on home shores and in the colonies, and this would have implications for strength of the British Empire. Looking back to the opening anecdote from de Blaquière, it seems like no coincidence that the recipe which most clearly signals the demise of the gridiron was written in a magazine for girls.

The dangers posed by the loss of broiled foods did not just threaten colonial dominance but were also investigated by recipe authors within the context of the British home. In *Shilling Cookery*, Soyer surrounds his recipes for broiled foods in a narrative that

suggests their loss would be influential on a familial and social level. Soyer wrote *Shilling Cookery* and *Modern Housewife* in an epistolary form, framing his recipes and advice through letters exchanged between two middle-class housewives, Hortense and Eloise.[18] Before a section of recipes entitled 'Important Remarks on Steak and Rump Steak' was one such letter, in which Hortense writes to Eloise about 'The Gridiron and Frying Pan: The Results of their Rivalry in Domestic Cookery' (Soyer 1854: 48). Hortense opens her letter by personifying the frying pan and the gridiron, writing that the frying pan is 'the most useful of all kitchen implements, and like a good-natured servant, is often imposed upon, […] while its companion, the gridiron, is quietly reposing in the chimney corner' (Soyer 1854: 48). Soyer thus characterises the gridiron as a lazy or forgotten implement: the 'sly dog of a gridiron often laughs between its bars at the overworked frying-pan' (Soyer 1854: 48). While initially this description seems to place the frying pan over the gridiron in terms of functionality (and attitude), the rest of the letter undercuts that impression by describing a domestic scene which the implements 'witnessed' (Soyer 1854: 48). A husband, 'a man who is what the world calls middling well off, and who has risen by his own exertions and abilities from a more humble position' comes home to find there is nothing but chops or steak for dinner, and asks that he may have his steak broiled (Soyer 1854: 49). The household servant is sent away to 'do that well on the gridiron' but when she returns with the news that 'the fire is not fit for broiling', chaos ensues (Soyer 1854: 49). The husband hears about the plans to fry the steak, and complains 'Drat the frying-pan, it is always so greasy' before 'throwing down the paper, and exclaiming, "Bother the place, there is no getting any victuals properly cooked here. I must go to the cook-shop and have it"' (Soyer 1854: 49). As a result of his outburst and subsequent departure the maid is beaten, the cat is kicked, and the rest of the evening's chores are disrupted. Hortense then ends her letter with a 'Moral (not on fable, but on truth)' and warns that if a man does not have 'stimulus in wholesome food, he will have it in pernicious spirit. He is quarrelsome, scolds his wife, beats his children, frequents the dram-shop, and becomes what is called a bad husband' (Soyer 1854: 49). The fact that a steak was due to be pan-fried rather than broiled on the gridiron therefore causes a domestic upheaval that has larger social impact, because an otherwise upstanding man is tempted towards corruption.

The trope of blaming the wife's shoddy housekeeping for the husband's downfall (downfall which is implied by the references to abuse, gambling and alcoholism) was not unusual. This ethos is frequently perpetuated by moral and domestic writing like Samuel

[18] This narrative technique is explored more thoroughly in Chapter Three of this thesis.

Smiles's *Thrift* (1876) and Sarah Stickney Ellis's *The Wives of England* (1843). Scholars like Deborah Gorham and Kay Boardman have called this the 'cult of domesticity' whereby a man's happiness and efficiency was dependent on the housekeeping skills of his wife (Gorham 1982: 12). But in this excerpt, it is not the wife's domestic management that is the saviour of marital and therefore social harmony, but the gridiron.

If the gridiron had been employed to broil the steak, there would have been no incident, and domestic life would have continued peacefully. If the gridiron was left to be lazy and shirk its duties then so too, surely, would the man. The recipes for broiled foods that follow, 18 in total with additional variations, are thus not just recipes but instructions for ensuring domestic harmony. In the recipe for '*Broiled Steaks and Rump Steak'* Soyer writes that 'sometimes it is impossible to broil over the fire, but easy to use a double gridiron, to broil in front', and so even if a perpendicular gridiron was second-rate, it was still preferable than forgoing broiling altogether (Soyer 1854: 51). Then in a recipe for '*Calves' Heart',* there was a note from Hortense that reads 'Observe, Eloise, that I shall be obliged to send you many similar receipts to these for the frying-pan, but the flavour will be very different', and so the gridiron is also positioned as important for the imparting of flavour, as well as morality (Soyer 1854: 53). Finally, the '*Broiled Steaks and Rump Steak'* recipe ends with a note about the time required to broil a rump steak (twelve to fifteen minutes), which continues with the assurance that if the steak is then 'served immediately, on a hot dish (not too hot, to dry up the gravy), it will eat tender and juicy, and be fit for a member of the Rump Steak Club' (Soyer 1854: 51). Even though Soyer was a French chef, his fictional English housewife uses this recipe to refer to the famous historical beef-steak clubs that represented the epitome of British masculine values. These values, of honour and bullishness rather than of addiction and slovenliness, could therefore infiltrate the home if the gridiron was used well, saving the average man from falling from grace by integrating him in a long tradition of British pride.

Conclusion: The Creation of Culinary Significance

In this chapter, I have used a nuanced analysis of broiling recipes and food writing to probe the significance of gridirons and broiled foods in the nineteenth century. Looking at the way the process is described in recipes shows that it was a technique that had plentiful room for error. As the opening quotations from de Blaquière and *Mrs Beeton's Everyday Cookery and Housekeeping Book* suggest, broiling was uneconomic and becoming outdated in terms of the culinary technologies that were used throughout the nineteenth century. The myriad of

differing advice and forewarnings from throughout the sample of recipes – regarding the fierceness of the flame, thickness of meat, shape of the gridiron, timings, and positioning – emphasise the instability of the cooking process. Using my structural methodology to unpick these tropes makes it clear that nineteenth-century recipe writers did not share a consensus when it came to broiling. The capaciousness of their recommendations only serves to illustrate that if a nineteenth-century cook was looking for a straightforward method, they were better turning to the frying pan. But this chapter has also used these recipe texts to uncover why, despite these difficulties, broiling prevailed in writing.

As I have shown, the gridiron and broiled meats are sites that are rich in symbolism. From medieval torture to English theatre, patriotism to poetry, both the gridiron itself and the foods it engendered had a long history of resonance before the nineteenth century. Nineteenth-century writers could therefore take up these symbolic threads, using them to impart significance to their own recipes or writings about broiled foods, bringing the public associations of broiling with tradition and national pride into the home. Allusions, word-choice and imagery are employed by nineteenth-century writers to insert themselves in a longstanding cultural history that was familiar to the nineteenth-century reader, given the popularity of the narratives cited by the authors (Shakespeare, John Bull etc.). I have shown, however, that culinary authors did more than this. They did not frame broiling or the gridiron as merely a cooking process and its accompanying implement, but nor did they simply recycle narratives from the past. Yes, broiling remained so prevalent in nineteenth-century food texts because it was a cooking process infused with nostalgia and national pride. In a period when British national identity was repeatedly questioned and problematised, it was comforting to hold on to cultural emblems like the gridiron and broiled chop to retain a sense of Britishness. Cuisine has long been a way to establish national stereotypes and pride. By placing broiled meats on a symbolic pedestal, food writers and their readers in the nineteenth century both indulged in nostalgia for simpler times and upheld the strength, culture, and literary history that they inscribed on to broiling and its spoils. Through their own adaptation and reworking of the traditions and allusions they engage with, however, these writers project their own narratives onto the broiling process to create a bricolage which responded to current concerns.

Dickens uses the cultural clout of Shakespeare and the plethora of other writers he alludes to – all who have connections to a British tradition of broiling – but then adapts tradition via his own recipes, references to the nineteenth-century home, and naming of contemporary, recognisable London eateries. This adaptation of tradition highlights the cultural significance of Dickens's present. The broiled chops eaten in the real and fictional

past symbolise a series of important historical moments, but so do the steaks eaten in the nineteenth century. For Dickens this serves to emphasise the influence of his own written work, but also the cultural moment of life in 1860s' London and the fact that British nationalism could be mocked or be a source of anxiety, as well as be lauded. Kenney-Herbert uses the symbolic history of the gridiron and broiled chop to evoke nostalgia, but then adapts that tradition into the Anglo-Indian cuisine he foregrounds. This serves his desire to uphold imperial standards and maintain dominance in every sphere, starting with the dinner table. Soyer refers to the beef-steak club and the manly values of Britishness it evoked, but through his personification of the gridiron and the domestic scene described, he turns broiled foods into a key player in the contemporary discussions about the influence of cooking and domestic management on the effectiveness of nineteenth-century society. For Soyer's reader, broiled foods had the capability of ensuring a harmonious and profitable domestic life.

Even in recipes that contain more subtle references to broiling's history, writers use that history to give their recipes significance and situate them in culinary tradition. Indeed, the repeated references to aspects of the broiling process which my structural methodology identified reveals a set of tropes that arguably constitute a generic approach to broiling. These commonalities between recipes in terms of language form a recognisable vocabulary that writers enlisted to align or distance themselves from various approaches to the practice of broiling. As I have demonstrated, these tropes are used by authors to instruct but also to situate themselves in relation to other texts or histories. The satire of the broiling recipe undertaken by Dickens illuminates that the rhetoric of broiling recipes had become something of a literary tradition in itself: a tradition that could connect or distance readers and writers to the past, that could be upheld or subverted. By evoking, participating in and reworking tradition, recipe writers cemented their place within the multifaceted history and symbolism of the gridiron as a technology of cooking.

Despite the evidence that broiling was a bothersome cooking process that faded from use over the nineteenth century, I have shown that recipe writers frequently refer to and create teleological histories of progress, masculinity, tradition and prosperity through the tropes of the gridiron and the broiled steak or chop. These writers play with the associations that broiled foods had, bending them to suit their own narratives and to suggest the continuity of different traditions. In this way, the longevity of broiling in British culinary history suited it to the creation of the teleological histories I have outlined. A cooking process that had been around for centuries carried with it a sense of proliferation, which could be translated into a sense of stability – even though the technical process broiling itself was anything but

stable. In turn, recipe writers sought to regenerate and safeguard that stability, even if the likelihood that broiling would remain a popular cooking process seemed increasingly slim. These authors, in cookbooks and periodical articles alike, safeguard broiled meats as a cornerstone of British cuisine, while also integrating themselves into the traditions they describe.

The authors of broiling recipes wrote against the difficulty of continuing to broil in the face of technological change, suggesting that broiling should be continued precisely because of what it symbolised. What this study has ultimately shown, then, is that gridirons, broiling, and broiled foods are inextricable from narratives of nationalism, masculinity, literature, and power in nineteenth-century recipes. Through the creation of teleological histories, food writers suggested an alternate reality where broiled foods and gridirons retained their place in British cuisine due to their symbolic weight, despite fading from use. By embroiling this cooking process in their own versions of history, nineteenth-century food writers highlight the symbolic power food has, and the way this symbolism is meticulously crafted and adapted in recipe texts to signify, capture, and establish a place in time. In this way, the recipes themselves are just as important as the gridiron and the broiled chop, if not more so. It is within recipes that traditions are created, adapted, and sustained. I have thus shown that the nineteenth-century preoccupations with both history and material objects also run through recipe texts. The case of the gridiron shows just how powerful recipes are as tools for the creation of cultural and culinary significance, becoming key sites for the construction of historical meaning and contemporary belonging.

Chapter Two: 'The wonder now is how our ancestors did so well without them': Tinned Foods and Narratives of Progress, Globalisation and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Food Writing

Introduction

In the previous chapter I asked how recipe writers centred ideas of tradition, British nationality and progress on broiled foods and the gridiron. This chapter is concerned with a very different food type, but one which was also caught up in debates about how food represented Britain's place in a global and temporal context: tinned foods. As in Chapter One, my observations are derived from the structural analysis of a data set of individual texts. I have used over 45 nineteenth-century recipes and adverts for tinned foods from cookbooks, catalogues, and periodicals to identify dominant and unusual tropes in tinned food recipes and delineate the narratives that surround tinned foods. Tinned foods present a counterpoint to broiled foods cooked on the gridiron: tinned foods were first produced and marketed in the nineteenth century, whereas broiled foods had been around for centuries. Authors who took up broiled foods had centuries of meaning to repurpose and reassemble, whereas a recent technology was a site where potential meanings could be proposed and tested. While these meanings may be adapted from an existing repertoire, tinned foods were open to interpretation, and key to this chapter is an examination of how the concepts of nostalgia and nation are remobilised within the context of novelty. Looking at representations of a technical innovation rather than an implement with a long history of use will allow me to interrogate how nineteenth-century authors positioned a novel culinary technology within discourses of historicity centred on progress rather than tradition, and question how that positioning influenced public perception.

Scholarship on the history of tinned food from Sue Shephard, Joel Wolfe, Keith Farrer, and Richard Perren focuses on the dissemination of the tinning process, and how it industrialised food practices and globalised the world's pantry.[19] Rebecca J. H. Woods analyses how 'industrialists, entrepreneurs, and "men of science"' perceived the benefits of tinned foods to Britain in the nineteenth century, and their frustration with consumer resistance (2020: 125). Little attention has been paid, however, to the question of how recipes and contemporary commentary played an active role in creating the narratives and debates

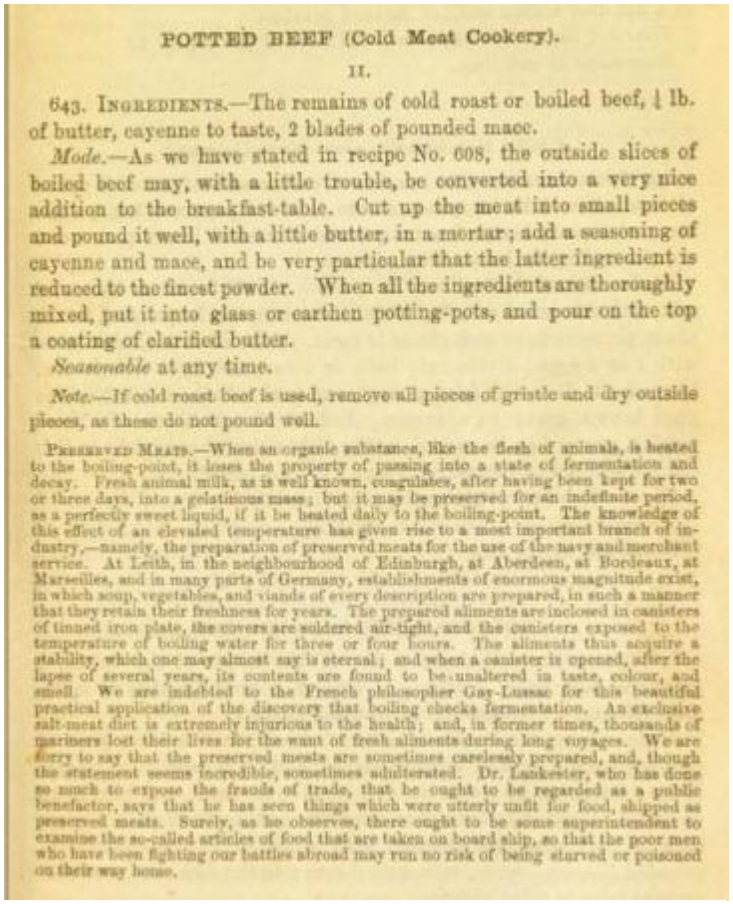
[19] See: Sue Shephard. *Pickled, Potted and Canned* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006); Joel Wolfe. 'Summer's Food for Winter's Tables: Tin Consumption in the Americas', in *Tin and Global Capitalism, 1850-2000*, ed. by M Ingulstad, A Perchard and E Storli (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 74-88; Keith Farrer. *To Feed a Nation: A History of Australian Food Science and Technology* (Victoria: CSIRO, 2005); Richard Perren, *Taste, Trade and Technology: The Development of the International Meat Industry Since 1840* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

that circulated around tinned foods. Moreover, there has been little sustained focus on the question of historicity, and particularly how tins came to represent contemporary views of 'progress'. Further, connections have yet to be forged between the tin can as a technical innovation, and innovations in its literary representations. I intend to fill these gaps, using the case of tinned foods to extend my investigation of technology, innovation, and historicity within nineteenth-century food writing.

Surveying tinned food recipes quickly reveals that as a novelty, tinned foods were not an article the British public initially felt comfortable with. Of the 45 studied recipes, advertisements, and articles, 36 have paratextual notes, instructions or introductions which directly relate to either selling or interpreting tinned foods: how to select tins, open them, cook their contents, and present them, etc. This high level of detail suggests that tinned foods needed explaining. Unlike the case of the historical gridiron, however, the producers and authors attempting to impose specific meanings on to tinned foods did not yet have established repertoires of meaning to draw from. As a novel innovation, tinned foods had the potential to build upon or disrupt existing norms and associations, or even threaten them. The rest of this introduction turns to two discussions of tinned foods in nineteenth-century cookbooks that demonstrate how they became conduits for narratives of progress, history, or danger.

In a paratextual section entitled 'Preserved Meats' in Beeton's *Household Management*, Beeton discusses 'aliments [which] are inclosed [*sic*] in canisters of tinned iron plate' (1861: 299). Referring to the public health reformer Edwin Lankester, who researched cholera and became the medical officer for health for Westminster, Beeton writes:

> Dr Lankester, who has done so much to expose the frauds of the trade, that he ought to be regarded as a public benefactor, says that he has seen things which were utterly unfit for food, shipped as preserved meats. Surely, as he observes, there ought to be some superintendent to examine the so-called articles of food that are taken on board ship, so that the poor men who have been fighting



POTTED BEEF (Cold Meat Cookery).

11.

643. INGREDIENTS.—The remains of cold roast or boiled beef, ¼ lb. of butter, cayenne to taste, 2 blades of pounded mace.

Mode.—As we have stated in recipe No. 608, the outside slices of boiled beef may, with a little trouble, be converted into a very nice addition to the breakfast-table. Cut up the meat into small pieces and pound it well, with a little butter, in a mortar; add a seasoning of cayenne and mace, and be very particular that the latter ingredient is reduced to the finest powder. When all the ingredients are thoroughly mixed, put it into glass or earthen potting-pots, and pour on the top a coating of clarified butter.

Seasonable at any time.

Note.—If cold roast beef is used, remove all pieces of gristle and dry outside pieces, as these do not pound well.

PRESERVED MEATS.—When an organic substance, like the flesh of animals, is heated to the boiling-point, it loses the property of passing into a state of fermentation and decay. Fresh animal milk, as is well known, coagulates, after having been kept for two or three days, into a gelatinous mass; but it may be preserved for an indefinite period, as a perfectly sweet liquid, if it be heated daily to the boiling-point. The knowledge of this effect of an elevated temperature has given rise to a most important branch of industry,—namely, the preparation of preserved meats for the use of the navy and merchant service. At Leith, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, at Aberdeen, at Bordeaux, at Marseilles, and in many parts of Germany, establishments of enormous magnitude exist, in which soup, vegetables, and viands of every description are prepared, in such a manner that they retain their freshness for years. The prepared aliments are inclosed in canisters of tinned iron plate, the covers are soldered air-tight, and the canisters exposed to the temperature of boiling water for three or four hours. The aliments thus acquire a stability, which one may almost say is eternal; and when a canister is opened, after the lapse of several years, its contents are found to be unaltered in taste, colour, and smell. We are indebted to the French philosopher Gay-Lussac for this beautiful practical application of the discovery that boiling checks fermentation. An exclusive salt-meat diet is extremely injurious to the health; and, in former times, thousands of mariners lost their lives for the want of fresh aliments during long voyages. We are sorry to say that the preserved meats are sometimes carelessly prepared, and, though the statement seems incredible, sometimes adulterated. Dr. Lankester, who has done so much to expose the frauds of trade, that he ought to be regarded as a public benefactor, says that he has seen things which were utterly unfit for food, shipped as preserved meats. Surely, as he observes, there ought to be some superintendent to examine the so-called articles of food that are taken on board ship, so that the poor men who have been fighting our battles abroad may run no risk of being starved or poisoned on their way home.

Figure 11: 'Potted Beef' from Beeton's Book of Household Management, 1861: 299

> our battles abroad may run no risk of being starved or poisoned on their way home. (1861: 299)

This excerpt addresses tinned foods and Beeton's tone and the formal layout of the page elucidates that she did not approve of these 'so-called articles of food'. The section comes under a 'Potted Beef' recipe and positioning the scathing account of tinned meats here creates a clear separation between the different preservation methods, visually and in terms of content (Figure 11). The 'Potted Beef' recipe outlines a traditional preserving method for meat: pushing it into 'glass or earthen potting-pots' and sealing with clarified butter (Beeton 1861: 299). The recipe, presented in Beeton's typical style, is eleven lines long. The section on 'Preserved Meats' underneath is printed in smaller type, is twenty-seven lines long, and looks claustrophobically crammed on to the page. Beeton's page layout constructs a stark contrast between the two processes: one was small-scale and domestic, the other industrialised and widely distributed. In this highly popular mid-century cookbook, tinned foods are not approached with enthusiasm. The fact that Beeton finds these 'so-called articles of food' worthy of discussion in the context of war and global travel, however, suggests that there were larger things at play when it came to tinned foods.

In the previous chapter I discussed the patriotic note under Beeton's 'Roast Ribs of Beef' recipe (Beeton 1861: 307). Comparing it to this paratextual entry on tinned foods illuminates an interesting opposition in the deployment of nationalistic rhetoric. As with many of the entries around Beeton's recipes, the 'Preserved Meats' section is from other sources: most of it is an uncredited extract from an article in the *Lancet* by Justus Liebig (1803-1817).[20] During his life, Liebig was 'among the world's most famous' chemists and turned his expertise in organic chemistry to food to great acclaim, manufacturing beef extracts that were sold by the *Liebig Extract of Meat Company* (Finlay 1992: 405).[21] Liebig is cited in nineteenth-century cookbooks frequently: as Cecilia Molinari de Rennie writes, Liebig 'commission[ed] a series of cookbooks that emphasized the need for the "scientific" approach to cookery von Liebig himself promoted in other writings' (2015: 43). While Beeton did not have a commercial relationship with Liebig, she uses his article because of his prominence in relevant discussions, extracting his assertions on preserved foods: 'When an organic substance, like the flesh of animals, is heated to the boiling-point, it loses the

[20] Justus Liebig. 'Lectures on Organic Chemistry: Introduction. – No. X. Preservation of Food', *Lancet,* 14:1 (22 June 1844): 3.

[21] For more on Liebig's extract of meat see: Mark R. Finlay. 'Quackery and Cookery: Justus von Liebig's Extract of Meat and the Theory of Nutrition in the Victorian Age', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine.* 66.3 (1992), pp. 404-418; Mark R. Finlay. 'Early Marketing and the Theory of Nutrition: Science and Culture of Liebig's Extract of Meat', in *The Science and Culture of Nutrition, 1840-1940,* ed. by H. Kamminga and A. Cunningham (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 48-74.

property of passing into a state of fermentation and decay' (Beeton 1861: 299). These descriptions are followed by Lankester's opinions, tying the extract to chemical and medicinal analysis – an analysis that did not yield promising conclusions.

This intertextual borrowing opposes the patriotic nationalism evoked by Beeton's use of Henry Fielding's 'The Roast Beef of Old England' to praise roast beef as the 'national dish in England' (1861: 307). Beeton's allusions are tactically employed to influence her reader's opinion of the foods described. In the case of these meats, the roast beef which bolsters 'the valour displayed by Englishmen at sea or on land' contrasts the tinned meats suffered by 'the poor men who have been fighting our battles abroad', who are at 'risk of being starved or poisoned on their way home' (1861: 307, 299). The difference in the language and resonances of these references is telling. Both allusions depict brave, patriotic Englishmen travelling to engage in the British imperial project. In one instance they are fuelled by the meat they ate, and in the other, 'utterly unfit' tinned food is poised to poison them.

Beeton's paratextual allusions position tinned meat as the opposite of the nationalistic roasted and broiled meat discussed in the previous chapter. They are not just the antithesis of the chops lauded in song and writing, but actively threaten the things that roast beef and broiled chops stood for: Britishness, masculinity, tradition, bravery, imperial strength and patriotism. Other writers, however, take a different stance. In the introduction to Arthur Gay Payne's *The Housekeeper's Guide to Preserved Meats, Fruits, Vegetables, &c* (1880), a cookbook-turned-sales catalogue devoted to 'articles supplied by Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell', Payne writes:

> The old-fashioned prejudice against preserved goods is now almost a thing of the past. Throughout the length and breadth of the land a dish of fresh green peas, or ripe, luscious apricots, is now to be obtained at all seasons of the year. The wonder now is how our ancestors did so well without them. (1880: iv)

Payne's use of 'old-fashioned prejudice' implies that in the twenty years since Beeton's cookbook, attitudes towards tinned foods had changed so drastically that anyone who thought that way was out of touch. While this may be the wishful thinking of a salesman, Payne writes that food preservation is 'a subject of great national importance' and positions industrially preserved foods as enablers of the developing 'food-supply of the whole world', remarking that '[t]he history of how one country can with profit to itself exchange its superfluities for the superfluities of another country is almost the history of civilisation itself' (1880: iv). These references to 'national importance', 'the whole world' and the 'history of civilisation' call upon the same threads of British history, nationality, and global exploration that Beeton's allusions evoke. In Payne's account, however, tinned foods are framed as a

key part of national progress, and by asking 'how our ancestors did so well without them' Payne suggests that tins improved the British diet. He continues that 'the same may be said of railway travelling, telegrams, and gas', integrating tinned foods into a teleological view of history that saw innovations as part of a steady evolution of better ideas and products (Payne 1880: vi).

These very different accounts, both woven around recipes in cookbooks, present two contrasting perspectives on tinned foods. On the one hand, tinned foods are poised as a threat to those working to establish and uphold Britain's dominant relationship with the rest of the world. On the other, tinned foods are an example of the industrial 'progress' that put Britain on the cutting edge of civilisation and opened global trading routes. What were the reasons behind Beeton's scorn of tinned foods, and Payne's praise? Was it the case that the narratives surrounding tinned foods drastically changed between 1861 and 1880, and if so, why? And why were discussions of British tradition, history, and technological and global dominance mobilised around tinned foods, just as they were with broiled meats? As in the previous chapter, notions of historicity and nationality come into all these questions. This chapter identifies and interprets the debates which centred upon tinned foods to understand further how recipe authors used culinary technologies as conduits for discourses of innovation and historicity. The excerpts from Beeton and Payne suggest that debates about tinned foods were provocative, and intrinsically linked to contemporary events. Starting with an examination of the advertisements that attempted to sell tinned foods to naval and domestic consumers at the start and middle of the nineteenth century, I then turn to an influential scandal that had an impact on their uptake, measuring how its shock waves rippled through recipes and cookbooks. Using the narratives that emerge from these writings, I chart how writers mobilise them in recipes, turning them into selling points or critiques.

Indulgence or Refuse? Tinned Foods as an Asset and a Danger

Beeton's *Household Management* contains one other mention of tinned foods in a recipe for 'Turtle Soup (founded on M. Ude's Recipe)' (Beeton 1861: 97). This recipe, inspired by the famous French chef Louis-Eustache Ude (c.1769-1846), covers over two pages of the cookbook and details the laborious process of dismembering and cleaning a turtle, boiling the shells, removing the flesh, and slowly cooking it with ham, veal knuckles, spices and Madeira. Following the recipe is another for 'Quenelles a Tortue' to be floated in the soup. Overall, the complicated process is textually represented by the length of the combined recipes – the '*Mode'* sections are 79 lines long. There is then a paratextual note about preserving the prized green fat, and another titled 'The Cost of Turtle Soup'. Beeton explains

that turtle soup was 'the most expensive brought to table', as the cost of live turtle ranged 'from 8d. to 2s. per lb, depending on supply and demand' (1861: 100). It is here that the mention of tinned food occurs: 'When live turtle is dear, many cooks use the tinned turtle, which is killed when caught, and preserved by being put in hermetically-sealed canisters, and so sent over to England' (1861: 100). Tinned turtle is presented as a solution to scarcity in the supply chains which brought exotic, expensive ingredients like turtle to Britain from locales including the West Indies. Beeton writes that 'the cost of a tin, containing 2 quarts, or 4 lbs., is about £2, and for a small one, containing the green fat, 7*s.* 6*d.* From these about 6 quarts of good soup may be made' (1861: 100). This pricing is somewhat counterintuitive, as tinned turtle cost 10s. per lb, whereas live turtle cost 2s. per lb, though the cheaper live turtle may have been far scarcer due to seasonality and demand. Despite its expense, tinned turtle had several advantages: being tinned meant it could be bought and left until needed, unlike fresh turtle. It could be used any time of year and had less risk of spoiling. It was also already butchered and cooked, meaning cooks could sidestep the messy, cumbersome and time-consuming steps outlined in Beeton's lengthy recipe.

While Beeton does not praise tinned turtle for these attributes, the contrast between this reference to tinned meat and her previous condemnation of tinned mutton and beef in the 'Preserved Meats' extract is striking. Again, the structure of Beeton's reference to tinned foods is illuminating. Many of Beeton's recipes have an '*Average Cost'* section which details how much a dish cost to make. While the note on 'The Cost of Turtle Soup' is more extensive than these inclusions throughout the rest of Beeton's recipes, mentioning tinned turtle here legitimises it as an ingredient and structural recipe component. This is a stark departure from the annexed (and therefore belittled) mention of tinned meats underneath the 'Potted Beef' recipe. Moreover, tinned turtle features in a short note after an extensive recipe, presenting it as an item which may save time. The structural layout of these sections on tinned foods represents the contrast in Beeton's representation of them, and that contrast is also present in the content. In the 'Preserved Meats' section Beeton refers to men 'fighting our battles abroad' and in the 'Turtle Soup' recipe she notes that tinned turtle was 'sent over to England' (1861: 299, 100). Both passages thus refer to the world outside Britain. In the 'preserved meats' entry Beeton implies that tins would poison men far from Britain. The risk was accented because of the distance between 'brave men' and their home shores. In her turtle soup recipe, however, tinned foods are permissible because they allow British cooks to source luxuries. Here, the distances covered by tins are an asset. Even within the same cookbook, Beeton deploys narratives of distance and foreignness in different ways so that when tins benefit the middle-class cook, they are acceptable. This polarity in Beeton's

approach to tinned foods is worthy of wider consideration in the context of the nineteenth-century marketplace.

Considering the initial ways tinned foods were advertised in nineteenth-century Britain gives insight into Beeton's different representations of tinned foods. Early British manufacturers of tinned foods included the company Donkin, Hall & Gamble, who had established a factory in Bermondsey in 1813. Donkin, Hall & Gamble and the competitors that quickly followed them had targeted customers who undertook long voyages in ships: the Royal Navy and those mapping the world as Britain expanded its empire. Long voyages meant these groups suffered from problems that tinned food producers could solve: health issues like scurvy resulted from a lack of fruit and vegetables containing Vitamin C, but could be staved off with tinned vegetables. Meat preserved in salt, or dry stores like flour were ruined by damp conditions, but the durability of tins made them less susceptible to spoiling. Tins would theoretically last until they were opened, which could be weeks, months or years into an expedition. These selling points were emphasised by manufacturers, demonstrated by *Copies of Official Reports and Letters Relative to Donkin, Hall & Gamble's Preserved Provisions* (1817). The report opens with a declaration about the 'Obvious Advantages of these Provisions' which outlines that 'they entirely supersede the necessity of taking out Live Stock to sea'; they are 'ready dressed' and so 'may be eaten cold; or, if preferred, heated in a few minutes' which would save fuel and the difficulty of cooking in bad weather; and 'the salutary effect which even an occasional supply of *fresh* Provisions must have on the Navy and Army, cannot be too highly appreciated' (1817: 17). The italicised '*fresh*' here is interesting. 'Fresh' is frequently used to describe tinned foods to indicate that the foods within were not salted or dried, and to market them positively despite their preserved nature. The attributes Donkin, Hall & Gamble emphasise were geared towards securing large, prosperous contracts that would ensure commercial success.

After detailing the advantages of tinned foods, Donkin, Hall & Gamble include a list of prices outlining the range of tins sold: Boiled Beef (plain or seasoned), Boiled Mutton with Broth and Vegetables, Roasted Veal, Real and Mock Turtle Soup, Roasted Ducks, and Concentrated Gravy Soup. These were sent to Navy captains to try, and testimonials were forwarded to and solicited from influential people including the Duke of Kent.[22] As a result of this targeted marketing, Donkin, Hall & Gamble's products were 'tasted by the Queen [Charlotte], the Prince Regent and several distinguished personages and highly approved' as was recorded in a letter sent from the Duke's secretary Jonathan Parker in 1813 (1817: 10).

[22] Edward August, the son of George III.

This testimonial is one of many included in *Copies of Official Reports and Letters*, which also contains letters from the Admiralty, Victualling Board, and Navy captains scattered around the world. Global success stories are repeated throughout the report and the flavour, colour, taste, and fresh quality of the tinned foods are frequently praised. Manufacturers like Donkin, Hall & Gamble used these commissions both to try out and sell provisions, gathering reviews to form sales catalogues where potential customers could read positive reviews that acted as efficacy statements.[23]

Donkin, Hall & Gamble secured contracts with the Royal Navy, and from the 1810s tinned foods were used around the world by British soldiers and sailors. It was not just British entrepreneurs that exploited this opportunity. The preservation technique was quickly disseminated across the world by businessmen who set up factories in Europe, Australia, the USA and South America, where there were large stocks of sheep and cattle. Other manufacturers like the Hungarian investor Stephen Goldner who had a canning factory in Moldavia also had big contracts with the Admiralty. Donkin, Gamble & Hall's report, however, depicted tinned foods as firmly rooted in British concerns. Testimonies from the British navy and royalty, and the fact that tinned foods were aboard ships that participated in the British Imperial project, framed them as a resource that was approved by Britain's leaders and that fed those who were making the nation greater. These were Beeton's 'poor men who have been fighting our battles abroad' but to begin with, the narratives that manufacturers spun around supplying tinned foods to Britain's forces were geared towards success and prosperity, not fear.

Equipping the Navy with tins provided the primary customer base for Donkin & Hall and competing firms in the first half of the nineteenth century, but by the middle of the century advertisements portray tinned foods as beneficial to domestic cooks like Beeton's readers. The discourses enlisted here also foreground Britain's place in the expanding global marketplace. In 1851 at the Great Exhibition in London, John Gamble (who had at this point taken the lead with the company) displayed a vast array of tinned foods. He showcased them as a novelty even though tinned foods had been in circulation for 30 years, and narratives of global exploration are still emphasised. Reports of the exhibition mention intact canisters from the factory's opening, and one that survived an Arctic Expedition in 1824 and was opened in 1849, 'still in excellent condition' (*Examiner* 25 Oct 1851: 676). The narratives that marked Donkin, Hall & Gamble's sales reports were brought before the Exhibition's visitors so they could see the foods that had travelled the world feeding sailors, soldiers, and

[23] Efficacy statements spoke to the effect and benefits of a food or product and were often used in historical medical recipes.

explorers. Indeed, several periodicals highlight these tins, noting that 'the advantages of such a mode of preparing food are many. In sea-voyages fresh meat and vegetables may be supplied instead of salted and smoked, and scurvy thus most effectually prevented […] In this way meat may be brought from countries where it is abundant to those where there is less' (*Daily News* 4 Jun 1851: 2). These articles consolidate Gamble's selling of tinned foods as an enabler of Britain's imperial efforts by referring to their potential to bolster overseas journeys and redistribute food supplies. Readers who could not visit the Exhibition were encouraged to associate tinned foods with long-distance, global travel.

Press articles describe the items Gamble had on display in a way that mobilised these narratives in a far closer, domestic context:

> Canisters of preserved fresh beef, mutton, and veal; of fresh milk, cream and custards; of fresh carrots, green peas, turnips, beetroot, stewed mushrooms, and other vegetables; of fresh salmon, oysters, codfish, haddock and other fish; and of real turtle soup, mock-turtle soup, ox-tail, and other soups.
>
> Preserved hams for use in India, China &c. Calipash, calipee, and green fat for making real turtle soup, all preserved by the same process. Also soup and bouilli, for emigrants and troops at sea; pheasants, partridges, &c., preserved (*Examiner* 25 Oct 1851: 676).

This list shows an expansion of products, compared to those offered in 1817. The foods in the first paragraph were all familiar to nineteenth-century readers in their un-tinned forms, and listing the meats, dairy products, vegetables and seafood together creates the tone of an inventory or ingredients list which could easily be on the page of a cookbook. The next passage refers to the ingredients Beeton mentions for turtle soup: calipash and calipee were the meat that adhered to the upper and lower shell of a turtle. In Gamble's display and reports of it, exotic and foreign tinned foods are situated in a British context and targeted at domestic consumers, while more familiar food items are marketed at travellers and emigrants. The selling of tinned foods to naval customers in the 1810s, and exhibition of them to domestic consumers in the 1850s, aligned with Beeton's dual perspective: tinned foods as a foreign luxury for British consumers, and as fuel for sailors and explorers (though Beeton depicted the latter in negative terms). These threads suited the context of the Great Exhibition, and it is worth briefly discussing why Gamble used this setting to integrate his wares into the British and global marketplace.

While it is now recognised that there was no singular message from the Great Exhibition, scholarship on it discusses how it represented the perceived relationship between Britain and the rest of the world. Jeffrey A. Auberbach notes it 'enabled Britons to locate themselves in the context of their empire and of the broader world, even as it also attempted to incorporate much of the rest of the world into a British-centred economic orbit (2008: xi).

Gamble's display demonstrated the exchange and circulation of goods between Britain and the world – a phenomenon posed to put Britain at an advantage in two spheres: well-fed troops and foreign spoils on British tables. Paul Young discusses how the Crystal Palace and the displays within it expressed this ethos, 'seen as a cartographic validation of free trade's new world order, setting out an Anglocentric industrial and cultural mission at the same time as it further opened up the world to British hegemonic ambition' (2008: 5). Gamble's tinned foods suited this cartographic vision, actively participating in it as one of the 'technolog[ies that] made this union possible in material terms' (Young 2008: 14). The technologies on display were integral to the industrialised global capitalism the Exhibition foregrounded as an 'international industrial display [that] was presented as a truly global event, one which aimed at once to celebrate the material progress humankind had made and coordinate those advances in order that the world could work together' (Young 2008: 4). Dickens's imperial map of gravy stains and porter foam discussed in the previous chapter was here aligned with technology and the 'progress' it seemingly enabled, as industrialised foods flaunted modernity and the ability to turn the world's food supplies to Britain's advantage.

The thread of temporality that runs through these visions of Britain's 'progress and advancement' can be read in an *Illustrated London News* article which praises tinned foods. The author mentions Gamble's display and writes that 'we see no reason why thousands of tons of such provisions should not be imported for the use of our industrial classes […] this invention will doubtless, by degrees, amply develop itself' (*Illustrated London News* 14 Jun 1851: 560). Before this, the author opens the piece by considering a vast history of questions surrounding food:

> Considering that, for some thousand years, successive generations have had ample opportunity of testing the values of different kinds of food, it might be supposed that, both in history and practice, our knowledge of alimentary substances is more complete than that of any other subject. Yet the whole question, in a philosophic point of view, requires a high amount of knowledge, and is so recondite, that, even at the present time, it is very imperfectly understood. (*Illustrated London News* 14 Jun 851: 560)

By mentioning 'some thousand years', 'successive generations' and 'history and practice', the author emphasises the longevity of culinary discussions and situates manufactured foods as a continuation of 'the whole question'. The future envisioned at the Great Exhibition is integrated into a 'history [of] practice'. Young posits that the Exhibition's displays constructed a narrative that not only sought to close the geographical gaps between Britain and the rest of the world, but also the perceived temporal gaps between the development of nations. He describes the nineteenth-century notion that the Great Exhibition was successful

in ‘annihilating the space which separates different nations’ and therefore became ‘a spectacle’ which also ‘annihilated the time which separates one stage of a nation’s progress from another’ (Young 2008: 11-12). As such, the Exhibition became ‘a global chart of things which established the West, and particularly Britain, as the “Bearer of Progress”’ (Young 2008: 13). In the halls of the Crystal Palace, tinned foods were poised to overcome geographical gaps in food supply chains and close temporal gaps in global progression by transporting foods to and from more and less developed countries. Rather than history and tradition as in the case of the gridiron, tinned foods were situated into a temporal and geographical vision of Britain’s future.

Thirty years after the Great Exhibition, this notion of progress runs through Payne’s question of ‘how our ancestors did so well without them’, which suggests that tinned foods were required in the present to prevent the food issues faced in the past. Payne directly reproduces the rhetoric of progress some championed at the Exhibition when he writes:

> It is but lately that sheep were slaughtered by the thousand for their wool and tallow only, and the carcasses thrown aside as offal, while at the same time the eyes of tens of thousands of European children would, like those of Oliver Twist, glisten even at the very sight of meat. (Payne 1880: iv)

By contrasting the well-known image of hungry Oliver Twist and ‘thousands of European children’ with meat wasted in other countries, Payne creates a story of two sides: one where foreign countries ‘throw aside’ food and another where people needed nourishment (Payne 1880: iv). This refers to the proliferation of tinned food production around the world – the spreading of British innovation, as exhibitors in 1851 would have seen it. Prior to the establishment of factories in Australia, the USA and South American countries like Argentina, animals were killed for hides that were exported but ‘carcasses were left to rot’ (Shepard 2006: 249). The allusion to Dickens’s novel, published over forty years prior to Payne’s cookbook, enlists a familiar trope from British literature to clarify what side of this argument Britain was on. Tinned foods are framed as a saviour of hungry Britons and a cornerstone of the global food market. Just as with gridirons, popular British literature is utilised in a distinctively nationalistic way, the waifs of London contrasting to foreign wastefulness. Unlike the gridiron, tinned foods are not steeped in a centuries-long national tradition, but rather positioned within ‘the history of civilisation itself’. By creating this juxtaposition Payne aligns tinned foods with a strategically deployed meaning, which also permeated the displays at the Great Exhibition. Payne positions tinned foods as a solution which will close the spatial gap between scarcity and waste, and starvation and overabundance. These instances demonstrate the efforts on behalf of producers and authors to align the new technology of tinned foods with meanings that connoted success.

What these narratives do not clarify is where Beeton's condemnation of tinned food came from. Indeed, even later in *Cassell's New Universal Cookery Book* (1894), Lizzie Heritage writes a section on 'Tinned Meats' which precedes tinned food recipes and clarifies that by the end of the century they were 'recognised articles of consumption':

> One may here and there meet with a person who says "Oh! I never touch tinned meat; I tried it years ago when it was first introduced and did not like it, and have never eaten it since." Another will relate an account of someone who was poisoned by tinned meat, and will tell you that he would not eat it if he were starving, so firm is his belief that all tinned meat is poisonous; while a third condemns it solely on the ground of appearance. In all these arguments there is some weight, but a little consideration of the objections will do much to explain them away.' (Heritage 1896: 504)

Like Payne's notion of 'old-fashioned prejudice', Heritage conveys that suspicion of tinned foods was outdated. Using dialogue to frame the first exclamatory complaint creates a satirical tone that mocks people's hesitancy. Heritage's notion that someone was put off by 'trying it years ago' then suggests a timeline in which the tinned foods produced when the technique was 'first introduced' were unappetising. Unlike Payne's discussion of civilisation, however, this excerpt highlights the reasons consumers may have been reluctant to eat tinned foods: bad taste, fear of poisoning and appearance (Heritage 1896: 504). The idea of poisoning reiterates Beeton's depiction of tinned meats. That it appeared in two cookbooks – in the 1860s and 1890s, one for tinned meats and one against them – suggests that poisoning was a frequent trope in the discourses surrounding foods. Why was this, particularly when tinned foods had been so positively presented at the Great Exhibition?

Less than a year after the Great Exhibition, the press broke a scandal that explains a great deal about public suspicion of tinned foods. The circumstances surrounding the scandal directly related to the narratives of British global dominance, travel, and technological progress emphasised at the Exhibition and elsewhere by Gamble and other producers. This was perhaps why it shocked the press and public to such an extent that Heritage implicitly refers to it in her 1890s' cookbook. On 3 January 1852, *The Times* disclosed 'horrible facts' about tinned meats supplied to the Navy in Portsmouth (*The Times* 3 Jan 1852: 7). A large-scale quality check had been ordered by the Admiralty: 2,707 canisters of meat were opened and inspected and only 197 were fit for consumption while the rest were rotten (*The Times* 3 Jan 1852: 7). The press was horrified, and the language used in *The Times* report condemns tinned foods for being unsanitary and dangerous:

> [t]hose condemned for the most part containing such substances as pieces of heart, roots of tongue, pieces of palates, pieces of tongues, coagulated blood, pieces of liver, ligaments of the throat, pieces of intestines – in short, garbage and putridity in a

> horrible state, the stench arising from which is the most sickening and the sight revolting (*The Times* 3 Jan 1852: 7).

The number of tins with rotten, questionable content appalled the press and reportage accentuates the state of the food through visceral and moral language: 'sickening', 'revolting', 'stench', and 'pestilence' (*The Times* 3 Jan 1852: 7). It was not just the contents of the tins that caused such concern, however, but the fact that they had been destined to feed soldiers and sailors. *The Times* emphasises this by linking the scandal to the Franklin expedition, stating:

> '[T]he consequences of such frauds as this cannot be too seriously estimated. Suppose, for instance, Franklin and his party to have been supplied with such food as that condemned, and relying upon it as their mainstay in time of need […] may have bred a pestilence or famine among them and been their destruction' (*The Times* 3 Jan 1852: 7)

Sir John Franklin left England to map the Canadian Arctic Coast with two ships in 1845 but a lack of communication led to concerns about the fate of him and his crew. Three bodies found on the Canadian Beechey Island in 1850 heightened worry that the expedition met an untimely end, and the press followed the story closely. At this point, the press linked the tins opened at Portsmouth to the expedition. It turned out that most of the tins opened in Portsmouth and supplied to Franklin's ships were produced by Goldner, who was the main contractor to the Admiralty having won a contract in 1844. Goldner's initial contract lasted five years before being terminated on the suspicion of poor-quality meat, but he rapidly secured another commission with Navy in May 1850 (Ardeleanu 2012: 694). Given that Goldner's factory was in Moldavia he took advantage of surplus cattle and cheap labour, and his competitive pricing resulted in repeated large contracts. That Goldner's products were imported from Galatz, however, gave the press the opportunity to jump on the notion of 'foreignness' in their attacks.

The press regularly claimed that because Goldner and his factory were foreign, he employed shoddy techniques, used poor-quality meat, and enforced sub-standard quality checks. This negligence was blamed for the rotten meat at Portsmouth. This criticism of Goldner and his products has a nationalistic tone, as in this statement in the London-based *Lloyd's Illustrated Newspaper* from 18 January 1852*:* 'There can be little doubt that the offal and refuse of this factory is the "preserved meat" which he has supplied to the English navy' (18 January 1852: 5). The contrast between 'refuse' and 'the English navy' sets up an opposition akin to Payne's allusion to Oliver Twist. This time, waste is not being thrown away by careless foreigners while Britons starved but the bad parts of it are tinned and sold to the British Navy to the detriment of their health. Even in an article in *Fraser's Magazine*

which sought to demonstrate that the public should not reject tinned meat despite the scandal, the author writes that '[a]ll the world has been shocked at the alleged fraudulent victualling of the Hungarian Jew' and describes the 'universal and hasty condemnation passed upon the man' (April 1852: 412). This article is semi-satirical, but negatively referring to Goldner as a 'Hungarian Jew', even with the ironical tone, makes it clear that the antisemitic prejudice that depicted Goldner as non-British was the norm. As with Dickens's ironic chop recipe in the previous chapter, something had to be well-recognised to be satirised. From this point, much of the British public no longer viewed tinned foods as an enabler and exotic spoil of Empire. Their opinion of tinned meat was tainted by the unappetising scenes evoked so viscerally by the press. Articles repeatedly frame tinned foods as a dangerous, disgusting threat to national prosperity, everything Gamble's Great Exhibition display was not. The racist descriptions of Goldner and his foreign produce highlight that the condemnation of tinned foods also participated in the nationalistic rhetoric that originally advertised them. Both advocates and detractors enlisted timely discussions that gained traction in the press to sway public opinion. Rotten tinned foods are characterised by a negative form of foreignness – the antithesis of overseas British success. Imported tinned meat is positioned by critics as a threat to global trade and exploration because it endangered the sailors and explorers travelling abroad. This showcases the creation of a far darker proposed meaning associated with tinned foods, one directly pitted against the positive meanings emphasised elsewhere.

What these periodical articles demonstrate is that in the mid-century, links between the Franklin and Portsmouth scandals caused anxiety about the potential disasters which lurked if British exploration was fed by foreign foods. Even earlier, the Briton who took tinning to the USA in 1817 – William Underwood – exported tinned seafood and fish from Boston 'using the label "Made in England", presumably to make the consumer feel it was a well-tried safe product from the old country and not something suspect from the "new"' (Shephard 2006: 246). These false claims about the 'Britishness' of tinned foods demonstrate that manufacturers and advertisers were aware that the consumption of strange foreign foods was a potential site of worry. Of course, sugar, tea and many other foodstuffs including salted meats had been imported, appropriated, and enjoyed in Britain for centuries. Because the narratives of progress, global exchange and British national prosperity were undermined so drastically by the Portsmouth scandal, however, tins were easy to lambast. Moreover, if tinned food threatened those aboard ships, then it surely posed a danger to people who may have been tempted to purchase it to eat at home.

The domestic marketplace was full of imported tinned foods. Indeed, importation became increasingly common as the century went on and factories opened in Australia and

the Americas, so much so that tinned meat is often called 'Australian Meat' in recipes and cookbooks. Heritage writes: 'The word TINNED is prefixed to some of the following recipes, as a means of ready reference. Unless otherwise specified, it is understood that American, Australian, or New Zealand meat may be used, and that roast or boiled is intended' (1896: 506). Goldner himself sold tinned foods to well-known British retailers such as Fortnum & Mason, as demonstrated by a catalogue listing his wares in 1849 which advertises foods such as 'Curried Fowls' and 'Beef, à la Flamande' (Fortnum & Mason 1849: 10). Beyond Goldner's disgrace, the fallout of the Portsmouth scandal had ripple effects on the cultural status of tinned foods sold in Britain. That effect can be traced in the references to poisoning in contemporary food writing and cookbooks like Beeton's and Heritage's right up until the century's end.

Cookbooks and press articles show that the threat of poisoning and adulteration is a prevailing trope in nineteenth-century discussions of tinned foods, and so it is worthy of closer examination. Writings that associated tinned foods with poisoning often refer to the Franklin expedition and Portsmouth scandal, participating in the wider fascination with poisoning and food adulteration that permeated the nineteenth century. Of course, food adulteration had been practised long before the nineteenth century. Tampering with wine, ale, and spirits by adding sugar or other liquid, or substituting ingredients in spices, flour, or tea to increase sales were all practised historically, with various levels of monitoring in place to prevent it. Studies from F. Leslie Hart and James Sumner address adulteration's long history.[24] Despite that, it was only in the early nineteenth century that widespread public attention was turned to food adulteration, notably with the publication of Friedrich Accum's *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons: exhibiting the fraudulent sophistications of bread, beer, wine, spirituous liquors, tea, oil, pickles, and other articles employed in domestic economy, and methods of detecting them* (1820). Accum's treatise was a bestseller, providing readers with chemical experiments to reveal adulterated foods at home. The second edition was published just three months after the first, and the influx of similar expositions that followed Accum's text began a discourse of anxiety about food adulteration that would last into the twentieth century. The uptake of tinned foods thus coincided with ongoing discussions of poisonous and adulterated foods, as foods were increasingly examined and questioned in terms of their safety.

One author who directly participated in the increased surveillance of foods around the

[24] F. Leslie Hart. 'A History of the Adulteration of Food Before 1906', *Food, Drug, Cosmetic Law Journal*, 7.1 (1952), 5-22; James Sumner. 'Retailing Scandal: The Disappearance of Friedrich Accum', in *(Re)Creating Science in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* ed. by A. Mordavsky Caleb (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), pp. 32-48.

time of the 1852 sandal was Arthur Hill Hassall, a chemist and physician famed for his microscopic analysis of bodies, plants, water samples and food substances. Hassall published widely on food adulteration in the *Lancet.* His observations were gathered in books, including *Food: its Adulterations, and the Methods of their Detection* (1855), which presents the findings of the Analytical Sanitary Commission of the *Lancet* between 1851 and 1854. Hassall analysed tinned foods from various retailers. In his book he provides a detailed list of the foods tested, where they were bought, their cost, directions for their preparation, and the test's outcomes. Most tinned foods were satisfactory, though there were occasional exceptions like the tinned '*green peas* [which] were not in a satisfactory state of preservation, being altered in colour, having but little flavour, and evincing signs of incipient decomposition' (Hassall 1855: 444). All the tinned meats Hassall tested were effectively preserved and even pleasant, but even so, adulteration is mentioned. Hassall writes:

> Hitherto we have said nothing on the adulteration of preserved provisions, and this for the reason that they, if practised in any cases, are for the most part of a nature to escape detection: thus they consist chiefly of the substitution of one kind of meat for another. The only instance with which we are acquainted of improper substances having been found in the canisters was that of Goldner, recently exposed, in which pieces of hearts, livers, intestines, kidneys, &c., were detected, mixed up with other meats. (Hassall 1855: 446)

Hassall concludes that tinned foods were rarely adulterated, the only case he is aware of being the infamous Goldner exposé. If they were, adulteration was predominantly the inclusion of poorer cuts of meat. While that was unappetising, it was unlikely to be dangerous. These discussions were part of the nineteenth-century trend of scientific thought percolating into domestic food writing and culinary practices, as noted by scholars including Caroline Lieffers and demonstrated by Beeton's inclusion of Liebig and Lankester in her tinned meat extract. Of adulteration, Lieffers cites both Accum and Hassall, writing that 'powerful scientific interests turned their attentions to this lucrative issue' while simultaneously 'cookbooks and magazines, which speak more directly to women, continued to inform about adulteration and suggested ways of avoiding or remedying problems' (2012: 949-950). Lieffers argues, however, that fears around adulteration 'hardly turned women into chemists' as 'popularizers' of domestic chemistry left 'margin[s] of negotiation' for readers (2012: 950). The experiments which Accum, Hassall and cookbook authors alike outline so readers could uncover adulteration at home were not necessarily practical. The discourse of adulteration remained present throughout the nineteenth century, however, because these writings kept it in the public eye. Hassall's mention of Goldner emphasises this last point, showing how highly publicised events were infused into scientific discussions of food. In terms of tinned foods, the two seemed inextricable.

As was to be expected, Hassall's observations made their way into the popular press. Regardless of his innocuous findings, writers emphasise the sensational nature of potentially poisonous tinned food. The author of a satirical article entitled 'The Government in the Pantry' in the *Leader and Saturday Analyst* notes that 'We don't like "death in the pot," as revealed by old Accum, nor the host of minor evils which Dr. Hassall's microscope has presented to public view' (*Leader* 25 Feb 1860: 182, 183). These allusions to Accum and Hassall, paired with the article's title, highlight and critique the culture of culinary surveillance of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the inscription of 'Death in the Pot' on the cover of Accum's *Treatise* showcases the gothic sensationalism that marked these discussions. The fact that this phrase is repeated in the *Leader* forty years later speaks to its resonance, and the author calls for the housekeeper to become 'an Expert in Porter, a Sage in Sardines, or a Philosopher in Bottled Fruit' so they can detect adulterated food at home (*Leader* 25 Feb 1860: 183). This reference to a 'Sage in Sardines' implicates tinned fish into the phenomenon of adulteration and analysis. Sure enough, a question in the 'Household Queries' section of the *Leisure Hour* raises poisoning in relation to tinned fish – thirty years later. The enquirer asks:

> Would you be so kind as to inform me whether there is any danger in using tinned salmon and other tinned fish and meat? I have heard lately of a case of poisoning from using tinned salmon, but I should be sorry to think that there is real danger to be anticipated, as it is often a great convenience to use it. Is there any particular kind it would be better to avoid? (*Leisure Hour* August 1892: 719)

Within the domestic setting of a household column, this illuminates a conflict that had arisen for consumers by the end of the nineteenth century. Tinned foods had been in domestic circulation for decades by this point, and so were more familiar than when Beeton and Hassall wrote. The writer raises a possible benefit of tinned foods: their convenience. Tinned salmon would have been imported, probably from the USA, and concerns about foreignness are still reflected in the question about what 'kind it would be better to avoid'. The columnist's answer is reassuring, as they respond that '[p]ractically speaking, there is no danger' and that while there are occasions when 'poisoning occasionally takes place […] the experienced housekeeper knows when fish is not in a wholesome state' (*Leisure Hour* August 1892: 719). The response maintains the link between tinned foods and chemistry, however, as the author refers to 'poisonous "ptomaines," as they are called by the chemist' in their explanation of why tinned fish could go bad (*Leisure Hour* August 1892: 719).[25]

[25] 'Ptomaines' were a group of putrefactive substances that were thought by some nineteenth-century chemists to form in rotting animal and vegetable substances, causing unpleasant tastes, odours, and occasionally food poisoning (OED 'ptomaine' 2020).

Nevertheless, the question shows that worries about tinned foods which were spread by both word-of-mouth and publications still cast a shadow on their benefits. Even writers who sought to be reassuring, like Hassall or the *Leisure Hour* columnist, fought against a persistent tide of doubt.

Scandals – both highly popularised events like the Goldner exposé and localised instances – had sustained influence on public willingness to embrace tinned foods. The coverage of these scandals sheds light on the dangers that were otherwise obscured within the tins themselves. In the same month as the *Leisure Hour* column, an article published in the *Saturday Review* illustrates this through its title, 'Death in the Tin'. This direct allusion to Accum foregrounds the dangers lurking within tinned foods. The article recounts a case in Hampshire 'where several members of a family were made seriously ill by partaking of minute portions of a tinned tongue' (*Saturday Review* 18 August 1892: 650). The author then describes 'the most lamentable' case of poisoning 'that has ever occurred dates back to the last Arctic expedition of John Franklin' (*Saturday Review* 18 August 1892: 651). The article's sensational title thus invokes the history of nineteenth-century food adulteration, before the writer refers to a recent and domestic instance of poisoning in tandem with Franklin's expedition. Famed explorers from the middle of the century and families from its end are put in the same metaphorical boat – equally at risk of dangerous tinned foods, whether in the Arctic or Hampshire. The conflation of this timeline, and of the British home with the expedition, demonstrates how the narratives that surrounded tinned foods were manipulated for dramatic effect – effect which tangibly influenced consumers, as demonstrated by the *Leisure Hour* column.

This persistent sharing of exaggerated tropes that depicted tinned meat as a dangerous, scandalous entity had an impact on the community that was emblematic of nineteenth-century 'sensation'. James Secord writes that '"sensation" came to mean an excited or violent emotion felt by an entire community', and because innovations in print technology 'open[ed] the floodgates to an increased reading public' the novels, newspaper articles and cheap publications that excited such physical feelings were perceived as a threat which might disrupt societal order (2000: 30, 12). Technologies could exaggerate this danger, and Secord uses the example of reading on trains as 'cause for concern' because of the physical effect of the train's movement on the body as it absorbed sensational information (2000: 28). Like trains, tins changed how goods were transported and thus were 'symbol[s] of a new age' (Secord 2000: 26). Though they did not physically move the body, their ingestion could provoke physical sensations that were literally dangerous, in the case of adulteration: 'sensation could be a disease of civilisation' (Secord 2000: 13). Sensational

reporting on tinned foods was thus part of a wider literary phenomenon that looked to shock readers. While Lieffers does not discuss tinned foods, their reception in the press and cookbooks alike illustrates her argument that 'to a nation accustomed to sensation, avoiding fear and fad were well practised skills, and chemistry straddled a narrow line between resource and liability' (2012: 950). In this instance, however, worries about tinned foods did not seem to have been easily shaken.

The repeated references to the Franklin scandal until the century's end demonstrate that it was so powerful in public imagination it remained the seminal example of the dangers of tinned foods for half a century. These press articles, cookbooks, and household columns call upon the same narratives regardless of when they were published between the 1850s and the end of the century. The intertwining of sensationalised adulteration, poisoning, chemical analysis, surveillance, imperial exploration, and domestic cookery centred on tinned foods for decades. Discourses were recycled and regenerated between different textual genres to ensure that tinned foods were marked by uncertainty. Moreover, repeated references to famous events, chemical theories, and the history of food adulteration illuminate how authors circulated meanings that associated tinned food with danger. While those meanings point to a longer history of adulteration and doubt, the specific connotations of the mid-century Goldner scandals brought worries to the present. The recurring narratives of progress I have discussed demonstrate that temporality is integral to discussions of tinned foods: they are depicted as a product of modernity, or a threat to health and empire building. Because the scandals that haunted tinned foods existed within living memory, they were harder to escape and more contentious. As Helen Kingstone writes when discussing 'the remembered past, still within living memory' in nineteenth-century literature, these accounts were 'contentious, unfiltered, and dispersed' in contrast to the 'singular, unifying, and teleological national narrative' of 'History with a capital "H"' (2017: 1, 2). If the discussions of the gridiron in the previous chapter tended towards the latter form of history, tinned foods were framed by authors in terms of the former. This was not an extended history of cultural resonance, but a contemporary history forged by popular debates.

These pervasive narratives were not always used in the negative, however. Writers employed them to defend tinned foods even directly after the Portsmouth scandal in 1852. Salvaging tinned foods was not easy, however, when press coverage had so thoroughly sought to disparage them. The author of the *Fraser's Magazine* article who denigrated Goldner discusses the perilous position of tinned foods:

> But, says our reader, how can you get over the disgusting disclosures in our dockyards? How explain away the affecting picture of hardened commissioners fainting from the awful smell given forth by the putrid contents of the inspected

> canisters […] How excuse or explain away the offal found in the canisters? We can only answer these questions by begging our reader to examine with us the true particulars of the case, unbiased by mere penny-a-line statements, seasoned high with horror to astonish the public (*Fraser's Magazine* April 1852: 412).

These questions show how effective negative coverage had been in creating affect with the use of revolting imagery and language. The *Fraser's* author turns the sensationalised rhetoric back on itself, creating a satirical mocking tone. A contrast is set up between the exaggerated descriptions and the request that readers ignore "penny-a-line statements, seasoned high with horror" (*Fraser's Magazine* April 1852: 412). This pun on seasoning makes the distrust of tinned foods an issue of taste: not of culinary taste, but of literary or intellectual taste. If readers were quick to condemn tinned foods because they believed overwrought low-brow journalism, according to the Fraser's author, they were being fooled into overlooking the benefits of tinned foods. Distracted by overpowering rhetorical flavouring, they missed the key ingredient. Even just after the Portsmouth scandal, tinned foods are made into an indicator of a person's cultural capital. While the 'Hungarian Jew' is not redeemed, the author asks for the 'the universal and hasty condemnation' of tinned foods to be reconsidered along the lines of taste (*Fraser's Magazine* April 1852: 412).

The author of an article in *Reynolds's Miscellany* published in May 1852 also sought to salvage the reputation of tins, this time pointing to how they would benefit British consumers. The author declares that by using tins 'the animal and vegetable kingdom would thus be at our command in all periods and seasons', and 'the housekeeper may add to his usually limited bill of fare many dainties and indulgences not otherwise available' (*Reynolds's Miscellany* 1 May 1852: 232). These remarks put the housekeeper using tinned foods in a powerful position: they could dominate the natural world and the produce of other nations, evoking the narratives of imperial success and exploration emphasised at the Great Exhibition. In this light, domestic consumers of tinned foods are positioned as active participants in British imperial expansion as they integrate its spoils into British foodways. We have seen that Beeton positions tinned turtle in this way, but did British consumers predominantly use tins to source 'dainties and indulgences'? And if so, how did this marry with the worries about adulteration and poisoning? What about readers who could not afford luxurious tinned turtle? How did other types of tinned foods feature in recipes and cookbooks, in line with the ubiquitous narratives that circulated around tins? Recipes and writings which were intended to situate tinned foods within the British culinary repertoire can answer these questions, illuminating how discourses foregrounded in the press were manipulated to suit the domestic context.

‘For pleasure yachts, cabin stores, general sea and family use’: Going the Distance in the Middle-class Market

Tinned foods could be transported over great distances to facilitate global exploration and material exchange, and I have shown how this was productively emphasised when tins were sold to the Admiralty and exhibited at the Great Exhibition. Even though these narratives were compromised by instances like the Portsmouth scandal, the link between tinned foods and long distances was so ubiquitous that advertisers and recipe writers use it to sell them within a British context. As demonstrated by the reference to ‘many dainties and indulgences’ within the *Reynolds’s Miscellany* article (*Reynolds’s Miscellany* 1 May 1852: 232), authors attempting to promote tinned foods in their recipes and cookbooks emphasise narratives of luxury, combining them with ideas of convenience. Correspondingly, many of these texts were domestic manuals or catalogues-turned-cookbooks aimed at the middle-classes. This spoke to the kinds of people advertisers and recipe writers targeted as potential consumers of tinned foods from the mid-century onwards. Tracing how writers integrate tinned foods into the middle-class market, and the contexts they enlist to do so, illuminates more closely how narratives like imperial expansion and global trade were turned into selling points when it came to tinned foods.

While this section focuses on how the authors of recipes, advertisements and cookbooks frame tinned foods for middle-class British readers, it is not centred in the home. That is because several important sites where the distances covered by tinned foods are lauded as an advantage were outside the British kitchen or dining room, whether food was required on trips or for picnics. In *Cassell’s Book of the Household: A Work of Reference on Domestic Economy* (1890) the author refers to tinned meats in the ‘Picnic’ section of the ‘Outdoor Parties’ chapter, and explicitly situates them within an elegant, middle-class setting:

> If there are any tinned meats provided, they should be turned out on a dish, garnished prettily, and then the tins should be carefully placed over them. In this way they will travel safely, and when needed will be quite ready for use without any delay. (No Author 1890: 356)

This is not a recipe as such, given that the meat inside the tin was already cooked. The focus on presentation is telling, however. For picnics and outdoor parties, where food had to be prepared before it was transported to the destination, tinned foods were perfect. They were ready-to-eat cold, could be dressed up depending on the formality of the occasion, and the tins they came in provided the perfect barrier against spillage while travelling. Eating

outdoors was not an activity reserved for the middle classes, but the 'Outdoor Parties' section of *Cassell's* cookbook makes it clear that this picnic was: 'No one ever heard of a picnic without a lobster salad' and 'Servants are quite out of place on occasions of this kind, unless there are small children present, when nurse will probably be a great assistance' (1890: 356-357). The notion that tinned foods may be 'garnished prettily' returns to the ideas of taste invoked in the earlier *Fraser's Magazine* article, and the idea that tinned foods facilitated luxury. Presented this way, tinned foods correlated with the middle-class values of performative, domestic taste which are examined in nineteenth-century cookbooks by scholars including Rachel Rich, Kay Boardman and Margaret Beetham.[26] *Cassell's Book of the Household* appropriates tinned foods into a culture of refinement by making their durability and the distances they could travel advantageous to middle-class dining practices.

The idea that tinned foods could be adapted so they suited the pretty middle-class table (or picnic blanket) is materially represented by the production of other apparatus that accompanied them. Cookbooks frequently refer to tins in line with other equipment. In the *Cassell's* cookbook, tinned meats are situated in a wider discussion of how to pack your picnic basket: 'slices of meat placed between two dishes are easier to pack than a large joint of beef […] Jellies and creams are more easily carried in their moulds than when turned out' (1890: 356). This contextualises the tin within the material setting of the picnic. Interestingly, however, picnic hampers of the kind rented out by luxury retailers like Fortnum & Mason did not include tinned foods. These were picked up in the morning and returned after use, and a written description from 1869 notes that a 'hamper for [a] dozen persons' contained bottles of champagne, sherry, soda and seltzer water, ice, pies, a quarter of lamb, fowls, tongue or ham, lobster salad and cheeses, as well as the 'plates, knives, forks, and glasses' that went with them, all for £14. 12s (*Birmingham Daily Post* 31 May 1869). Tins are not featured, and so while people preparing their own picnics in the 1890s may have included tinned foods, this retailer did not pack them in the same way.[27] Indeed, the instructions in *Cassell's* clarify that the tin was opened and garnished at home, where the reader may have a lever-knife (invented c.1840 by a John Gillon and called tin openers in the 1860s) or a 'bully beef' (invented in 1865) tin opener to help them with the difficult task of opening it. This additional layer of effort and the consequent room for error may explain why retailers

[26] For more on middle-class taste, see: Kay Boardman. 'The Ideology of Domesticity: The Regulation of the Household Economy in Victorian Women's Magazines', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 33.2 (2000): 150–164; Rachel Rich. 'Cookbook Writers and Recipe Readers: Georgiana Hill, Isabella Beeton and Victorian Domesticity', *Journal of Victorian Culture,* 25, no. 3 (2020): 408-423; Margaret Beetham. 'Good Taste and Sweet Ordering: Dining with Mrs Beeton', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 36.2. (2008): pp. 391-406.

[27] With thanks to Dr Andrea Tanner, company archivist at Fortnum and Mason, for providing this information. Tanner also consulted the hamper descriptions up to the 1920s, and they did not feature tinned foods.

opted not to include tins in rented hampers. As mentioned previously, however, Fortnum's did sell tinned foods from as early as 1849, so people renting luxurious hampers may have supplemented them with tinned foods if they wished. Regardless, they were clearly circulating in the commercial and material worlds of the middle-class consumer.

To help keep a tin of meat at its most presentable, either in a picnic basket or at home, there were devices called 'Ring Dishes'. Illustrations of a 'Ring Dish for Australian Meat' (Figure 12) and a 'Case for Tinned Meats' (Figure 13) are found in both Heritage's cookbook and another cookbook by Payne, *Choice Dishes at Small Cost* (1882). These devices were designed to fit around a cylinder of meat that had been removed from the tin. The 'rings' were removed as the meat was used, allowing it to be sliced evenly along the edge into thin, even slices. Were the meat to be sliced without this support, it would become misshapen. Indeed, the unappetising appearance of tinned foods (meat, in particular) is a recurring trope over the data set of recipes. Heritage writes that the consumer 'condemns it solely on the ground of appearance' and posits that ring dishes should be used to avoid 'disfiguring' the meat (Heritage 1896: 504, 506). Similarly, in *Choice Dishes* Payne writes that tinned meat's 'appearance when cold is against it' and he proffers the ring dish as a solution: 'the ingenious invention, sufficiently explained by the preceding diagram, is a very useful method of serving it. It should be cut *very* thin' (Payne 1882: 90). While unappealing appearance was not comparable to the 'putrid' meat exposed at Portsmouth, these instances suggest a disconnect between the lived experience of consuming tinned foods and the performative selling and framing of them as middle-class food items.


RING DISH FOR AUSTRALIAN MEAT.

Figure 12: 'Ring Dish for Australian Meat' (Payne 1882: 90)

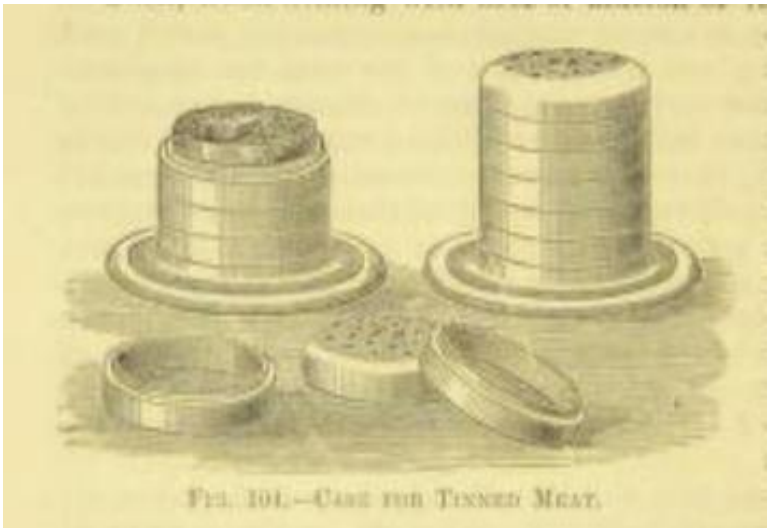


Figure 13: 'Case for Tinned Meats' (Heritage 1896: 506)

For the middle classes, implements like ring dishes could be bought to increase the likelihood that tinned meats were presented attractively. Indeed, in a recipe for a cold tinned meat salad in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* from May 1875, the author C. Grey writes that:

> The simplest way of sending the Australian tinned beef and mutton to table is to turn them out as they are (they will turn out in a shape) into a round dish, such as are sold by John McCall and Co., Houndsditch, and which the inventor has called the New Patent Ring Dish (Grey, May 1875: 266).

The mention of a retailer and 'inventor' emphasises the numerous parties involved in conceptualising, manufacturing, and selling peripheral devices that made tinned foods respectable, or even fashionable. In this case it seems to have worked, as after telling readers how to prepare the salad Grey notes that 'it is a really pretty dish, for the shining jelly and clear meat look well surrounded by the salad' (May 1875: 266). For those without ring dishes, however, tinned meat may not have been appetising, and may have been dangerous.

Even in Grey's discussion of presentation the idea of distance is pertinent because of the use of 'Australian tinned beef and mutton'. Tinned foods had been intensively processed so they could travel hundreds or thousands of miles to reach British consumers, hence the unattractive appearance. Both authors and manufacturers engaged in extra work to elevate their appearance so they may be suitably brought 'to table'. Concerns about appearance are therefore integrated with potential doubts surrounding how far the food had travelled. Fittingly, ring dishes did not just serve aesthetic purposes but also connected to questions of health. In the aforementioned *Leisure Hour* column, the columnist's answer about the safety of tinned salmon contains the assertion that 'the golden rule [must] be observed, of never leaving the food in the tin once opened' (*Leisure Hour* August 1892: 719). This suggests that when food was left in an open tin, there was a risk of it spoiling. By relocating tinned meat or fish to a specially designed ring dish, the middle-classes combined health and aesthetics to overcome worries about poor presentation *and* poisoning. Ring dishes are a material representation of how luxury and class were interwoven with worries about safety. The fact that recipe authors were involved in advertising solutions for these issues shows them creating and attaching yet more meanings to tinned foods. To benefit from the reassurance lent by devices like ring dishes, however, one needed the means to spend additional money and time on integrating tinned foods into their daily lives.

Tinned foods intended for domestic consumption did not just travel in picnic baskets and ring dishes. They also featured in the burgeoning trend for pleasure boating, camping, and yachting that became increasingly popular from the 1860s onwards. Roger Ryan writes that in the mid-1850s there were only twenty-two yacht clubs in Britain, but by 1874 the

total number of clubs had risen to sixty-four in keeping with growing middle-class interest and affluence (1997: 152, 153). Advertising tinned foods in this market was an amalgamation of their adoption into middle-class outdoor dining, and the voyages of global exploration that marked their initial uses. Indeed, prior to the 1852 scandal, the Fortnum & Mason catalogue which features Goldner's products in 1849 also has a section advertising 'Preserved Provisions and Comestibles' which is subtitled 'For pleasure yachts, cabin stores, general sea and family use' (*Fortnum & Mason* 1849: 4). This list contains tinned soups, hams, tongues, sausages, fish, entrees, and vegetables, amongst other goods, which were 'prepared by F. M. & Co.' and 'quite equal to any that can be made for home use, and will keep unimpaired any length of time, and in any climate, being hermetically sealed in cans' (*Fortnum & Mason* 1849: 4). This implies that not only did Fortnum's sell tinned foods, it had its own brand. The catalogue mentions 'family use' but the emphasis is placed on duration and climate. In 1849, producers were already transferring the narratives of distance that marked the early naval context on to the tourism and leisure industry. Of course, the mid-century scandals likely made pleasure boaters cautious about relying too heavily on tinned provisions. Towards the end of the century, however, several cookbooks highlight how useful tinned foods were to those holidaying on Britain's rivers and further afield, suggesting that worries about tinned foods had begun to ebb.

Tellingly, narratives of distance, luxury and nationalism overlap within these late-century instances. The author of *Tinned Foods and How To Use Them* (1893) declares that the text is useful to 'yachting and camping-out parties' (No Author 1893: 2). Heritage notes that tinned foods could be bought 'in variety to suit every requirement' and suggests that for 'the thousands who camp out yearly, or spend a week on the river, it is not easy to say how they would manage without their tinned provisions' (1896: 505). In *Tinned Food with Advice and Recipes for its Treatment* (1893), Kenney-Herbert writes that because tinned foods are 'ready for the consumer' they are of 'incalculable advantage to travellers whether by sea or land, to sportsmen, and others, who may neither have professed cooks nor culinary appliances at their command' (1893: 2). These cookbooks emphasise the distances tins could travel but depict them as beneficial to British consumers, and eaters. Payne also highlights this market for tinned foods, emphasising luxury: 'Yacht-owners, as far as my experience of yachting goes, do not seem to be sufficiently aware of the great benefit to be obtained from these tinned luxuries' which include 'Truffled woodcock, fresh green peas, French beans, ripe pineapple, etc., [which] are undoubtedly luxuries' (Payne 1880: xii). Indeed, the Fortnum's catalogue advertises luxurious dishes like 'Fricandeau of Veal', and Goldner's products included 'Real West Indian Turtle, Calipash and Calipee' (costing an extortionate

10s. 6d. per lb) and 'French dishes' (Fortnum & Mason 1849: 4, 10). These were not tins of grey mutton or beef, but dishes that had been prepared specifically for those with a considerable income, in tandem with their pastimes.

The expensive mid-century tins in the Fortnum's catalogue correlated with yachting being an elite sport at that time, but by the 1880s and 90s the middle-class British yachtsman could enjoy exotic foreign pineapple and familiar green peas from the comfort of their home or yacht, at any time. This presentation of tins as middle-class 'tinned luxuries' corresponds with the expansion of yachting as a middle-class sport: as Ryan writes, 'the vast majority of new yacht clubs formed during the 1880s and 1890s went out of their way to emphasise their "respectability" (1997: 155). Payne goes even further than emphasising luxury, however, and situates globalised eating in a nationalistic rhetoric:

> With a little forethought and ingenuity, a steward who understands his business can, by means of the articles here described, serve up a luncheon or a supper three days away from the nearest shore as easily as if he were within walking distance of Leadenhall or Covent Garden. (1880: xii)

By referring to established food markets and hubs for eating in London, Payne suggests that with imagination tinned foods could bring a sense of British location and belonging to Britons away from home. And not just a taste of Britain, but of the hub of industry and empire. Like the Great Exhibition displays, this link between Britain's capital and imported tinned food emphasises the imperial context of domesticity, where foods were appropriated and aligned with British identity.[28]

Statements from cookbook authors like Heritage, Payne and Kenney-Herbert, contradict fears surrounding the dangers that tinned foods posed to explorers, sailors, and British troops. Aside from the connection between ring dishes and safety, the threat of poisoning is absent from these discussions as writers encourage the use of tinned foods. By the end of the nineteenth century, the distances that tinned foods could travel are rewritten by advocates as a positive trait that could benefit British tourism and leisure. Tinned foods are approached in terms of presentation and appearance, rather than chemical analysis and suspicion, and these writers attempt to overwrite the scandalous history of tinned foods and erase it from their reader's memory. The relatively short history of tinned foods was malleable. Cookbooks like Payne's imply that tinned foods could expand the reach of Britain's culinary identity and dominance just as effectively upon pleasure boats as they could aboard ships bound for the Arctic. The narratives of a Britain-centred, globalised

[28] The impact of the empire on British domestic life, including food, is explored in Andrew S. Thompson's *The Empire Strikes Back: The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2014).

pantry showcased at the Great Exhibition had thus infiltrated different markets, and culinary authors selectively adapted them to appeal to specific audiences.

Payne's connexion of tinned pineapple and Covent Garden represents culinary colonialism which, as Modhumita Roy writes, was an exercise 'in creating a cosmopolitan sensibility commensurate with the ambitions and disposable incomes of the rapidly increasing middle class which, throughout the 19th century, grew corpulent and rich on the surplus of empire' (2010: 70). Recipe writers situate tinned foods within such an exercise by integrating them into the fashions and middle-class activities of their day. Susan Zlotnick discusses how nineteenth-century cookbook authors engage in domestic imperialism by using recipes to assimilate Indian food into British cuisine. She writes that 'domestic cookery books are self-conscious cultural documents in which we can locate a metaphor for nineteenth-century British imperialism, in which the Other presents itself not as a source of threat and contamination but of nourishment', because 'through the ideological effect of domesticating' food, writers could 'erase its foreign origins and represent it as purely English' (Zlotnick 1996: 54, 53). The same can be said of tinned foods. Cookbook authors use their texts to relocate potentially threatening narratives of foreignness into fashionable, domesticated contexts that are distinctly British in their connotations. When tinned foods go badly wrong, as with Goldner, they are a foreign threat to British ways of life. When they are tinned 'luxuries' to enjoy aboard your yacht, buy at Fortnum & Mason, or make into the latest fashionable dish, they recreate a taste of Britain's most iconic culinary centres and represent its imperial success.

While picnics and yachting happened outside the British home, there was one audience for tinned foods that was further afield but maintained a close relationship to British nationality and imperial endeavours: those establishing the colonies. The officials and settlers who resided in India after the establishment of British Raj in 1858 were typically of the middle and upper classes, and they sought to retain a standard of living which did not necessarily mean cultural assimilation. Just as there were texts written to establish British domestic standards, there were guides for expatriates. As noted in the previous chapter, Kenney-Herbert was based in Madras and served in the Indian Army, and his *Tinned Foods* is one such text. It contains recipes and functions as a sales catalogue for the products of J. Moir & Son, a preserving company founded in Aberdeen in 1822. The book is 'particularly addressed to Messrs. J. Moir & Son's *clientèle* in India and the Colonies' to instruct them how to use tinned foods because 'the staple provisions of these distant countries are, *per se*, so poor' (Kenney-Herbert 1893: 3). Kenney-Herbert describes '[t]he whole system of the *cuisine* for the European settler' as 'one of delicate handling, stewing, simmering,

seasoning, flavouring, and so forth', and frames tinned foods as items that provide consistency within the settler's diet (Kenney-Herbert 1893: 3). While the 'dressing up' of tinned foods 'may at first sight appear a little troublesome' to 'the mistress of English establishments', Kenney-Herbert writes that this 'is just in this kind of cookery that the Native cooks of India, Burma, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, China, and other Eastern places are most proficient' (Kenney-Herbert 1893: 3). He therefore locates tinned foods throughout the British empire, suggesting that 'Native cooks' require them to satisfy British employers.

Furthering his disparagement of local ingredients, Kenney-Herbert recommends the use of Moir's Curry Powders and Pastes and writes that the tamarind used by 'natives of the south' can be improved upon 'with Moir's red currant jelly' (1893: 17-18). Ignoring the anglicised origins of 'curry', which historians including Zlotnick and Lizzie Collingham note was a 'concept that the Europeans imposed on India's food culture' (Collingham 2006: 115), Kenney-Herbert declares that 'it is not uncommon to hear people say that they have eaten far better curries in England than in India' (1893: 20-21). These references to England and Anglo-Indian cuisine demonstrate how foreign cuisines were altered to suit the British palette both in the colonies and at home. Narratives of distance are thus used by writers overseas to position both local (and therefore foreign) and tinned foods in relation to British national identity. The products of a British preservation company became improvements to 'native' cuisine, and so imported tinned food is again used to keep Britain in a position of culinary dominance – though here the journey is reversed.

The recipes in Kenney-Herbert's *Tinned Foods* show how tinned products enabled the Briton abroad to recreate a taste of home. In the recipe for 'Hams (Moir's Prime)', Kenney-Herbert writes that '[t]hese most excellent articles of export rank upon the best things procurable by an exile from Great Britain' and suggests that 'If treated with the commonest care the tinned (cooked) ham is not to be distinguished from the ham at home' (1893: 90). The recipe involves turning the ham out of the tin, trimming the fat and 'discoloured portions' and heating in a bath of stock and Marsala, before serving with a 'rich brown sauce' (Kenney-Herbert 1893: 30). Structurally, the recipe is only nine lines long and is embedded in the first paragraph of an alphabetical extract for 'Hams'. This also contains a longer recipe for 'Hams in canvas' which 'require soaking for at least forty-eight hours, large ones fifty-six' (Kenney-Herbert 1893: 30). Positioning the instructions for tinned hams first implies that they are the preferred form in contrast to time-consuming canvassed ham. Tinned 'articles of export' thus allow the 'exile from Great Britain' to easily prepare and eat a familiar meal which has British cultural resonances via the eating of a large joint of meat. Moir's tinned ham, eaten in India, promises to deliver a British meal to those who want to

continue the culinary traditions of home. Tinned foods are thus used by cookbook writers to familiarise, domesticate, or even avoid the foreign, and prioritise the taste of British nationality even in a foreign context. Indeed, at the end of his book, Kenney-Herbert provides a catalogue for Moir's 'Preserved Provisions in England'. These recipes are similar to theose aimed at settlers and are included so English readers could prepare the Moir's products available at home. Moir's use of a famous expatriate to push British tinned foods as a staple of British life, both in the colonies and England, accentuates how far ideas of foreignness and distance were manipulated to suit different agendas when it comes to tinned foods.

The exchange of tinned foods facilitated the colonisation of cuisines in two directions. Foreign ingredients were integrated and appropriated into British cuisine as they were brought to Britain in tins. Cookbook authors recognised that the distances tins could cover would benefit activities outside the home: picnicking, camping, or pleasure boating. It is no coincidence tins are written into fashionable, middle-class activities: these were the perfect context for overriding the negative connotations of poisoning, distance and danger that haunted tinned foods within the short history of living memory. That authors like Heritage, Payne, and Kenney-Herbert emphasise the luxury of foreign tinned foods shows that this advertising was manipulated to suit a middle-class agenda. Moreover, that agenda was bolstered by domestic imperialism which overrode the foreign nature of tinned foods to assimilate them into the British diet. Meanwhile, the dishes and gastronomic traditions of native peoples were colonised by Britons settling overseas, and consuming tinned food products was one way they could access familiar, Anglicised ingredients. The tensions between foods produced and eaten at home, versus those produced and eaten in foreign places, were used by cookbook authors to sell tinned foods around the world. Whether enjoying luxurious tins shrouded in narratives of travel and pleasure was the experience of most British consumers, however, remains to be seen.

Tins in the Mass Market: A Harder Sell

As the previous section demonstrates, cookbook writers relocate narratives of distance and global travel away from public scandals and into the middle-class market to integrate tinned foods into fashionable, luxurious activities. These were specific niches, however, meaning tinned foods were limited to certain contexts and customers. This leads to questions about how tinned foods were presented in the mass market. Most of the British population were not purchasing tinned Green Turtle fat or truffled pheasant. This problem was recognised by

nineteenth-century writers, who realised that framing tinned foods as an expensive luxury cut them off from a large proportion of the population.

In the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* article, Grey writes that tinned meat was initially welcomed due to high butchers' prices in Britain, but recently 'the price of beef and mutton continues so high as quite to place these necessary articles of food beyond the reach of thousands of hardworking people, except as an occasional luxury' (May 1875: 266). Furthermore, tinned meats were 'neglected by the many, and are patronised by, comparatively speaking, a very small minority' (Grey, May 1875: 266). It was thus price that cut 'hardworking people' off from tinned foods, so their uptake became a class issue. Grey emphasises this, writing that the 'minority [who used tins] belongs almost entirely to the class which is not in most need of cheap and nutritious food, but the well-to-do and prosperous portion of the community' (Grey, May 1875: 266). That this article contains the recipe for a pretty, ring-dish moulded salad shows Grey contributing to the issue they describe, but nevertheless Grey outlines the paradox of tinned meat. It should have been economic, because 'the meat in the tin costs about one penny per pound in Australia', but according to John Charles Buckmaster, 'The preparation of every tin of meat costs threepence, and this makes the process expensive' (1874: 105). Grey's use of 'neglected', however, suggests that the problem may not just have been cost, but also the marketing of tinned foods. Narratives of luxury or exoticism are easy to deploy when the product is tinned pineapple destined for a yacht. When selling standard tinned foods already available in Britain, like mutton or beef, they are less applicable. This section thus turns to recipes and cookbooks to question how writers tried to integrate tinned foods into Britain's mass market.

Grey imbricates British national identity with class in the rest of the *EDM* article, through the satirical observation that the 'British working-man' 'stands in no need of cheap beef and mutton, only of a few little extras, such as Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, &c' (Grey 1875: 266). This parodical play on the motto of the French revolution mocks the nationalistic image that British working-class families had the means for the 'comfortably-dressed wife, with her good-sized market basket on her arm, [to] sall[y] forth to the butcher's and buy a prime joint for the family dinner' (Grey, May 1875: 266). On the contrary, Grey realistically declares that 'there are thousands of 'British working-men and women struggling hard for daily bread for themselves and their children' (Grey, May 1875: 266). Citing curates, the new middle-classes and labourers to illustrate that many people would benefit from cheaper tinned foods, Grey argues that 'cheap and nutritious' tinned meat should be taken up across society: '[d]emand creates supply, and if these meats were used in the quantities they ought

to be, they would become even cheaper than they now are, and the modes of preparation would inevitably be improved upon' (Grey, May 1875: 266).

By invoking the French revolution, Grey implies that if cheaper foods for the working-class population were not found, a British revolution was possible. This claim was supported by the strikes and riots that took place before and throughout the nineteenth century, like the bread riots of 1795 and the establishment of the Anti-Corn Law League in 1849.[29] Letting the people eat tinned foods would not work, however, until prices dropped – something Grey's article poses as an issue of national importance. This harks back to Payne's observation that tinned foods enabled technological progress, allowing Britain to feed its hungry Oliver Twists (Payne 1880: iv). The call for 'prejudice against preserved meat' to be overcome 'by the middle and upper classes eating it' so it becomes cheaper for all is also echoed by Buckmaster, who writes that one of the only valid objections to tinned meats is 'the cost' (1874: 106, 105). Moreover, Payne writes in *Choice Dishes* that 'Unfortunately [tinned meat's] price has of late risen considerably, and as there is no doubt that it is not nearly so satisfying as fresh meat, its value as a cheap article of food is considerably diminished' (Payne 1882: 90). Around their recipes, authors repeatedly conclude that greater uptake meant greater accessibility. In this rhetorical stance, the availability of cheap tinned meat becomes a national issue that concerns the entire British population.

Over the latter half of the century, many writers recognised that affordable tinned meat would help the British working classes who struggled to afford food, particularly meat, the most expensive item on the household bill. Authors had work to do, however, to convince the population of the merits of tinned foods. The previous chapter illuminated the cultural cachet meat carried in nineteenth-century Britain, demonstrating that recipes and food writing evoked and contributed to that value. This significance, as well as the culinary appeal of meat, meant 'Every attempt was therefore made to include meat in meals, or at least to give them a meat flavour', and so the working-classes would opt for cheaper options like pies sold by street vendors or sausages (Waddington 2011: 55). Cheap, tinned meat was seen by middle-class writers as poised to fill a similar gap, and this solution also considered public health and food supply. Cheaper meats were often diseased or adulterated and had connotations of danger, which were emphasised by sensational journalism and sanitary reformers (Waddington 2011: 57) in much the same way that tinned foods were often critiqued. Waddington notes that in both contemporary and recent discussions, cheap (and therefore dangerous) meat was associated with the working classes, because it was all they

[29] For a history of the politics behind the Anti-Corn Law League see Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrell. *The People's Bread: A History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000).

could afford, and due to negative links the middle and upper classes drew between cheap foods and poor living conditions (2011: 66). A move away from these options could therefore benefit the health of the working classes and soothe middle-class sensibilities.

Writers like Grey and Buckmaster frame tinned meats as a safer bridge between unsafe cheap meat and more expensive cuts, bringing much-needed sustenance to the growing population. As Buckmaster writes before his tinned-meat recipes, 'Since [Robert Peel's] time the population has more than doubled, but the supply of animal food [meat] has not much increased, and the price has risen from twenty-five to thirty per cent' and so Britain must become 'more and more dependent on other countries for our supply […] we must, therefore, look more and more to the vast tracts of pasture land in Australia, New Zealand, and South America' (1874: 102). Producers and supporters of tinned meats from these countries recognised problems with supply and the health of British meat stocks as potential selling points, as demonstrated in a series of articles titled 'Australian Food Products and their use in Great Britain' published in Melbourne in the Australian newspaper *The Argus* in 1873. Here, English journalist J. J. Manley informs the Australian public, stockholders, and preservers of how British people perceived tinned Australian meat. He suggests that the spread of foot-and-mouth disease and rinderpest in Britain provides 'a golden opportunity for "pushing" Australian meats' (Manley 18 Jan 1873: 1). Indeed, a recipe and its accompanying paratexts from the 'Home Notes' column in the *London Journal and Weekly Record or Literature, Science and Art* (3 Feb 1894) indicate that dangerous raw meat could position tinned meat as the better option.

The column contains a recipe for 'Australian Mince and Potatoes' which tells the reader, without any complaint about Australian meat, how to make it into a dish of mince and potatoes. The recipe takes a traditional structural form, consisting of one paragraph without any separated sections on ingredients lists, timings, or quantities:

> AUSTRALIAN MINCE AND POTATOES.
>
> Take one pound and a half of boiled potatoes with half a gill of milk and a little butter melted in it. Build a wall round a dish with this, and scatter a little chopped parsley over it. Mince one pound of Australian meat very finely, warm it up in a saucepan with a tablespoonful of ketchup, and a little bit of butter, season it nicely, and arrange in the middle of the potato. (*London Journal* 3 Feb 1894: 99).

The lack of detail surrounding how to open or use the tinned meat implies that the author expects readers to be familiar with it, corresponding with the late-century publication date. Directly above the recipe, however, is a note on 'The Danger of Underdone Meat', which warns that people 'who are in the habit of eating meat very much underdone do so at considerable risk to their health, for various parasites, which are often to be found in meat,

are not destroyed unless it is pretty thoroughly cooked' (*London Journal* 3 Feb 1894: 99). 'Parasites' had been identified in the 1860s by Louis Pasteur, who experimented with the effect of microorganisms on alcohol, and so once more chemical experimentation and culinary discussion were fused.[30] Within the article, the writer indicates that meat should be as well-cooked as possible to avoid risk. Positioning the recipe for 'Australian Mince and Potatoes' under this cautionary article structurally implies that the author recommends tinned Australian meat over a potentially raw sausage. In recipes and articles across Britain and Australia, writers emphasise that tinned meat could solve issues with sanitation and disease. They turn away from narratives of luxury and prioritise food-supply and health. Indeed, Woods notes that these views were shared by 'industrialists, entrepreneurs, and "men of science" [who] assumed that innovation would solve what they perceived as Britain's problem of supply and demand' (2020: 125).[31] These advocates turn worries about poison, adulteration, and distance in the opposite direction, positioning tinned foods as the safe option rather than the threat they were framed as earlier in the century.

Crucially, however, tinned meat lacked the fundamental appeal of raw, butcher's meat. For one thing, imported tinned meat could be viewed as threatening, or at the very least lacked the cultural resonance of John Bull's roast beef or the British broiled chop.[32] Buckmaster highlights the association between tinned meats and foreign oddities in his attempt to discount the rumour 'that kangaroos and elephants and horses are cut up', writing that 'I do not know how they obtain the elephants and horses; and kangaroos are far more costly in Australia than oxen or sheep' (1874: 105). These connotations detracted from the distinctly nationalistic clout of meat – no one wanted roasted kangaroo on a Sunday – and Buckmaster's addressing them in his cookbook signals that they discouraged the public.

Then there was the material reality of tins, which cookbook authors discuss at length. Even before a tin was purchased it presented a confusing spectacle. Consumers were unable to see what was inside and tins often lacked descriptive labels: 'many goods are displayed in shop windows for sale without in themselves conveying any idea of their nature to the purchaser' (Payne c.1885: vi). In the final years of the century, brands like Libby's and Heinz had harnessed the power of advertising to produce tins with distinctive labels, but the contents were still obscured. Indeed, the manufacture of branded food and drink items

[30] For more information of the development and subsequent influence of germ theory by Pasteur and the German physician Robert Koch, see J. Andrew Mendelsohn, '"Like All That Lives": Biology, Medicine and Bacteria in the Age of Pasteur and Koch', *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 24.1 (2002): 3–36.
[31] See Woods's article 'The Shape of Meat: Preserving Animal Flesh in Victorian Britain', *Osiris*, 35 (2020), pp. 123-141 for a succinct overview of the anxieties surrounding the British meat supply throughout the nineteenth century (pp. 126-130).
[32] For a discussion of John Bull and the symbolism of beef in nineteenth-century Britain, see Ben Rogers *Beef and Liberty: Roast Beef, John Bull, and the English Nation* (London: Vintage, 203) pp. 146-166.

accelerated in the latter half of the nineteenth century, which I explore later in reference to Soyer and Marshall. Examples like champagne demonstrate how marketing could transform both sales numbers and the cultural associations that surrounded foodstuffs. Graham Harding notes that the 1860s saw a marked shift in the branding of champagne. Names including Veuve Cliquot and Moët and Chandon became 'ubiquitous in the press' as their recognisable bottles featured in more *Punch* cartoons than all other brands of alcohol between 1874 and 1900, becoming a 'token of social expenditure' (Harding 21: 14, 15). Grey's note that tins were 'imported in such vast quantities into this country, simply, it would seem, to line the walls of the wholesale warehouses with its deep-hued, white labelled tins', however, suggests that tinned food producers were slower off the mark (Grey, May 1875: 266). Nondescript labels inhibited sales. Moreover, tinned meat was sold in large tins that contained too much for one sitting: Grey asks, 'could it not be managed that dealers could sell the meat by the pound, opening the tins as fast as needed?'(Grey, May 1875: 266), while in Australia Manley complains of the same issue: 'not a single shop, for a very long time, "cut the meat out" and retailed it in pounds and half-pounds, [which] practically prevented the working classes making an experiment of it' (Manley 24th Jan 1873: 6).

Buying a product which could not be analysed with sight, smell, touch, or feel was a risk that many would not be comfortable taking when it may mean money was wasted on unappetising or inedible food. This returns to concerns regarding adulterated or poisoned meat being hidden within tins: a morbid threat foregrounded by commentators on the Franklin and Goldner cases. As Payne surmises, many housekeepers 'are simply afraid to spend their money in what they fear may turn out useless, solely on the ground of not knowing how to go to work in using it' (Payne 1880: vi). Writers do not try to disguise the problems associated with tinned meats, but repeatedly acknowledge them in the discussions that surround their recipes.

If consumers did purchase a tin, of meat in particular, the contents would not have been recognisable as the raw alternative. Without a ring dish or the extra ingredients and tableware to dress it up, the working-classes would have been left with an unfamiliar, jelly-covered grey substance which did not look, feel or smell like meat. Moreover, the lengthy cooking times required to seal meat in tins meant it was already cooked, and recipes frequently clarify that overcooking was a drawback from taste and appearance. Buckmaster notes 'there are numerous recipes for cooking Australian meat, but the misfortune is that it is already too much cooked' (Buckmaster 1874: 101, 105), while Grey writes that because 'the food [was] already being sufficiently cooked, a difficulty is experienced in finding modes of preparing it for the table without over-cooking it' (Grey, May 1875: 266). Payne

also admits that '[o]ne drawback to Australian meat is, that it always seems over-cooked' (1882: 90), and Heritage combines a further complaint about blandness with a critique of the meat's texture, stating: 'beef or mutton of the ordinary types […] is comparatively tasteless and insipid; it therefore requires a sauce or gravy of good flavour, and that being already overdone, it wants heating through only' (Heritage 1896: 505). These repeated caveats determine that the appeal of tinned meats was limited.

'The ordinary type' of tinned meat for 'ordinary' people was not an easy sell because of these issues, though these writers attempt to address them in their recipes. The first recipe for Australian meat in Payne's *Choice Dishes,* for instance, is titled 'Australian Beef or Mutton warmed up'. In it he writes that 'you should get the sauce or gravy heated separately, and only add the meat to it for the purpose of being heated through' (1882: 91). Then in *The Housekeeper's Guide* Payne writes in his recipe for 'Bouilli / Haricot Beef' that readers should 'avoid letting the meat boil, as when this is done it is apt to make it hard. This is one reason why tinned meats are best warmed up in the tins' (1880: 18). Indeed, 13 recipes from the data set include notes about cooking tinned foods for a short time, warming them in the tin, or adding them to the dish at the last minute. Recipe writers were aware of these issues but worked to provide solutions.

Lack of flavour is another repeated trope throughout the recipe set. In his 'Australian Meat Pie' recipe Payne notes that the jelly of the tinned meat should be placed in a saucepan with 'six beads of garlic' and boiled for ten minutes before the garlic is removed and this gravy is added to the meat for the filling (Payne 1882: 92). At the end of the recipe Payne writes: 'Australian meat lacks flavour, and requires vigorous treatment as above. Should such a strong flavour of garlic be objected to, put in less, or an onion, but garlic is best' (1882: 92). Heritage writes that tinned beef and mutton 'bear a higher seasoning of salt and pepper than ordinary meat' (Heritage 1896: 505) while in *Tinned foods and How to Use Them* (1893) the author includes directions for various recipes using tinned poultry, and states:

> That they are a little lacking in flavour compared with fresh poultry cannot be denied, therefore we advise in their serving (if required hot) well, if not rather *highly*, seasoned and flavoured sauces, which can so easily be prepared without the aid of any fresh ingredients. (No Author 1893: 70)

Over-seasoning is one response that recipe writers suggest to alleviate the blandness of tinned foods. Buckmaster, on the other hand, claims that it was up to 'science' to improve the taste of tinned foods through the flavour element of meat called the 'osmazome'. Processing made the meat bland because flavour was 'separated by boiling', and so Buckmaster writes that 'If science is to do anything for cooking there ought to be some

method of restoring this flavour of osmazome' (Buckmaster 1874: 103-104). In his recipe for 'Croquets of Australian Meat', however, Buckmaster instructs that the meat should be 'season[ed] with pepper and salt, add a little of powdered spice, or nutmeg, but not both' (1874: 107). The set of recipes shows authors repeatedly trying to solve the problems inherent to the 'ordinary types' of tinned foods and make them more appealing to readers. This emphasises the difference between the experience of non-luxury tinned meats and the marketing of luxury, middle-class tinned foods. While there was no truffle or pineapple included in tins of beef or mutton, recipe writers who believed that tinned foods would benefit the wider population attempted to find practical solutions within the kitchen that aided customers more widely.

Others, however, blame the working classes for the lack of uptake, overlooking that unappealing food would not be embraced no matter how convenient. While she does not consider the domestic texts and recipes that aimed to help readers, Woods discusses the 'men of science' and 'self-appointed experts in the Society of Arts' who tasked themselves with 'the question of meat' in the 1860s and 70s (2020: 126). They 'insisted on holding consumers to blame' for the poor reputation of tinned meats, 'accus[ing] the lower orders of stymying the supposed public mindedness of preserved meat purveyors' (2020: 126, 136). Manley demonstrates this class prejudice in his articles, and his condemnation of the working-classes plays with narratives of British nationalism in a negative way. He writes that servants cooking for middle-class employers 'have formed a "solemn league and covenant" to impede the use of this food. They will not eat it themselves' and 'will take no trouble to send it to table to the best advantage' (Manley 18 Jan 1873: 1). Of 'the poor' he is more scathing, proclaiming they 'are even more inveterate in their prejudices than the classes above them' (Manley 18 Jan 1873: 1). In another article, Manley's tone heightens to disgust. He asserts that it was to the detriment of Australian meat that it was 'pushed in work-houses, gaols, and charitable institutions', because 'The British pauper is about the most dainty specimen of humanity in the kingdom' and even if 'our paupers had a daily allowance of turtle soup and "cheap" venison, they would consider themselves very badly treated, and organise a strike' (Manley 24 Jan 1873: 6). These insensitive perceptions of working-class consumers depicts the most vulnerable of the population, those fed in institutions or without disposable income, as turning down foods they thought were beneath them. By framing the 'British pauper' as a 'specimen of humanity', Manley stereotypes the specifically British poor by ridiculing their tendency to strike (Manley 24 Jan 1873: 6). This returns to Grey's satirical allusion to the French revolution, but Manley wrote unironically. He portrays the British poor as villains who kept dangerous meat on the table and, because of their old-fashioned refusal to embrace

the modern tin, stopped the rest of the British public from appreciating the value of tinned meat.

In Manley's articles, the nationalistic rhetoric of success and progress which tinned foods were seen to facilitate is limited by the dregs of British society. In other words, the development of a global food market was threatened by the British working classes, who kept the country in the past by refusing to adopt innovation. Manley's writing demonstrates how those narratives could be turned on their head to condemn people when tinned foods sales did not go to plan. Potential customers of tinned foods are thus separated into two distinct class categories: middle class beneficiaries of luxury or ungrateful working class nuisances. These groups were pitched very different products: expensive, exotic, luxurious tinned ingredients and dishes, or bland, grey tinned beef and mutton. The reluctance of the working-classes to consume tinned foods, and the frustration and condemnation of them by those with a stake in the market, attests to how strongly consumer appeal mattered when it came to food products. Particularly those with a recent scandalous history. Indeed, Woods writes that 'Experts' 'were quick to emphasize that preserved meat was never meant for the middle classes, much less the aristocracy' but was meant to replace 'inferior' meat in the working-class diet (2020: 138). While this overlooks the middle-class market for tinned goods, it captures how tinned meats were 'promoted in one breath while in the next, experts acknowledged that "up to the present time, science has failed to show how meat can be popularly, as well as permanently, cheapened to the masses' because tinned 'fish, flesh, and fowl [were] alike unpalatable' (Woods 2020: 138). There was less effort put into making ordinary tinned meat appealing, because those producing or promoting it did not view their consumers as worthy of appealing food.

When it came to tinned foods for the working classes and mass-market, the narratives deployed in recipes and press articles shift. Situating tinned foods so they benefited the whole British population was a harder task because of the material nature of 'ordinary' tinned foods. The fact that blandness, unappealing flavour, and over-cooking are the most common tropes within the set of recipes for 'Australian Meat' confirms this, despite the best efforts of the authors attempting to provide solutions. These sections have shown that a duality emerges in discussions of tinned foods, according to class. The potential to be poisoned when on a ship or excursion became the potential to be poisoned by diseased or adulterated British meat. The ability to adopt the best of the world's pantry into your menu as an act of colonial dominance became the need to innovatively outsource food production to feed Britain's hungry population. Fortnum & Mason catalogues sat opposite unrevealing tins in the grocers. Luxurious tinned turtle contrasted with unappetising tinned mutton, and

recipes spoke less about a taste of Britain or the empire and more about how to breathe life into off-putting tinned foods. Throughout these divergent perspectives and experiences, however, the key themes of distance, globalisation and British nationality, innovation and progress remain. What is perhaps most striking, however, is that even if 'self-appointed experts' and 'innovators' were concerned with the same issues as recipe and cookbook writers, it was the latter group who attempted to find practical solutions that could be reasonably used by consumers of tinned foods.

Conclusion: Creating Contemporary History

Throughout the nineteenth century, commentators including producers and recipe authors, sought to assign and fix meanings to innovative products with short histories like the tin. Positioned at first by manufacturers as a symbol of Britain's position at the centre of the empire, sensational writing about the mid-century scandals inverted those narratives to demonise tins. The threat of poisonous tinned foods was absorbed into ongoing discourses about food adulteration, as housekeepers and chemists alike analysed tins because they were unfamiliar. I have shown how these concerns trickled into recipes and household columns, testifying to how the sensational depiction of a foodstuff could taint public opinion, even in a short timeframe. Others, however, saw tinned foods as too valuable to abandon. They rewrote the meanings ascribed to tinned foods by pulling upon the same threads that incited fear – distance and foreignness – but refigured them as advantages, tactically deploying them within the spheres of luxury and middle-class recreation. These narratives did not function when tins were targeted at the wider British population given the disparity in the products, however. Again writers reconstructed them but kept the key themes of nationality, progress, health and global food chains at the fore. Culinary concerns about taste, appearance and texture became intermingled with these far larger questions about the future of British food, but it was recipe writers more than 'men of science' who worked to make tinned foods appealing and bring them into the British home.

These fluctuating tensions between the narrated dangers and benefits of tinned food represent the ongoing negotiation of Britain to its empire throughout the nineteenth century, and to the increasingly globalised world. By identifying the key themes and tropes that run through recipes and discussions of tinned foods, this chapter has shown that cookbook authors and tinned food sellers mobilised a technological development within narratives of British national and imperial dominance to sell products – both cookbooks and tins. I have shown how far food writing enlisted popular debates to influence public perception of tinned

foods, and tins thus became inextricable from pervasive questions about global trade and food supply. Indeed, it was because the history of tinned foods began in the nineteenth century that it was so malleable: writers could play with the contemporary resonances tinned foods had, adapting them to suit different customers and contexts.

Advertisements from the end of the century show that these resonances were eventually merged to sell tins to a public that was, by that point, more receptive. An advertisement for tins of Libby's corned beef in the *Manchester Times* in 1889 reads:

> Prejudice against preserved food has disappeared, and Libby, McNeill, and Libby's Compressed Corned Beef is now found all over the globe, being as great a boon to the consumers in overcrowded cities, where living is expensive, as to the lonely travellers amidst Arctic snow, along the luxuriant banks of the Congo, or over the burning sands of Sahara. In 1, 2, 4, 6, and 14lb tins, of all first-class grocers. Ask for Libby's Compressed Beef and take no other. Also ask from any grocer, who will give it free of charge, Libby's Cookery Book, containing practical recipes for preparation of tinned meats for table use. (*Manchester Times* 16 Feb 1889: 6)

While the compensatory first sentence suggests producers still faced prejudice, this advertisement frames tinned foods as an innovation that had successfully improved multiple spheres: supply issues for those in 'overcrowded cities', luxury, exoticism, recreation, and global exploration. Libby's was an American company founded in Chicago in 1875, and the fact that they advertised like this in British newspapers demonstrates just how pervasive the themes woven around tinned foods were. The ebb and flow of tinned food's success shows that writers' efforts were not always successful, as other public concerns like adulteration could override affirmative selling. Nevertheless, it was the writing that addressed tinned foods in recipes, adverts and newspapers which made them such a prominent topic.

The representation of tinned foods in nineteenth-century recipes and the discussions around them can be read as an exercise in the creation and questioning of cultural value. This value was coded in terms of temporality, as Payne's question of 'how our ancestors did so well without them' only functions because writers had positioned tinned foods within the timeline of Britain's development (1880: iv). While the authors of nineteenth-century recipes about broiled foods and gridirons had a longstanding history of symbolism to utilise, emulate and refigure in a nineteenth-century context, the writers discussed in this chapter were constructing meaning in the first instance. They did so by alighting upon the most pressing questions of their time and positioning tinned foods within Britain's increasingly mechanised present and future. While these authors did not have access to the sense of proliferation enabled by the historical gridiron, the recipes and commentary discussed in this chapter demonstrate that a recent innovation could be a site of contestation, as multiple parties attempted to ascribe it with meanings that captured a period without a singular clear

narrative. Whether this was viewed in a positive or negative light, the fact that advocates and critics occupied different sides of the same argumentative positions shows how powerful this construction of contemporary history was. It would not have been possible, however, without the authors who used recipes and cookbooks to situate tinned foods within these prominent questions.

Le Trou Normand: Kitchiner, Johnstone and Acton

In the first two chapters of this thesis, I analysed a data set of recipes to reveal that nineteenth-century authors utilise a catalogue of literary techniques including allusion, intertextuality, and satire to participate in prominent discourses of historicity and innovation. Making sense of these main themes through recipes also involved a broader source base, consisting of advertisements, periodical and newspaper articles, as well as conventional defined literary texts. I read these sources alongside recipes to demonstrate the complicated relationships forged between recipes and other literary genres, as recipe authors build upon, subvert, and reimagine the cultural associations present in other text types. I read these sources alongside recipes, in a new way, to demonstrate that recipe authors take up discussions and techniques from other genres to promote specific contemporary meanings around the implements and innovations they discuss. I demonstrated that those meanings are bolstered by concepts of historicity that culinary writers construct to lend weight to their claims, whether they were defending British nationality or interrogating Britain's shifting reliance on globalised food systems. Unravelling this web of literary relationships illuminates that recipe authors use ideas of innovation and historicity to connect to additional themes, including nationalism, gender, empire, and class. I thus used the first part of my methodology to examine the work of multiple authors and illuminate through close reading and analysis how they create shared meaning amongst their culinary texts and across genres, by constructing and questioning the dominant narratives that revolved around gridirons and tinned foods.

In the rest of this thesis, I use the second part of my methodology to examine the larger works of individual authors, considering the cookbooks of Alexis Soyer in Chapter Three and of Georgiana Hill and Agnes Marshall in Chapter Four. In the introduction I outlined that while cookbooks could be analysed according to structural characteristics as I have done with recipes, this approach risks flattening the generic play at work across the texts. Given that I consider cookbooks as a literary genre, the next part of my thesis explores how these authors respond to and subvert generic expectations. I suggest that those generic expectations, and the creative play with them, are explicitly tied to nineteenth-century gender identity. Soyer, Hill and Marshall all wrote cookbooks that play with and deviate from the generic expectations that governed nineteenth-century cookbooks, and the way in which they do so appears to differ in line with their gender. Integral to this is the way in which they engage with historicity and innovation. To understand the literary efforts of Soyer, Hill and Marshall, then, we first need to understand the gendered expectations and realisations of the

nineteenth-century cookbook genre. This *trou normand* section thus takes three case studies from William Kitchiner, Isobel Christian Johnstone and Eliza Action which illustrate generic expectations, the ideologies of nineteenth-century gender that conditioned them, and diverse authorial responses to those expectations. In it, I briefly explore the narratives and literary techniques they include in the paratexts around their recipes. This gives context to Chapters Three and Four and demonstrates the value of my methodological shift.

Kitchiner's *The Cook's Oracle* was referenced in both my introduction and first chapter; this is a text that was known by Soyer and Hill, amongst many other writers including Dickens.[33] In the introduction, I noted that Kitchiner alludes to numerous histories in his 'Toast and Cheese' recipe, and this interest in historicity is evidenced further in the introduction of Kitchiner's cookbook.[34] Here, I showcase how Kitchiner engages with innovation and historicity in his cookbook, before I turn to his interaction with gendered gastronomy.

The first edition of *The Cook's Oracle* had a longer title of *Apicius Redivivus: or, The Cook's Oracle* (1817). The title initially links Kitchiner's cookbook to the Roman manuscript *Apicius,* or *De re Culinaria* (On Culinary Things). Kitchiner's title infers that he is 'reviving' the famed historical cookbook. Kitchiner's cookbook contains a 29-page long preface, which begins with a scene that establishes his aims:

> The Receipts have been written down by the fire-side, "with a spit in one hand, and a pen in the other," in defiance of the combined odoriferous and calefacient repellents of roasting and boiling, frying and broiling; the author submitting to a labour no preceding cookery-book-maker, perhaps, ever attempted to encounter. (Kitchiner 1817: 3)

Kitchiner opens his cookbook with this description of its original contribution to culinary knowledge, framing the text as an innovation. Historical resonances mark the claim, however, through Kitchiner's word choice. The contrast between spit and pen is reminiscent of Ovid's Epistle, Canace to Macareus, in which Canace says: 'One hand the Sword, and one the Pen imploys, / And in my lap the ready Paper lyes' (Dryden 1705: 7). Canace killed herself with the sword she held, but Kitchiner's use of this quote implies an empiricist approach to cookery as well as classical knowledge. He demonstrates that he has tried the recipes in the book by cooking them himself, assuring readers that his methods are reliably reproduced in his writing. Even in this opening statement, historicity and novelty are balanced.

[33] See p. 54 for Dickens's citation of Kitchiner.
[34] See pp. 26-27.

The connotations of life and death (thereby bodily health), literary craft, and empiricism evoked by Kitchiner's classical allusion are multiply inflected in the rest of the passage. 'Calefacient' has medical connotations, cited in the OED as a 'medical agent which produces warmth or a sense of heat' (OED 'calefacient' 2022). It is mentioned in *Panzooryktologia, sive, Panzoologicomineralogia, or, A Compleat History of Animals and Minerals* (1661) by the naturalist Robert Lovell, as a cure for a 'vice of the voice and speech' (1661: 347). 'Odoriferous' is derived from Latin and describes the scents wafting from cooking food. It was famously used in Book IV of Milton's *Paradise Lost* to describe the sweet gales that blew through the Garden of Eden (Milton [1667] 2000: 78). Canonical literature and a prelapsarian world are invoked by this word, but perhaps more significant to Kitchiner are its ties to natural philosophy and history.

In Francis Bacon's *Sylya Sylvarum, or, A Natural History in Ten Centuries* (1626), Bacon describes a series of experiments in which he buried bottles of liquid for a fortnight. When dug up, the vinegar 'came forth more lively and odoriferous', which represents Bacon's notion as a mechanical philosopher that the material world was made of particles, including scent (1670: 83). Elsewhere in the text Bacon mentions the 'odoriferous' oils that benefited health by excluding air from the body (1670: 83). In John Locke's *Elements of Natural Philosophy* (1750), Locke describes things which gave off smells, writing that 'a grain of musk will send forth odoriferous particles for scores of years together, without its being spent' (1750: 48). Both philosophers use 'odoriferous' to refer to experiment and the body. Kitchiner's use of the same word, combined with the classical allusions, creates a nuanced depth of historical resonance which implies that Kitchiner is an experienced reader of both classical literature and natural philosophy, and that his cookbook extends the traditions he evokes. This demonstrates Kitchiner consciously (and perhaps self-mockingly) elevating odorous cookery into a philosophical endeavour with classical and scientific roots. Indeed, by 1819 Kitchiner was elected as a fellow of the Royal Society, and he wrote on medical subjects including digestion (McConnell 2004). His connection with key scientific institutions and medical discourses explains the scientific pretensions which mark his culinary writing. Even if 'odoriferous' is not a direct borrowing, Kitchiner's language gestures to methods of natural philosophy to claim that his recipes were tested and proven through experiment. Both novel and rooted in tradition, Kitchiner frames his recipes as the product of his experimental knowledge. This gives them the status of truth, even if we read a pompous, ironic tone in Kitchiner's use of these terms to describe cooking.

Kitchiner's claim that he writes 'in defiance' of the undignified, spattering processes of 'roasting and boiling, frying and broiling' indicates aims that transcended practical

cookery instruction. This is where gender comes into Kitchiner's work. Unlike Candace, who fulfilled the expectations of her father, Kitchiner resists the domestic (and therefore feminine) expectations that surrounded cookbooks. He writes instead 'for those who make nourishment the chief end of eating', and he uses allusions to historical and culinary men to typify the male figures who upheld these values (Kitchiner 1817: 4). Kitchiner cites men from Pythagoras to Dr Johnson, noting that the former made 'it one of his chief principles of morality to "abstain from beans"', while the latter '(says Boswell,) was a man of very nice discernment in the science of cookery' (Kitchiner 1817: 5). The diversity of these allusions creates a long history formed by various kinds of culinary knowledge. There is a vast temporal gap between Pythagoras in classical antiquity and Dr Johnson in the eighteenth century, and a huge difference in the cultural authority they wrought. Pythagoras's associations with Greek philosophy and principles of mathematics and number are set beside the romanticised, neoclassic view of the eighteenth century during Kitchiner's time, as well as the links between Johnson, his dictionary, and linguistic standardisation. Language, mathematical and methodological symmetry, and elevated taste are all invoked through Kitchiner's allusions, adding to the medical and natural philosophy inferred earlier. Weaving these threads of historicity and authority through his preface, Kitchiner positions his work alongside other great historical men who made original contributions to knowledge within multiple fields: culinary, medicinal, philosophical, and empirical.

This long, allusion-heavy preface is typical of male-authored nineteenth-century cookbooks that feature an introduction. In it, Kitchiner outlines a gendered divide between his high-minded engagement with food and domestic cooking. He utilises the masculine vocabulary of gastronomy, calling himself epicure and gastronome. Kitchiner includes a definition of the terms credited to his 'scientific friend *Apicius Calius, Jun.'* (1817: 4-5). The attribution to Apicius again links Kitchiner's cookbook to the publication it was named after, claiming a historical authority while simultaneously characterising the manuscript as Kitchiner's wise, epicurean advisor. The discussion of these terms situates Kitchiner's cookbook alongside the masculine culture of gastronomy outlined in my introduction.[35] Kitchiner's cookbook demonstrates Mennell's definition of the gastronomic genre: he stipulates correct dining practices, considers nutrition, evokes important meals, and demonstrates 'a brew of history, myth, and history serving as myth' (Mennell 1985: 270-271). Indeed, Mennell notes that Kitchiner's writing 'was the nearest approach to Brillat-Savarin's classic', despite being a cookbook rather than a gastronomic essay (1985: 269).

[35] See pp. 7-9.

Examining how Kitchiner maintains a difference between his gastronomic pretensions and female cookery indicates how gendered gaps are upheld in nineteenth-century British cookbooks.

After musing on historical epicureanism, Kitchiner provides a lengthy section about how readers should engage with their female cooks. He outlines the qualities required of the perfect 'cook' or 'housekeeper', who is exclusively referred to as 'she' or 'her', then writes: 'the majority of those who set up for masters and mistresses of this art, are grovelling, dirty creatures: selfish, and pilfering every thing they can: others add indolence to insolence' (Kitchiner 1817: 16). Kitchiner implies it was the duty of the male expert to mould their cook or housekeeper into someone who could maintain culinary standards. That culinary education is the purpose of his writing, which upholds the gendered vocabulary whereby 'cooks' and 'housekeepers' are women, but 'epicures' and 'gourmands' are men. Kitchiner advises that '[w]hen you make out the bill of fare for the next day, take every opportunity of encouraging her. Due praise is the most agreeable reward a woman can receive' (Kitchiner 1817: 17). This correlates with Harris and Giuffre's description of nineteenth-century cookbooks written by men, which 'reinforc[ed] the dichotomy between the elevated, rational cuisine of men – who were teachers – and the simple, maternal cooking of women - who could be educated by the books of these accomplished men chefs' (2015: 26). Kitchiner's preface thus enacts the gendered distinctions between cookery and gastronomy. He uses his network of allusion to famous historical men to frame himself as a fellow gastronomic authority, while the instructions provided within the cookbook were intended for the female cook or housewife to prepare for the epicure's enjoyment.

In *The Cook and Housewife's Manual* (1826), Christian Isobel Johnstone satirises the gendered divide and overwrought prose style of male authors including Kitchiner, using an interplay between fiction and non-fiction to do so. While Johnstone wrote the book, the titlepage cited 'Mrs Margaret Dods, of the Cleikum Inn, St Ronan's' as the author (Johnstone 1826: title page). Margaret Dods was not a real person, but a character in Sir Walter Scott's novel *Saint Ronan's Well* (1823). The cookbook is not presented as fictional but as an intertextual offshoot from Scott's novel. In the introduction Johnstone pulls upon Scott's novel as a historical backdrop, noting that the cookbook was written because Touchwood (Scott's main character) had lost his appetite after events 'recorded at large in that entertaining and highly-popular history, entitled, "St Ronan's Well"' (Dods 1826: 13). This reference to *Saint Ronan's Well* as 'history' is an interesting generic flag because of the cookbook's link to Scott. Scott was (and remains) central to debates about the category of 'history' in fiction. In the introductory chapter of *Waverly, or 'Tis Sixty Years Hence,* Scott

discusses the associations 'history' has depending on presentation, asking 'if my Waverly had been entitled "A Tale of the Times," wouldst thou not, gentle reader, have demanded from me a dashing sketch of the fashionable world' (1825: 3). Reflecting on Scott's treatment of history, Helen Kingstone discusses the numerous temporal categories nineteenth-century writers enlisted: 'Scott invokes the recent past as an intermediate category between history and modernity' (2017: 147). *Saint Ronan's Well,* however, is the only novel Scott set at the time it was written. The use of 'history' in the cookbook's introduction thus aligns the novel with Scott's other works set in the past. Using this exchange between genres, Johnstone situates her cookbook within ongoing literary debates about the significance of time and truth to history and fiction, and her use of characterisation and intertextuality creates room for her to undermine the distinction between masculine gastronomy and female cookery.

The male figures in Johnstone's introduction are concerned with novelty and historical authority, like Kitchiner. Spurred on by regaining his health, Touchwood teaches Dods 'the mystery of preparing culinary devils of all denominations; be-sides soups, ragouts, sauces, and the whole circle of the arts of domestic economy, — an entirely new system, in short, of rational practical cookery' (Dods 1826: 14). Again, the masculine gastronome educates the woman, showing her an 'entirely new system' of cookery. This gendered approach is accentuated when the introduction plots the 'celebrated churchman and gourmand' Dr Redgill visiting the inn (Dods 1826: 14). Redgill, Touchwood, and other male characters establish a gentleman's club called the Cleikum Club where they muse over the science and philosophy of food. The motif of the club directly relates to the culture of gastronomy Kitchiner situated himself within: Kitchiner hosted weekly meetings of his 'committee of taste', composed of eminent society members who gathered for meals and conversation (McConnell 2004). In the club's introductory lecture, Touchwood turns to culinary history, from the 'hairy man of the woods' (gesturing to Soyer's man in 'a state of nature') to the 'sumptuous entertainment of the Romans', invoking a longue durée of eating that showcases Touchwood's knowledge and situates him in this masculine history (Dods 1826: 32, 35).[36] Johnstone depicts the male writer attempting to balance an 'entirely new system' of cookery with multiple histories, satirising the recurring need in cookbooks to claim be both 'new' and historical. This fictional lecture is parenthetically interrupted by Mrs Dods: '["What a style o' language!" whispered Mrs Dods; "but I maun look after the scouring o' the kettles."]' (Dods 1826: 33). Johnstone thus uses Scott's historically-charged

[36] See p. 54 for Soyer's discussion of 'primitive' man.

characters to satirise the masculine tendency to fuse food with historical musings, while women got on with cooking. By contrasting Dods's colloquial, working-class Scots with Torchwood's high-minded speech, Johnstone uses dialect to perform and mock the 'style o' language' and gendered claims that govern nineteenth-century cookbooks.

Beyond the introduction, Scott's characters are relegated to the cookbook's footnotes. Johnstone's recipes are written in a crisp, detached tone, and the cookbook could be practically used regardless of her references to Scott's narrative. The introduction, written to entertain readers with its pastiche of gentlemen's clubs, illuminates that it was typical of male-authored cookbooks to mobilise history, science, and philosophy. Indeed, these masculine narratives return to Dickens's ironical exploration of gridirons explored in Chapter One: both authors poke fun at the tendency to elevate food's significance to such lofty heights.[37] Johnstone's gendered critique is made starker by the plain language in which she writes her recipes, via the female pen of the fictional Dods.

As Johnstone's satire and straightforward recipes suggest, popular cookbooks written by women typically took a different approach from that of the male gourmand. The introduction of Eliza Acton's *Modern Cookery in All its Branches* (1845), for example, is far shorter than Kitchiner's or Johnstone's. Acton includes a preface, but it is just four pages long. It precedes the contents pages, and then the recipes begin without any other paratextual framing. The preface does determine where Acton's cookbook differs from its contemporaries, but along a different vein:

> [A]mongst the large number of works on *cookery,* which we have carefully perused, we have never yet met with one which appeared to us either quite intended for, or entirely suited to the need of the totally inexperienced. […] This deficiency, we have endeavoured in the present volume to supply. (Acton 1845: ix-x)

Acton does not claim to outline an entirely new system of cookery, but to fill a gap in the cookbook marketplace. Indeed, that gap illustrates the different gendered aims of cookbooks. Acton posits that there are no cookbooks for amateur cooks, who she specifies as 'the young mistress of the family' who has not gained the knowledge required for running a household (Acton 1845: ix). By Acton's account, cookbooks or 'works on *cookery'* by male authors fall short, failing to give young women the tools required in the kitchen (Acton 1845: ix-x). There are no historical allusions in Acton's preface: she does not showcase her historical or literary knowledge, nor compare herself to past figures. Instead, she discusses England's prior resistance to innovation, noting the newfound progression of knowledge and writing

[37] See pp. 49-59 for Dickens's treatment of the gridiron.

that ‘the details of domestic economy, in particular, are no longer sneered at as beneath the attention of the educated and accomplished’ (Acton 1845: vii). These remarks integrate Acton’s cookbook into the gastronomic culture she subtly critiqued. The stripped-back, functional shape of her cookbook, her straightforward language, and the discussions she includes in her brief paratextual materials respond to and react against existing practices.

Acton’s cookbook form, which lacks a long introduction and hefty cultural discussions and focuses on the practicalities of housekeeping, is more common amongst female authors than amongst men. This, as well as the contrast between Johnstone’s plain-language recipes and satirical introduction, suggests that women were less concerned with knowledge claims and showy allusions, and more interested in the pragmatics of cooking, though there are exceptions to this. Acton still acknowledges and responds to the concerns and practices of other authors, however.

While the analysis of the prefatory material in these three cookbooks provides only a brief insight into nineteenth-century cookbook trends, it shows how the presentation and subversion of the cookbook genre is entangled with the gender of authors. Kitchiner’s cookbook is a site where historical knowledge and scientific interests are aligned with masculine gastronomic taste. It demonstrates the tendency of male authors to use historical allusion to give greater weight to rhetorical innovation: Kitchiner’s novel recipes are informed by years of tradition. While Acton’s subversion of the masculine, gastronomic genre is practical and her innovation is to provide a functional text that deliberately lacks historical frills, Johnstone’s satire draws attention to these masculine tendencies as generic traits which she subverts using the female Dods to mock Scott’s male characters. This is not to suggest that it was only male cookbook authors who meaningfully integrate historical resonance and culture into their cookbooks (as we have seen in the case of Beeton), but instead to demonstrate that authors frequently acknowledge that the generic conventions of the cookbook genre are influenced by gender, and moreover, that gendered generic expectations circulate around innovation and historicity. This creates space in which authors – male and female – could play with or reject these expectations and engage with innovation and historicity in surprising ways. I explore these questions as I turn in Chapters Three and Four to the cookbooks of Soyer, Marshall and Hill.

Chapter Three: 'An entire change from the system': Innovation, Invention and Culinary History in the Cookbooks of Alexis Soyer

Introduction: Soyer's Celebrity Legacy

Alexis Benoît Soyer had a well-known fascination with technologies and innovations of all kinds. His cookbooks demonstrate a literary playfulness and concern with the past, making him a valuable case study for my interrogation of historicity, technology, and innovation in nineteenth-century food writing. To understand how Soyer positioned himself and his cookery in relation to these larger themes, this chapter analyses the recipes and paratexts within two of Soyer's cookbooks: *The Gastronomic Regenerator: A Simplified and Entirely New System of Cookery* (1846) and *The Modern Housewife, or Ménagère* (1849). Both were extremely popular: *The Gastronomic Regenerator* sold more than 2,000 copies in a year and *Modern Housewife* was an instant success, selling its first printed round of 3,000 copies in days (Cowen 2007: 106, 169). Out of Soyer's six publications, a comparison of these cookbooks is fruitful because they take very different narrative forms that speak to Soyer's nuanced literary and professional aims. By unravelling the different purposes of these texts and Soyer's diverse literary techniques, I examine the precarious balance between the new and the old in his work.

My textual analysis offers a new perspective on Soyer and his writing, and this chapter takes his manipulation of the gendered expectations around cookery as one of its central concerns. Scholarship is largely fascinated with Soyer's celebrity status when such a reputation was not expected of a chef. Soyer was famed for his productive career and flamboyant personality: he was head chef at the Reform Club between 1837 and 1850, had a line of patented culinary implements and foodstuffs, and undertook numerous charitable endeavours in London, Ireland, and the Crimea. Scholars focus on Soyer's numerous outputs and charisma, and he was first captured in biography just after his death in *Memoirs of Alexis Soyer* (1859) by F. Volant and J. R. Warren. Helen Soutar Morris's *Portrait of a Chef: The Life of Alexis Soyer, Sometime Chef to the Reform Club* (1938) is based on Volant and Warren's text, while Ruth Brandon's *The People's Chef: Alexis Soyer, A Life in Seven Courses* (2005) recounts Soyer's life via seven dishes from his cookbooks (2005: 297). Perhaps the most rigorous biography of Soyer is Ruth Cowen's *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef* (2007), the cover of which reads 'Before Ramsay, Rhodes, or Oliver there was Alexis Soyer' – emphasising the contemporary and modern perception of Soyer as a celebrity chef.

While most writing on Soyer is biographical and centred on his celebrity status, some studies focus on more specific parts of his work, including his networking, patented implements, travels and philanthropic work. April Bullock and Thomas Prasch write on Soyer's culinary engagement with the Great Exhibition of 1851. Sumangala Bhattacharya and Thomas A P Van Leeuwen explore Soyer's technological innovations and participation in culinary and political movements of the time, via the Reform Club kitchen and his patented stoves. Running through all these works, however, is a preoccupation with Soyer as 'Victorian celebrity chef' (Bhattacharya 2016: 114). Yet despite scholars using Soyer's publications to examine his life, little attention is paid to the literary techniques Soyer uses in his writing. This is perhaps because critics have pointed out that Soyer was not a proficient writer in English and used his wife, secretaries, or kitchen assistants as scribes (Cowen 2007: 12). Regardless of whether Soyer recorded his own writing, however, his cookbooks are sites in which he crafted his fame, perpetuating his celebrity reputation through rhetoric, imagery, and branding. Indeed, I argue that the consistency of authorial voice, literary flair, and rhetorical techniques that Soyer employed in his cookbooks positions him unequivocally as an author, as I go on to show. Moreover, scholarship has overlooked how Soyer wrote his cookbooks to deliberately situate himself in cultures of culinary tradition and innovation. While this chapter seeks to move beyond the fascination with Soyer as a celebrity and focus on his authorial craft, Soyer's cookbooks were integral to the shaping of his public reputation. More attention thus needs to be paid to how Soyer uses them to position himself as a central figure in culinary history, as an innovator, and as an author. The rest of this introduction thus examines how that reputation is constructed, to illustrate how my consideration of Soyer departs from contemporary scholarship and set up my literary analysis.

Figure 14: Portrait of Alexis Soyer by Emma Soyer (1835) engraved by H. B. Hall. (Soyer 1846: frontispiece)

In the opening pages of the *Gastronomic Regenerator*, the first thing the reader sees is a portrait of Soyer wearing a distinctive floppy hat, painted by his future wife Emma Jones in 1835 (Figure 14). This portrait appears in the front of all Soyer's English cookbooks, except for

Soyer's Culinary Campaign, which has a different portrait (Figure 15) of an older, portlier Soyer. A few pages on from this is an illustration by H. G. Hine who drew for *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News* (Figure 16). This depicts Soyer standing next to a large soup boiler which he had patented, in an outfit akin to the one in the initial portrait. The first image is the most widely disseminated picture of Soyer, however, and these visual representations demonstrate Soyer's effort to associate himself and his work with a sense of reliability and iconography. While some cookery authors include portraits in their cookbooks (Marshall's *Larger Cookery Book of Extra Recipes* features a portrait of her) this was unusual, and the quantity and variety of portraits in Soyer's cookbooks is more akin to the visual culture which surrounded authors like Dickens. Indeed, in his analysis of Soyer's frontispieces, Michael Garval notes that Soyer's use of portraiture was his attempt to figure himself as 'the quintessence of authorial identity. […] portray[ing] Soyer as an important personage and, specifically, as an author' (2007: 21 of 51 paras). Author portraits were not simply engaged in creating authority, however, but in fostering intimacy between author and reader. When discussing author portraits in the period, Lisa Kuitert remarks: 'such an author portrait indicates a more intimate bond between writer and reader, at least from the reader's viewpoint' (2007: 218-189). Soyer's repeated use of the same portrait makes it a paratext which visually highlights him in a consistent manner, giving the reader an image to associate with, and promoting writer-to-reader intimacy.

Figure 15: Portrait of Alexis Soyer 'from a photograph by Bingham, (Paris)' (Soyer 1857: frontispiece)

Figure 16: Illustration of Soyer in Soyer's Culinary Campaign, by H. G. Hine. (Soyer 1857: ix)

It was not just the frequency of the image's reproduction which makes Soyer recognisable, however. His portrait contains distinctive markers that showcase his character through the bold hat and clothing layers, creating a Byronic impression of genius and celebrity. The comparison between Byron and Soyer is something the latter consciously crafted, 'taking pains to place himself in the footsteps of that other great Romantic hero,

Lord Byron, epitome of passion and flare', and comparing himself to Byron in *Culinary Campaign* (Garval 2007: 42 of 51 paras). While Garval writes that 'Soyer's fervent emulation of the Byronic model largely defined the tenor of his fame', a closer look at the similarities and differences in image circulation between the two demonstrates that Soyer's portraits created not just a public image, but a brand (2007: 43 of 51 paras).

In *Byron's Romantic Celebrity,* Tom Mole discusses the images of Byron that circulated in his publications and other media. Key to circulation was the fact that Bryon's image 'could be appropriated easily and could be pressed into service in a variety of commercial enterprises' and had 'been simplified to make it more memorable and repeatable' (Mole 2007: 89). Mole describes Byron's clothing as a set of 'visual signatures': 'Byron is easy to spot in wide trousers (worn to cover his malformed leg) and a double-breasted, militaristic jacket' (Mole 2007: 90). In addition to clothing, 'an assemblage of disjunct signifiers: a bare throat, a white collar, a curling forelock, a receding hairline, a characteristic pose' identified Byron (Mole 2007: 94). Soyer was renowned for his extravagant dress sense, and the outlandish style demonstrated by his large hat became a signature trait. Soyer's portraits utilise these visual signatures: the floppy hat, waistcoat and jacket, and gaze to the right-hand side are in all the above portraits. Indeed, Soyer's portrait conveys Byronic romanticism, and contemporary reviewers of Soyer's work drew connections between the two. In a review from *The Times* of the third edition of *The Gastronomic Regenerator,* the writer says '[l]ike Byron, M. Soyer finds himself famous in a morning' (*The Times* 19 Feb 1847: 7). Soyer therefore successfully carries off what Mary L. Shannon calls 'visual Byronism', which she argues that Dickens emulated to 'enhance his own status as a writer' (2018: 58). Soyer's similar deployment of visual iconography is therefore a habit that aligned him with famous literary contemporaries, as well as historical figures. As with Byron and

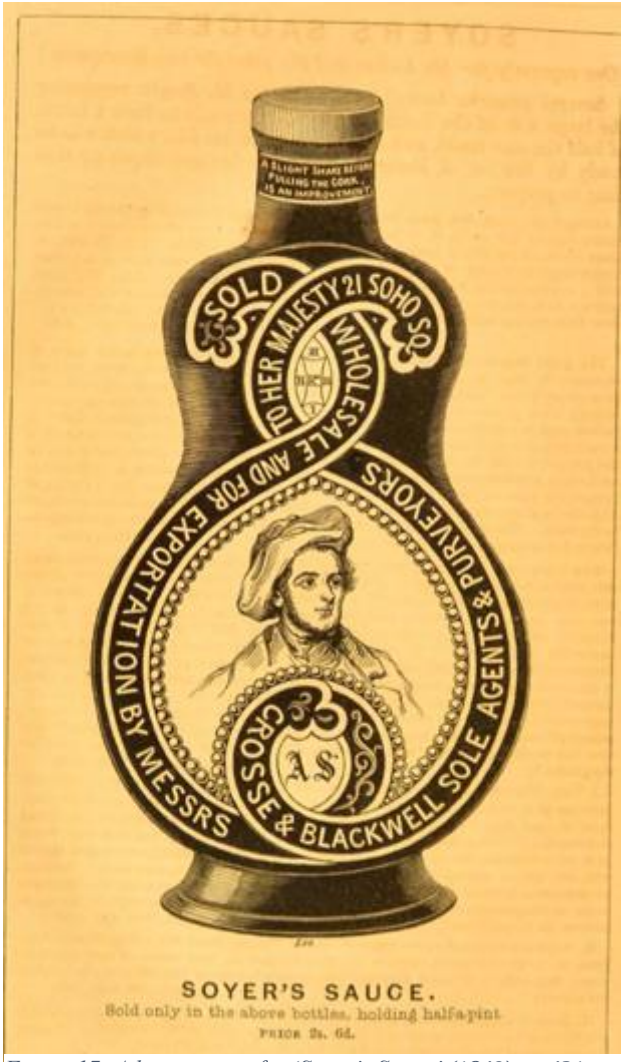


Figure 17: Advertisement for 'Soyer's Sauce' (1849), p. 431

Dickens, Soyer's visual signatures are traceable through representations of him outside his publications, and his impression proliferated throughout the media.

The bottle in Figure 17 was part of Soyer's line of branded foodstuffs: a bottle of 'Soyer's Sauce' taken from the advertisement pages of *Modern Housewife.* On the bottle is a stylised version of Soyer's frontispiece. Even on the small label, Soyer is recognisable due to his hat, beard, collar, and gaze. Continuity between Soyer's publications and products familiarised the reader with Soyer's face, creating a consistent impression that inspires trust in Soyer's branding. Indeed, that trust relied upon Soyer's close protection of his name as a brand indicator. Nicholas Mason has shown that Byron and his publisher, John Murray, turned Byron's name into such a pervasive brand that it was appropriated by commercial manufacturers to sell products unrelated to Byron, including Warren's Blacking shoe polish (Mason 2002: 438). Soyer, conversely, ensured his name was only linked to products he invented or approved. Morris writes that 'Soyer became such a household word that anyone who invented a kitchen appliance tried to persuade the *chef* to attach his name to it. He almost invariably refused' (2013: 56). Cowen recounts that in 1850 Soyer signed a contract with Crosse and Blackwell granting them exclusive rights to his sauces and the use of his name in proceedings against anyone producing counterfeit 'Soyer' foodstuffs (2005: 157). Soyer was more commercially minded than Byron, perhaps because of the boom in advertising between their careers, and the creation of his brand is a carefully manipulated process.

Even when a personal brand is strategically crafted, it is only successful if it proliferates beyond the subject's own publications and products. Soyer's appearances in the press prove his image was memorable. In *The Illustrated London News* in 1842, for example, is an illustration of the Reform Club kitchen (Figure 18). The kitchen's expanse is the focus of the image, but in the centre is a small figure gesturing to a couple. This figure is clearly Soyer, wearing his distinctive hat. Even in this scale, the visual motifs that represent Soyer

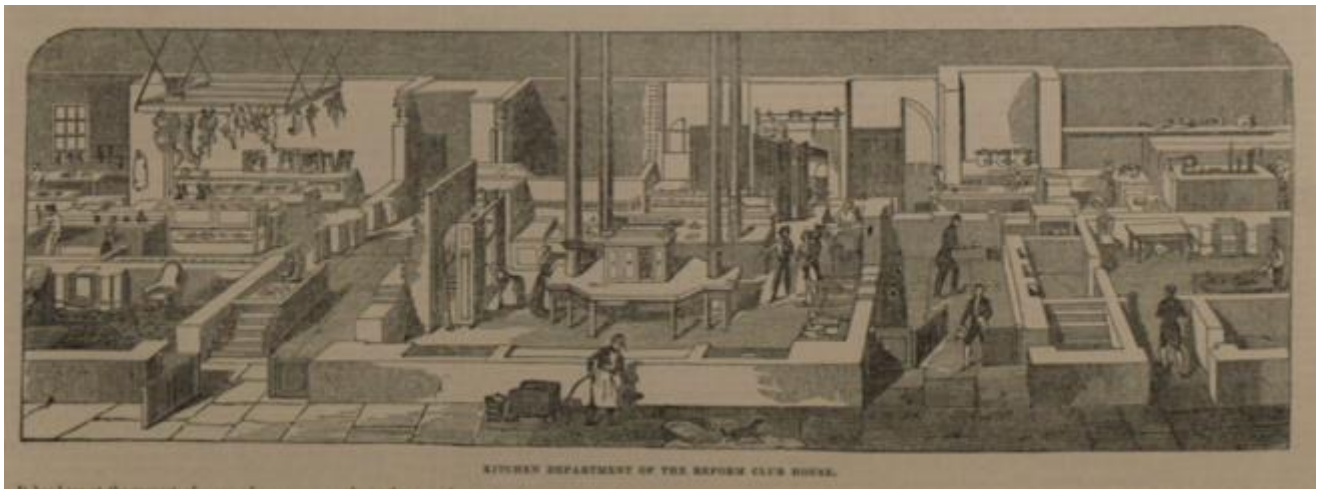


Figure 18: 'Kitchen Department of the Reform Club House' illustration, from 'Kitchen Department of the Reform Club', Illustrated London News. 3 Dec 1842. 30: 477

are enlisted to ensure the viewer knows it is him. But these symbols exposed Soyer to mockery. Soyer was satirised by his friend William Makepeace Thackeray in the novel *The History of Pendennis* (1848-1850) as the chef, Monsieur Mirobolant. Thackeray's parody of Soyer does not contain illustrations, but Thackeray describes Mirobolant's appearance in detail: 'a foreign gentleman, adorned with many ringlets and chains', who lay his 'jewelled hands on his richly-embroidered velvet glass buttons' (Thackeray 2011: 425, 428). The name Mirobolant comes from the French word for extraordinary or incredible, *mirobolant.* This choice was inspired by Thackeray's reading of a ballet Soyer wrote the plot of in 1846 (showcasing another facet of his literary and cultural aspirations) in which Soyer describes himself as an author with a penchant for 'gaily coloured trousers, of "*couleurs mirobolantes"'* (Cowen 2007: 84).[38] Then in a *Punch* cartoon from 1850 titled 'Affecting Scene. – King Soyer Resigning The Great Stewpan', Soyer appears in his hat, waistcoat and jacket, handing a pan to kitchen staff.[39] Overcome with emotion Soyer obscures his face, but his apparel makes his identity clear. This mockery shows that Soyer's image was iconic enough to be satirised. Moreover, in the final two images discussed and the *Culinary Campaign* illustration (Figure 16), Soyer is depicted in the Reform Club kitchen and with culinary implements. The combination of Soyer's image with stewpans and stoves ties into the contemporary and historical trend of depicting men with tools that defined their profession. Ludmilla Jordanova discusses this in terms of men of science, writing that they illustrated their professionalism in their portraits by 'including specific objects and visual references in a portrait' (Jordanova 2000: 25). In Soyer's portraits, kitchens and implements appear alongside his distinctive garb to depict him as an exuberant, Byronic celebrity who is a culinary expert. The visual media within Soyer's cookbooks ensures that his status as a celebrity chef carried explicit connotations which extended into the public eye.

More than a celebrity, then, the images of Soyer in his cookbooks, on his products and in the media demonstrate that he figured himself an author, innovator, and key participant in culinary and literary history. Soyer's celebrity status is not divorced from his authorial approach but is key to it, as he frames himself as an author akin to Byron or Dickens. Soyer's self-placement is therefore an act of historicisation, as he uses his writing to canonise himself. This has perhaps contributed to the overarching focus on him as a celebrity. Even when scholarship notes the nuances of Soyer's personal branding, however, it undercuts the importance of his writing. In 'Alexis Soyer and the Rise of the Celebrity

[38] The ballet was called *La Fille d'Orage* but was only put to music in 1859, though Volant and Warren write that it 'was replete with choreographic difficulties, and not entirely suited to the London hoards. In consequence, it never was performed' (1859: 56).
[39] This image is not included due to copyright restrictions.

Chef' (2007), Garval focuses on Soyer's frontispieces and the way he framed himself as a Romantic hero in *Culinary Campaign*, but asserts that Soyer's cookbooks were 'always a pose, passing him off as something that, on the most basic level, he was not: a writer' (2007: 18 of 51 paras). While Garval considers some of the literary tropes in *Culinary Campaign* he does not analyse Soyer's other cookbooks in depth and suggests that they are an 'authorial masquerade' (2007: 28 of 51 paras). I argue, however, that Soyer enlists a dense network of literary techniques in his cookbooks to continue the impression given by the portraits and participate in multiple discourses: political, empirical, literary, culinary, and historical. Indeed, in the 1850s Volant and Warren write that Soyer 'writes fluently, tossing off a paragraph as adroitly as a pancake,' suggesting that the scathing perception of Soyer as an author was not held in the nineteenth century (Volant and Warren 1859: 153). Focusing on the threads of historicity and novelty that run through *The Gastronomic Regenerator* and *Modern Housewife* respectively, this chapter makes a case for Soyer not just as a famous chef, but as an author who manipulated the form of the nineteenth-century cookbooks to establish a lasting, multifaceted reputation integrated in numerous fields.

Textual and Material Innovation in *The Gastronomic Regenerator*

The public image of Soyer was entangled with his innovations and work at the Reform Club. These are integral to *The Gastronomic Regenerator.* On the cookbook's title page Soyer is listed as 'Monsieur A. Soyer of the Reform Club', so his authorial status is inextricable from his role as *chef de cuisine.* In the preface, Soyer writes that the cookbook was written 'At the request of several persons of distinction, who have visited the Reform Club, particularly the ladies, to whom I have always made it a rule never to refuse anything in my power', crediting the Club's customers for his inspiration (Soyer 1846: vii). Then in the 'Description of the Composition of This Work', Soyer writes:

> To sustain and deserve the title of "Gastronomic Regenerator," nothing but an entire change from the system of any other publication on the art of cookery would be admissible, it is now in the hands of my readers to judge for themselves, and to stamp its character according to its merits, either as an original, or a copy. (Soyer 1846: ix)

This statement sets the tone for Soyer's cookbook, the title of which belies its technical preoccupation due to the resonances of 'regenerator'. Regenerator means both someone who regenerates something used or exhausted – Soyer and the gastronomic 'system' – and in a nineteenth-century engineering context was a fuel-saving device. The first instance of this usage was in 1833, when John Ericsson patented his controversial 'Caloric Engine', a device purporting to re-use heat as a means of developing power, the cylinder of which was called

a regenerator (*OED Online*, 'Regenerator' 2022). This dual reading of regeneration corresponds with the themes of this thesis and Soyer's interest in innovation, defined in the *OED* as 'the introduction of novelties; the alteration of what is established by the introduction of new elements or forms' (*OED online*, 'Innovation' June 2022). Moreover, 'regenerator' also had connotations through which Soyer continues to historicise himself. Napoleon I is frequently called the 'regenerator of Europe', 'regenerator of France' or even the 'regenerator of mankind' in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writing, and as Katia Sainson writes, 'Napoleon is consistently presented as a vehicle of hope, a figure whose regenerating force will create a new and better world' (2002: 19). By claiming the same title, Soyer proposes that he will do the same for the culinary world, and indeed, in the back of *Modern Housewife* is an excerpt from an article in the *Sun* which calls Soyer 'the great Napoleon of Gastronomy' (Soyer 1849: 431). Soyer thus uses the title and preface of his cookbook to promote himself as a regenerator who had the potential to become a famed historical figure. The text thus becomes a tool which would improve the gastronomic system with mechanical thought and historical legacy – thought derived from knowledge gained at the Reform Club. These opening paratexts emphasise the importance of technical innovation and the Club to Soyer's writing. Considering how these form an empirical backdrop to Soyer's cookbook thus strengthens a reading of *The Gastronomic Regenerator*.

Formed in 1836 by the Radicals and Whigs who were integral to passing the Reform Act of 1832, the Reform Club was first established at 104 Pall Mall in London. The Club quickly outgrew its confines, and in 1837 the design of architect Charles Barry (whose design for the Houses of Parliament had won the architectural competition in 1836) was chosen for a new clubhouse that opened in 1841. Given that the Club was intended as a space for the political and social exchanges of the Radicals and Whigs, it is fitting that political association was how Soyer came to his role there. His previous job was as chef to Archibald Kennedy, the Marquess of Ailsa, who was an ardent Whig and supporter of the Reform Bill, and Ailsa recommended Soyer for the position (Cowen 2007: 29). In addition to political activism, the founders of the Reform Club wanted members to enjoy good dining. This is highlighted in a letter sent by Radical MP Sir William Molesworth to his mother in 1835, where he discusses the planned Reform Club:

> It will be like the Athenæum – a good dining club. The great object is to get the Reformers of the country to join it, so that it may be a place of meeting for them when they come to town. It is much wanted. Brooks' is not Liberal enough, too expensive, and not a dining club. (Fawcett 1901: 74)

The emphasis on good food contributed to the employment of Soyer, who until that point worked as a professional chef for the wealthy, including the Duke of Sutherland, which Cowen outlines in her discussion of Soyer's early career (Cowen 2007: 20-28). It was not enough for the Club's kitchen to provide 'good dining', however. The food prepared and served in the Reform Club was intended to reflect the political identity of the establishment.

This meeting-place for active MPs, activists, and reformers was designed in keeping with the ideas of reform and empiricism that drove their political identity. Key to those ideas was a focus on science and order, and how the tenets of science could shape British society. Members of the Reform Club wished to transform society into a new systematic, objective and scientifically ordered body, and wanted their premises to reflect these values. Barry was the perfect architect for their political and social home, because as Edward Gillan writes, he foregrounded these ideas in his new Houses of Parliament. Redesigning the Houses of Parliament was an opportunity to establish a 'material network of technologies' that housed and demonstrated political thinking, 'showing the correct way of producing science' (Gillan 2017: 9, 15). As Gillan writes, '[b]uildings played a central role in the making and legitimizing of knowledge', and so the innovations Barry integrated into the Houses of Parliament brought the political thinking that motivated the redesign into the world in a tangible way (Gillan 2017: 15).

The Houses of Parliament and Reform Club shared architectural, empirical and political aims. Briefly noting how Barry's ideas were mobilised in the earlier building is useful for understanding the conceptualisation of Soyer's kitchen. The unprecedented nature of the innovations Barry employed in the new Houses of Parliament – from roof tiles to the use of iron and stone – relied upon the models of observations, spectacle and experimentation that governed and created scientific authority at the time. Barry collaborated with men from various scientific fields so he could employ 'scientific models of knowledge organisation' throughout (Gillan 2017: 86). One such man was David Boswell Reid, whose ventilation system was continuously scrutinized. He presented and displayed it to committees and audiences in Edinburgh and the old House of Commons as it was developed. While experimenting in these settings led to concern from Barry because it was hard to standardise, unlike working in a laboratory, 'exhibition transformed the locus of government into a spectacle of science' (Gillan 2017: 152). Spectacle, innovation, display, and experimentation were interwoven in Barry's architectural choices and Reid's ventilation. This suited the agenda of political thinkers who focused on reform and empirical knowledge, though debates about the methods of both Reid and Barry demonstrate how contested the building and its meanings were.

While Reid's system was decommissioned in the new Houses of Parliament after two years, it was designed so that 'mixing heated and unheated air was used to lower [or raise] the temperature in response to sudden changes' in the temperature (Schoenefeldt 2018: 270). Henrik Schoenefeldt argues that Reid's system demonstrated that 'architectural technology in the mid-nineteenth century was evaluated based on environmental criteria' including climate and air purity (2018: 246-247). These were concerns in a kitchen, where air quality was compromised by smoke, heat or gas. In *The Gastronomic Regenerator,* Soyer addresses ventilation in a section titled 'Description of the Kitchen of the Reform Club', boasting that 'the ventilation in this kitchen is everything that can be wished' (Soyer 1846: 620). Soyer describes his 'last improvement' to a stove which used gas rather than charcoal because gas was free from 'carbonic acid which is so pernicious, especially in small kitchens, and creates neither dust nor smell […] and by my last improvement is also now quite free from smoke' (Soyer 1846: 628). Soyer also integrated steam boilers into his kitchen which heated closets, *bains maries* and plates, 'dressing-rooms, baths, and closets in various parts of the house', and supplied coppers with steam for cooking (Soyer 1846: 621, 623). The resourceful use of heat and fuel and emphasis on air circulation that were critical to the Houses of Parliament are thus evoked in the pages of Soyer's cookbook.

These links correspond with Soyer's role as chef when Barry designed the Club's premises. Soyer used his culinary expertise to design the kitchen in line with Barry's vision. Considering how Soyer wrote *The Gastronomic Regenerator* in this empirical context illuminates that his work echoes Barry's blending of scientific, empiricist knowledge with architecture, technology and spectacle. To demonstrate this, I turn to the 'Description of the Kitchen of the Reform Club'. This is an 18-page appendix of *The Gastronomic Regenerator* which describes the layout of the Reform Club kitchen in minute detail, featuring 15 small illustrations of the implements the kitchen contained, a pull-out plate of the entire kitchen, and a key. In its introduction, Soyer describes it as a 'reduced' version of a 'section plan' published 'a few years ago' which was 'very successful, and met with the approbation of all scientific men' (1846: 614). This creates an appeal for readers with an interest in the kitchen's empirical design. I focus on three key aspects: Soyer's descriptions of his innovations; the way the section acts as a 'simple guide for Fitting Up the Kitchens of the Wealthy'; and Soyer's creation of a textual technological tour. Examining these strands shows how pervasive the values of the Reform Club patrons are in the *Gastronomic Regenerator.*

Soyer's writing about the Reform Club kitchen's layout and apparatus focuses on aesthetics, economic design, and the efficient use of materials. He prioritises cleanliness,

'construct[ing]' his cold meat safe 'on a new principle for keeping meat cold' with self-closing, weighted screen doors 'by which flies are always excluded' (Soyer 1846: 618). The appearance of the kitchen was as important to Soyer as its functionality. He writes that the joints of meat in the principal larder should be arranged with 'symmetry and taste' (1846: 615). This aesthetic preoccupation correlates with the fact that the Reform Club kitchen was open to visitors. Throughout these descriptions, Soyer continuously showcases how his creative genius facilitated the efficient kitchen, down to the minute details. He notes that the ice drawers in his cooling dresser are 'considered ingenious' due to channels that drained wastewater into external pipes, and writes enthusiastically about the 'simple and useful' sink trap bell – which he 'invented […] after twelve months of the greatest inconvenience' – to stop food blocking the pipes (1846: 616). Every detail was designed for sleek efficacy. Though Soyer does not hint in the cookbook whether he had technical collaborators (though Barry and Michael Faraday, professor of chemistry at the Royal Institution, are listed amongst the patrons), innovations like the ice drawers and implements Soyer claimed to 'invent' like the sink trap, demonstrate how he integrated empirical observation and experimentation into the smallest corners of his kitchen.[40]

Soyer paid constant attention to the efficient use of materials and how resources could be harnessed in multiple ways. He describes the slate slabs that lined the boucherie to keep it cool, and in the roasting kitchen a small network of stoves meant the 'waste heat' of larger stoves powered smaller ones (1846: 621). Soyer frequently imagines that his innovations will revolutionise kitchens beyond the Reform Club. In the Reform Club's principal kitchen, for example, Soyer installed a roasting fireplace 'on a plan entirely new' that used far less coal than common grates, leading him to speculate that 'I expect that the old style of grates will disappear' (1846: 626). Moreover, it was not just fuel and space that Soyer used resourcefully, but also labour. The gas stoves Soyer designed 'afford the greatest comfort ever introduced in any culinary arrangement' by directing gas to five separate compartments, which could be used individually and had their own temperature controls (1846: 627-628). He writes that 'with the aid of my new octagonal trivet I can place nine stewpans over without fear of upsetting either, some only simmering and others boiling at the same time, which is invaluable' (Soyer 1846: 628). By distributing heat as such, and creating stability on the range's surface, fewer people were needed to cook multiple dishes.

[40] Soyer does not attribute any of his innovations or 'inventions' to other practitioners, but his list of patrons includes architects including George Basevi (1794-1845), alongside a long list of Whig and liberal politicians, and wealthy patrons from the nobility.

It was easier and quicker to get the range up to temperature, given that gas supplied heat instantaneously. Soyer's 'last improvement' saved the cook valuable time and fuel.

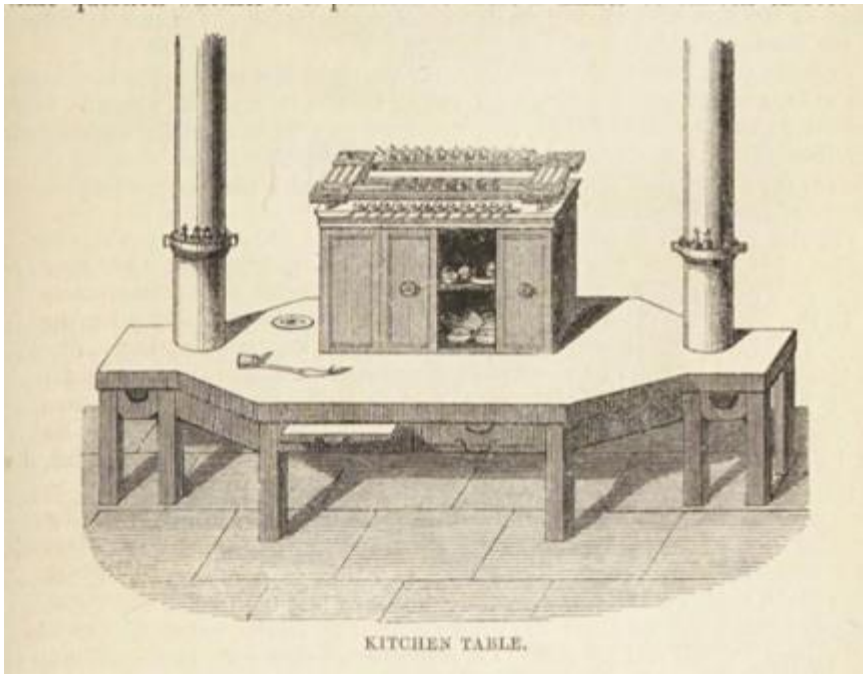


Figure 19: Illustration of the 'Kitchen Table' in the Reform Club (Soyer 1846: 625)

The ethos of Soyer's kitchen is perhaps best exemplified by the table in the centre of the principal kitchen. Like the gas range, the table (Figure 19) was 'made on a plan entirely original' and had twelve sides so that twelve cooks had their own section, 'giving the utmost facility for the various works of the kitchen, without any one interfering with another' (Soyer 1846: 625). The pillars joining the ceiling had rotating racks so that 'without moving from your place, you can get every ingredient you may require' (Soyer 1846: 625). Lastly, the cast-iron closet in the table's centre stored pans on its top and was heated with steam, so multiple dishes could be kept warm until service, without damaging the food. Though he does not describe his kitchen staff other than noting in another section that there are 'fourteen', Soyer considers every detail so his team could move around and cook efficiently, cutting down on the number of bodies in the kitchen, and the resulting mess, noise, heat and chaos (1846: 630).

Soyer's innovations meant space, time, and people were economised in the Reform Club kitchen. Just like Barry, Soyer considered the details of his kitchen through a technical, scientific lens to integrate order and empiricism into his kitchen. But it was not just the values of Barry and the Club that come through in Soyer's descriptions. Constant references to his entirely original plans and ingenious inventions keep Soyer's genius at the centre of the text, reminding the reader how innovative his ideas were. This focus on novelty emphasises the balance of the new with the old in Soyer's work. Soyer's technical design of the Reform Club kitchen, characterised by his innovative use of space and materials, is frequently described in temporal terms that bring Soyer's work to the cutting edge of culinary thought: 'new', 'entirely original', 'the old style […] will disappear' (1846: 626). As a result, Soyer narrates himself as a pioneer of culinary engineering, regenerating existing practices and presenting 'an entire change from' multiple systems (Soyer 1846: ix).

Press accounts reinforce the cookbook's descriptions, crediting Soyer's cleverness as the driving force behind the Reform Club kitchen. He integrates these into the 'Description', which is prefaced with an expanded, fold-out copy of the *Illustrated London News* image, captioned with a quote from the *Spectator*. The author of the caption describes Soyer 'in the act of pointing out to a favoured visitor the various contrivances suggested by his ingenuity and experience', before pointing to the 'multifarious apparatus' of the kitchen which are 'here exhibited, for the admiration of the scientific gastronome and the envy of rival artistes' (1846: 613). These intertextual borrowings emphasise that Soyer was the principal example of the 'scientific gastronome', blending empirical thought and gastronomy into an art. Indeed, 'The great object of this ingenious artiste', writes the author of an article about the kitchen in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, 'has been to bring practical science to bear on his profession in every possible way, both for securing the best method of cookery, and for economising time, labour, and expense' (*Chambers's* 12 Aug 1843: 234). These references to practical science, professionalism and economising show the *Chambers's* author enlisting the same rhetoric of empiricist innovation Soyer used. In another review in *The Times,* the author writes that 'we back [Soyer] for industry against even the indefatigable Brougham' before discussing the 'matchless establishments of the Reform Club, with its ice drawers, slate wells, steam closets, *bains maries,* and 50 other modern refinements' (19 Aug 1846: 7). This comparison of Soyer to Henry Peter Brougham (1778-1868) is fitting given that Brougham was a Whig politician, journalist and reformer who was crucial to passing the Reform Bill. Then in 1859, the author of an article in the *Leisure Hour* states 'Alexis Soyer has done more than any man in our own times to make cookery not only a most elaborate art, but also a matter of great popular and general utility', and reports that Soyer's kitchen design 'involved an expenditure of ingenuity and labour as great as that which we might suppose to have been expended on the warming and ventilation of the Houses of Parliament' (*Leisure Hour* 14 Apr 1859: 237). Reid and Barry's widely publicised, provocative debates about ventilation symbolised how scientific practice was integrated into the Houses of Parliament. This comparison shows that Soyer's kitchen was viewed as a site where the best new science was built into a material space. Moreover, the notion that Soyer has 'done more than any man' puts him in the same category of scientifically informed practitioner as Reid and Barry, an impression Soyer sought to cement in his writing.

In terms of temporality, in a three-page long article in *Sharpe's London Magazine* the author highlights how Soyer improved upon the past, comparing the Reform Club kitchen to the 'vast and gloomy' 'kitchens of our ancestors' and noting that 'advance[s] upon

"the wisdom of our ancestors" has never been so completely accomplished as in the Club kitchen we are about to describe' (*Sharpe's London Magazine* 24 Oct 1846: 402). This emphasises Soyer's move away from messy, human labour to organised mechanisation as a positive development; from 'poor boys […] to turn the spits' to 'a picture of unerring precision, of self-regulating supply and consumption' (*Sharpe's London Magazine* 24 Oct 1846: 405). The press therefore took up Soyer's rhetoric of temporality, praising his kitchen because it improved upon the past and embodied new scientific thinking. Indeed, Soyer and the press create a rhetorical performance of innovation, giving Soyer's innovations the platform they needed to gain attention and authority. This rhetorical performance is also integral to the other purposes Soyer's 'Description of the Kitchen of the Reform Club' served.

If readers wished to emulate Soyer's kitchen, he provides details so 'the wealthy' could reproduce the period's most innovative kitchen. The cookbook includes plates which depict the apparatus and rooms Soyer describes (Figure 20). The plates are simple and illustrative, drawn so readers can accurately view the apparatus and spaces conveyed in the text. Indeed, at the end of the section Soyer writes that he gives 'the exact measurement of the different parts and every object of this kitchen by feet and inches, […] with the view of being useful' (Soyer 1849: 629). He also does this in the section about the Reform Club kitchen, and this repetition promises to bring Soyer's innovations into the reader's home if they follow his plans. The standardised measurements Soyer combines with images, a visual key and floor plan, all demonstrate his empiricist bent. His precise language, exactitude, and the idea that people could plan kitchens from his descriptions creates an empirical model which could be imitated. Soyer writes:

Figure 20: Plate of 'Charcoal Stove and Hot Plate' (Soyer 1846: 621)

> I dare hope that my humble efforts will have the effect of producing hereafter a reform in the art of building and fitting up a kitchen which, without being of an immoderate size, contains all that can be wished for as regards saving of time, comfort, regularity, cleanliness and economy. (Soyer 1846: 629)

By using the key word ‘reform’ in this description, Soyer directly links his home kitchen plans to the Reform Club kitchen and its political focus. He uses this section of the cookbook to disseminate his designs and ideas, rather than guarding them. This suggests a level of empirical transparency which was in keeping with the type of government those dining at the Reform Club sought. Just as Soyer disseminates his culinary knowledge by giving readers recipes they could use to cook his food, he disseminates his technical knowledge with these useable kitchen outlines.

Soyer’s practical fusion of kitchen images and descriptions in *The Gastronomic Regenerator* can be traced back to Bartolomeo Scappi’s illustrated cookbook *Opera* (1570), which outlined an aristocratic kitchen in Italy. Deborah L Krohn writes about the images in Scappi’s text, including the depictions of kitchens unusually devoid of motion and people in comparison with kitchen images that appeared in other late-medieval visual culture (Krohn 2016: 105). Of these pared-down images, Krohn writes that they are not allegories, but instead: ‘technical studies of work spaces, *botteghe*, workshops, or laboratories. They are visual counterparts to the empirical language employed by the author in laying out the proper setting for preparing the recipes that follow’ (Krohn 2016: 107). Soyer thus participates in a lengthy tradition, and not just in cookbooks, of using images and empirical detail to create a guide to the kitchen within the cookbook. He shares his technical knowledge, encouraging readers to adopt efficiency into their own kitchens in a manner that would be at home in an architectural, medical or scientific work. The descriptions of stoves, meat safes and roasting ranges are not accompanied by prices or notes about manufacturers, however, so this section could not be used to source equipment. As such, readers may have read this paratextual section as an aspirational overview. Nevertheless, the reader’s curiosity is interwoven with the empirical cookery Soyer performs in the Reform Club and textually in *The Gastronomic Regenerator.* That performance and display has roots in the scientific culture of the time.

Because Soyer’s innovations were based on contemporary scientific practice, he participated in the tradition of displaying his work outlined in reference to Barry and Reid. The kitchens were open for tours, many of which Soyer conducted himself. The author of the *Chambers’s* article notes that Soyer showed him around:

> I was now made acquainted with M. Soyer, the presiding genius of the kitchen, by whom the various arrangements were planned. Monsieur (who is a person of polite manners, and speaks English with remarkable fluency), though no doubt troubled by the continual influx of strangers, kindly volunteered to show us over his dominions, and to explain all that seemed worthy of our attention. (*Chambers’s* 12 Aug 1843: 234)

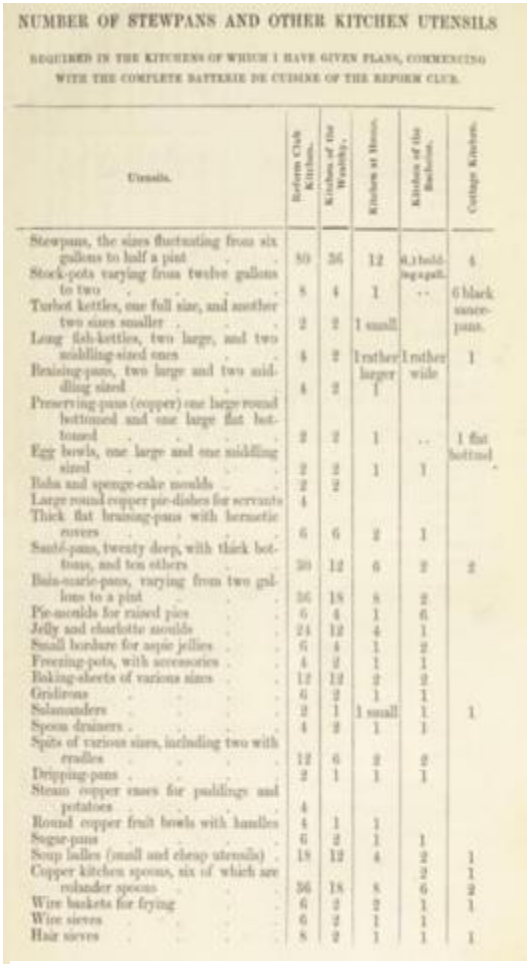
Though the description of Soyer as presiding over 'his dominions' is comical considering the politics of the Reform Club, tours of the kitchen allowed Soyer to display his innovations to an eager public, and through that spectacle, to gain credibility. Press reviews show that the Reform Club kitchen did not disappoint as a spectacle. 'The kitchen is the great wonder of the establishment', writes the author of the *Chambers's* article (*Chambers's* 12 Aug 1843: 234). Tours gave journalists the opportunity to question Soyer about his innovations, as when the *Chambers's* author asks, 'I see your assistants cook with charcoal furnaces; does this not produce any deleterious fumes?', which allows Soyer to describe the flues integrated into his stoves (*Chambers's* 12 Aug 1843: 234). Soyer thus defends his innovations and claims the credibility that came from displaying one's work. Indeed, when discussing how engineers in this period cultivated reputations, Ben Marsden and Crosbie Smith note that they engaged in technological tourism and exhibition, utilising literary technologies to disseminate their work. Soyer realised the Reform Club kitchen was a site of public interest. So, like manufacturers or engineers who opened factories or ships to the public, he opened the kitchen as 'sites of production made excellent advertisements for [his] wares' (Marsden and Smith 2005: 227).

Soyer also mirrors technical manufacturers and engineers by using *The Gastronomic Regenerator* as a literary technology to disseminate the scientific, technical, and empirical wonders of his kitchen. While the cookbook is not a scientific journal or encyclopaedia, Soyer uses it to create a textual tour of his kitchen: like the period's engineers, he was 'keenly responsive to audience, to texts and to the possibilities of self-advertisement' (Marsden and Smith 2005: 239). The technical accuracy used to describe the apparatus and kitchen space is offset with directional descriptions made personal to the reader, as in Soyer's description for the Roasting Kitchen:

> On entering into this room you see in a direct line the vegetable kitchen and the scullery. On the left there is a low cast-iron French stove for boiling large joints and making stock which has been previously boiled on a quick fire, and removed there to simmer gently. (Soyer 1846: 620)

The use of 'you' and 'On entering into this room' elevate Soyer's depiction from a written account to an imaginary tour, as the reader visualises being guided around the kitchen. Personal asides frequent the section, and the way Soyer's writing guides the reader from La Boucherie to the Principal Kitchen, directing their imaginary gaze, consolidates the feel of a guided walking tour. At one point Soyer writes: 'Turning your back to the fireplace, on the right is a recess, ten feet high, ten wide, and two and a half deep…' and this description evokes a vivid image for readers, as they imagine the heat on their back as if there in person (Soyer 1846: 626). These asides infuse Soyer's descriptions with an intimacy which

correlates with the press's praise of his charisma. The reader whose interest is piqued by press accounts of the kitchen can read this appendix and get Soyer's own perspective. Indeed, this rhetorical performance can be linked back to Ericsson and Soyer's description of himself as a 'regenerator'. Marsden and Smith write that Ericsson's 'practised hyperbole' and reputation for 'technological showmanship and self-promotion' drove popularity for his projects, even if they fell short of success when displayed to the public (Marsden and Smith 2005: 70). The same drive ran through Soyer's textual display of the Club's kitchen, though from the positive reviews it seems he was more successful in his public displays than Ericsson.



NUMBER OF STEWPANS AND OTHER KITCHEN UTENSILS

REQUIRED IN THE KITCHENS OF WHICH I HAVE GIVEN PLANS, COMMENCING WITH THE COMPLETE BATTERIE DE CUISINE OF THE REFORM CLUB.

Utensils.	Reform Club Kitchen.	Kitchen of the Wealthy.	Kitchen of Hotels.	Kitchen of the Bachelor.	Cottage Kitchen.
Stewpans, the sizes fluctuating from six gallons to half a pint	80	36	12	8, 3 hold-ing 4 gall.	4
Stock-pots varying from twelve gallons to two	8	4	1	..	0 black sauce-pans.
Turbot kettles, one full size, and another two sizes smaller	2	2	1 small		
Long fish-kettles, two large, and two middling-sized ones	4	2	1 rather larger	1 rather wide	1
Braising-pans, two large and two middling sized	4	2	1		
Preserving-pans (copper) one large round bottomed and one large flat bottomed	2	2	1	..	1 flat bottomed
Egg bowls, one large and one middling sized	2	2	1	1	
Baba and sponge-cake moulds	2	2			
Large round copper pie-dishes for servants	4				
Thick flat braising-pans with hermetic covers	6	6	2	1	
Sauté-pans, twenty deep, with thick bottoms, and ten others	30	12	6	2	2
Bain-marie-pans, varying from two gallons to a pint	36	18	8	2	
Pie-moulds for raised pies	6	4	1	6	
Jelly and charlotte moulds	24	12	4	1	
Small borders for aspic jellies	6	4	1	2	
Freezing-pots, with accessories	4	2	1	1	
Baking-sheets of various sizes	12	12	2	2	
Gridirons	6	2	1	1	
Salamanders	2	1	1 small	1	1
Spoon-drainers	4	2	1	1	
Spits of various sizes, including two with cradles	12	6	2	2	
Dripping-pans	2	1	1	1	
Steam copper cases for puddings and potatoes	4				
Round copper fruit bowls with handles	4	1	1		
Sugar-pans	6	2	1	1	
Soup ladles (small and cheap utensils)	18	12	4	2	1
Copper kitchen spoons, six of which are colander spoons	36	18	8	2 6	1 2
Wire baskets for frying	6	2	2	1	1
Wire sieves	6	2	1	1	
Hair sieves	8	2	1	1	1

Figure 21: Soyer's kitchen inventory (Soyer 1846: xxiii)

The technique of guiding readers through a display or tour is also used in museum guides, exhibition catalogues, tour books, and factory guides. Marsden cites the example of the Thames Tunnel, which was an engineering project and a 'tourist spectacle' which had 'its own guidebooks and even its own broadsheet, largely written by Marc Brunel and part-illustrated by Brunel junior' (Marsden 2013: 102). Through his rhetorical choices, Soyer adopts techniques from other genres to authorise his cookbook as an empirical resource. Display and technological tourism are incorporated into the culinary text, expanding the function of the cookbook to situate it in the political and scientific context Soyer wrote within. While it was typical of nineteenth-century cookbooks to contain inventories, Soyer elevates this into a series of kitchen tours. Indeed, at the start of the cookbook Soyer includes an inventory for the 'number of stewpans and other kitchen utensils required in the kitchens of which I have given plans, commencing with the complete batterie de cuisine of the reform club' (1846: xxiii). This is constituted of a table (Figure 21) listing the number of implements required across kitchens: 80 stewpans in the Reform Club Kitchen, 4 in the Cottage Kitchen. The visual representation of exacting practice the table evokes showed Soyer using the cookbook to 'reform' culinary practice in numerous spaces. Taken together, these sections substantiate the impression of Soyer as an innovator who 'regenerated' kitchen spaces. True to its name, *The Gastronomic Regenerator* was a site where Soyer depicts himself as a chef who applied new empirical thinking. He

uses the cookbook to display the Reform Club kitchen and himself, using spectacle and a rhetoric of empiricism to claim authority within culinary and engineering fields. Because of the wider political and scientific contexts he refers to implicitly and explicitly throughout these sections, Soyer's innovation is at the fore. Moreover, not only were his 'new' 'improvements' and 'inventions' reforming the Club's premises, but the plans in his cookbook promise to 'reform' the home of the reader.

As the inventory in Figure 21 shows, the section on the Reform Club kitchen is one part of a large cookbook. Soyer's emphasis on innovation has a textual background of tradition and history. In the cookbook's preface, for example, Soyer describes an incident in a library where he finds 'the nineteenth edition of a voluminous work' of recipes next to the works of Milton and Shakespeare:

> The terrifying effect produced on me by this succulent volume made me determine that my few ideas, whether culinary or domestic, should never encumber a sanctuary which should be entirely devoted to works worthy of a place in the Temple of the Muses. (Soyer 1846: vii-viii)

In this comical framing of the text's inception, the shock of finding a cookbook next to esteemed works of literature has such an impact on Soyer that it discourages him from writing *The Gastronomic Regenerator*. Clearly, he got over his hesitance but he 'sincerely beg[s]' the reader not to put his cookbook alongside 'Milton's sublime Paradise, for there it would certainly be lost' (Soyer 1846: viii). The humorous pun Soyer makes comparing his cookbook and Milton's epic form a joke between Soyer and readers, perhaps poking fun at his authorial abilities. Nevertheless, opening the cookbook in this manner allows Soyer to showcase his sense of humour *and* literary knowledge. As Garval writes, 'Through this amusingly contrived anecdote, Soyer grapples with traditional notions of literary glory, in order to stake his own, alternate claim within the world of letters' (2007: 19 of 21 paras). But while Garval asserts that Soyer is deliberately 'forgoing the "sublime"' and aiming 'instead at popular "success"', I argue Soyer uses this instance to position himself as an informed reader who is comfortable amongst grand works of literature (Garval 2007: 19 of 21 paras). The allusion to literary greats implies that even if Soyer does not think his cookbook should be positioned alongside them, *The Gastronomic Regenerator* was created in dialogue with a history of literary tradition.

Other paratexts within *The Gastronomic Regenerator* show Soyer creating a nuanced persona for himself and his work that is linked to different strands of history and tradition. The end of Soyer's cookbook contains further kitchen descriptions, after the outline of the Club kitchen. He develops the strategies deployed in his description of the Club kitchen so

they carry different resonances. Soyer's 'Kitchen at Home' section contains a plate and key for Soyer's personal kitchen, one for a Bachelor's kitchen, and one for a Cottage Kitchen. As with the Reform Club kitchen, these kitchens have illustrations that function as inventories, depicting what was required in differently sized kitchens. Unlike the spectacular textual display of the Club kitchen and the directions for fitting the 'kitchens of the wealthy', the instructions here are practical for the average reader. Soyer writes in the section's introduction that 'many persons could not conceive' his motivation for 'publishing my plan of the kitchen of the Reform Club', because 'it would be madness to go to such an expense, with which reason I fully concurred' (1846: 630). But he counters the idea that 'all my new plans and discoveries' are of no use to readers, noting that they can be 'reduced to any scale' and that this section of his cookbook shows 'that I could easily introduce any of my plans, or apparatus, into kitchens of the smallest dimensions' (Soyer 1846: 630). This justifies the attention Soyer pays all kitchens: learning about the Reform Club did not waste the time of those who could not afford to emulate it, because it could be adapted. Soyer's reference to apparatus, dimensions and 'advancing' theories continue the rhetoric of empiricism and personal genius that dominated the last section, but here they are interwoven with a more intimate, personal tone.

Soyer creates intimacy through direct reader address and insights into his personal life. At the start of the 'Kitchen at Home' section he writes 'Do not fancy, gentle reader, under this title to see a wonder of the age, as regards grandeur and magnitude' and then notes:

> I must now politely beg of my readers to refer to page 633, where they will see a correct plan of my small Kitchen at Home, under which title I shelter myself from culinary criticisms, because every man is, or ought to be, allowed to do anything he likes 'at home.' (Soyer 1846: 631)

Reference to the 'gentle reader' together with the notion that Soyer's home should not be criticised creates a teasing inflection which establishes a sense of understanding between him and the reader. Soyer invites them into his home through the text. Humour is accented by Soyer's decision to put 'at home' in quotation marks, which emphasises the irony of Soyer putting a private space on display in his cookbook. Readers could tour Soyer's own home as well as the Club's kitchen. Cowen writes, however, that the comment was 'cheekier than most readers would realise, as Soyer did not possess a kitchen of his own' (2007: 100) at the time of the cookbook's publication. Volant and Warren describe an incident where an admirer of Soyer came to his flat 'asking permission to see his *kitchen at home*' to which Soyer replied that 'It would afford me great pleasure, madame, to satisfy your curiosity; but

my kitchen at home is *out of town'* (Volant and Warren 1859: 84). Whether this humorous instance occurred or not, it belies the playfulness of Soyer's emphasis of his imagined 'home'. By 1850 he had installed a kitchen in his living quarters, which George Augustus Sala described as born of the 'eminently assimilative and inventive nature of the man' and comprising of:

> Two or three little exiguous dens on the top floor, a miniature kitchen and larder and scullery, as complete in their way as the wonderful kitchen and annexes which he had arranged for the Reform Club. (Sala 1894: 246)

Soyer's plans did come to fruition, but in the *Gastronomic Regenerator* this rhetorical playfulness correlates with his manipulation of the cookbook to emphasise the applicability of his innovations within different contexts, all the while placing himself at the centre of the text.

After the numbered keys and kitchen plans, the 'Kitchen at Home' section ends with another image entitled 'My Table at Home' (Figure 22). It depicts Soyer sitting at a lively table, continuing the iconography in Soyer's portraits: he wears his signature hat and right-sided gaze. This illustration of Soyer entertaining contrasts the kitchen plans. Instead of clear, functional images of implements and spaces devoid of people, this plate contains guests eating and conversing, ornate paintings, raised glasses and conviviality. Looking to the reader, Soyer is the focus of the frame, rather than the food, which emphasises his presence and importance as both a character within and the creator of the scene. The contrast between the images in these paratextual sections shows how Soyer blends different tones throughout his cookbook. The exuberant public persona that circulated throughout the media works alongside and reinforces Soyer's empirical designs and outputs.

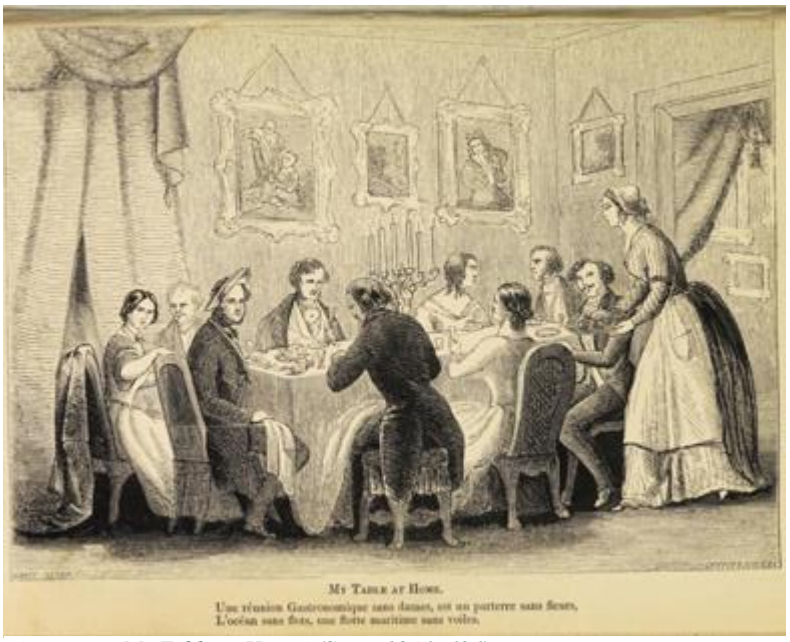


Figure 22: 'My Table at Home' (Soyer 1846: 636)

Soyer writes his nuanced approach to cookery into the recipes within *The Gastronomic Regenerator*. After Figure 22 is a chapter called 'Kitchen at Home' which contains 274 recipes aimed at the middle-class dinner party. Soyer writes that the recipes are

adapted from ‘my table at home’ (1846: 637). The similar titles given to the painting and the chapter creates an intertextual link between the two: readers could draw connections between the foods they could prepare from Soyer’s recipes and the dishes on his table. The way these recipes are written continues the intimate tone of the section’s introduction and the plate, as Soyer turns to the first person and his own experience. In one, he writes. ‘Knuckle of Veal is a very favourite dish of mine; I procure two of them, which I saw into three pieces each…’ (Soyer 1846: 648), and in the ‘Boiled Leg of Mutton’ recipe Soyer notes that:

> At home I have tried to cook them by placing them in the water whilst boiling […] I generally there mash turnips and serve them separately (I do not like them plain and watery, although I consider they must be much more wholesome). (Soyer 1846: 646)

Personal asides, preferences and tips accentuate the impression that the reader is being made privy to methods Soyer employs at home. Soyer’s culinary knowledge and friendly recipes give the reader tools to create a dinner party like Soyer would: one they can picture, due to the illustration. The celebrity impression Soyer maintains using images takes on an aspirational nuance. He depicts himself as a reliable advisor who can improve readers’ dinner parties. Soyer’s intimate, personal tone does exist in tension with the impression of the dispassionate, empiricist man of science, however. Rather than striving for a measured tone Soyer blurs lines so his innovation is inextricable from his character. Readers can use his precise plans and recipes to recreate his technological and culinary work at home, but these are not neutral instructions. Soyer is the integral factor as author, innovator, instructor, and multifaceted showman.

The image of Soyer ‘at home’ does more than create a sociable connection between him and readers, however. Through it, we can see how Soyer uses the cookbook form to appeal to multiple types of reader. This can be traced via the French quotation below the image of Soyer’s dinner party: ‘Une reunion Gastronomique sans dames, est un parterre sans fleurs, L’océan sans flots, une flotte maritime sans voiles’ (Soyer 1846: 636). It translates as: ‘A Gastronomic meeting without ladies, is a flowerbed without flowers, the ocean without waves, a maritime fleet without sails.’ This charming quotation enables Soyer, in an intimate space and through his native French, to move away from the male-dominated realm of the Reform Club. While women could dine as guests, they could not join until 1981.[41] Soyer, however, knew women would be a key audience for his cookbook as they typically dominated the home kitchen. This inclusion of women in the image, quotation, and opening dedication to ‘ladies, to whom I have always made it a rule never to refuse anything in my

[41] See p. 7 for reference to ladies in the introduction of *The Gastronomic Regenerator*.

power' appeals to women, showcasing Soyer's playful and flirtatious personality (Soyer 1846: vii). These subtle instances ensure women are not alienated in Soyer's cookbook despite his status as a professional chef in the masculine Reform Club. Indeed, at other points Soyer further conjoins the masculine space of the Club with the feminine home. In a section on 'Directions for Larding', the practice of weaving bacon through larger cuts of meat, Soyer writes that he was 'induced' to provide the instructions because he 'had many female cooks with me for improvement, many of whom could send up very good dinners, but few of them have scarcely known or had any idea of larding' (1846: xvii). He gives 'the few following directions, so that a person might improve himself after once commencing' (Soyer 1846: 1846). While it is unclear whether these 'female cooks' worked with Soyer at the Club or in his previous occupation as personal chef, Soyer implies that he learned what instructions a cookbook should include through his female colleagues. That Soyer seeks to 'improve' female cooks and the 'himself' who attempts larding at home shows him blurring the gendered lines between professional and domestic cookery further. The repetition of 'improve[ment]' extends the rhetoric of empiricism into the home for male and female readers. The recipes and instructions within the cookbook thus become a bridge between the masculine world of cookery in restaurants and clubs, and the female domestic realm of the kitchen at home.

The French quotation appears in another paratextual section of the cookbook, however. Before the kitchen sections, Soyer presents a short conversation (again, in French) entitled 'Dialogue Culinaire'. This exchange is between 'Lord M. H. *et* A. Soyer' and concerns the role of the gourmand (Soyer 1846: 611). 'Lord M. H.' is the 'Lord Marcus Hill, M.P.' recorded in a list of *The Gastronomic Regenerator's* patrons (Soyer 1846: v). Hill was the Whig M.P. for Evesham when Soyer's cookbook was published and had a culinary reputation. In *Echoes of the Year Eighteen Hundred and Eighty-Three* (1884) Sala discusses *A Few Choice Recipes* (1883), a recipe collection by Lady Sarah Lindsay. It includes several recipes attributed to Hill, like 'Pressed Beef (Lord Marcus Hill)' and 'Mayonnaise Sauce (Lord Marcus Hill)' (Lindsay 1883: 69, 86, 99). Sala writes that 'Lord Marcus was a grand epicure, and was a whole Committee of Taste in himself in the days when Alexis Soyer ruled the subterranean roast at the Reform Club' (1883: 251). Soyer's reproduction of the conversation he had with Hill is a performative networking display, showcasing Soyer's connections with influential political figures who had links to the food industry and wider culture of gastronomy. That the quotation reappears underneath an image of Soyer entertaining friends mean image and text create a network between the many aspects of Soyer's personality: celebrity chef, kitchen designer, gourmand, entertainer, politically

aware socialite. The two appearances of the quotation depict Soyer walking the line between the gendered culinary audiences he addresses: political male gourmands and female home cooks. The intra and intertextual links within *The Gastronomic Regenerator* show how Soyer manipulates the cookbook form to display his role as a chef and his personal identity.

Soyer's radial networking is continued in the recipes in the main section of the cookbook. One of the most famous recipes in *The Gastronomic Regenerator* is 'Cotelettes de Mouton à la Reform', widely credited to Soyer, a version of which can be purchased at the Reform Club today. The recipe's title highlights Soyer's role as Club chef, and the cutlets are served with 'a pint of the sauce reform (No. 35)' (1846: 294). Moreover, the note that the cutlets should be kept in 'the hot closet' in advance of 'a large dinner' points to the dish's conception in the Club, which catered for large numbers and had warming apparatus (Soyer 1846: 295). In the 'Brown Sauce for all sorts of meat' recipe on the other hand, Soyer's career as a chef to the wealthy is highlighted:

> In Scotland I was compelled to use venison even for beef-tea; for although the wealth of my employer would have enabled me to have anything required for my use, money could not purchase it at the time required. (Soyer 1846: 4)

Soyer's experiences are embedded in the instructions. Of the recipe's 19 lines, only 6.5 are concerned with making the brown sauce – most of the recipe is concerned with Soyer's background.

The affluent nature of Soyer's private chef work is also visible in recipes like 'Pea Fowls'. This recipe instructs readers to roast peacocks, 'larded, plain roasted, and served with the tail stuck into them' (Soyer 1846: 401). If this was not extravagant enough, Soyer gives the following advice for 'large families where these demigods are plentiful':

> have one of the finest peacock's tails mounted in silver, and made to easily fix upon the dish, by means of a slide, in which the fowl is served, it would look splendid upon table, and remind us of the ancient Roman banquets, where Lucullus, Tiberius, and Horace used to feast and sing their love. (Soyer 1846: 401-402)

The expenditure required to commission a silver holder for a peacock's tail was possible only for the wealthiest members of society, highlighting the cookbook's upper-class audience. Even this recipe would have been read as aspirational entertainment by most, however. This is accentuated by the historical allusions to Romans and their feasts: the silver-tailed peacock is easier to imagine in a Roman banquet than on the average nineteenth-century table. Indeed, Soyer's Roman allusion creates an intertextual link to the Roman cookbook *Apicius*, which Kitchiner sought to 'revive' in his *Apicius Redivivus.* Like the opening references to Milton and Shakespeare, these allusions show Soyer positioning his work in culinary and literary history. The implicit reference to *Apicius* does more than this,

however. It suggests that Soyer revived or 'regenerated' culinary traditions and writings across history, in a way akin to how his empirical designs 'regenerated' gastronomy. The innovations Soyer introduced to the Reform Club are offset and given a significance by history, proving to readers that Soyer has knowledge of the past *and* a place on the cutting-edge of culinary practice. Indeed, this juxtaposition of the old with the new works to convince readers that Soyer had earned a place amongst the great men he mentioned, given his contributions to nineteenth-century cooking.

In this section I have shown that Soyer mobilises numerous literary techniques throughout *The Gastronomic Regenerator*, using the cookbook to convey his extensive aims within domestic and commercial kitchens. The radial connections Soyer establishes within and beyond his cookbook to patrons, readers, and the press expand the reach of his work, bolstering his 'celebrity' reputation. I argue, however, that Soyer did more in *The Gastronomic Regenerator* than emphasise his fame. The cookbook showcases his literary and technological drive, a drive inherently linked to innovation and historicity. The links Soyer built between his paratexts, recipes and professional roles 'expand and enrich the textual and the reading field' so his cookbook actively participates in the dominant culinary, political, and technological discourses of the time (McGann 1991: 119). The language Soyer uses in the description of the Reform Club kitchen creates a performance of empiricism, situating his innovative designs into ongoing political and scientific movements. Extending this rhetoric into other (more realistic, for readers) kitchen plans brings the concepts of reform and improvement into readers' homes: literally if they follow his plans, and textually through their reading. Soyer's treatment of home cookery and the 'kitchen at home' is not dispassionate, however. He merges it with a consideration of female readers and practical recipes communicated via friendly asides. Moreover, Soyer's allusions to literary and culinary history in both paratexts and recipes push the resonances of his cookbook further: back into history, and forward into an innovative future. Empiricist language co-exists with personable advice and historical prestige, and *The Gastronomic Regenerator* is a textual representation of the culinary and literary chameleon Soyer was trying to be. He wrote to 'regenerate' the technological face of cookery by re-narrating the past to improve the future, and to 'regenerate' the cookbook genre by expanding its capabilities, which I also explore in the next section.

Given his position at the Reform Club when *The Gastronomic Regenerator* was published, Soyer's focus on technological reform was not surprising. This poses the question: what did Soyer's writing emphasise when he was targeting a different setting and audience? *The Modern Housewife, or Ménagère* departs from *The Gastronomic Regenerator* in form, style, and content, even though Soyer was still head chef of the Club when it was published. Soyer addressed the upper classes and gestured towards the aspirational middle classes in *The Gastronomic Regenerator* and aimed his next cookbook *Soyer's Charitable Cookery* (1848) at the poor. *Modern Housewife* is aimed at a middle-class audience. Soyer's creation of radial networks is also integral to *Modern Housewife*, and these literary and visual strategies begin in the opening pages. As in all his work, the portrait of Soyer is the first image the reader came across in the *Modern Housewife*. On the next two-page spread however, is another portrait. Surrounded by a wreath of foods is a young woman, gazing at the reader while holding a quill and paper (Figure 23). Above the portrait is the inscription 'To the Fair Daughters of Albion' and below a dedication: 'The Modern Housewife Begs to introduce herself, and hopes she may prove A Useful Advisor' (Soyer 1849: ii). This clarifies that the woman is the 'Modern Housewife' from the title. Exploring this opening framework demonstrates how Soyer plays with his role as author in *Modern Housewife.*

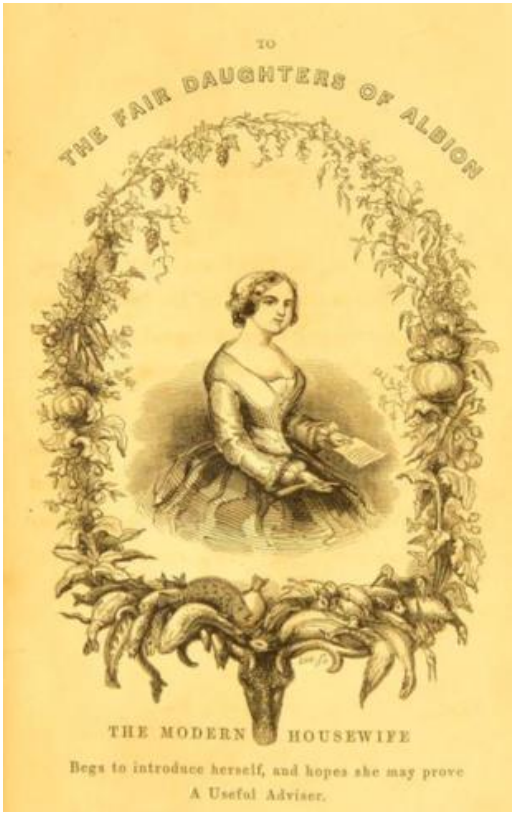


Figure 23: 'The Modern Housewife' (Soyer 1849: ii)

> On the page opposite the portrait a paragraph introduces the 'Modern Housewife':
>
> The Author of the Gastronomic Regenerator, anxious to find a Companion for his first and only Son, who has enjoyed an uninterrupted success from his birth, has, after five months of extensive research, met with one in the Modern Ménagère (*Housewife)*, who, he trusts, will be deemed equally deserving of praise as her Mate, being confident they both will live in most perfect harmony in every family where their services may be required. (Soyer 1849: i)

Several things occur in this opening gambit to Soyer's cookbook which immediately connect the text to literary history. The 'Son' Soyer refers to was *The Gastronomic Regenerator*, not

a flesh-and-blood child.[42] This language of parenting his first cookbook and finding a 'mate' personifies Soyer's texts as agent beings, an impression accentuated by the portrait. Moreover, the reproductive language Soyer uses plays into the long tradition of authors referring to their texts as offspring. Terry J. Castle discusses how Plato, Ovid, Curtius, Catullus and Horace refer to their writings as 'progeny' or 'offspring' before tracing the metaphor through the Renaissance and into Romantic poetry (1979: 195). Castle cites the third canto of Byron's *Childe Harold* as an example of the 'romantic revision of the childbearing model' (Castle 1979: 204). In the preface to the 1831 edition of *Frankenstein*, Mary Shelley describes Byron writing that canto when he resided beside the Shelleys in Switzerland in 1816 (Shelley [1831] 2008: 193). Shelley notes that Byron's prompt to write ghost stories inspired her novel, which she calls her 'hideous progeny' in the same preface (Shelley [1831] 2008: 197). In an example closer to Soyer, Dickens published *David Copperfield* in the same year as *Modern Housewife.* In its 1867 preface Dickens refers to the novel as his 'favourite child' (1999: 870). Soyer thus plays into a long history and current trend of authors referring to their texts as children. Given the aesthetic similarities between Soyer and Byron, this ascribed to the trope's Romantic resonances. Soyer positions himself as an author whose writing is inspired by 'instinctual, organic events rather than the work of conscious craft' (Castle 1979: 205). Dickens's use of the same tactic further emphasises Soyer's authorial claim. This demonstrates a development from *The Gastronomic Regenerator*. In his first cookbook, Soyer engages with literary tradition in a self-effacing manner, struggling to imagine his cookbook alongside *Paradise Lost.* In *Modern Housewife*, Soyer uses Romantic motifs to present the cookbook as the natural product of an author now confident in his literary abilities.

From the beginning, *Modern Housewife* is positioned comfortably in a tradition of authorship. By using this trope to frame the conception of his 'son' and his 'mate', Soyer suggests that he produced a couple who would 'live in most perfect harmony' (1849: i). The cookbooks are a complementary pair with different gendered roles: the successful son and the son's wife, 'equally deserving of praise' (1849: i). This speaks to the different form of *Modern Housewife* in comparison with *The Gastronomic Regenerator*. While in his first cookbook Soyer uses a friendly narrative style and intratextual links to extend his work at the Club into the feminine domestic realm, in *The Modern Housewife* he takes a more direct approach to appeal to female readers. The woman in the portrait is not just a visual

[42] Though Soyer had a son (abandoned when he left France) it was not until 1851 that Jean Alexis Lemain wrote to his father and they reconnected, and not until 1853 that Soyer legally acknowledged Lemain (Volant and Warren 1859: 241).

representation of Soyer's literary parentage, but has a voice in the text as a fictional character who pens the rest of the cookbook.

The cookbook's introduction presents the fictional authoress and another character to the reader via a section entitled 'Dialogue between Mrs B--- and Mrs L---, her Friend and Visitor' (Soyer 1849: v). Through it, readers learn that Mrs B—, or Hortense, is an excellent housekeeper and cook who has been entertaining her friend Mrs L—, or Eloise. The introduction concludes with two letters in which Eloise, having returned home and realised her domestic knowledge was wanting, writes to Hortense expressing her desire to 'have quite a reform in my little establishment' (Soyer 1849: xi). The use of 'reform' refers back to Soyer's earlier cookbook, perhaps as a light-hearted joke. Repeating this loaded term demonstrates that in this cookbook too, Soyer does not make a clear division between feminine domesticity and the masculine realm of commercial cookery. His use of empirical language within this letter, seemingly penned by a woman asking for domestic guidance, extends the idea of reform into the home so that all readers can enact a 'reform' in their kitchens. Using female characters to voice this emphasises Soyer's point. *Modern Housewife* therefore upheld the tenets Soyer enacts in *The Gastronomic Regenerator,* though as I show, his authorial choices in the later cookbook are markedly different.

The epistolary framework defines the entire structure of *Modern Housewife.* In the remainder of the introductory letters, Eloise asks Hortense if she will send a description of her breakfast table 'with the addition of a few receipts for the making of rolls and the other breakfast bread, which I so much enjoyed while with you' (Soyer 1849: xii). Hortense agrees, and on the next page the 'Breakfasts' section begins. It is written in Hortense's first-person voice, and she weaves anecdotes and advice around the recipes, which are numbered under the heading 'First Series of Receipts' (Soyer 1849: 2). This sets the tone for the cookbook's form. The chapters of *Modern Housewife* are grouped by food categories and cooking processes. Around and within these chapters are 23 letters between Hortense and Eloise, and notes from Hortense surround or are within individual recipes. Soyer's narrative framework is pervasive, and metatextually explains the cookbook's composition and organising principles. In the second letter, Hortense responds that she would record recipes, asking: 'why should we confine our culinary journal to breakfasts only? Why not go through the different meals of the day?', and so the cookbook's structure is depicted as an active exercise in collating recipes (Soyer 1849: xii). Discussions about the best way to structure a cookbook continue at the end of the breakfast chapter. Eloise replies to Hortense, writing that 'To save useless repetition, I have placed the recipes in numbers, by which references can be easily made', and in the next letter Hortense assures Eloise that she:

> feel[s] perfectly satisfied with the manner in which you have classified my receipts respecting the breakfasts, and must say I felt very much interested in looking over them; I am confident they would prove interesting and instructive to any young housekeeper; I hope, therefore, you will preserve the originals, as I do not keep any copies. (Soyer 1849: 27).

These exchanges give the impression that writing *Modern Housewife* is an evolving, collaborative effort between Hortense and Eloise. The epistolary form lends intimacy to *Modern Housewife.* The recipes are enmeshed in discussions between friends giving each other advice, creating an atmosphere of female domestic confidence reminiscent of oral tradition; women helping other women in the kitchen, sharing tips, and working through the trials and errors of cookery.

Scholarship on Soyer attributes the epistolary form of *Modern Housewife* to personal experience. Cowen writes that Soyer spent time with a couple called the Bakers who lived in St John's Wood, and the 'lengthy conversations on cookery and household management' he shared with Mrs Baker 'formed the basis for his next work' (Cowen 2007: 166-167). This reading positions Mrs Baker as the inspiration for Hortense (or Mrs B—), and in the cookbooks Soyer signs off Hortense's letters as from 'Bifrons Villa', which was in St John's Wood. There was thus a personal inspiration behind Soyer's Mrs B. It is also possible, however, to read Soyer's decision to adopt these women's voices as motivated by literary tradition. Considering the framework in terms of genre and authorship demonstrates that Soyer was inspired not just by friendship, but by the resonances he could evoke by playing with literary forms.

On a basic level, Soyer plays with literary conventions common across genres in the nineteenth century: authors frequently adopted pseudonyms, anonymity, or used names that obscured their gender, as a publishing decision. The practice is exemplified in fiction by Mary Ann Evans adopting the male name George Eliot. In domestic writing and journalism, Eliza Warren Francis changes her initials depending on what she writes about: she signs Mrs Warren on cookery and needlework columns but uses the 'more masculine and hence arguably more authoritative "Warren Francis"' when writing about science and health (De Ridder and Van Remoortel 2011: 314). In this period, authors who obscured their identities were often women grasping for the authority of a male name. Soyer subverts this gendered inequality by presenting his recipes as authored by women, an acknowledgement that in the home kitchen, women were usually in charge. Soyer does not adopt another name, however, but utilises personas within a cookbook he clearly authored. His decision to write the cookbook through Hortense is not driven by the desire to hide his identity but by a nuanced

literary performance which can be understood via Soyer's decision to adopt an epistolary form.

Of the epistolary novel, Joe Bray acknowledges it 'was often seen as an exclusively late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century phenomenon' which 'faded away', but then contests that dismissal (2003: 1). Instead, Bray argues that 'the style of the novel-in-letters had a penetrating influence on the way the nineteenth- and twentieth-century novel represents consciousness' (2003: 2). Linda S. Kauffman notes key features of the epistolary 'mode': 'mourning the inadequacies of language, transgressing generic boundaries, subverting gender roles, staging revolt through act of writing' (1992: xiii). In his introduction alone, Soyer transgresses generic boundaries and gendered expectations. Moreover, if his cookbook does not stage an outright revolt, he does use literary techniques to challenge expectations of what a cookbook was, even within the canon of his previous work. Further comparisons can be made between *Modern Housewife* and two pertinent examples of epistolary writing. Samuel Richardson's *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740) was an incredibly successful epistolary novel: the 'first example of that [best seller] phenomenon in the history of English fiction' (Doody 1980: 7). In the novel, a servant named Pamela is pursued, incarcerated, and coercively threatened by her deceased mistress's son, but marries him to become 'Mrs B'. After marriage the content of the book centres on Mrs B's domestic management. The narrative is composed of her letters and is frequently read as an 'epistolary conduct book' or pedagogical novel, 'coup[ling] didacticism with entertainment' through its 'relentless emphasis on virtue and morality' (Ingrassia 2004: 14, 6). Indeed, through Richardson the epistolary novel was born of the conduct genre: he 'adopted this popular feminine and domestic fiction, seeing in it the possibilities the earlier authors only hint at' (Doody 1980: 8).

Given the success of Richardson's novel, the fact it was rooted in feminine pedagogical writing, and its influence on novels and conduct books, it is likely Soyer knew the text. Soyer's 'Mrs B' is the literary descendent of Richardson's Mrs B as a pedagogic domestic authority. Indeed, a review of *Modern Housewife* in *Sharpe's London Journal* calls the cookbook 'a treasure of a woman' (*Sharpe's London Journal* 1849: 384). Describing the cookbook as a woman demonstrates the conflation of woman and book engendered via Soyer's parenthood of the 'modern housewife'. Scholarship on *Pamela* frequently comments on the body-as-text. The boundaries between Pamela's body and letters are blurred because bodily sensation was expressed via Pamela's writing. Nancy Armstrong uses Mr B's failure to rape Pamela to exemplify this: 'Richardson stages a scene of rape that transforms an erotic and permeable body into a self-enclosed body of words. Mr. B's repeated failures suggest

that Pamela cannot be raped because she is nothing but words' (1987: 116). This suggests the written woman gained autonomy through words, though in both *Modern Housewife* and *Pamela,* the author was male. The idea of the cookbook-as-woman is later satirised in Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend* (1865) when new housewife, Bella Wilfer, is frustrated reading a fictional cookbook called 'The Complete British Family Housewife'. Dickens characterises the book as a woman, writing that 'the Complete British Housewife, however sound a Briton at heart, was by no means an expert Briton at expressing herself with clearness' (Dickens 1997: 583). Soyer's personification of the cookbook through the fictional Hortense allows him to play with literary tradition and gendered authority. He subverts his masculine professionalism by writing through a womanly guise, making her the domestic authority while presenting his view of the ideal, informed culinary woman.

Pamela is not the only 'Mrs B' to take centre stage of dialogic work. In 1806, Jane Marcet anonymously published *Conversations in Chemistry.* Like *Pamela* it was successful, with sixteen British editions and twenty-three American editions during Marcet's life (Dreifuss and Tinkhonov Sigrist 2012: 19). While it does not consist of letters, it is written in a dialogue between two female pupils and their tutor, Mrs B. Chapters are called 'Conversations', and the form allows pupils to ask Mrs B questions in a pedagogical exchange. Marcet regularly attended Sir Humphry Davy's lectures at the Royal Institution and her book was read by students of science. Faraday credited it with 'introducing him to electrochemistry and with giving him the courage to propound his early theories' (Morse, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* 2004). Soyer's adoption of a 'Mrs B' would have resonated not only with readers of epistolary novels, but also those familiar with Marcet's scientific text. Given Faraday's subscription to *The Gastronomic Regenerator,* there were connections between Soyer and the men and women of science who knew *Conversations with Chemistry*. Even though *Modern Housewife* departs from Soyer's earlier emphasis on empiricism, framing his cookbook through 'Mrs B' did not divorce from the scientific influences that shape his first cookbook. This reading of *Modern Housewife's* structure demonstrates that Soyer uses literary techniques to position himself as an author not just of cookbooks, but of literary texts informed by a series of measured authorial decisions. *Modern Housewife* is influenced by numerous genres which suit Soyer's want to educate readers and carve a place for himself in literary tradition. The adoption of the epistolary form is thus not merely the influence of a personal connection, but instead it showcases Soyer's authorial interventions in the cookbook genre.

Throughout Hortense and Eloise's correspondence, Soyer's authorial presence is brought into the text as a tangible narrative device. A section titled 'Culinary Correspondence' comes

62 pages into the cookbook, containing letters 6 to 11. Eloise asks Hortense for a list of popular meat joints, and Hortense suggests they include recipes for cheaper cuts for smaller budgets. After Eloise agrees, Hortense writes:

> I think it will be necessary to alter our original intention, namely, in order to save any confusion, to class all the receipts for the dinner together, and thus form a large bill of fare, and follow, on a small plan, what M. Soyer, of the Reform Club, has done on a large scale, in his 'Gastronomic Regenerator,' by which the most inexperienced hands may easily provide a large or small dinner adopted for all classes. (Soyer 1849: 66)

The plan for the cookbook is changed nearly seventy pages in, and is directly copied from *The Gastronomic Regenerator,* creating an intertextual link between the texts. Soyer uses his earlier cookbook as a justification for the shape of its predecessor, and *Modern Housewife* becomes a textual extension of Soyer's previous work. Moreover, the phrase 'follow, on a small plan' evokes the adaptable kitchen plans in *The Gastronomic Regenerator*, making this an empirical decision. *Modern Housewife* is thus the smaller, more domestic (female) version of the 'plan' laid out 'in his "Gastronomic Regenerator"' (Soyer 1849: 66).

The allusion to Soyer is enlivened in Eloise's response: 'I wrote to M. Soyer, to inquire if he would object to our taking a few hints from his "Kitchen at Home," which forms the last part of his work' (Soyer 1849: 67). Eloise includes Soyer's reply, and to her Soyer (pretending to be himself) writes that 'It would be entirely deviating from the preface of my "Gastronomic Regenerator" to refuse you anything in my power' (Soyer 1849: 67). Soyer invokes the preface of *The Gastronomic Regenerator* to highlight his generosity towards women. Moreover, Soyer's faux correspondence becomes a paratext in his fictional narrative, creating further links between his writings and figuring him as a character in the epistolary world he created. The cookbook here becomes metafictional: Soyer brings himself into the epistolary exchange to draw attention to its fictionality. As Patricia Waugh writes about metafictional novels, they 'tend to be constructed on the principle of a fundamental and sustained opposition: the construction of a fictional illusion (as in traditional realism) and the laying bare of that illusion' (Waugh 1984: 6). This can be applied to *Modern Housewife.* By 'creat[ing] a fiction' and 'mak[ing] a statement about the creation of that fiction' Soyer pushes beyond the fictional constraints of the epistolary novel and pedagogical text that inform his use of 'Mrs B', and again demonstrates his ability to do more as an author (Waugh 1984: 6). This dense network of rhetorical jokes, intertextual connections and fictional layers keeps Soyer at the centre of *Modern Housewife.* Throughout these exchanges, he simultaneously provides readers with a series of textual in-jokes and maintains his creative authority within the form and content of the text, just as he gazes out of the

portrait to position himself within the imagined frame of *The Gastronomic Regenerator*. Soyer does not adopt an 'authorial masquerade' (Garval 2007: 28 of 51 paras). He continuously displays himself as an author who is aware of how to play with literary strategies and who takes existing generic traditions, regenerated them, and pushed them further.

Soyer's inclusion of fictional correspondence between him and the housewives builds a textual network he uses for self-advertisement. Unlike the technological tour in *The Gastronomic Regenerator,* this network is not dependent on visualisation. Instead, Soyer uses his characters to create a performance of audience reception within the cookbook. Underneath Soyer's fictional letter Eloise indicates Soyer's popularity, assuming that 'As you have his book, you, no doubt, know to which part he alludes. He says, in his preface, that he has made it a rule never to refuse ladies anything in his power' (Soyer 1849: 67). This is the second reference to the quotation about ladies from *The Gastronomic Regenerator*'s preface. Soyer's repetition of it in his fictional letter and again through Eloise emphasise the phrase to the point of comedy. Nevertheless, Eloise assumes that Hortense owned Soyer's *Gastronomic Regenerator,* and the presumption implies to the *Modern Housewife* reader they should also 'no doubt' own Soyer's earlier cookbook. By explaining what Soyer writes in *The Gastronomic Regenerator* Eloise ensures no readers are alienated and the meaning of Soyer's letter is clarified, but to be in the know readers themselves must turn to *The Gastronomic Regenerator* themselves. By repeating the opening gambit of his first cookbook so profusely Soyer parodies his flirtatious reputation but encourages readers to engage with his back catalogue. Soyer's radial self-advertising is established via a fictional web of voices and texts that push him to the fore.

In keeping with the tone of intimacy and advice in the letters, the recipes in *Modern Housewife* are frequently relayed in the first person and include anecdotes that are both useful and characterise Hortense. The 'Fricandeau of Veal' recipe opens with a note that it is 'a very favourite dish of mine' and the recipe continues with Hortense's technique: 'Having the fillet prepared with the bone out as if for roasting, I lay it on a board with the skin side downwards…' (Soyer 1849: 216). Hortense's preferences and techniques are integral to the recipe's short form. At times these inclusions are anecdotal, as in 'French Padana, for aged people, invalids and children', where underneath the recipe paragraph is another that reads:

> I knew a very aged lady in France who accustomed herself to eat a basin of pandana every night […] for a period of eighteen years, which will prove that, although very substantial in appearance, it must be very easily digested. (Soyer 1849: 44).

The repeated personal asides purportedly keep Hortense's advice shining through the recipes as well as the letters. It is more likely, however, that readers would credit these asides to Soyer, particularly because many of them mention France. The word 'France' is mentioned 33 times in *Modern Housewife,* and 'French' is mentioned 68 times, often in descriptions of eating and cooking habits. In a description of coffee in the 'Breakfasts' chapter Hortense describes 'staying at Havre with Mr. B.' which supports the fictional narrative. The frequency of references to French dining practices, however, elucidates that the notes within and around the recipes are Soyer's memories ventriloquized via Hortense. Given Soyer's blatant literary playfulness, readers would likely have understood it as such. In some cases, the guise of Hortense slips completely, which can be seen when comparing *Modern Housewife* to *The Gastronomic Regenerator*.

In *The Gastronomic Regenerator,* I previously noted that Soyer opens his 'Knuckle of Veal' recipe by writing that 'Knuckle of Veal is a very favourite dish of mine' (1846: page). The introduction to the 'Fricandeau of Veal' recipe in *Modern Housewife* is thus an exact repetition altered for another veal recipe (Soyer 1849: 648). Veal *is* a very favourite – of Soyer's. Then in *The Gastronomic Regenerator* Soyer writes a description of 'French Pot-au-Feu' which is 149 lines long, the last twelve of which are the recipe. The description is a historical overview of the dish as a staple of the French working classes, in which Soyer ruminates on how time and politics alter food. He writes of cookery that 'everything seems to prove to us that it has always performed an important part in political events, and has been exposed to as many alterations' before continuing:

> amongst so many changes, it is with a national pleasure that I find, amongst the heap of frivolous culinary ruins, an old favourite of our great great-grandfathers, still remaining ours, having boldly passed through every storm, it has for ever established its culinary power upon our changeable soil. (Soyer 1846: 650).

This section on 'Pot-au-Feu' allows Soyer to muse on culinary tradition in his empiricist cookbook, before he provides an anecdotal account of how he 'with a great deal of supplication, obtained […] the following valuable receipt' from a friend's servant, La Mère Bernard – another Mrs. B (Soyer 1846: 651). This precedes a dialogic exchange similar to the correspondence between Hortense and Eloise, as Soyer learns to make the dish from a knowledgeable woman: '"I generally choose," says she, "a bit of the *gite à la noix,* part of the aitch-bone, a piece of rump, or a slice…"' (1846: 651). This conversation is characterised by Soyer's admiration for Madame B and eagerness to learn, and the recipe method is reproduced in *Modern Housewife*. In the later cookbook, the recipe only consists of two paragraphs and is twenty lines long, but they are repetitions of the first and final paragraphs

of the original recipe. Indeed, the only difference in the method between the books is that in *Modern Housewife* Soyer does not include the final sentence of the first iteration: 'since I have been in England I have broken my precious earthen pot' (Soyer 1846: 652). He strips out personal details that tie the recipe to his experience, as well as the ruminations about changing foodways. Both the 'Knuckle of Veal' and 'French Pot-au-feu' recipes are in the 'Kitchen at Home' section of *The Gastronomic Regenerator*, which I argued was written in a more intimate tone than the rest of the cookbook. It is striking, however, that this cut-and-paste repetition is within a pedagogical framework in both texts. Again, *Modern Housewife* is a development of literary tactics Soyer uses in his earlier writing, but by framing them in fictional dialogue he becomes the wise benefactor rather than the pupil.

As in the discussions of the cookbook's structure, Soyer ensures his name runs through the recipes as Hortense and Eloise refer to him as an example of good practice. In the 'Salt Round of Beef' recipe *The Gastronomic Regenerator* is a paratext, when Hortense writes 'To serve it cold, M. Soyer, in his "Regenerator," thus describes it:' before including a passage from Soyer's earlier cookbook (1849: 155). This passage is also from the 'Kitchen at Home' section of *The Gastronomic Regenerator* in a 'Round of Beef' recipe which is a satirical exchange between Soyer and the fictitious epitome of Britishness, John Bull. Playing into the nationalistic stereotype that the British are famed for roast beef ('*le rosbifs')* Bull says to Soyer that he 'fear[s] you cannot cook that glorious dish to perfection' and gives a recipe (Soyer 1846: 641). It is after this satirical recipe that the section quoted in *Modern Housewife* appears. Soyer writes 'After receiving the above useful lesson, and being desirous of improving my profession in all its branches…', before giving the recipe Hortense refers to, and the note about receiving a lesson is included in Hortense's excerpt (Soyer 1846: 642). This intertextual borrowing from *The Gastronomic Regenerator* links the texts again through a comical lesson. Soyer simultaneously emphasises the didactic role of his epistolary cookbook while poking fun at himself and the genre, and using these intertextual connections to build a network of literary play between his texts.

The humour that shines through in Soyer's recipes as he played with and subverted forms demonstrates that his cookbook had multiple functions. Though many recipes are written without input from Hortense, there are remarks from her/Soyer once every few pages. The individual recipes are connected by the narrative Soyer weaves around them, meaning his cookbook is consistently humorous. By constantly setting up in-jokes between his texts, Soyer creates cookbooks that can be read in multiple ways. Firstly, they can be read straightforwardly, for instructions in food preparation and kitchen planning. Secondly, they can be read for entertainment. Readers have numerous layers of humour, novelistic

techniques, self-mockery, and playful manipulation of genre to enjoy. Throughout *Modern Housewife* in particular, Soyer uses these layers to ensure his cookbook is highly metafictional: readers are constantly reminded they are reading a text that was simultaneously a cookbook and a work of fiction, both of which centre on Soyer as author and character. Of course, the two reading styles are not mutually exclusive, and indeed the multiple ways of reading cookbooks and recipes are often densely entangled, as I have explored in previous chapters. The duality of purpose in *Modern Housewife*, however, exemplifies Soyer's proficiency as an author – something he used metafictional tactics to emphasise throughout.

Reviews of *Modern Housewife* indicate that readers engaged with Soyer's cookbooks for more than instruction. In *Memoirs,* Volant and Warren praise the cookbook's prose, declaring that Soyer 'garnish[ed] his sentences with figures of speech as profusely as his model housewife does her cold meat with parsley' (Volant and Warren 1859: 153). This use of culinary puns to praise Soyer's writing emphasises its entertaining quality. Then a reviewer in the *Mirror Monthly Magazine* writes that the cookbook 'is written in a way that the cookery-book was never before penned' and is 'full of instruction and capital advice; abounds with anecdote; is replete with fine feeling and moral counsel' (*Mirror* Oct 1849: 264). This review speaks to practical use of the text, while the article in *Sharpe's London Journal* demonstrates the merits of both. The review's author writes 'it would not be easy to find a book more useful, and at the same time more amusing, than the one before us' and says the cookbook is 'written in a kindly amiable manner […] evidently with a sincere desire to benefit the British nation' (*Sharpe's London Journal* 1849: 384). A reviewer in the *Spectator* enthuses that 'the artistic ambition of Alexis Soyer […] shines out' of the cookbook, as Soyer was 'not content with novelty of matter in his receipts, he has aimed at novelty of structure and style in his mode of presenting them' (*Spectator* 1 Sept 1849: 19). The author describes *Modern Housewife* as 'the most dramatic of cookery-books; carried on by dialogue, correspondence, and a certain artful arrangement by which two-thirds of an epic – "action" – is introduced into the didactic work' (*Spectator* 1 Sept 1849: 19). In the *Scotsman,* Soyer is described as an author 'by turns philosophical, scientific, historical, picturesque, dramatic, and poetical' (*Scotsman* 10 October 1849: 3). The different genres cited in the *Spectator* and *Scotsman* reviews affirm that readers recognised Soyer's authorial prowess. The nuanced literary techniques he wove throughout his writing were not unnoticed.

Within *Modern Housewife's* recipes, Soyer alludes to himself not just to point to the cookbook's metafictionality and literary nature, but to return to the themes of self-

advertisement and innovation. In his 'New Mutton Chop' recipe, Hortense outlines Soyer's innovative method of cutting a saddle of mutton. 'Innovation' is only mentioned twice in *Modern Housewife,* and both instances are in this excerpt. The letter to Eloise before the recipe clarifies the recipe was from *The Gastronomic Regenerator,* and Hortense remarks of the 'new mutton chop' that it is only 'in an enlightened era of wonders like ours that such a novelty in the culinary department could have been produced' (Soyer 1849: 228). Technological and empirical knowledge are highlighted here, as Hortense compares several innovations to Soyer's chop, including 'steam, gas, railways, electric light, suspended bridges' (Soyer 1849: 228). The letter concludes with Hortense's declaration that 'it was to be among all these marvellous wonders that the innovation of a new mutton chop should emanate from the brain of a simple individual' and she writes that it improved upon the 'fat and clumsy mutton chop[s]' eaten by 'the ancestors of our great grandfathers' (Soyer 1849: 228). Hortense further praises 'the humble, unassuming, disinterested inventor of the said mutton chop' and labels it a 'wonder' before giving the recipe, which directs readers to add 'half a tablespoonful of Soyer's Gentlemen's or Ladies' Sauce to each chop' (Soyer 1849: 228).

Hortense's list of innovations, reference to Soyer as 'inventor' and use of his patented sauce emphasise Soyer and his innovations to the reader through a distinctively humorous lens. Soyer is a 'simple individual', and Hortense's 'uncomprehend[able]' 'enthusiasm for the simple innovation' contrasts the 'unassuming' attitude of the 'inventor'. This mocks both the naïve housewife and 'inventor' of the chop – humble in relation to the other inventions mentioned. It also pokes fun at the rhetoric of wonderment used to describe big technologies. Here, Soyer undercuts the sincerity of his relationship to innovation, which he seriously explores in *The Gastronomic Regenerator.* This self-mockery precludes serious mockery from the public: he pokes fun at himself, so he is in on the joke. Even though Soyer was enthusiastic about innovation, he wants to make sure that his readers do not think he elevates it to the point of ridiculousness. Soyer uses Hortense to mark his cultural capital, however, and even though he situates himself against other inventors ironically, he still makes the comparison. Hortense writes that she hopes the thousands of people who benefited from Soyer's chop 'keep a friendly remembrance of the name of its inventor, because any one [*sic*] who invents, or tries so to do, attempts to conquer the greatest difficulty to obtain fame and wealth' (Soyer 1849: 228). By expressing his aims through Hortense, Soyer remains 'humble, unassuming [and] disinterested' while someone else emphasises his impressive feats. This inversion of praise allows Soyer to maintain the impression of the playful yet

empirical man-of-science set up in *The Gastronomic Regenerator,* while indulging in the literary games that mark *Modern Housewife.*

The chop is not the only innovation Hortense recommends. In a dialogic section at the rear of the cookbook titled 'conversation on household affairs' Hortense talks Eloise through her kitchen layout, and the section contains two plates: one of 'Soyer's Magic Stove' and one of 'Soyer's Modern Housewife's Kitchen Apparatus'. Hortense notes that her kitchen is 'taken, as you perceive, from the plan of that of the one "At Home," in Soyer's Regenerator' (1849: 398). She describes the kitchen apparatus, which combined a gas ring with a boiler, oven and hot plate, showcasing the same focus on economy Soyer emphasises in the Reform Club kitchen. Of the Magic Stove, a small portable stove powered by a lamp fuelled with methylated spirit, she says 'sometimes Mr. B. has a cutlet or any other nick-nack, which I always cook myself on the breakfast table with my newly-invented Magic lamp-stove', curiously crediting the stove to herself rather than Soyer (Soyer 1849: 393). This literary play blurs the lines between Soyer and Hortense again. Considering how Soyer develops this in further editions of his cookbook demonstrates how he used his housewives to show that his implements engineered innovation or 'progress' within the domestic sphere.

Soyer applied for a patent for the stove in August 1849, and re-registered it as the Magic Stove in 1850 (Cowen 2007: 163). This did not stop him advertising through Hortense earlier, however. In the seventh thousand edition published later in 1849, there are new letters at the cookbook's beginning. Hortense writes that she sent Eloise 'one of the Magic Stoves, which I have just received from Bramah's' that she just cooked 'two of Soyer's New Mutton Chops' on (Soyer 1849b: vi). Through Hortense, Soyer highlights that his stoves were produced by Bramah, Prestige & Ball, a leading engineering firm based in Piccadilly who Soyer worked with to design, produce and sell his patented implements. Hortense apologises for sending the stove after a delay because 'that which I intended for you has been taken by the Marquis of N. and party to Egypt, with the view of having a dinner cooked on the top of the Pyramids' (Soyer 1849b: vi). In later editions, this letter is followed by two plates of Soyer and the party using the stove in Egypt. The crossover between Hortense and Soyer as inventor becomes increasingly complicated. By ventriloquising his inventiveness and connections with the engineering field through Hortense, Soyer emphasises that his devices could benefit middle-class readers. Furthermore, this technique opens the world of engineering, travel, and invention to housewives who – like Hortense – could participate in it within the home if they purchased Soyer's apparatus.

The addenda at the rear of the cookbook accentuate that external praise is Soyer's preferred means of demonstrating skill. The adverts for Soyer's Sauces and Soyer's Nectar

have visual depictions of the bottles and reviews from the press and influential customers. The inclusion of excerpts in the back of *Modern Housewife* means the reader can consult multiple positive opinions (other than the fictional housewives') without independently seeking them out. Readers learn that the Duke of Cambridge thinks Soyer's nectar was 'very excellent and refreshing', the *Sun* notes that a 'very small quantity [of Soyer's Sauce] is sufficient to impart the most delicious flavour' (Soyer 1849: 434, 431). References to Soyer's products create radial links between adverts and recipes, blending fictional and real praise within the cookbook. The voices of others – Hortense and Eloise, Soyer's famous connections, the press and customers – are brought together in the *Modern Housewife*, and through these voices rather than his own Soyer showcases his products. The shift in how Soyer presents his innovations between cookbooks speaks to his different intended audiences and authorial intentions. While there are still mentions of patrons in *Modern Housewife,* Hortense and Eloise do the most work selling Soyer's innovations. Although they are not politicians, nobility or men of science, Soyer creates an appreciative, female, middle-class audience for his products while indulging in a plethora of literary games that 'reformed' the cookbook from a technological and literary perspective.

While Hortense and Eloise position Soyer's new products 'in an enlightened era of wonders', the housewives also weave culinary history into *Modern Housewife*. Throughout the chapters are passages outlining food's historical significance. These are set between the recipes in smaller font, providing readers with knowledge about their food's origins. The opening to the 'Fish Sauces' chapter reads:

> In all ages and countries at all removed from barbarism, where fish has formed an article of diet, sauces of various kinds have been an accompaniment. With the Romans, in the time of Lucullus, great care was observed in their preparation. (Soyer 1849: 143)

Reference to 'all ages […] removed from barbarism' situate these sauces in a history of civilisation akin to the way gridirons are used to gesture to historical cookery and masculinity. The reference to Lucullus and the Romans creates a historical context for the recipes that follow, and nods to the mention of Romans in *The Gastronomic Regenerator*. Sometimes these historical passages are intertwined with Hortense's advice. The section on haddock calls it 'the callarias and galeris of the Romans' and describes haddock as 'the fish that it is said St. Peter took the tribute money from, and thus gave the impression of his finger and thumb, where it remains in confirmation of the miracle' (Soyer 1849: 114-115). Historical etymology and religious references are followed by Hortense's note that 'I think one weighing from six to seven pounds is the best size, although I have had them at twelve pounds' (Soyer 1849: 115). This comical disjunction between history lesson and shopping

preferences shows Soyer writing culinary history into his cookbook via his playful balance of entertainment and practicality.

These instances occur throughout *Modern Housewife*, and the historical leaning of Soyer's work is frequently noted by the press. I mentioned that the *Sun* calls Soyer the Napoleon of Gastronomy, and the *Mirror*'s review of *Modern Housewife* declares that Soyer 'stands on the pinnacle of fame' in his knowledge of how 'the culinary art establishes the leading distinction between man and brute', and calls Soyer 'Sir Oracle' - perhaps signifying his superiority to Kitchiner in terms of reviving culinary traditions (*Mirror* Oct 1849: 263). This interest in culinary history led Soyer to put his name to *The Pantropheon, or, A History of Food and its Preparation, from the Earliest Ages in the World* in 1853. This was a historical account of food written by Adolphe Duhart-Fauvet, who asked Soyer to translate it before Soyer published under his own name (Cowen 2007: 244). In *Modern Housewife*, however, Soyer's inclusion of culinary history – mediated by Hortense's comical instructions – strikes a balance between traditional ruminations about food's place in society, household advice and authorial games. As the reviewer in the *Spectator* writes, Soyer's cookbooks provide 'explanations *de omnibus*, moral, statistical, botanical, economical, or historical, with touches in which the enthusiastic experience of Alexis speaks out in his own person, like the chorus of old' (*Spectator* 1 Sept 1849: 19). Soyer's voice shines through his texts via these historical allusions, and readers associated his engagement with history with his culinary wisdom. He thus situates himself in the histories he describes, as an accomplished author.

Conclusion: Soyer the Author

In this chapter, I have showcased the numerous literary strategies Soyer deploys in the *Gastronomic Regenerator* and *Modern Housewife*. Radial networks, pictorial discourses, performances of empiricist and scientific rhetoric, historical allusion, innovation, epistolary frameworks, and layers of fiction and metafiction are present. Simply acknowledging the variety of techniques, tropes, and discourses Soyer employs is enough to depart from previous work on Soyer and recover him as the author he was. This chapter has done more than that, however, by showing that Soyer mobilises the different elements of his cookbooks to explore and play with the tension between old and new in his work.

Soyer was profoundly invested in novelty, reform, and innovation. He regenerated culinary systems in commercial and domestic kitchens, bringing a focus on economy, empiricism, and aesthetic exactitude into his cooking practices and designs. In *The*

Gastronomic Regenerator, that attitude is represented in Soyer's rhetorical choices. He describes the Reform Club kitchen using empirical language, creates a textual technological tour, and positions himself as an innovator who participates in the technical and political circles of the day. Soyer approaches culinary reform via a new perspective in *Modern Housewife.* Soyer carries over his empirical values but gives them a different setting and voice through Hortense, demonstrating their worth in the domestic sphere and his ability to reform culinary practices in multiple settings. Soyer's emphasis on the newness of his implements and ideas means that novelty and innovation are integral to his cookbooks, whether expressed in his description of the waste-saving sink trap invention or via Hortense's praise of Soyer's new chops. The reviews woven through this chapter accentuate that Soyer's reputation was inextricable from notions of 'advancement' and reform. Soyer ensures this was the case, situating himself at the centre of the nuanced radial networks he establishes throughout his writing. But Soyer's cookbooks do more than highlight and advertise his innovations to the reading public and offsetting the novelty of his work with tradition is a vital part of that.

History and tradition are just as crucial to Soyer's work as innovation, providing a backdrop that emphasises his originality. Just like his approach to innovation, Soyer's treatment of tradition is nuanced. Direct allusions to Roman feasts foreground history, but also subtly evoke *Apicius* and through that, Kitchiner's *Cook's Oracle.* Indeed, Soyer could not 'regenerate' the culinary system without acknowledging what came before him. But even more compelling than the frequent history lessons woven through both cookbooks is how Soyer's authorial decisions ground him in tradition. The Byronic iconography of his portraits frames Soyer as a romantically inclined author, and he emphasises this impression by referring to his cookbooks as offspring. The epistolary mode of *Modern Housewife* further links Soyer to literary tradition, as his 'Mrs B' has multiple ancestors across genres. Soyer's playful subversion of numerous literary techniques demonstrates that his writing is informed by tradition, but his literary play is innovative in itself. His cookbooks operate on multiple levels as entertaining works of literature, practical cookery texts and technical guides, and through this metafictional reconstruction of the cookbook form Soyer creates something highly original.

All this literary play positions Soyer unequivocally as an author. While critics and contemporary reviewers alike recognise and laud Soyer for his originality, scholars have overlooked how his authorial skill facilitated it. Paying close attention to the way Soyer writes his cookbooks casts him in a new light. Yes, he was a flamboyant celebrity renowned for innovations and creativity. His writing, however, elevates the cookbook form. Through

the creation of radial networks and deft manipulation of allusions, kitchen inventories, fictional narratives, and advertisements Soyer regenerates the cookbook, building upon different generic traditions to create something new. Moreover, Soyer uses metafictional strategies to draw the reader's attention to fact that he alters the purpose of the cookbook to suit his professional aims. His writing does not just record his fascination with reforming the traditional, then, but textually represents it through the reconceptualization of the cookbook and the many other genres Soyer drew upon. As an author, Soyer uses the literary apparatus discussed in this chapter to conjoin the old with the new, the traditional and the innovative, and to demonstrate how these tensions could co-exist in nineteenth-century cookbooks. His cookbooks represent the themes of this thesis, demonstrating that food writing is a conduit for larger political, temporal, and cultural debates: in Soyer's case empirical reform, literary tradition and gendered expectations. Soyer overrides both gender and genre divisions to claim a place in history while at once reforming it. In different yet complementary ways, both *The Gastronomic Regenerator* and *Modern Housewife* present an 'entire change from the system of any other publication' – a change only possible through Soyer's innovative manipulation of the traditions that came before him (Soyer 1846: ix).

Chapter Four: 'I have embodied in this book my newest inventions': Agnes Marshall, Georgiana Hill, and the Cookbook as a Rhetorical Innovation

Introduction

In previous chapters, my exploration of nineteenth-century recipes and cookbooks showcased the narratives of innovation and historicity woven around food and material food technologies. I determined that those narratives are frequently coded in masculine terms. Though many recipes within the data sets of Chapters One and Two were written by or attributed to women, or in cookbooks targeted at housewives, housekeepers, or daughters, the dominant narratives are often linked to British masculinity: how the great men of literature broil steaks, and how male explorers, soldiers, and campers rely upon tinned foods. In Chapter Three, I explored how Soyer's writings about the Reform Club kitchen are tied into the male-dominated political and scientific discourses of the day. Of course, women were active participants in these areas despite the typically masculine way they are represented in nineteenth-century texts. Soyer himself blurs the perceived gendered distinction between the public and private sphere. Indeed, Soyer's *Modern Housewife,* with its fictional female narrators, has thus far offered the most insight into texts written in the guise of domestic female authority. As Davidoff and Hall write, 'a masculine penumbra surrounded that which was defined as public while women were increasingly engulfed by the private realm […] Men, in their privileged position, moved between both sectors' (2019: 319). To understand fully the way rhetorical strategies can be deployed in food writing to interpret both innovation and historicity, it is thus necessary to consider how women writers treat these themes. This is especially the case because nineteenth-century women were more likely than men to cook and use recipes daily. In the introduction I outlined how scholars including Rich, Beetham and Broomfield investigate the construction of class in cookbooks authored by women, but the themes of this thesis have not been attended to. Nor have the literary workings of those cookbooks been sufficiently examined. This chapter therefore asks: how were themes of historicity and innovation presented in cookbooks by women authors? What literary techniques did they use to explore them? And how did women construct or subvert expectations when it came to culinary writing? As in my consideration of Soyer, in this chapter I turn to the literary techniques woven through Hill and Marshall's cookbooks to question how they enacted or questioned nineteenth-century gender expectations.

The thriving nineteenth-century cookbook market means there were many female cookbook authors. Rather than attempting a survey of the female authors of the period, I have chosen to focus on the writings of two female authors whose works resonate with my

focus on historicity and innovation. Agnes Marshall (1855-1905) and Georgiana Hill (1825-1903) were both productive cookbook writers in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Marshall wrote four self-published cookbooks, two of which centred on her speciality, iced desserts: *The Book of Ices* (1885)*, Mrs A. B. Marshall's Cookery Book* (1888), *Mrs. A. B. Marshall's Larger Cookery Book of Extra Recipes* (1891), and *Fancy Ices* (1894). Marshall's books were popular: 'Sales of *The Book of Ices* were in excess of 24,000 copies and *Fancy Ices* over 5,000 copies' (Weir 196: 284). Hill published 21 cookbooks in total, primarily through the Routledge 'Household Manuals' series. Hill's cookbooks focused on specialised topics: *The Gourmet's Guide to Rabbit Cooking, in One Hundred and Twenty-four Dishes* (1859), *Foreign Desserts for English Tables: A Calendar for the Use of Hosts and Housekeepers* (1862), *How to Cook or Serve Eggs: In a Hundred Different Ways* (1866), *Cakes: How to Make Them A Hundred Different Ways* (1867), *Soups: How to Make them in More than a Hundred Different Ways* (1867). These were slim volumes that sold at 6d a piece and had 'cloth limp' covers. As Rachel Rich writes, 'Georgiana Hill's commercial success can be measured by the numerous editions of almost all of her works, and the publications of new versions for the US market' (Rich 2020: 410). Both were therefore successful, producing popular cookbooks that circulated widely.

My chapter interrogates how Hill and Marshall interact with ideas of historicity and innovation. In terms of appearance and structure, Marshall and Hill present their cookbooks in very different ways, and as I show, both approaches are innovative. The contrast between their writing style makes for a rich comparison. Indeed, while rhetorical strategies and textual decisions are employed in all cookbooks and recipes, the themes of innovation and historicity are best explored in texts that fall at opposite ends of the stylistic spectrum. Marshall's recipes and cookbook paratexts at first seem simple, stripped of personal anecdotes or literary devices like characterisation or satire. Hill's writing is full of allusion and playfulness which emphasises the longstanding history of food. I begin with an introduction to Hill and Marshall which outlines how they engaged with the printing and publishing industry. I then turn to their recipes and cookbook paratexts. By analysing the rhetorical devices found in a selection of their writings, I investigate how they challenge or subvert the discourses typically found in culinary or cookbook genres, mobilising their writing so it fulfils aesthetic and technical aims which create performances of innovation, historicity, or both.

Hill and Marshall: Obscurity versus Fame

While Hill and Marshall had commercial success, they have received far less scholarly attention than better-known contemporaries like Acton and Beeton. Work on Hill's life and career is more limited than scholarship on Marshall, however, and I explore they ways in which this can be attributed to the interactions each had within the publishing industry. Nevertheless, the overview of Hill is shorter than that of Marshall. I trace innovation and historicity throughout the careers of both women to show where I depart from previous scholarship on these authors and set up my analysis of these themes in their writing.

Hill is discussed when scholars turn to her specialised cookbooks, as when Kaori O'Conner refers to Hill's *The Breakfast Book* (1865) in *The English Breakfast: The Biography of a National Meal, with Recipes* (2013). Rich examines Hill's publication history and compares her writing style to Beeton's to argue that Hill was 'an early example of the female gastronomic writer' (Rich 2020: 412). While she considers Hill's writing she does not focus on Hill's use of literary techniques like allusion, nor on the relationship between Hill's recipes and their paratexts. This leaves scope for a thorough literary analysis of Hill's cookbooks, and her interactions with historicity and innovation within them.

One reason Hill is understudied is due to a lack of biographical information. Rich writes that 'there is little archival evidence from which to piece together her biography' but that there appear to be numerous strands to Hill's career: ward sister, 'professor of languages', and housekeeper (Rich 2020: 416-417). Hill remained single, and seemingly earned money from different employments alongside anything earned from her cookbooks. Other than census snippets, however, little is known of Hill's career beyond the cookbooks she wrote. The publication format of these may have contributed to the fact that Hill's reputation has not been lasting. Rich compares Hill with Beeton, noting that Hill's relative anonymity could be because as an unmarried woman who published her books as part of a publisher's series, she struggled to get financial and authorial recognition for her work.[43] Being part of a large publisher's series meant Hill's writing circulated widely, but stripped her of agency compared to Beeton or Marshall, who published their books through family-

[43] Rich writes that: 'Beeton never had to negotiate a contract, while many other women authors who did had husbands or male relations to assist them. For Hill, being unmarried seems to have hampered her ability to obtain the kinds of financial arrangements usual for cookery writers. Hill's Routledge contracts were witnessed by a number of different people, and it is not clear what their various relations to her were, if any.' (2020: 421).

owned companies. Indeed, the cheapness of the Routledge manuals 'meant that Hill's recipes were put into books that were not constructed to stand the test of time', given their soft covers and short form (Rich 2019: 204).

These cheap cookbooks are an innovative textual form, especially given their specialised topics: readers could buy one if they were interested in apple or potato recipes, or collect the whole series. The editions that survive in digitised archives tend to be individual volumes, but readers could have bound them into a compendium. Four of Hill's cookbooks were combined in *How to Cook Potatoes, Apples, Eggs and Fish. Four Hundred Different Ways,* published in New York in 1869 by Dick & Fitzgerald, so this unification happened on a commercial level. It is likely, however, that the innovation in form was Routledge's decision rather than Hill's, or the book may have been pirated. Advertisements for the household manuals series show she was not the only author published in it, suggesting Hill fitted into the publisher's requirements rather than establishing them herself. In terms of durability though, Hill's cookbooks were more susceptible to damage or loss, and may not have occupied the same place in a household's library in terms of status or value when compared to Beeton's *Household Management,* which was hundreds of pages long and a hardback.

It was not always easy to identify Hill as author of her work. Hill's first cookbook, *The Gourmet's Guide to Rabbit Cooking* (1859) was published under a pseudonym: 'The Old Epicure'. It was only when Hill began publishing with Routledge in 1865 that her name was attached to her cookbooks, and she was retrospectively named as author of her earlier works. *The Cook's Own Book: a Manual of Cookery for the Kitchen and Cottage* (1860), *Everybody's Pudding Book* (1862), and *The Breakfast Book* were anonymous, or attributed to 'the author of "The Gourmet's Guide to Rabbit Cookery" (Rich 2014). Some nineteenth-century advertisements for Hill's cookbooks did list her as 'author of "How to Cook Apples," "How to Cook Rabbits," etc.' (*Examiner* 21 Apr 1866: 6), but others advertise the books as part of the Routledge series, citing the publisher not Hill (*Standard* 17 Aug 1865: 1). Because the press do not always tie Hill to her cookbooks, her authorship is secondary to the publisher's series. Indeed, until 2012 historians confused Hill with another Georgiana Hill (1858-1924), a women's rights activist and historian. Before this, historians including Joan Thirsk in the foreword of *Women in English Society, 1500–1800* (1985) assumed that the cookbook writer had written about dress and women's history (Rich 2020: 409). Other than Rich, however, scholars pay little attention to Hill or her cookbooks.

Hill's intermittent anonymity may have been an editor's decision, rather than hers. Nevertheless, it offers scope for authorial play akin to that used by Soyer through Hortense

and Eloise. This is where Hill uses publishing strategies to give herself the freedom to adopt numerous voices. Hill uses the introductions of her cookbooks to perform different authorial roles and poke fun at the cookbook genre. In *Rabbit Cookery,* the 'The Old Epicure' pseudonym and use of 'gourmet' in the title imply the author is male. This impression is continued in the introduction, where Hill repeatedly calls herself a 'gastronomer' and uses allusion from a range of sources including myth and nursery rhymes to pose as a masculine author and to satirise the narrative, autobiographical introductions that male authors like Kitchiner indulge in. As Rich writes, Hill's use of pseudonym 'created the impression of an older, wealthy man' which allowed Hill to adopt a 'playful' tone (Rich 2020: 417). This satire directs attention to Hill's intentional manipulation of her fictional guise. Therefore, regardless of whether readers knew Hill was the author (and as a female author adopting a male guise was not uncommon), guessed from her writing, or were oblivious, she used publishing loopholes to create textual spaces where she enacts different cookbook tropes.

Marshall is better known than Hill in both the nineteenth century and scholarship, but scholarly attention to her still pales in comparison with that afforded well-known figures. There is no biography of Marshall, though she is the subject of articles and conference papers, most by Robin Weir, and is discussed in Emma Kay's *Cooking Up History* and Nicola Humble's *Culinary Pleasures*.[44] These authors agree that Marshall's obscurity in scholarship is an oversight given her output. Indeed, Weir and Kay take Marshall's industrious career as their focus, and she is frequently described in tones of admiration: 'Surely the sheer staggering scale of her achievements is unequalled. Mrs Marshall was a unique one-woman industry' (Weir 2013: 2). At other times she is called 'a woman of seemingly boundless energy' (Weir 1996: 283), and Peter Brears writes that Marshall was 'one of the most perceptive of Victorian culinary entrepreneurs, rivalled in this direction only by the redoubtable Soyer' (1998: 41). Humble compares Marshall's *Cookery Book* to Beeton's *Household Management,* noting Marshall's preference for 'daintiness' and the prevalence of commercial food products in Marshall's recipes (2005: 20-21). Humble does

[44] In addition to those listed in the text, scholarship on Marshall focuses on her career and contributions to the nineteenth-century food industry. In *Mrs Marshall, The Greatest Victorian Ice Cream Maker* (London: Smith Settle, 1998), Peter Barham discusses Marshall's use of liquid nitrogen to make ice cream, crediting her inspiration to James Dewar of the Royal Institution (1998: 47-56); In the same collection, Brears situates Marshall's career in the context of the middle-class nouveau-riche (1998: 49-45); John Deith gives an overview of Marshall's career in 'Mrs Agnes B. Marshall', in *Cooks and Other People: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium of Food and Cookery 1995,* ed. by Harlan Walker (Totnes: Prospect Books, 1996), pp. 106-110; Weir also addresses Marshall in *Cooks and Other People,* listing her 'major contributions' to the ice cream industry (1996: 283-289); Weir later corrects his argument that Marshall invented the ice-cream cone in 'More on the Origin and History of the Ice-cream Cone', in *Milk: Beyond the Dairy: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1999,* ed. by H. Walker (Totnes: Prospect Books, 2000), pp. 345-351; Finally, Weir writes the entry on Marshall in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 Sept 2004). This scholarship lacks sustained analysis of Marshall as an author.

not analyse Marshall's writing, however, instead situating it within changing trends and positioning Marshall as 'an astoundingly enterprising woman (Humble 2005: 20).

These flattering descriptions depict Marshall's career as impressive because she did not just write cookbooks but was involved in several other enterprises. Her written work has not been the subject of a literary analysis, however. Critics frequently highlight her innovations but do not unravel how her writing facilitated innovation, or how Marshall mobilised publications to suit her commercial agenda. Considering how Marshall used publications to present aspects of her culinary career, however, showcases how she centres herself as the figurehead of numerous endeavours and sheds new light on her authorial aims.

Key to Marshall's success was Marshall's School of Cookery, opened with her husband on Mortimer Street in Cavendish Square, London, in 1883. The title page of Marshall's cookbooks show that the school was 'Established 1857'. In *The Charities of London in 1861,* Sampson Low Jr. records that the school was established in 1857 at both 71 Mortimer Street and 90 Albany Street. It was set up for children from the National School of Christchurch, St. Pancras, to 'afford instruction in cookery to all classes' (Low 1862: 115). In the 1870s the school relocated to 67 Mortimer Street, and was run by Mary Ann Lavenne before Marshall took over and rebranded, and the school moved to 30 and 32. There was thus a tradition of cooking schools in this area. Though no pupils showed up on their opening day, Marshall and her husband engaged themselves in 'advertising and trying to make our plans as widely known as possible' and soon Marshall was teaching 'twenty to forty pupils every day, [in classes] which are given by Mrs Marshall every day of the week, except Saturday, from 10A.M. to 4 P.M.' (*Pall Mall Gazette* 14 Oct 1886: 1).

Marshall's school offered a variety of courses. Students could pay for a day or to undertake a complete course, advertised in the press as 'apprentice, three, six, or 12 months. Resident or non-resident' (*Morning Post* 19 October 1885: 1). Pupils were spread among the social strata 'from duchesses to dairy maids' (Kay 2017: 91). Press advertisements mention various branches of cookery and a daily breakdown of classes on offer:

> MONDAY….. ICES for DINNER and DESSERT, FRUIT SALAD, SORBET, SOUFFLES, &c.
> TUESDAY….. BEST HOT ENTREES.
> WEDNESDAY…. BREAKFAST, LUNCHEON, and SECOND COURSE DISHES.
> THURSDAY… FANCY SAVOURIES, HOT and COLD.
> FRIDAY….. PASTRIES for SWEETS, ENTREES, SECOND COURSE, REMOVES, &c.
> An "Entire Dinner," similar to those which were so successful in the summer, will be given on Friday, November 6. Intending pupils should book their names as early

as possible. A menu and full recipes will be given to each pupil on the occasion.
(*Morning Post* 19 October 1885: 1)

This snippet captures the variety of skills taught, and other adverts show the timetable changed weekly. Students could choose times or return for classes they had not taken, encouraging them to attend (and pay for) multiple courses. Marshall is depicted as the centre of the operation in the many adverts that circulated in the press and her own texts. In Marshall's *Cookery Book*, an advert for the school outlines that 'all the teaching is personally conducted by Mrs. A. B. Marshall', suggesting that pupils benefitted from Marshall's personal expertise (Marshall 1894a: Advertisements 3).[45] While it is unlikely she had the time to educate all who passed through Mortimer Street personally, Marshall is the face of the institution in terms of written publicity.

Marshall's cookery school did not just train students in food preparation, however, and her cookbooks contain visual advertisements that capture what a hub of innovation it was. In Marshall's *Cookery Book* there are two double-page spreads which relate to the school, depicting it in four plates (Figure 24, Figure 25). The first one shows the outside of the school, with 'Marshall's School of Cookery' emblazoned on the building (Marshall 1894a: Advertisements 3). While 'Marshall's' refers to the company Marshall ran with her husband, Alfred, the picture is followed by the note about pupils being taught by 'Mrs A. B.

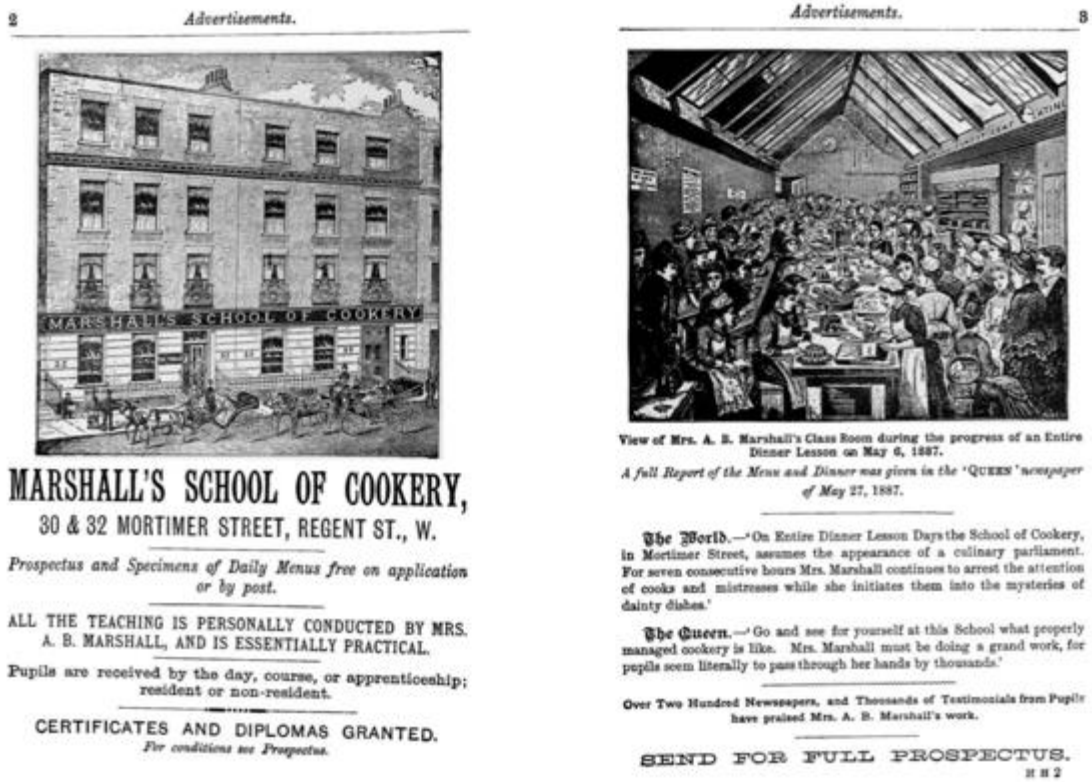


Figure 24: Advertisements for Marshall's School of Cookery (Marshall 1894a: Advertisements 2-3)

[45] Book originally published in 1888. I have referred to an 1894 edition due to accessibility.

Marshall', and the next plate is titled 'View of Mrs A. B. Marshall's Class Room during the progress of an Entire Dinner Lesson on May 6, 1887.' (Marshall 1894a: Advertisements 3). She is therefore the focal point. The second plate in Figure 1 depicts a busy classroom full of women: pupils stirring pans and filling moulds, while other well-dressed women sit behind them taking notes. There is also text in the picture which alludes to Marshall's other endeavours: on one side of the room are poster advertisements for 'The Book of Ices' and 'The Table'. *The Table* was a periodical Marshall launched, edited, and wrote for from 1886 until she died, though it ran until 1939. It included recipes, fiction, and articles on foodstuffs including wines and whisky. There was a suite within the school where some of the editing and printing of *The Table* and Marshall's cookbooks was done. However, given that her cookbooks list other printers alongside 'Marshall's School of Cookery' (William Clowes and Sons for *The Book of Ices*, and Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co for the following three), it is likely that the entire run of Marshall's texts was outsourced to larger printers. Regardless, the existence of the printing suite implies that Marshall had a significant level of involvement in shaping the appearance of her books, which may explain the intricate details within the visual advertisements. On the opposite wall in the classroom depiction, for instance, is a banner that reads 'Marshall's Finest Leaf Gelatine' (Marshall 1894a: Advertisements 3). This gelatine was one of a variety of food products produced by the Marshall brand: vegetable-based food dyes, gelatine, concentrated flavourings for desserts, a tinned rice pudding called 'Crême de Riz', and branded curry powder, amongst other

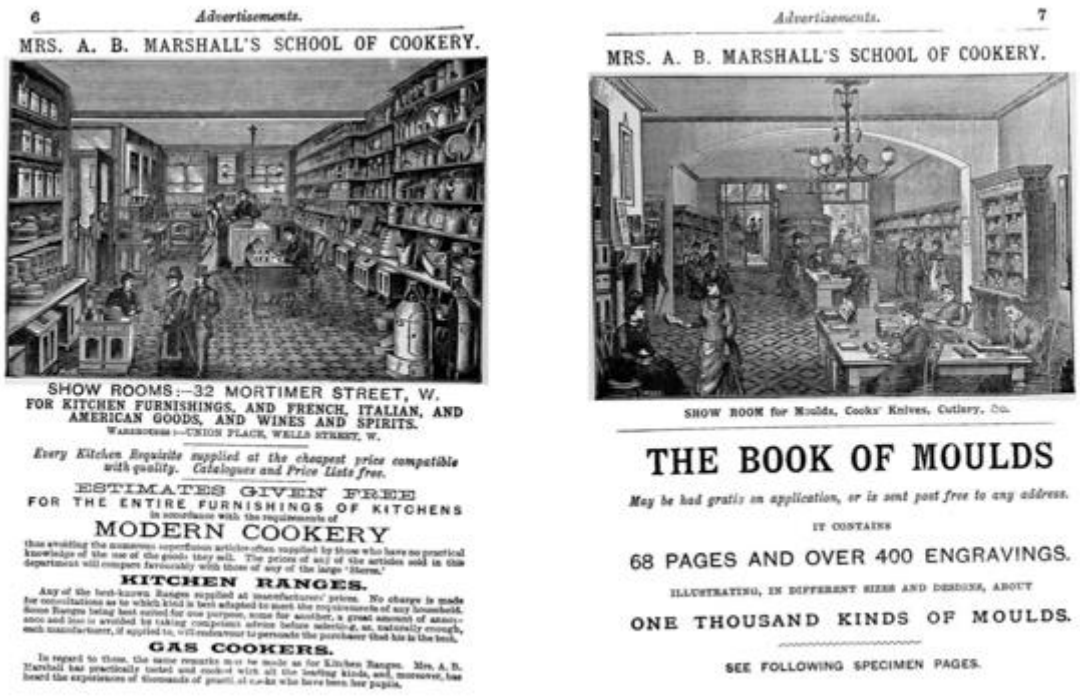


Figure 25: Advertisements for Marshall's Show Rooms and 'The Book of Moulds' (Marshall 1894a: Advertisements 6-7)

things. The products could be purchased at a showroom and shop in the school or ordered from grocers. Mortimer Street was therefore home to various forms of industry all tied to Marshall: the teaching of cookery, production of her cookbooks, and selling of branded 'Marshall's' food products.

The second set of advertisements (Figure 25) in the *Cookery Book* depict the showroom in the cookery school, and other products Marshall sold using her name: moulds for ices which readers or pupils of the school could use to shape the dishes in her recipes. In these spaces, visitors perused the line of kitchen ranges kitchen and gas cookers sold at the school which 'Mrs. A. B. Marshall has practically tested and cooked with all the leading kinds, and, moreover, has heard the experiences of thousands of practical cooks who have been her pupils' (Marshall 1894a: Advertisements 6). This description, included in the back of her cookbook within an advertisement, depicts Marshall as a critic and expert on kitchen technologies. Indeed, some of the implements pictured belonged to the variety of products that were sold using the Marshall name, and this is where material innovation came into Marshall's repertoire. On the left-hand side of the first plate is a shelving unit displaying shallow round freezers and square boxes: 'Marshall's Patent Freezers' and patent 'Ice Caves'. The freezer was a round structure with a wooden exterior and metal interior, containing a pan that was rotated via a handle. Below this pan the user put a mixture of ice and salt which froze the rotating mixture, and the wide and shallow design of the freezer increased the surface area between the food and cold surface, affording efficient freezing. Freezers of similar design were on the market, so this was not invented by Marshall. The innovation, however, lay in the wide, shallow shape and the fact that the ice lay under the pan rather than around the sides: the increased surface area froze ices faster. The ice cave came into use after the dessert was made: an insulated wooden cabinet with an interior metal chamber and hollow sides, filled by the user with salted ice to keep ices frozen. Visitors to the school's showrooms could therefore buy kitchen ranges, ovens, or whole kitchens that had Marshall's seal of approval, and implements from Marshall's line. Marshall used the school as an exhibition space to put on functions and demonstrations where people could watch her and pupils cook (Kay 2017: 92). This sold the Marshall experience *and* implements to a live audience. Marshall's cookery school, and the way she framed herself as an authority, expert and demonstrator within it, can be compared to Soyer's kitchen in the Reform Club, where he showcased products and his own expertise as a culinary innovator. Marshall also participated in a culture of technological expertise, using the school and the textual presentations of it within her cookbooks and the press as 'sites of production [that] made excellent advertisements for wares', just like the engineers discussed by Marsden and

Smith (2005: 227).

Scholars often name Marshall as inventor of the ice cave, patent freezer and even the ice-cream cone, and as noted, she is frequently described as a one-woman powerhouse. It would be remiss, however, to suggest that she achieved success alone. A closer look at Marshall's patented implements shows that while they were linked to her expertise on iced desserts, they were the product of familial collaboration. A patent application for 'Improvements in "Ice Caves" or Apparatus for Freezing Soufflés and Moulding Ice Puddings and the like' from 30 September 1884, is made under the name Alfred William Marshall, Marshall's husband. In the patent, Alfred details how the insulated cave erased the need for enclosed moulds that were sealed with grease and surrounded by ice and salt:

> By my Invention I do entirely away with the necessity for specially designed moulds and avoid [*sic*] the use of grease and prevent all possibility of brine entering the mould. It also enables the operator to examine the process from time to time, also enables the ice when moulded to be kept ready and turned out for use at any moment and also to keep or preserve any part of the ice not used. (A. W. Marshall, 1884: 2)

Alfred describes the cave's shape and notes that it could be used to keep foods warm, though he does not outline that process. There are diagrams of the cave within the specification and details regarding the cave's measurements and components, and the patent is signed by the patent agents and engineers Brewer & Jensen. Alfred's name, however, and the fact that he calls the cave 'my invention' signals that Marshall was not the sole genius behind the implements in the Marshall line, despite what scholarship suggests, as when Kay notes how prolific 'her inventions' were (2017: 93). This may have been because investors had more faith in a male patentee, though the Married Women's Act of 1882 meant there were no obstacles for Marshall applying for a patent. Alfred Marshall may have had greater financial means or engineering knowledge that enabled him to design and produce the implements.[46] Indeed, in the 1901 census Alfred is listed as a 'Manufacturer of Culinary Requisites' while Agnes is listed as a 'Teacher of Cooking', suggesting that Alfred not only designed and patented the implements but also produced them. Fittingly, the implements were stamped with 'Marshall's' or 'Marshall's Patent' rather than 'A. B. Marshall', a common moniker for Marshall in the press.

An obituary for Marshall in the *Belfast Newsletter* provides further evidence that Marshall's legacy was bolstered by Alfred:

> For more than twenty years this lady has carried on her school, with another department managed by her husband, of providing condiments, cooking utensils, and

[46] With thanks to Graeme Gooday for his insight on potential patenting habits, which are further explored in Graeme Gooday and Stathis Araposthatis. 2013. *Patently Contestable: Electrical Technologies and Inventor Identities on Trial in Britain* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press)

> preserved foods of all kinds, with, in brief intervals, preparing her well-known cookery books for the Press. (*Belfast Newsletter* 14 Aug1905: 6)

From his involvement in the printing of her cookbooks, the manufacturing and patenting of their implements and food products, and the running of the school (before marriage he was a tutor) it is clear Alfred was industrious behind the scenes, though he did not share the limelight with Marshall. Indeed, on the contrary, while Alfred was integral to the Marshall brand, he kept his wife at its centre. On 14 October 1886, the *Pall Mall Gazette* printed an interview with Alfred in which he explains the school's operations. He frequently uses 'we' in his descriptions – 'we know pretty well by experience which courses go best together' – but always defers to Marshall: 'Mrs. Marshall had just then invented a new soup'; 'Mrs. Marshall, I should tell you, has made a thorough study of cookery ever since she was a child, and has practised at Paris and Vienna under celebrated chefs'; 'among them all Mrs Marshall is here and there and everywhere, explaining, supervising, and manipulating' (*Pall Mall Gazette* 14 Oct 1886: 1, 2). While Alfred does not discuss the implements, his descriptions of the school determine that he was involved with its daily workings. In terms of Marshall's cookbooks it is impossible to know how far Alfred shaped their presentation and style. Given his participation in other areas of the Marshall business, it is likely that the textual outputs were collaborations to some extent. By emphasising Marshall's expertise, experience, and leadership in interviews, however, Alfred uses publicity to centre his wife within the business as a commercial tactic. Even if Marshall was not integral to the patenting or design of products, the business was boosted by having her as a figurehead so 'Marshall's' products were associated with her specifically. While this should not undercut Marshall's involvement, positioning her in this dominant role meant readers, customers and consumers had a persona to associate the business with, creating a stronger brand with Marshall's expertise at its heart. Again, Marshall is comparable with Soyer as both outsourced the production of their named products. The success of those products was inextricable from and dependent on their personal brands, however, and the publications and publicity that centred on each consolidate that.

It was not just within the school that Marshall's brand was created. She went on multiple tours across Britain, conducting lectures and food demonstrations under titles including 'A Pretty Luncheon' and 'A Tempting Repast', the last of which was delivered in Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh in September 1892 (*Dundee Courier* 10 Sept 1892: 1). Marshall cooked in a public space and 'demonstratively explained several of the chief operations of high-class cookery' to audiences of 'some 600 people', according to a note in *The Times,* which reviewed the 'Pretty Luncheon' demonstrations at the Willis Rooms in

London in October 1887 (*The Times* 17 Oct 1887: 6). Kay notes that Marshall toured America, so her name and culinary creations were known across the Atlantic (Kay 2019: 92). As Deith writes, 'By the time the tours were over she was the most talked about cook in England' (Deith 1996: 108). Indeed, press coverage of the tours highlights that Marshall was the centre of attention, displaying charisma that contributed to her popularity. *The Times* article says: 'At the end of the lecture or performance, whichever it may be called, her labours elicited a unanimous outburst of applause' (*The Times* 17 Oct 1887: 6), and the *Leeds Mercury* reports that 'Mrs. Marshall, of School of Cookery fame' filled the Albert Hall, which 'was a tribute at once to her own popularity and the everyday value of her art […] Her operations have been compared to legerdemain, so deftly and expeditiously are they performed' (*Leeds Mercury* 16 Aug 1887: 8). These excerpts are included in the back of Marshall's cookbooks. She again uses printed material to sell her brand to readers.

Marshall's use of tours, demonstrations, and the reproduction of press coverage in cookbook paratexts is reminiscent of Soyer's written reproduction of his work at the Reform Club. Both authors mobilise their publications as efficacy statements, and engage in textual and real-life display as a means of building a reputation. Even more than Soyer's self-conducted tours of the Reform Club, touring around Britain meant Marshall reached a wider audience, demonstrated her success and showcased herself as an instructress in a kind of 'technological tourism' that made *her* the 'tourist spectacle', like the prominent entrepreneurs and engineers discussed by Marsden (Marsden 2013: 102). This self-promotion and the textual dissemination of it throughout various publications was successful in making Marshall a household name which connoted expertise and innovation.

In keeping with the theme of innovation, the Marshalls displayed branded implements at exhibitions including the International Inventions Exhibition in London, 1885. Advertisements frequently note that the devices won awards. In the *Morning Post* from 16 June 1885 an advert proclaims that the freezer and ice caves were 'on view and in action, East Annexe, Inventions Exhibition' (*Morning Post* 16 June 1885). A later advertisement from 14 July 1885 emphasises that 'Marshall's Patent Ice Caves make Ices Ices Ices in three minutes and keeps them from day to day [*sic*]. Prize Medal awarded Exposition Culinaire' (*Morning Post* 14 July 1885: 1). Of this Exposition, which was in London in the same year, Amy B. Trubeck writes:

> The work of the pupils of Agnes B. Marshall, who ran the Mortimer Street School of Cookery in London, filled an entire section of the hall at the 1885 exposition (and the display won a silver medal). Marshall was also a member of the jury that decided on the prizewinners (Trubeck 2000: 123)

Even more than in-school demonstrations, displaying implements at exhibitions was an excellent way of gaining authority in the field of culinary innovation, allowing Marshall to craft her reputation as expert. It brought products to the public's attention and advertised them to new audiences – more display and technological tourism, to borrow Marsden's term. By using pupils and staff to help in these demonstrations, Marshall highlighted the cookery school experience and simultaneously delegated the task of advertising and reputation-building. That Marshall was a judge while her pupils ran the display speaks both to her perceived authority, and that running the Marshall enterprise was not a solo occupation but the work of multitudes: staff, pupils, and Alfred, at the very least. There would have been others helping with the manufacturing and distribution of Marshall's goods and texts. While Marshall was the operation's face, her many outputs would have been impossible to achieve without a network of support and resources: not a 'one-woman industry' (Deith 2013: page) but an extensive one, nonetheless. This evidence shifts the existing scholarly perception of Marshall away from singular praise, and draws attention to the carefully crafted, multi-layered way Marshall's brand was created and disseminated through a variety of in-person and textual displays. Rather than belittling Marshall's entrepreneurship, I have shown it was an extensive enterprise intrinsically tied to the strategic use of publications. Positioning Marshall in the centre of it bolstered the success of the Marshall industry, and figured Marshall as a key player in discourses of culinary innovation.

Hill and Marshall were productive cookbook authors, but there is a disparity in their success and the attention paid to them since which can be unpacked via their interaction with the publishing industry. Hill never achieved the same level of fame or reputation as Marshall, and was not lauded as a culinary authority throughout her life. This relative anonymity can be tied in part to Hill's use of pseudonym. As a single woman who worked in numerous fields to support herself, however, Hill also lacked the support network necessary to turn herself into a household name, or hold her own in relations with her publishers. There is no evidence that Hill marketed culinary utensils or taught in cookery schools, and so her avenues for self-promotion were limited. The publication format of her cookbooks exacerbated this. As short, flimsy cookbooks often attributed to a publisher's series rather than Hill, she had less chance of leaving a material legacy. Marshall's fame can be attributed to her talents in teaching, presenting, and engagement with a wide range of culinary products, but also to the rigorous advertising across text-types that sold her, the school, and Marshall products to the public. While Marshall was undoubtedly the hardworking face of the brand, her prominence is the product of the system of production that surrounded her. The unevenness in reputation that arises from a consideration of how Hill and Marshall

participated within the nineteenth-century publishing industry raises questions about the rhetorical devices used in their cookbooks. Like Soyer, Marshall's success is tied to advertisement, display and the innovative products of her line, so was literary rhetorical innovation a feature of her cookbooks? Meanwhile, Hill's use of the 'Old Epicure' title is a stark contrast to Marshall's emphasis on personal brand. It also, however, gives Hill room to play with authorial expectations (again, like Soyer), and suggests a link to culinary history and epicureanism: how did these threads play out in her cookbooks? The rest of this chapter looks to their recipes and cookbooks to see how their writing uses ideas of tradition or innovation to participate in, upend and refigure the culinary culture of the nineteenth century.

Marshall and Hill's Recipes

In terms of recipe structure, both Marshall and Hill opt for the paragraphing most common in the nineteenth century, as outlined in the introduction. Their recipes are often short and appear to be individual units of self-contained text. Hill's recipe for '*Gâteau de Pommes*' from the first cookbook published in the Routledge series, *How to Cook Apples: Shown in a Hundred Different Ways of Dressing that Fruit* (1865), is a representative example:

8. *Gâteau de Pommes.*

Peel about two pounds of apples, bake or steam them until they are perfectly soft; add two pounds of white sugar in powder, with the juice and rinds of two lemons, and, if requisite, a little water. Boil all this together for forty minutes, pour it into a mould; when cold, turn it out, cover it with a thick custard, and serve.

(Hill 1865: 19)

This recipe is fast paced, informing readers of the ingredients, cooking process, timing, and serving suggestions in two sentences. Hill gives readers options about how to cook their apples, and whether it is 'requisite' to add water, so they had space within these instructions to exercise their own judgement. Indeed, for the inexperienced reader there are significant gaps in this recipe: where on the range should they boil the mixture, and in what kind of receptacle? What kind of mould is required, and how did one make a 'thick custard'? (Hill 1865: 19). This recipe is therefore not a comprehensive set of instructions.

Marshall's 'Ginger Cream Ice' recipe from *The Book of Ices* has a similar form and also relies on the reader's knowledge or guesswork:

31 – Ginger Ice Cream *(Crème au Gingembre).*

Pound half a pound of preserved ginger till smooth;
then add to it 10 raw yolks of eggs, 3 ounces of sugar,
1½ pints of cream, and 1 glass of ginger wine; thicken
it over the fire, then tammy and freeze.[47]

(Marshall 1885: 15)

Though the recipe requires extravagant quantities of preserved ginger, eggs, sugar and cream, Marshall conveys her instructions in one four-line sentence. There is much of the process which Marshall does not explicitly describe: what the ginger should be pounded in; what the reader should heat the mixture in; how thick it should be and how long thickening would take; what heat the fire should be; how long it should be frozen for; what it should be frozen in. Readers must fill the gaps themselves. If we look at these recipes as individual texts, it appears that Hill and Marshall expect a tacit knowledge from their readers, or as Harry Collins defines it, rely on 'knowledge that is not explicated' (2010: 1). Neither of these recipes intratextually direct readers to earlier sections of the cookbook for additional information, and aside from Marshall (who did address freezing in the earlier sections of *The Book of Ices*), no relevant information is provided in the pages preceding the recipes. Considering the general pattern of recipes in their cookbooks, however, reveals that both authors deliberately structure their recipes to influence how readers navigated their cookbooks. The ways in which they did illuminates how innovation and historicity are integrated into, and a vital part of, their recipes and cookbooks.

Georgiana Hill's Historicity: An Innovative Culinary Aesthetic

The first recipe in *How to Cook Apples* is called '*Pommes au Naturel*'. More expansive than '*Gâteau de Pommes',* this recipe is 43 lines long. From the first line, it is clear that Hill is not opening her cookbook conventionally:

> The Evil One, who first offered apples to our universal mother, exemplified his serpent-like sapience by tempting her to try them off the tree: this, notwithstanding the enthusiasm we entertain for the culinary art, is unquestionably the *ne plus ultra* of epicurism in apple-eating. (Hill 1865: 14)

This Edenic opening sets the tone for a recipe – indeed, a cookbook – in which Hill uses the apple as a trope through which to engage with history through ideas of nation, the human

[47] 'Tammy' refers to the act of passing the mixture through a muslin or 'tammy' cloth to make it smooth and extract any debris.

body, science, politics, religion, and myth. By beginning her cookbook with this allusion to apples derived from the Biblical creation of humanity, Hill calls upon the entire history of Christianity in her recipe. That the allusion came from the Bible, however, emphasises that this was not necessarily a factual history but a history of written tradition, narrative and symbolism. While many readers in the 1860s accepted the Old Testament as fact, integrating the bible into her recipe allows Hill to draw attention to both as texts which are open to interpretation. These themes are at the forefront of Hill's writing. Indeed, her first recipe contains no cooking instructions. Instead, Hill uses the recipe to encourage readers to eat raw apples in their season of 'perfection' rather than letting them age after harvest (1865: 14-15). This subverts the function of the cookbook and recipe, as Hill takes an extremely common food and presents it in an unusual way via her anti-recipe, somewhat akin to Dicken's entertainingly negative depiction of broiling.[48] If instructions in food preparation are not Hill's focus, what is?

Hill's approach to food suggests that sensory pleasure is more important than the act of cooking, if that act obscures the '*ne plus ultra',* or the most unimprovable experience, of eating apples. She bemoans 'the learned' who 'tell us that apples, by keeping, become mellow; that time turns their natural acids into sugar' (Hill 1865: 14). This statement invokes the chemical understanding of food while suggesting that 'the learned' who discuss such things obscure the crux of eating: pleasure. Hill launches into an evocative, first-person declaration eating apples in their prime:

> Oh! let me not eat of these tough, shrivelled, high-temperatured [*sic*] apples! – but let me taste them when all their summer lusciousness is fresh upon them; when their sparkling juice almost appears to effervesce as it comes in contact with the surrounding air; when, in short, they have attained maturity, and are, properly speaking, "in season." (Hill 1865: 14-15)

Several things occur in this excerpt, building upon the biblical allusion in the recipe's opening. The impassioned, first-person exclamation creates a poetic tone, emphasised by Hill's repeated sensory word-choice which onomatopoeically evokes the sound and sensation of fizzing juices: 'summer lusciousness', 'sparkling juice', 'effervesce'. These phrases are evocative to the reading eye and ear, tangibly conjuring the physical sensation of eating an apple: the fizzing pleasure of it touching the tongue as the apple creates a taste and experience that is pleasurable, even erotic. The idea of sexual pleasure is hinted at in the recipe's title which suggests nakedness, and culminates in the final two words, 'in season'. Hill's quotation of this phrase makes readers consider its dual meanings: in season refers to

[48] See p. 52.

the time of year a fruit can be harvested, and has sexual connotations in its indication that an animal is ready to be mated. Hill thus evokes sex, sensory experience, and poetic excess through luscious, rich language, all of which foregrounded pleasure. The phrase 'effervesce as it comes in contact with the surrounding air' insinuates scientific experimentation and chemical reaction, nodding to the chemistry of food once more. I argue, however, that Hill deliberately uses language to contrast the unappetising 'tough, shrivelled, high-temperatured [*sic*]' apples the 'learned' recommended, with the sparkling, pleasurable apple, enjoyed at the peak of ripeness. Hill's recommended serving goes against the chemical apple, evaluated and reduced to 'rinds [that] become cork, and their pulp becomes sponge', or against the biblical notion of sinful temptation, and emphasises sensuous enjoyment and pleasure (Hill 1865: 14). By describing 'learned' apples as 'cork' and 'sponge' Hill sets their unpleasant texture in opposition to the fresh apple, comparing the former to inedible objects. Moreover, 'shrivelled' implies sexual impotence. The apple risks being spoiled by the moral conservatism of religion and/or chemical analysis. Hill suggests that pleasure is more important than cookery, and taste is more important than a chemical understanding of the apple's inner workings or religious piety.

Hill's emphasis on pleasure pits her recipe against the numerous mid-century cookbooks that emphasise the 'first principles', 'system' or 'chemistry' of cookery, and those that frame cookery as a woman's moral and religious 'duty'. As Lieffers argues, the increasing quantification of recipes from authors like Acton and Beeton meant housewifery and the science of cookery were unified in many popular mid-century cookbooks (Lieffers 2012: 936). While a comic tone enshrines these threads in Hill's recipe, she is not prioritising science or domestic drudgery. This is emphasised in the rest of '*Pommes au Naturel'*. Though Hill adopts a more practical tone, giving information on apple varieties and seasonality, there are still no cooking instructions. Instead, taste is still at the centre of the recipe, dominating Hill's serving suggestions. She describes the prime of apples 'from August to November, when, in the estimation of gourmets, they are considered to be the most correct fruit for taking with wine' (Hill 1865: 15). Hill again invokes external authority, this time of 'gourmets' rather than the 'learned', but she describes the sensory pairing of apples and wine with reference to taste rather than 'correctness': 'their [apples] agreeable, but not strongly pronounced, acid augmenting the sensitiveness of the palate to the flavours which peculiarly characterize the several varieties of wine' (1865: 15). Here 'acid' is not a chemical element but awakened the 'sensitiveness of the palate' to 'flavours'. Hill's sensory language prioritises taste once more. As an opening to her cookbook, the language Hill employs in this recipe gestures to several themes outside the apple. Through evocative

language, clever phrasing and allusion, Hill's writing operates on a higher level to engage with symbolism, pleasure, written tradition and religion. She refuses to approach cookery in a traditional way, deriding a scientific or moral objective, and not giving readers any instructions in meal preparation, instead encouraging them to enjoy their food. Hill's reconstruction of the typical narratives that governed cookbooks and recipes at the time mean she created an innovative recipe that challenges dominant culinary discourses by foregrounding pleasure. Traditional allusions make way for innovation. Hill weaves both throughout her recipe, disrupting expectations of the form.

This first recipe in Hill's cookbook aligns with the tone of the cookbook's introduction. Though there is no direct intratextual allusion between recipe and paratext, there is a consistency in her use of allusion, emphasis of pleasure, and treatment of apples as a part of historical and literary tradition that makes a consideration of their intersections useful. Hill begins her five-page introduction by writing: 'In the whole extent of Nature's affluence, perhaps no lovelier object can be met with than an apple-tree', and this poetic opening leads to a sensuous description of trees and fruit:

> In fragrance and beauty rivalling the rarest exotics, its fragile blossoms, opening with winning grace, appear to blush at finding themselves so beautiful, and to feel they are as unprotected as they are fair; but soon a group of lusty leaves springs round to shelter the short-lived flowers, and to shield the tender fruit, which in a few short weeks shines in sunnied clusters amongst its glossy guard. (Hill 1865: 9)

The connotations of sensuality, erotic 'openings', arousal and lust which Hill conjures in this description of the apple tree and its fruits are a stark departure from the practical and moral tone which often governed cookbooks and etiquette guides of the kind written by Stickney Ellis.[49] Instead of opening her cookbook with an introduction which outlines a woman's place in the home, her moral and domestic obligations, and the role of cookery within them, Hill's cookbook begins with a paragraph that boldly refers to sexual pleasure, just like her opening recipe. The mention of 'grace', blushing, fragility, and fairness characterise that pleasure as feminine, pushing the subversion of Hill's cookbook further. By comparing female pleasure to a growing apple tree, Hill naturalises it. While the connotations of this passage could be read as a satire of the long tradition if using fruit's biblical and mythical connotations to represent women's bodies and sexual transactions, particularly given Hill's rich language, the act of centring female pleasure in the opening of the cookbook is radical. She does not depict women's moral duty, but nor does she foreground male gastronomic pleasure. Instead, by noting that the feminine-coded apples find themselves beautiful, Hill

[49] See pp. 69-70 for a discussion of domestic morals.

suggests that her female readers may also take pleasure from their cooking, reading, and eating that they need not be ashamed of, granting an unexpected agency. From the beginning of the text, then, Hill's evocative language grants the reader permission to take joy from their engagement with food, particularly if they are a woman.

In the rest of the introduction Hill continues to treat apples as rich, provocative subject matter. She describes their meaning in the language of flowers, a popular phenomenon in nineteenth-century material culture (1865: 9).[50] She alludes to folklore, mentioning the legend of William Tell shooting an apple from a child's head, and then turns to natural philosophy and Isaac Newton's gravitational law – supposedly initiated by a falling apple.[51] Classical myth is Hill's next historiographical reference point, as she describes the apple of discord Paris gave Venus (1865: 10). Meditrina, Pomona (Roman goddess of fruit and abundance whose name derives from 'pomum', Latin for orchard fruit), Hercules, Juno, Jupiter, Eurysthenes, Atlas, Hesperides, and the Athenians are mentioned because of their interactions with apples, before Hill turns to the apple's use in Britain via further discussion of the Romans (1865: 10-11). In this potted history Hill outlines monastery apple gardens in the Middle Ages; the price of apples during Henry VII's reign ('as much as eighteen-pence and two shillings each'); the pippins introduced after the Reformation (held in 'highest estimation' by Anglican Protestants); the 'Red Queen' apples named for Queen Elizabeth; Byron's liking of apple juice; and the present neglect of English orchards (1865: 12-13).

This grouping of distant sources, times and figures emphasises the longstanding symbolism of apples as a trope that conjoins disparate subjects. Tradition and historicity appear to be at the fore here, in terms of form and content. The expansive list of references is reminiscent of long-winded, allusion-heavy cookbook introductions of the type written by Kitchiner, or even Soyer. Hill's encyclopaedic treatment of apples demonstrates her participation in the literary tradition of introducing a topic by providing a run-down of its history. This had trickled into cookbooks: Beeton writes that she, 'with all the authority that I could obtain, [have] given an account of the natural history of the animals and vegetables which we use as food' (1861: iv). Hill's repeated references to different peoples and their perceptions of apples, however, imbricates the history of people with the history of apples in a way that did not reduce Hill's introduction to a list of facts that served a singular

[50] Molly Engelhardt explores the popularity of the language of flowers and its place in nineteenth-century scientific writing in her article 'The Language of Flowers in the Victorian Knowledge Age', *Victoriographies*, 3.2 (2013), pp. 136-160.
[51] Patricia Fara investigates the foundation of Newton's apple myth in Chapter 7 of *Newton: The Making of Genius* (London: Macmillan, 2002), pp. 184-219.

message. Instead, the purpose of Hill's historical catalogue is to reflect on storytelling and the creation of traditions. Hill's apples do not symbolise one value but illuminate the variety of narratives woven around foodstuffs, acting as a leveller. Newton's falling apple is just as plausible (or implausible) as the apple of discord, or Byron's love of apple juice.

Contemporary attitudes to food are not absent from Hill's introduction, despite the density of historical allusion. She infuses her discussion of apples with a satirical tone, advising readers that 'we will descend from the deities to digestion' (Hill 1865: 11). Fusing the historical with the scientific, Hill writes that the Athenians were 'great eaters of apples, and especially delighted in dumplings' and that:

> It is a popular error to imagine that apples are difficult to be digested: a good raw but ripe apple is one of the easiest of vegetable substances for the stomach to deal with, the whole process of digestion being completed in exactly eighty-five minutes; and even an English apple dumpling is perfectly disposed of in as short a period as tender beef or mutton — namely, in about one hundred and eighty minutes. (Hill 1865: 11)

This reference to digestion integrates Hill's introduction into popular nineteenth-century debates about food and health: medical articles and cookbooks frequently discuss the duration of digestion. In *Murray's Modern Cookery Book: Modern Domestic Cookery* (1851), by 'A Lady' but based on Maria Rundell's earlier work, there is a section on 'Diet and Digestion' from 'Dr Beaumont's Tables' which informed readers how long foods took to digest: 'Apples, sweet and ripe… 1 hour 0 minutes' (1851: 29).[52] Though Hill does not cite her sources it seems likely she also took from William Beaumont: *Murray's Modern Cookbook* lists both 'Apple Dumpling' and 'Beef and Mutton, roasted or boiled' as taking 3 hours (or 180 minutes) to digest, which matches Hill's estimations (1851: 29). Following this passage with the observation that 'Of course, by abuse, anything can be rendered unwholesome: […] Claudius Albinus indulged so extensively in apples, that he ordinarily ate a bushel at each meal. How he must have suffered from it!', Hill combines contemporary medical discussions with historical allusion, mythologising and satirising both (1865: 11). This continues at the end of the introduction, when Hill moves from digestion to describe apples as an 'old-established' wart cure, and invaluable for fattening animals due to their malic acid content (1865: 13). Hill infuses these medicinal purposes with comedy, asserting that 'the miraculous potency ascribed to [apples] as a spell against inconstancy is acknowledged by the credulous to be unimpaired' (1865: 15). A cure for fickleness or

[52] William Beaumont (1785-1853) was an American army surgeon and studied digestion as it occurred in the human stomach, which he did by observing the open stomach of a wounded trapper named Alexis St. Martin who he was treating in 1822. See: Reginald Horsman, *Frontier Doctor: William Beaumont, America's First Great Medical Scientist* (Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1996), p. 1.

changeability believed by the 'credulous' ironicises the medical perception of apples. Hill concludes by noting that the 'ceremonials of a very mysterious character' which still occurred in cider-growing counties had a 'superstitious solemnity worthy of the darkest days of Druidism' (1865: 13). This blending of fact and fiction, and history with contemporary thought, places the mystical and mythological properties of apples alongside their practical, or perhaps impractical, usages.

Hill's multifaceted approach allows her to play with mythologies and destabilise the typical approaches and tropes cookbook authors employ. Hill never uses allusions to directly claim authority as author, expert or person of refined taste as Kitchiner does, and does not put her experiences at the centre of the introduction like Soyer, despite this being the first cookbook attributed to her. Instead, Hill uses subtle satire to critique examples which reduced apples (and by implication, food) to a chemical substance or scientific subject, or as a marker of religious purity or moral duty. For Hill, these narratives are just as fictional or mythical as her other examples. Instead, Hill emphasises the rich potential apples had to bring pleasure. The capacious histories Hill presents are reminiscent of one of the genres Hill employs: as Molly Engelhardt demonstrates, the language of flowers embraced diversity of meaning and 'celebrated the semiotic openness and uncertainty the language of flowers opened' (2013: 144). Engelhardt writes that 'semiotic play' defines the genre and 'magnified the unreliability of language rather than working alongside science to refine a set of laws to add to the functionality of language and facilitate direct transmission of sentiment' (2013: 147). Hill's cookbook demonstrates the same semiotic play: she avoids standardisation and delights in numerous representations. Through this genre-bending, Hill sidesteps the practical, domestic, moral and medical approaches to food, and negates the authorial drive to write a cookbook to claim genius. Instead, Hill prioritises an aesthetic approach to food, emphasised in moments like her Rossetti-inspired apple tree. Looking beneath the surface of Hill's use of tradition reveals her innovation. She challenges readers' expectations of the cookbook and recipe form. That this is done in a cheap manual published through a series is perhaps more unusual: Hill does not conform to the expectations that governed cookbooks at the time, and instead feeds her reader in a different manner.

Hill's other cookbooks reveal how her literary playfulness belies a higher aim when it came to food writing, achieved through her consistent emphasis of the aesthetic qualities of food and the fictional qualities many cookbooks had, explicit or not. To create adequate space for her aesthetic appreciation of food, however, Hill sought to undermine dominant approaches. This is demonstrated by her apple-based play with biblical symbolism and chemical cookery, but vitally extends into the form and narrative structure of the cookbook

itself.

In *The Gourmet's Guide to Rabbit Cooking* Hill plays with the masculine connotations evoked by 'gourmet' and her pseudonym, 'The Old Epicure'. The introduction opens with a question: 'And why should I not, as a good gastronomer, publish some of my experiences in the "social science" of cookery?' (1859: iii). This use of 'social science' is interesting. Rich notes that Hill's pseudonym 'point[ed] to all those books of recipes in which cookery was referred to as a modern science' (Rich 2020: 417). Calling cookery a 'social science', however, does not evoke the typical model of chemical or practical science referred to in mid-nineteenth century cookbooks, satirised by Hill's apples. Instead, Hill refers to the science of people and society, a concept which in 1846 George Henry Lewes wrote was 'due to M. [Auguste] Comte […] he first showed how possible – nay, how imperative – it was that social questions should be treated on the same footing with all other scientific questions' (1846: 249). More contemporary to Hill, however, was the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, founded by Brougham and George Woodyatt Hastings in 1857. The organising committee featured several influential figures, including John Ruskin, Lord John Russell, John Stewart Mill, Charles Kingsley and Edwin Chadwick. It sought to reform social life via education, punishment, public health, employment, and economy by establishing scientific 'criteria for an acceptable quality of life for all levels of society' (Huch 1985: 282). The society's public meetings were well-attended and publicised widely, having proliferating influence on public health due to the prominent figures involved (Huch 1985: 238). The *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (1859) published in the same year as *Rabbit Cookery* show that food regularly featured in discussions, from adulteration, to poor diet, to cookery education. Given the temporal overlap between Hill's cookbook and the Society, Hill was likely aware of its work. Rather than referring to 'books of recipes in which cookery was referred to as a modern science' as Rich suggests (2020: 417), I argue that Hill satirises a different science, joking about the contemporary preoccupation with turning everything into 'social science', particularly by those 'barely requited with bread' (Hill 1859: iii). Through her masculine gastronomic guise, Hill pokes fun at the men who attempted to standardise food when they had little understanding of how it featured in people's daily lives. Undercutting this approach creates space for Hill to foreground her culinary attitudes, but it was not just social scientists Hill sought to test the limits of or poke fun at.

Hill's use of 'old epicure' is steeped in irony, which she uses to question the epicureanism presented by gastronomic male writers like Brillat-Savarin and Grimod, who propose 'correct' dining practices, optimise nutrition, and write with 'a brew of history,

myth, and history serving as myth', to return to Mennell (Mennell 1985: 270-271). The second sentence derides 'misguided authors' for their 'devotion to the Muses', alluding to the invocation of historical figures in gastronomic writing (1859: v). Hill plays with the narrative, autobiographical introductions authors sometimes indulged in to explain their preoccupation with food, turning to The Old Epicure's childhood: 'Listen: When I was a little baby — and you, too, gentle reader, were a baby once, and likewise suffered all I endured in that painful period' (1859: iv). The 'potent agent of my happiness' is '"rabbit-skin," which my paternal parent was reported to be hunting for my especial benefit!' (Hill 1859: iv, v). Hill constructs an elaborate, first-person tale of how rabbits influenced the author's artistic, emotional, and culinary upbringing. The sincerity of this account is weakened by Hill's intertextual allusion, however, as her gastronome reproduces the nursery rhyme 'Bye Baby Bunting': 'Bye, baby Bunting, / Daddy's gone a-hunting, / Gone to get a rabbit skin / To wrap the baby Bunting in', a version of which was first published in *Gammer Gurton's Garland, Or, The Nursery Parnassus* (1784). Using a nursery rhyme as the basis for this masculine, gastronomic narrative trivialises the tone implied by the author's repeated reference to themselves as 'an enlightened votary' driven by 'dignity' (1859: iii). Hill points to this irony, writing that the rabbit skin 'was nothing tangible; it was never manifested to me or mortal baby; it remained a myth' (1859: iv). The myth and historicity that underpinned gastronomic writing are fictionalised, and moreover, are framed as childish fiction derived from nursery rhymes. Again, Hill plays with genres, the multiplicity of language and culinary symbolism. The traditions she layers critique the masculine autobiographical, gastronomic cookbook as a farcical generic performance.

Hill's *Everybody's Pudding Book* also innovatively plays with traditional expectations of the cookbook genre. Though this cookbook was written 'by the author of "The Gourmet's Guide to Rabbit Cookery"', it is not centred upon gastronomy. Instead, it begins with an exchange between author and hostess, 'an elderly lady, with whose family I had been staying', where the author observes that 'you appear very partial to apple puddings' (Hill 1862: 17). The lady discloses that she is not keen on apple desserts, but rather than dealing with 'having daily to appoint the pies or puddings proper for the season' instructed her cook to provide 'apple puddings one half of the year, and gooseberry puddings for the other half' (Hill 1862: 17). Rich notes that Hill is 'parodying [the] writing style' of contemporaries, 'satirising the custom in which an older woman learnt that she needed to write a book of advice through a conversation with an inept younger woman' (Rich 2020: 414). Indeed, Soyer employs this framework in *Modern Housewife,* as explored in the previous chapter. As Rich writes, 'While all the anecdotes writers offered up were clearly

fictions, it was only Hill who was overt about this, inventing a story too silly to be even remotely plausible' (2020: 414). Playing with this trope, Hill parodies the generic conventions governing cookbooks authored by, for, or at least addressed to, women.

Hill again plays with traditions to undermine them. Rather than repeating the structure of an experienced woman helping her less-knowledgeable acquaintance, Hill depicts a woman wealthy enough to have a cook who was nonetheless exhausted with the drudgery of food preparation. The older woman abandons the tedium of diligent housekeeping after years of experience. This goes against contemporary domestic ideologies, pre-empting later feminist movements which eschewed women's domestic labour, exemplified by Simone de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* (1949). Within this inverted take on the pedagogical cookbook, however, Hill's derision of the 'insipid' monotony of eating the same dessert every day becomes a comment on the lack of innovation in cooking and cookbooks alike: people who are satisfied to eat the same dish every evening are as bad as those who conform to predictable narrative structures (1862: 18). Neither bring pleasure in taste (literary or culinary) or allow room for the play Hill indulges in by embracing a variety of foods and literary styles. Tradition is upturned in a different way in *Everybody's Pudding Book,* but Hill innovatively subverts it to champion aesthetic culinary pleasure.

Hill's sustained subversion of cookbook tropes is worthy of note in itself: she was a clever, imaginative, innovative author whose work merits literary analysis. More radical than the scope of Hill's play, however, is how she layers literary, artistic and culinary taste to present cookery as an aesthetic. This is best represented in her recipes. While '*Gâteau de Pommes'* showed that Hill's recipes sometimes contained basic directions, closer examination demonstrates that Hill subverts expectations to foreground aesthetic pleasure even in these shorter textual forms. In a 'Spinach Tarts' recipe from *Everybody's Pudding Book* Hill describes combining a 'sufficiency of spinach leaves' with other ingredients for a 'delicious and salutary' tart (1862: 90). She emphasises the dish's taste and highlights the spinach through pleasing alliteration. Then in *Foreign Desserts,* Hill gives a recipe for a waffle called a 'Plaisir', which opens with: 'Every one who has lived in Paris must be favourably acquainted with the crisp, delicate-tasted [*sic*] kind of gaufre [*sic*] that is known by the attractive name of "Plaisir." It is made thus'; and ends with: 'continue to make others until your composition is exhausted' (1862: 148-149). The title of this dish means 'pleasure', and Hill evokes Parisian life, the pleasant taste of the waffles, and artistic creation through 'composition'. Throughout *Rabbit Cookery,* Hill explores numerous European-inspired and regional British dishes. Her preference for variety means she embraces several culinary traditions: *'Portuguese Rabbits', 'Boiled Rabbit as at Valencia', 'Lapin Roti a la Francaise',*

'Rabbits as at Ilfracombe', etc. These recipes, particularly those that locate the dish using 'as at', suggest that Hill was well travelled – if not literally, then in terms of her taste.

Decadent, succulent language is used throughout Hill's recipes, which I explore through her *'Boiled Rabbit and Bacon'* recipe. She writes: 'As rabbits invariably appear in conjunction with the fine fat flitches of our Hampshire hogs, upon the counters of the "charcutier," so these two comestibles are usually united upon the dinner-table' (1859: 17-18). The term 'charcutier' transposes French culinary practices on to English foodstuffs, but even more tempting than the French butcher's counter is Hill's alliteration. 'Usually united upon' emphasises Hill's uniting of French techniques with English ingredients ('Hampshire hogs'), while 'fine fat flitches' combines the fricative 'f' with the plosive 't' in 'fa**t**' and 'fli**tch**es' to evoke the fizzle and spit of frying fat onomatopoeically. Hill then turns to art, writing that combining bacon and rabbit was 'more than "Byzantine meagreness" (speaking artistically) of the one requiring to be qualified by the unctuous assistance of the other' (1859: 18). Qualifying that she is 'speaking artistically', Hill steps into the role of art critic. Referencing 'the one' comments on the Byzantine preoccupation with religious icons, frequently surrounded by rich, detailed backdrops of mosaic, paint, or in illuminated manuscripts. Hill suggests that bacon and rabbit had individual merit – not 'meagre' icons which need unctuous backgrounds. She continues, asserting that 'Each should, however, be dressed separately, or the colour of both will be spoilt' (1859: 18). The use of 'dressed' and 'colour' extend the artistic theme: Hill depicts the dish as a visual image. This approach can be compared to Gustave Flaubert's presentation of food in *Madame Bovary* (1856) which critics frequently note was akin to visual art, separated from eating: 'Famous for his formal perfectionism, Flaubert is naturally more concerned with the surfaces of the table, the things that lend it its shape. Their colors and textures interest him more than the food they contain' (Igou 2013: 38). By playing with artistic tradition Hill draws attention to the aesthetics of food, but she does not reduce food like Flaubert. Her linguistic evocation of sounds, sights, tastes and smells – whether frying fat or a fizzing apple – creates a multi-sensory culinary aesthetic. Reading this recipe is an activity that evokes visual pleasure, gustatory pleasure, and pleasure in the act of reading, given the evocative language Hill uses to whet her reader's aesthetic appetite on multi-sensory levels.

The use of pictorial language that foregrounds aesthetics is reminiscent of the 'culinary ekphrasis' Bonnie Shishko discusses in reference to the work of Elizabeth Robins Pennell: an American writer who lived in Britain and wrote food articles for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, published as *Feasts of Autolycus* (1896) in Britain and *The Delights of Delicate Eating: The Diary of a Greedy Woman* (1901) in the United States. Pennell was an art critic, and Shishko

argues that Pennell's description of food's appearance and reference to artists in her recipes created a culinary ekphrasis that 'activates a visual judgement of food's material form':

> Pennell's pictorial language transforms readers into spectators […] Crucially, the culinary ekphrasis does not narrate something that exists already. Instead, step by step, ingredient by ingredient, the passage constructs in the reader's imagination images of dishes to be made and consumed in the future. (Shishko 2021: 181)

This aligns with Hill's use of evocative language to build an image of the dish she described, and critics of Pennell note her preoccupation with pleasure. Alice McLean writes that 'as an "artist in words", Pennell transforms sensual pleasures into language, using lush, evocative prose to paint a verbal picture' (2012: 55), and elsewhere notes that Pennell's 'playful, ornate' style 'turn[ed] away from the practical instruction offered by the domestic cookbook to embrace the pleasures of eating' (2021: 196). Critics frequently cite the influence of gastronomes on Pennell, positing that her emphasis on bodily and aesthetic pleasure was unusual for a woman in the late nineteenth century, 'setting up a figure that combined what she considered the best attributes of the artistic connoisseur and the domestic woman, a figure that might provide a new model for women in the 1890s' (Schaffer 2003: 124). I have shown, however, that nearly forty years earlier Hill 'turned away from […] practical instruction' and proposed taking aesthetic pleasure from food by playing with gastronomic, literary and artistic traditions and using rich language. In the '*Boiled Rabbit and Bacon'* recipe there are no cooking instructions. Hill instead offers suggestions for combining ingredients: 'served with slices of fried ham, or bacon, with eggs, forms a delicious dish […] Sausages also, either served by themselves or used as a garnish, go admirably with boiled rabbit' (1859: 18). Even here, the words 'delicious' and 'admirably' stand out, infusing Hill's recipe with anticipation. If Pennell's culinary writing was ground-breaking, Hill achieved the same even earlier.

Hill is not lauded as an innovator in criticism like Marshall and Pennell. Through her exploration and deconstruction of the traditions which governed nineteenth-century cookbooks – scientific, domestic, artistic and gastronomic – Hill creates a space in which she became a tastemaker. By playing with both tradition and contemporary resonances Hill reframes the idea of culinary taste in line with popular movements. She does not align with any of the traditions she alludes to, historical or contemporary, but by dismantling them she shows that attitudes towards food and food writing could be refigured. Hill eschews the traditional, male-centred gastronomic cookbook and the tedious domestic cookbook. Instead, her playful introductions and sensuous recipes recentre food as a source of aesthetic pleasure on numerous interconnected levels. She presents an aesthetic of cookery, or a new

kind of gastronomy, rather than a practical or social science. This puts her work in a unique position within the mid-nineteenth-century cookbook market. Textual rather than technical, history and tradition are the tools Hill innovatively wields in her writing. Ultimately, this freed Hill's readers from the expectations of tradition so they could take pleasure from food. As she writes in the introduction to *Everybody's Pudding Book,* Hill's 'editorial exertions' are intended to spare 'one of the fair or even sterner sex […] a moment's trouble upon the subject' of cookery, and to ensure that 'superfluous pudding, whether of apple or of gooseberry, be spared society' (1862: 18). To Hill, cookery is not intended to be tedious or analytical, but something that brings aesthetic pleasure into her readers' lives.

Agnes Marshall: Technical and Rhetorical Innovation

Hill innovatively mobilises historical and contemporary allusion in her cookbooks to create a new culinary aesthetic. Marshall, on the other hand, is concerned with innovation and material implements, rather than history and literary tradition. Sensuous language is absent from Marshall's cookbooks. Instead, the literary devices she mobilises reveal how the structure of her publications are manipulated to serve the wider context of her business, and represent her preoccupation with technical innovation. That is not to say that tradition is absent from Marshall's cookbooks. Rather than playing with historical resonances, Marshall uses tradition to position herself as a technical expert. First uncovering the instances where Marshall alludes to culinary history, I illustrate the difference in how these authors utilise historicity, before I move to consider how Marshall's cookbooks represent the innovation that was the crux of her work.

Marshall's references to tradition are paratextual, found in advertisements and some of her introductions. Strikingly, and like Hill, Marshall does not emphasise herself, forgoing long-winded descriptions of her work, personality, or aspirations which departs from the self-promotion Soyer engages in. *The Book of Ices* lacks a preface altogether, while the preface of *Cookery Book* is only a half-page long. In it, Marshall notes the book was 'published at the repeated solicitation of some thousands of my old pupils', and that 'Neither have any of the recipes herein been learnt or gathered from any books, but they are the result of practical training and lessons, through several years, from leading English and Continental authorities, as well as a home experience' (1894a: 3). This emphasises the school, but rather than claiming originality Marshall points to the European 'authorities' she learned from – something structurally implied by the inclusion of French titles under her recipes. Indeed, this returns to the *Pall Mall* article where Alfred emphasises Marshall's European training (*Pall Mall Gazette* 14 Oct 1886: 1). That her foreign training was mentioned in the press

suggests that Marshall's education was important to her public authority. It adds a layer of professionalism to Marshall's reputation, integrating her into the culture of gastronomy and male professional cookery discussed in the introduction to this thesis. Marshall situates her knowledge and cookbook in a longer tradition of culinary education, informing the reader than she has learned from the best and is qualified as an expert given her participation in circles that carried cultural weight.

The *Cookery Book* contains the only reference in Marshall's cookbooks to work that is not her own. The page in front of the preface displays four quotes about cookery and eating from the *Lancet, Saturday Review,* Brillat-Savarin and Boswell:

> 'Cooking has become more than ever a fine art.' – Lancet.
> 'Cookery is not only an art, but a master art.' – Saturday Review.
> 'The man of sense and culture alone understands eating.' – Brillat-Savarin.
> 'A dinner lubricates business.' – Boswell.
>
> (Marshall 1894a: 2)

These quotations work with Marshall's reference to 'leading […] authorities' to gesture to wider culinary discourses intertextually – medicinal, political, gastronomical and literary – even though Marshall does not engage with them directly. The quote from Boswell correlates food with business – fitting, for commercially-driven Marshall – while the other three position cookery as an art form, practised by experts or 'masters'. This perception of cookery is something Marshall subscribes to in her introduction, writing that 'I am of opinion that cookery being a practical art, no perfect cook was ever yet made from mere book study' and that 'The present volume makes no pretension to be exhaustive, though it includes the essential groundwork of culinary art as well as much useful and novel information, not hitherto given in cookery books' (1894a: 3). These references to art deviate from Hill's aesthetic, conforming to the more typical domestic and gastronomic approaches. To the reader, however, they suggest that Marshall's teachings could elevate students into 'masters' (particularly given her foreign training) but also undermined the cookbook as a solution. If cookery must be learned from practical experience rather than 'mere book study' Marshall's cookbook provides a 'groundwork' but could not be relied upon comprehensively. Marshall does not position her cookbook as an exhaustive resource but proffers it as a starting point. Setting this philosophy opposite the quotations allows Marshall to integrate her writing into a tradition of culinary art, and use the weight of that tradition to emphasise the importance of practice – practice a reader could gain, of course, by attending her school. While Marshall does not engage in overwrought descriptions of the quotes or her experience, she uses these

paratextual allusions to segue into her business plan: dinner did lubricate business, and invoking tradition was one means by which Marshall did so.

The cookbooks published after *Cookery Book*, *Larger Cookery Book* and *Fancy Ices*, confirm that Marshall's cookbooks are designed to be used within a wider education. In the preface of the *Larger Cookery Book* Marshall refers to the *Cookery Book* as 'Volume I.': 'There is nothing in this book which is contained in Volume I., consequently anyone using this work will require to refer to Volume I. for standard sauces and other things given therein' (1891: 3). *Fancy Ices* is presented as sequel to *The Book of Ices,* and Marshall writes that she 'expects this book will be mostly patronised by those who already have the smaller volume' (1894b: v). Neither of these books contain any overt historical or literary allusions, however, and so rather than referring to tradition Marshall emphasises the back-catalogue of her *own* work. Indeed, the tone shifts slightly between the introductions of the *Cookery Book* and the *Larger Cookery Book.* In the latter, Marshall does not refer to practical art (which is not mentioned in *Fancy Ices,* either), but instead writes that 'I have embodied in this book my newest inventions in sauces, savouries, entrées, sweets, c.' (1891: 3). The use of 'invention' suggests that Marshall's art is a technical skill rooted in innovation, rather than inspired by the traditions of fine art: Marshall claims to have invented new dishes that are 'embodied' within the book. This verb suggests that the cookbook is a textual embodiment of Marshall: a stand-in instructor. Its recipes are tools readers could use to recreate Marshall's inventions, as constituent parts of a larger textual invention. Moreover, Marshall writes that 'All the engravings have been sketched from dishes actually prepared in my class-room' (1891: 3). The image of students creating the 'inventions' that are visually and textually recorded in the cookbook figures the school as a site of experiment, invention and demonstration. This consolidates a reading of the cookbook as a textual representation of invention, correlating with Shapin's concept of the literary technology: a text that uses 'linguistic resources in order to encourage the physical replication of experiments or to trigger in the reader's mind a naturalistic image of the experimental scene' (Shapin 1984: 491). While at this point Marshall does not display the entire experimental process – where things might go wrong, perhaps as she trialled them in private – she uses the cookbook as a literary technology that replicates the best practice which emerged from experimentation and demonstration within the school. Marshall's cookbook gives readers the images and tools necessary to recreate her 'inventions' at home. While she maintains that practical instruction is the best means of learning (to sell classes), Marshall makes her cookbooks physical 'embodiments' of her 'inventions'. The theme of innovation thus underscores the textual system Marshall creates between her publications.

The structure of Marshall's first cookbook, *The Book of Ices,* provides a rich case study for considering how rhetorical and material innovation are married in her writing. It is centred on ices and desserts, and the rest of this section focuses on it specifically. The contents pages of Marshall's cookbook acts as a directory before the main text. Three pages list every recipe, ordered numerically and divided into sections based on type including 'Cream Ices made from Ripe Fruits', 'Water Ices', and 'Iced Soufflés'. The recipes in these sections contain similar methods but are divided depending on the base of the dessert: jam, custard, or water, for instance. By separating recipes into sections and listing them by name and number, Marshall creates a clear organisational system that allows readers to turn to their chosen recipe without having to consult the index at the end of the cookbook. This direct, quantified approach is structurally mirrored throughout the chapters themselves. Instead of a typical prose introduction, the first page contains a numbered list of what appears to be the fundamental rules of 'making ices':

1. Too much sugar will prevent the ice from freezing properly.
2. Too little sugar will cause the ice to freeze hard and rocky.
3. If the ices are to be moulded, freeze them in the freezer to the consistency of a thick batter before putting them in the moulds. (Marshall 1885: 1)

There are seven of these commandments, and they are a striking way to open a cookbook for several reasons. Firstly, it was unusual for cookbooks to open with a list of rules. While cookbooks often begin with an introduction and first chapter that outlines fundamental cooking processes, *The Book of Ices* lacks an introduction and, after the contents page, launches straight into this list. The numerical ordering and list structure pair with the lack of personal introduction from Marshall – either to herself or to the cookbook – to create a cold tone. Marshall's specialism with iced desserts allows her to start her cookbook with core concepts, yet this is a clear departure from Hill's swathes of historical reference, even though Hill also wrote specialist cookbooks. But while allusion, symbolism and intertextuality are not Marshall's means of gesturing to food's significance beyond the cookbook, her quantitative introduction is a rhetorical choice which allows her to situate her work in a wider field of innovation.

When examining the list of 'Hints', it becomes clear than instead of guiding rules they are advice to refer to when things go wrong. The amount of sugar needed to be varied between recipes depending on other ingredients, so a reader could not know it was '1. too much' or '2. too little' until the ice was not freezing or was too hard. Marshall advises that '5. Broken ice alone is not sufficient to freeze or mould the ices; rough ice and freezing salt must be used' (1885: 1). Rather than straightforward instructions, Marshall's 'Hints' are for

readers to consult when their preparation had malfunctioned, and their ice was runny/too hard/had run out of the mould/had not worked because the reader had used the wrong type of ice or equipment. This is unusual: another kind of anti-recipe. Even if nineteenth-century authors account for error in individual recipes, I have seen no other cookbook that begins with a list of faults. On the contrary, many authors assure readers that their recipes reduce the risk of mistakes. Beeton opens her 'Fruit and Vegetable Soups' chapter by asserting that 'By a careful reading, too, of the recipes, there will not be the slightest difficulty in arranging a repast for any number of persons' (1861: 55). Should the worst happen, however, Marshall's readers could flip to the cookbook's opening to understand and address their mistake, whereas Beeton's would be flummoxed. In this sense, Marshall's hints are comparable with machine manuals which often contained trouble-shooting guides. An American c.1865 manual titled 'Directions for using the Singer Manufacturing Co.'s New Family Sewing Machine' includes a section called 'The Cause of a Machine Not Working Properly' which helps users 'in difficulty' with 'Missing Stitches' or 'Breaking Threads':

> When the machine breaks the upper thread, the needle is too fine for the thread, or the tension is too tight, or you may be using a large needle and thread with the fine throat-plate, the hole being so small that the needle cannot pass through without cutting or chafing the thread against the sides. (c.1865: 5)

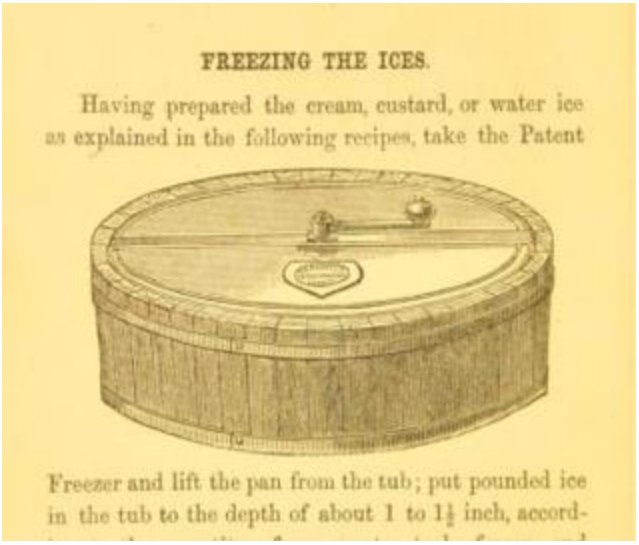
Like Marshall's tips, these directions are referred to when things went wrong. Offering readers solutions that anticipated technical difficulties was just as important as telling them what to do in the first instance.

Of course, Marshall does not open her book by listing 'Causes of a Failed Iced Dessert', so as not to deter readers. That Marshall starts her cookbook with a numbered list of potential faults, however, implicitly highlights the technical nature of her recipes. Recipes that are open to a series of predictable, quantifiable problems must not be overly straightforward or intuitive. The potential newness or complicated nature of making iced desserts challenged readers who may not have been comfortable with the implements they were using. Herein lies the primary difference between Marshall's list of errors, and instances in other recipes where the author warn readers that things may go amiss, as in Beeton's 'Pork Pies' recipe:

> Very frequently, the inexperienced cook finds much difficulty in raising the crust. She should bear in mind that it must not be allowed to get cold, or it will fall immediately: to prevent this, the operation should be performed as near the fire as possible. (1861: 204)

Beeton is concerned with ability, directing this at the individual 'she' who may get things wrong. Here, fault is personal error. Marshall's numbered list, conversely, is a set of equations: if (a) occurs, problem (b) arises. The list of problems and solutions is thus a detached set of objective facts, so using Marshall's cookbook is more akin to using a technical manual. This innovative opening establishes the tone of a cookbook that is fundamentally rooted in technical innovation.

In the Singer manual, the directions for how-to and how-not-to use the machine are presented in tandem with visual guides and instructions on ordering sewing materials: '120 to 150 Cotton' for 'Very fine thin Muslins, Cambrics, Linens, &c.' (1865: 6). The next pages of *The Book of Ices* echo the manual once more, with sections on 'Freezing the Ices', 'Moulding and Keeping Ices', 'The Saccharometer', and 'Ice Moulds and Moulding' which are accompanied by plates depicting Marshall's Patent Freezer (Figure 26) and Marshall's Patent Ice Cave (Figure 27). Visually and rhetorically, the cookbook's first five pages are


FREEZING THE ICES.

Having prepared the cream, custard, or water ice as explained in the following recipes, take the Patent

Freezer and lift the pan from the tub; put pounded ice in the tub to the depth of about 1 to 1½ inch, accord-

Figure 26: Plate of Marshall's Patent Freezer (Marshall 1885: 2)

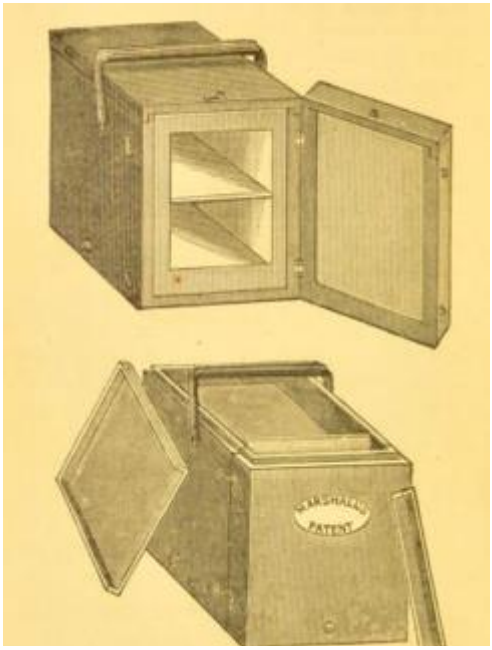


Figure 27: Plate of Marshall's Ice Cave, *The Book of Ices* by Agnes Marshall (1885: 3)

closer to a user's guide or sales catalogue than cookbook, though the price on the cover of the cookbook (half-a-crown) suggests that the text was sold separately from the equipment rather than included as a package. Under the respective headings are generalised instructions: 'Take a patent cave and remove the lids as shown in the annexed engraving, and fill in between the metals with a mixture of 2 parts broken ice and 1 part salt' (Marshall 1885: 3). The use of 'a' rather than 'your' creates a detached tone that is more impersonally practical than the direct address enlisted in the sewing machine manual. The sections on 'The Saccharometer' and 'Ice Moulds and Moulding' consist of definitions, not instructions:

> This is an instrument for testing quantity of sugar in water ices, etc. To ensure uniform success, it is necessary that the strength of the syrups should always be the

> same. Instructions for using the instruments are sent with them (see p. 63). Their use is strongly recommended. (Marshall 1885: 5)

In these notes Marshall simultaneously describes and sell, both of which are descriptive acts that are inseparable from the patented implements sold at the school. Moreover, in the above description Marshall refers to a further set of instructions readers needed if they bought the Saccharometer and points them to the advertisement at the rear of the cookbook, '(see p. 63)'. The design, use, buying and selling of Marshall's material innovations dominates the cookbook's first pages via technical language and the diagrams. This confirms that readers could not make Marshall's recipes successfully if they did not have the devices she describes (Marshall's patented implements, of course), or knowledge of how to use them effectively.

It was not just Marshall's implements that are sold to the user/reader in the first pages of *The Book of Ices*. Marshall's numbered list ends with a note in smaller font:

> Those who wish to be proficient can save themselves a great deal of time, trouble, and anxiety, as well as expense of materials, by attending at Marshall's School of Cookery on any day arranged for "Ices," when they will see the whole system in different branches practically taught, and be able to work from any recipes with ease. (1885: 2)

The tone used here opposes Marshall's otherwise functional instructions, which are devoid of personal intonations. Her use of 'trouble' and 'anxiety' relate directly to her reader's emotions, and the distress experienced if they tried to make ices ill-preparedly. By offering (paid) attendance at the cookery school as a solution to the listed problems, Marshall uses her cookbook to push readers towards the school radially: attending Marshall's classes gave them their best shot at successfully using the text. Marshall's threat of 'anxiety' when discussing potential faults accentuated this, making it personal. She implies that even the right tools and written instructions are not enough, and readers who had chosen not to attend Marshall's school must blame themselves for forgoing the full course of instruction. Just like her reference to 'practical art' in the *Cookery Book*, this undermines Marshall's cookbooks. She did not claim to have written comprehensive instructions that guaranteed success but to highlight conceivable mistakes, playing upon the fear of user error to encourage readers to buy her products and attend classes.

Marshall's decision to call the education she offered a 'whole system of different branches' emphasises the technological or even scientific tone of her work, calling to mind branches of chemistry. Instead of writing an introduction that intertextually gestures to the history and mythological traditions surrounding food, Marshall's *Book of Ices* situates her recipes in the market for domestic utensils while alluding to the other strands of her business.

Readers would be unable to peruse the cookbook without being aware they were consulting just part of a larger enterprise. Marshall's innovative use of technical language and form transforms her introduction into a sales catalogue-cum-user manual which makes her recipes inextricable from the material innovations she pushed. This is not a typical nineteenth-century cookbook, but one small cog in the larger machine of Marshall's textual and technical operation.

In the rest of *The Book of Ices,* Marshall uses structural signifiers to make visual distinctions between text types, continuing the formal enactment of technical quantification. The sections for each dessert type are not indicated by a spatial gap or fresh page but are preceded by fully capitalised headings in bold type. These headings are sometimes followed by an explanatory note in smaller type, if Marshall deemed it necessary, but unlike many nineteenth-century cookbooks there are no distinct chapters or section introductions. Some of Marshall's headings serve a dual purpose, showing readers they had moved to a different variety of dessert and providing a generic recipe. Underneath the heading for '6. – CREAM ICES MADE FROM JAMS', for example, Marshall includes the following note: 'As jams vary exceedingly in the amount of sugar they contain, it is most necessary that this be taken into consideration to ensure success. The following recipe is for jams of average sweetness' (1885: 7). Other headings, like 'WATER ICES' serve only to precede the numbered recipes for water ices. Subsequently, the heading is not numbered or followed by generalised instructions. The recipe titles differ in appearance from headings: only major words are capitalised, followed by the French title in italicised parentheses: 'Sorbet of Strawberries (*Sorbet de Fraises*)' (Marshall 1885: 31). These rules apply throughout, and Marshall's structural choices mean the reader is visually guided through the text in a consistent manner which correlates with the manual style set up in the introduction. Her short cookbook is highly organised, and follows a pattern whereby a reader first learns to make the base of a dessert then finds recipes to expand their repertoire. Throughout the text, however, Marshall does not weave personal anecdotes around her recipes. Nor does she provide any information about the provenance or history of the foods described. Instead, Marshall subtly emphasises her own products and innovations through the organisational and radial network within her recipes.

In Marshall's *Book of Ices,* recipes are rarely self-contained units. The 'Ginger Ice Cream' recipe I opened my analysis with is unusual in that respect. Throughout her chapters, Marshall builds a radial, intratextual network whereby recipes gain meaning, and indeed can only be understood fully, through references to other recipes or products. I have counted these as two distinct types of reference, due to their different purposes: references to other

recipes add meaning to a recipe, while references to products direct readers towards the ingredients or implements they should be using. Of course, readers may have taken Marshall's advice and attended classes, giving them prior knowledge. On a textual level, however, these references are worthy of consideration because they change how the cookbook was meant to be used. Of the 117 recipes in the cookbook, 67 cite other recipes and 56 contain references to Marshall's products. Some recipes contain both referents, as here in 'Black Currant Cream Ice', though I count each separately:

> **15. – Black Currant Cream Ice** *(Crème de Cassis).*
>
> Put 1 pound of ripe black currants, 6 ounces of castor sugar, a tumblerful of water, and a few drops of carmine (p. 63) in a pan, and let them just come to the boil. Pass through the tammy and add 1 pint of custard (Nos. 1 to 4) or 1 pint of sweetened cream (No. 5), and 6 drops of lemon-juice. Freeze and finish as No. 10. (Marshall 1885: 10)

As with the aforementioned ginger ice recipe, this recipe is short and compact. This recipe, however, does not have the same informational gaps shown in the 'Ginger Ice' recipe. That is because of Marshall's radial references.

There are four radial references in the blackcurrant ice recipe that Marshall uses to extend its reach. The first, 'a few drops of carmine (p. 63)', directs the reader advertisements at the back of the cookbook. On page 63 is an advert for 'Pure Harmless Vegetable Colours for Colouring Ices, Creams, Jellies, Etc.' in paste or liquid form (Marshall 1885: 63). 'Carmine' is one of three liquid colours listed, alongside saffron and sap green, which were 8d. a bottle. These were part of Marshall's range of food products: 'Every bottle is stamped with name – A. B. Marshall', and a note underneath reads that '*The above Syrups, Colours, and Essences can be ordered direct or through any Grocer'* (1885: 63). The note in the recipe therefore operates radially on two levels. In the first instance, it intratextually directs readers to the rear of the cookbook where they could view the advert and ascertain what 'a few drops of carmine' are, should they not know. This disrupts a linear reading of the recipe and cookbook, bringing a different text-type into play: an advertisement. Then when readers were at the rear of the cookbook, the second radial move occurs. To get the carmine and assemble the dessert, readers must stop reading to order the product from Marshall's catalogue. This involved placing an order to the School, waiting for it to be fulfilled and delivered, or ordering (or directly purchasing) the colour via a local grocer. Perhaps readers had attended Marshall's classes and bought the colouring there, in which case they had

already enriched their reading of the cookbook with in-person instruction. Nevertheless, the actions the reader must undertake were radial as they 'transcend[ed]' the 'ocular bases' of reading: the reader must leave the text to fetch or buy 'ancillary or related materials which have to be drawn into the reading process in order to expand and enrich the textual and the reading field' (McGann 1991: 116, 120). With this note, Marshall directs readers around the cookbook and towards engagement with her products, and the supplementary texts that accompanied those products in turn.

Of course, written instruction cannot be presumed to represent lived reality. The reader may have attempted the dish without Marshall's specified ingredients, or with substitutes. By including '(p. 63)' in her recipe, however, Marshall creates a dynamic text that operates on multiple levels and requires specific actions from the reader, both within the cookbook and in the outside world. Through these references Marshall prioritises her products. She does not engage in outright selling like Soyer, through the praise of his fictional housewives, but readers are repeatedly instructed to use her goods. This applies to Marshall's patented implements: nineteen recipes mention Marshall's Ice Cave, with seventeen referring to the 'cave' and two to the 'patent cave'. Because the opening chapter centres upon the ice cave and freezer, it is obvious that those are referred to even when Marshall does not name herself or use 'patent'. As the technical introduction suggests, to use the cookbook in the way Marshall intends readers needed Marshall's products – a message emphasised throughout the recipes. Whilst readers may have managed without, the processes needed to achieve success would have been fundamentally different. Marshall thus creates intratextual and radial links between her recipes, advertisements, and products. This innovative structuring connects individual recipes to the entire cookbook, while simultaneously bringing Marshall's material innovations to the forefront.

The other radial references Marshall includes within the black currant recipe – '(Nos. 1 to 4) or 1 pint of sweetened cream (No. 5) […] Freeze and finish as No. 10.' – do not send readers outside the text, but around it. This was pragmatic on Marshall's part. She does not need to repeatedly tell readers how to make a custard when she can direct them to the recipes for '1. – Very Rich', '2. – Ordinary', '3. – Common' or '4. Cheap' custards already provided (1885: 6-7). This also applies to the direction to 'Freeze and finish as No. 10'. Marshall points the reader to an earlier recipe for 'Almond or Orgeat Cream Ice' which ends with the serving suggestion 'Freeze and serve in a pile on a napkin or mould it' (1885: 9). This almond recipe is the first in the 'CREAM ICES MADE FROM RIPE FRUITS, ETC.' section, and two of the four recipes between it and the black currant recipe also end with the note 'Freeze and finish as for previous recipes' (Marshall 1885: 9-10). Marshall thus deliberately uses

intratextual references to avoid needless repetition. Like the reference to the advert, these linkages between recipes mean that Marshall's cookbook operates as an entire text rather than as a collection of individual recipes. A reader could not cut the blackcurrant ice recipe from the pages of the cookbook and use it in isolation, as Alsonso-Almeida suggests is possible because a recipe's 'meaning is not derived from sequence' (2013: 82). Here, sequence is vital as informative gaps are filled by other recipes, deliberately ordered to fill them. Experienced readers may not have needed earlier custard recipes after memorising the process, but even in this case, the recipe only had the desired outcome if readers used Marshall's custard, specifically.

In *Fancy Ices*, Marshall broadens her use of radiality by intertextually alluding to the *Book of Ices* so readers need both texts to use her recipes. Indeed, *Fancy Ices* is more blatant than the *Book of Ices* in terms of product placement, as 'Claret Jelly with Kirsch Cream Ice' demonstrates:

> Claret Jelly with Kirsch Cream Ice
> *Gelée de Vin de Bordeaux au Crème de Kirsch*
>
> Put six ounces of Marshall's Cane Sugar into a gill and a half of water, bring it to the boil, skim it, add rather better than half an ounce of Marshall's Finest Leaf Gelatine, and when this is dissolved strain it and put it aside to get cool but not set; then mix it with three-quarters of a pint of good cooking claret, one and a half wineglassfuls of brandy, and enough of Marshall's Liquid Carmine to make it a deep red colour; pour it into a nest mould and put this on ice or in a cool place till the jelly is set; then dip it into warm water, pass a clean cloth over the bottom to absorb any moisture, and turn out the jelly on to a cold
>
> 
>
> dish; fill up the hollow in the centre with frozen Kirsch cream ("Book of Ices," page 16), and at each end of the dish arrange a compote of French plums (see recipe). Serve for a sweet dinner, luncheon, or any cold collation.
>
> (Marshall 1894: 24-25)

Unlike the 'Blackcurrant Ices' recipe, Marshall actively names herself three times, in correlation with the required products: 'Marshall's Cane Sugar'; 'Marshall's Finest Leaf Gelatine'; and 'Marshall's Liquid Carmine' (1894: 24). This pronounced advertisement may correlate with the later publication of *Fancy Ices* as the progression of Marshall's career emphasised the value of self-promotion, and the Marshall's had diversified their product range. But it is the parenthetical note about 'frozen Kirsch cream' which sends the reader to Marshall's earlier cookbook, linking the texts and creating a network of cross-referencing. This radial reference is not a small part of the recipe: if the reader could not go to *Book of Ices* for the kirsch cream recipe, they were unable to make a whole layer of the dessert. While Marshall is again pragmatically avoiding repetition, she also cleverly structures her texts so readers required both cookbooks (1894: v). The way Marshall creates textual networks is therefore a marketing strategy. By tying each recipe into a larger body of writing and material commerce, Marshall is not just giving readers instructions but selling them her entire catalogue of expertise. This tactical textual innovation suited Marshall's role as teacher and saleswoman: she provides readers and students with an expanding 'system' of cookery that would keep students/readers/customers coming back for more, be that more instruction, devices, or ingredients. Innovation is crafted in Marshall's writing, just as it was in the implements her husband designed and patented and the ingredients they manufactured. The textual network of self-reference Marshall creates means she sold integrated parts of a larger whole, manipulating her cookbook and recipe structure so they function as technical devices in themselves: devices that had to be used efficiently strategically to achieve results. Innovation and commercial drive cannot just be read in the content of Marshall's cookbook, then, but in the very structure of her texts.

Conclusion: Rewriting the Cookbook Genre

The cookbooks and recipes of Marshall and Hill demonstrate very different approaches to food writing. At first glance, it seems Hill opts for a more traditional approach to the cookbook, using it to gesture to long, varying histories in a way reminiscent of earlier gastronomic cookbooks. Closely considering how Hill manipulates and plays with those traditions in her paratexts and recipes, however, reveals that she uses them to achieve a higher culinary aim that was unique for a woman writer in the middle of the nineteenth century. Through her emphasis of multi-sensory pleasure, subversion of tradition, and allusion to contemporary artistic and social movements, Hill makes space for an aesthetics of food. She steps beyond the popular habit of analysing food scientifically, and the

expectation that women were dutifully bound to food preparation. Hill uses recipes for purposes beyond providing cooking instructions, playing with the reader's expectations by prioritising other aspects of food, like appearance and taste, over cookery. Her use of history and tradition is both innovative and subversive. She conveys her appreciation for food (and for writing about it) in a subtle yet provocative manner, creating texts which suggest that cookery and eating are aesthetic acts: from sizzling fat, the erotic pleasure in eating a golden-hued apple, to the radical act of realising that engaging with food could be pleasurable, not tedious. Even within a publisher's series which undermined Hill's ability to create an authoritative legacy, Hill alters the meaning and purpose of culinary writing. That she remains anonymous in some of her writings, and does not prioritise her own opinions even when named, accentuates that a playful, sensuous, aesthetic cuisine is the focal point of Hill's work. It is not about personal glory. Hill's use of rich, evocative language rhetorically represents her culinary and literary pleasure. Food is in the centre of the frame, and by drawing readers' attention to its aesthetic properties Hill innovatively frees them from expectations and made room for joy.

Like Hill, Marshall did not write to make herself the centre of attention. Unlike Hill, however, Marshall employs external sources and advertising to position herself as a culinary expert, and more importantly, she uses textual structuring to place herself in the middle of an extensive, prize-winning commercial web. The way Marshall writes her cookbooks means readers never consider her recipes in isolation. They are always to be understood in tandem with something else: food colouring, a copper mould, a freezer, another cookbook, or a lesson at the school. This structural, radial network pairs with Marshall's detached tone and technical formatting to present cookbooks that read more like mechanical manuals, and that is what they were. While Marshall's products and the cookery school facilitated her reputation as innovator in the nineteenth century and in scholarship, I have revealed that it is in her cookbooks that Marshall enacts and forms that reputation. She carefully and innovatively guides her reader through the textual 'system' she creates, which is inextricable from her multifaceted interactions with innovation. Even her limited references to culinary traditions are manipulated to serve this wider purpose. Innovation is integral to both the form and content of Marshall's writing, and it is only when closely considering the inner workings of her texts that we get a full impression of how meticulously Marshall structures her cookbooks to perform a vital role within the larger mechanics of her career. Both women therefore integrate their recipes and cookbooks with a sense of tradition and innovation, manipulating both to serve their very different agendas. Employing a diverse range of rhetorical devices, from allusion, intratextual references, and quantification to culinary

ekphrasis, Marshall and Hill demonstrate that recipes could be written to do far more than we may initially suppose. Whether it is selling products or creating a new culinary aesthetic, these women elevate the recipe to serve a higher purpose, which is particularly provocative given their status as female authors.

Having explored masculine approaches to cookery and the symbolism of food in previous chapters, I have shown that Hill and Marshall write to carve new places for themselves within masculine traditions. Hill writes against the swathes of male epicures who indulge in high-minded discussions of food while their female cooks got on with domestic drudgery, and Marshall writes as an innovative entrepreneur in a field where men were typically credited as culinary 'professionals' and technological innovators. But neither Hill nor Marshall succumbs to the gendered expectations that dominated the cookbook market. Marshall's technical system of efficient cross-referencing which textually represents her innovative career, and Hill's catalogue of allusion which emphasises cookery as an aesthetic, both buck the trend of cookbooks written by women at the time. These were not authors who subscribed to a gendered domestic ideal of efficient household cookery. Nor did they adopt masculine literary techniques. Instead, they create new aesthetic and technical meanings for the cookbook, carving out spaces in which they infuse their writing with carefully structured narratives of innovation and historicity. Those narratives implicitly highlight that interactions with food in both writing and real life need not be limited to gendered confines. Instead, Hill and Marshall show that food could be remobilised to create new horizons for women: horizons that were both professional and pleasurable.

I have thus refigured scholarly perspectives on Hill and Marshall, as well as shedding new light on what women-authored cookbooks could achieve in this period. Hill is woefully understudied, and I have shown how rich her writing is as an object of historical study. Moreover, I have shown that her literary play serves a higher aesthetic purpose than has been previously recognised. I have refigured Marshall's position in her legacy, revealing how she uses publications to centre herself in a business that was not a solo operation, as a marketing strategy. More than that, however, I have subjected Marshall's writing to a close literary analysis which reveals her strategic textual manipulation, whereas most scholarship overlooks her writing. Hill and Marshall both change the purpose of the cookbook and the recipe to suit their own ends, employing numerous genres and manipulating the narratives they engage with to challenge the dominant discourses of the time. The findings of this chapter emphasise the importance of paying close attention to recipes, both to their textual intricacies and to their place in wider cultural and textual contexts. Doing so reveals how the themes of innovation and historicity are pulled in certain directions within recipes, and

strategically used to construct and deconstruct expectations on a larger scale. A comparison of Hill and Marshall showcases the diverse ways cookbooks are written to explore innovation, history, and technology, but also – crucially – the way in which cookbooks can be transformed into rhetorical innovations in themselves.

Conclusion: Literary, Historical, and Technical Recipes

> Such is the endless variety of Culinary preparations, it would be as vain and fruitless a search, as that for the Philosopher's Stone, to expect to find a Cook who is quite perfect in all the operations of the Spit, — the Stewpan, — and the Rolling Pin; — you will as soon find a Watchmaker who can make, put together, and regulate every part of a Watch. (Kitchiner 1817: 76)

In this excerpt from his chapter on 'Friendly Advice to Cooks', Kitchiner aligns cookery with historical alchemy, legend, experiment, engineering and, crucially, time. His choice to compare cookery with the ability to create a timekeeping device is an allusion to William Paley's *Natural Theology* (1802) in which Paley figures God as a divine watchmaker (1831: 273). Kitchiner thus jokingly implies that to be a perfect cook, one would need to be divine. The resonances of the watch metaphor also speak to the findings of this thesis, however. Both cookery and watchmaking are inherently technical, and as I have shown throughout this thesis, nineteenth-century food writing is inextricable from concepts of temporality. Across the century, authors of recipes and cookbooks use food as a window into Carlyle's 'two Eternities' (Jun 1829: 493). The authors I have discussed use gridirons, roasted peacocks, and mythical apples to explore 'currents that issue from the remotest Past' and envision the 'flow onwards into the remotest Future' through tinned foods, ventilated kitchens, and patent ice-cream freezers (Jun 1829: 493). I have demonstrated that both 'History with a capital "H"' (Kingstone 2017: 1) and the 'inexorable march of material technological progress' (Marsden and Smith 2005: 1, 2) are nineteenth-century preoccupations that culinary authors took up with gusto. Indeed, they often treat both simultaneously, emphasising the importance of their authorly contribution to nineteenth-century literary culture and bringing history and innovation into the home of the reader. While using a spit, stewpan or rolling pin may not initially seem akin to watchmaking, Kitchiner's simile illustrates how nineteenth-century authors use literary techniques to 'make, put together, and regulate' time in their food writing, by elevating cookery into an act that connotes history and innovation. In this thesis, I have thus sought to reconfigure critical understandings of the nineteenth-century fascination with historicity and innovation, by using food as my window into these discourses. In individual recipes and entire cookbooks alike, authors create and mobilise temporal resonances around food to make their texts active sites within which they interrogate their relationship to the past, and the possibilities of the future.

To unravel how culinary authors engage with historicity and innovation, I used my two-fold structural and literary methodology to analyse both individual recipes and entire

cookbooks as literary texts. This has allowed me to answer the questions posed at the beginning of my thesis: how did cookbook and recipe authors borrow and play with existing genres? What literary techniques did they use to promote practical use and aesthetic aims? How did authors of recipes position themselves as novel or traditional, and seek to influence readers' perceptions of the technological innovations they discussed? And how was food writing constructed in ways that reflected the agency of readers, and attempted to sway the meanings readers created from the texts they consumed? In this conclusion I will outline how I have answered these questions and reflect on my contribution to the field.

My study has shown that culinary authors of cookbooks and recipes mobilise numerous existing genres. At times, this literary play is overt, as when Dickens quotes Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* in his commentary of broiling to evoke literary and theatrical tradition and satirise the masculine connotations that accompanied broiled foods. Other generic borrowings are more subtle, as seen in Marshall's adoption of technical manual style and Soyer's empirical tour of the Reform Club kitchen, which both authors wrote to engage with wider circles of invention and innovation. Moreover, I have shown that authors of recipes and cookbooks often play with the expectations that governed other forms of writing to refigure and subvert the cookery genre. Soyer evokes eighteenth-century epistolary novels as well as feminine didactic cookbooks, manipulating the form to side-step the gendered constraints that labelled him a masculine professional chef who would have been uninterested in feminised domestic cookery. Hill plays with numerous culinary genres – didactic, gastronomic, and encyclopaedic – to create a space in which she prioritises a pleasurable culinary aesthetic, accenting joy over duty or gendered expectations. By showcasing how authors emulate and adapt tropes and techniques from the wider literary field, I have recentred food writing as a multifaceted genre in which authors do more than just provide practical instructions. Their cookbooks and recipes undoubtedly participate in and form nineteenth-century literary culture. This can only be appreciated fully when we closely analyse their form and content and pay rigorous attention to their literary workings.

Questioning and analysing the tropes and techniques authors utilise in their food writing has been vital to my literary analysis. I have revealed that food writing is as rich and capacious as any other literary genre, drawing on techniques as varied as the texts I have considered. Recipe and cookbook authors have distinctive narrative styles which are linked to the genres they borrow from and build upon. Throughout all four chapters, I have unpacked instances of allusion, rhetorical play, characterisation, satire, word-choice, structural framing, and narrative voice, which these authors use to craft their texts so they could have been read in certain ways which align with or depart from culinary and literary

traditions. In addition to the literary content of recipes and cookbooks, I have shown how structural differentiation in recipe layout, radial references, cookbook form and inter- and intratextual linkages are used by authors to create numerous layers of meaning in their texts – meanings which function in dialogue with other contemporary discussions and forms. The writings I have considered are not detached, interchangeable components of 'discourse colonies' which are intended 'to be used singly' (Alonso-Almeida 2013: 83). Whether it was Soyer's self-advertising via Hortense's fictional dialogue, Marshall's radial linkages to products or taught classes, Dickens's implicit allusions to artworks or Hill's evocation of various myths and historical figures, my analysis has shown that these authors draw 'other books and acts of reading, ancillary or related materials' into the form and content of their works, 'to expand and enrich the textual and the reading field' (McGann 1991: 120). By highlighting the literary techniques within and around recipes I have shown instead that authors actively conjoin recipes to their surrounding texts, external texts of various genres, material products, and cultural debates that form part of their engagement with innovation, technology, and historicity, including class relations, gender, and empire.

This textual enrichment is both practical and aesthetic. By building layers of meaning in their texts through literary techniques, authors ensure that their instructions do not just cover food preparation but produce the discourses of historicity and innovation that fascinated and engaged nineteenth-century readers. Authors enlist and adapt prominent contemporary narratives to do so: masculine literary tradition and female domesticity; global exploration; empire; adulteration and poisoning; class relations; empirical thought; the politics of Reform; technological tourism; sexuality; social science. The breadth of discourses I have explored throughout this thesis demonstrates how active and vital food writing is as a medium through which ideas are interrogated and disseminated. Moreover, recipes and cookbooks are tangible sites in which readers could both read about and join in the debates authors raised: broiling a chop became an edible link to declining national tradition, while preparing a tin of meat linked the reader/cook/eater to the expanding horizons of Britain's food supply, and beyond. It was through these debates – debates of the past, present, and future – that authors position themselves as innovative, traditional, and often both, building on history to present themselves as novel.

Running throughout these observations has been my interrogation of the linkages between food writing and material technologies. In the introduction to this thesis, I noted that scholarship had not fully considered how recipe authors responded to technological change. I posited that recipes are a literary technology authors used to influence their readers' use and perception of technologies. I have shown this throughout my chapters by uncovering

the rhetorical innovation authors use to address material technologies. Authors emphasise the links between the gridiron and tradition, turning the implement into a symbol of Britain's national prosperity by resisting technological change and canonising gridirons within their texts. Tinned foods are aligned with the Anglo-centric perception of Britain as the centre of an expanding empire. Writers including Payne and Heritage frame tins as a technology that would globalise British pantries and feed the hungry, while others like Beeton warn readers about tins as an unknowable threat to travellers, soldiers, and families alike. Soyer outlines his culinary innovations and patented technologies by adopting an empirical rhetoric which aligns his kitchen design with the New Houses of Parliament and contemporary politics, and by creating an imagined audience through his performance of the domestic housewife who praises 'the humble, unassuming, disinterested inventor' (Soyer 1849: 228). Marshall's recipes, products, and interrelated radial instructions rhetorically mirror her entrepreneurial drive, as she frames herself as an innovative expert whose work could not be separated from the technologies and products she sold. Hill, on the other hand, eschews technological innovation and instead uses literary innovation to emphasise aesthetics. All these authors sought to influence their readers' perception of technological innovations so they either bought or avoided particular devices, and moreover, so those devices linked readers to larger narratives. These texts are thus technological in themselves, disseminating instructions surrounding the use of technologies, advising readers on best practice, and facilitating the transformation of both foods and attitudes. As a literary technology, food writing encapsulates the nineteenth-century aspiration to move forward and improve the current state of things through innovation, while maintaining links with the past.

I have used this thesis to interrogate how food writing is constructed in keeping with the agency of readers. Authors attempt to influence how readers create meaning from the texts they consumed both around material technologies and the purpose of food writing. While it cannot be conclusively known how readers responded to the texts I have discussed, analysing the patterns and divergences in the authorial choices made shows how recipes and cookbooks are written for consumers. I have demonstrated that authors intentionally utilise popular narratives which actively resonate with readers. Recipes are written to appeal to readers' aspirations and fears, and the ways in which this is done illuminates how audiences shaped the texts they read. Soyer, for instance, writes for different but interconnected readerships. He indulges in literary play to appeal to housewives, politicians, technological tourists, and novel readers. Dickens weaves layers of in-jokes throughout his culinary writings, leaving it to the reader to read his recipes as serious instruction (if they were so inclined) or entertaining pastiche. In terms of tinned foods, the repeated efforts of authors to

overwrite the negative connotations that tins had demonstrates that readers and consumers could resist overarching narratives, potentially refusing the narratives offered to them by authors and advertisers alike. Hill elevates the aesthetic features of the recipe, giving her readers the tools to derive not just culinary, but aesthetic pleasure from her writings. She frees her readers from expectations, giving them room to exercise their own agency. Marshall, on the other hand, attempts to limit the agency of her readers by writing in a manner that withheld information if her readers chose not to buy her other texts, attend her cookery school, or purchase her products. Through this dual relationship, nineteenth-century food writing expresses the perceived temporal position of both author and reader, and it was this positioning that reflects the centrality of the reader to culinary writings.

The fact that these recipes and cookbooks contain so much more than mere instruction centres the act of reading at the core of food writing. This illuminates how uniquely positioned these texts are as sites where historicity and innovation were explored, contested, and established. Recipes are typically intended to extend the reading activity into the real world via the creation of food, reflected by structural inclusions that radially direct the reader to specific texts, implements and products. The mutable nature of these directions means that readers have the agency to follow, adapt, ignore, bypass or act against the text, however, co-producing the final meaning (or plate of food) that emerges. I have evidenced that authors were aware of this element of the recipe and cookbook genres: they understood their readers as active in the making of both food and meaning.

This claim about co-production between the author and reader could be made of other functional forms including instructional manuals or commonplace books. Unlike other forms that were intended to be used and adapted by readers, however, I have shown that the authors of recipes and cookbooks partake in the instructive and the literary simultaneously. This gives them a distinct status as hybrid genres, in which there is room for interactivity between authors and readers that is both literary and radial, depending on personal use. The authors of these texts thus create meaning while simultaneously acknowledging the potential of the reader to diverge from, adapt or build on that meaning through their own associations and cookery. Indeed, by embedding their culinary instructions within creative structures and narratives borrowed from other genres, authors arguably encourage their readers to enact the same type of culinary and literary play and facilitate their own meanings. This adds a layer of collaboration which other genres, functional and literary alike, lack. By interweaving this collaborative scope with their discussions of historicity and innovation, recipe and cookbook authors create the possibility of a more contested and contestable vision of historicity and

innovation than was possible in other genres. Reading a recipe or cookbook became a space in which readers could question or establish their own meaning and place in time and history.

In this thesis, I have sought to refigure the scholarly field in multiple ways. I have emphasised the importance of recipes and cookbooks to literary and historical studies of the nineteenth century. My work has shown how the grand narratives of historicity and innovation percolate through texts that were written to be used in everyday, domestic settings: texts that readers could use to actively engage in the debates outlined, by enacting or resisting the instructions within them. By centring the relationship between food writing and material technologies, I have demonstrated that recipes and cookbooks were written to perform a technological rhetoric. Nineteenth-century food writing is a literary genre that communicates more than cookery instructions and instead has close connections to other genres of writing, forming a thriving corner of the literary marketplace. Moreover, the status of food writing as a hybridised genre formed by a bricolage of meaning creates possibilities for the co-creation of meaning that other genres are not open to. So much can be gained from the study of these texts in terms of our understanding of the written and lived past. To reduce them to domestic instruction as has been done previously, as if they were not worthy of sustained literary study, is to overlook a valuable resource. I hope to have illuminated just how much potential recipes and cookbooks have as subjects of scholarship, and to have showcased the centrality of food to the dominant nineteenth-century discourses of innovation and historicity.

This study has therefore laid the groundwork for future work on nineteenth-century food, and on food writing as a literary and technological genre more generally. While I have focused on gridirons and tinned foods to explore my interest in historicity and innovation, refrigeration and freezing, changing forms of food packaging, industrialised dairy and meat-processing techniques, food distribution and waste management systems are among many technological food processes that are rich sites for the study of how authors and readers interpreted changing foodways. The texts I focused on were largely published in Britain but analysing how recipes for tinned foods differed in the countries in which they were produced, like the USA and Australia, would provide an interesting point of comparison. While I have studied the literary nature of recipes and cookbooks, further work could be done to examine how the rhetoric employed by culinary authors influences genres like novels and poetry. Moreover, while I have posited that the collaborative underpinning of food writing as a hybrid genre allowed nineteenth-century authors to promote adaptable discussions of innovation and historicity, food writing from other period and locales may have been used to promote or disrupt other discourses. Given that food can be used as a window into all

aspects of life, its representation across media should not be underestimated as a site for exploration.

Bibliography

A Lady [Maria Rundell]. 1851. *Murray's Modern Cookery Book: Modern Domestic Cookery* (London: John Murray)

Acton, Eliza. 1845. *Modern Cookery in All its Branches* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans)

----- 1860. *Modern Cookery for Private Families* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts)

Accum, Friedrich. 1820. *A Treatise on Adulterations of Food and Culinary Poisons: exhibiting the fraudulent sophistications of bread, beer, wine, spirituous liquors, tea, oil, pickles, and other articles employed in domestic economy, and methods of detecting them* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown)

Albala, Ken (ed.). 2014. *The Food History Reader*, ed. by K. Albala (London: Bloomsbury)

Alonso-Almeida, Francisco. 2013. 'Genre Conventions in English Recipes, 1600-1800', in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800,* ed. by M. DiMeo and S. Pennell (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 68-92.

Anderman, Elizabeth. 2019. 'Serialization, Illustration, and the Art of Sensation', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 52.1: 27-56. doi:10.1353/vpr.2019.0001.

Anon. October 1821. 'The Cook's Oracle', *London Magazine,* 4.11: 432-439

Anon. 3 December 1842. 'Kitchen Department of the Reform Club', *Illustrated London News,* 30: 477-478

Anon. 12 August 1843. 'Pokings About London', *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,* 602: 234-235

Anon. 19 August 1846. 'The Gastronomic Regenerator – The Modern Cook', *The Times,* 19319: 7

Anon. 24 October 1846. 'The Kitchen of the Reform Club-House, Pall Mall', *Sharpe's London Magazine,* 2.52: 204-205

Anon. 19 February 1847. 'The Gastronomic Regenerator', *The Times,* 19477: 7

Anon. July 1849. 'Soyer's Modern Housewife', *Sharpe's London Journal,* 10: 381-384

Anon. 1 September 1849. 'Soyer's Modern Housewife', *Spectator,* 1105: 19

Anon. 10 October 1849. 'The Modern Housewife or Ménagère', *Scotsman,* 33.3105: 3

Anon. October 1849. 'Soyer's Modern Housewife, Simpkin and Marshall', *Mirror Monthly Magazine,* 6.1350: 263-264

Anon. 4 June 1851. 'The Great Exhibition', *Daily News,* p. 2

Anon. 14 June 1851. ‘The Food of Man’, *Illustrated London News,* 18:494, p. 560

Anon. 25 October 1851. ‘Official, Descriptive, and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition’. *The Examiner,* p. 676

Anon. 3 January 1852. ‘The Preserved Meat of the Navy’, *The Times.* p. 7

Anon. 18 January 1852. ‘The Poisonous “Preserved” Meats at Portsmouth’, *Lloyd’s Weekly London Newspaper,* p. 5

Anon. 1 May 1852. ‘Preserved Provisions’. *Reynolds’s Miscellany,* p. 232

Anon. April 1852. ‘Preserved Meats’. *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country,* 45:268, pp. 410-417

Anon. March 1857. ‘An Epicure’s Steak’, *National Magazine,* 1.5: 335

Anon. 14 April 1859. ‘Alexis Soyer’, *Leisure Hour,* 381: 236-239

Anon. 25 February 1860. ‘The Government in the Pantry’, *Leader and Saturday Analyst,* 182-183

Anon. 21 April 1866. ‘The Literary Examiner’, *Examiner,* 3038: 9

Anon. 17 August 1865. ‘Multiple Classified Advertisements’, *Standard,* 12800: 8

Anon. c1865. *Directions for Using the Singer Manufacturing Co.’s New Family Sewing Machine* (New York: Principal Office of the Company). Digital pamphlet < https://www.victoriansweatshop.com/post/singer-new-family-sewing-machine-9928562?pid=1306246552> [Accessed 3 August 2022]

Anon. 31 May 1869. ‘Private Correspondence’, *Birmingham Daily Post,* 3389: 5

Anon. 14 July 1885. ‘Multiple Classified Advertisements’, *Morning Post,* 35275: 1

Anon. 19 October 1885. ‘Multiple Classified Advertisements’, *Morning Post,* 35359: 1

Anon. 14 October 1886. ‘Cookery and Cook-making’, *Pall Mall Gazette,* 6733: 1-2

Anon. 16 August 1887. ‘A Pretty Luncheon’, *Leeds Mercury,* 15399: 8

Anon. 17 October 1887. ‘A Pretty Luncheon’, *The Times,* 32205: 6

Anon. 16 February 1889. ‘Libby’s Beef Advertisement’, *Manchester Times*: 6

Anon. 1890. *Cassell’s Book of the Household: A Work of Reference on Domestic Economy* (London: Cassell and Company)

Anon. August 1892. ‘Household Queries’, *Leisure Hour:* 719-720

Anon. 18 August 1892. ‘Death in the Tin’, *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art,* 74.1963: 650-651

Anon. 1893. *Tinned foods and how to use them: containing menus for all meals through all seasons of the year, and practical recipes for all dishes prepared from preserved and tinned provisions, especially adapted for small households, economically conducted, also for yachting and camping-out excursions, and wherever ready substitutes for fresh provisions are required* (London: Ward, Lock and Bowden)

Anon. 3 February 1894. ‘Australian Mince and Potatoes’, *London Journal, and Weekly Record of Literature, Science and Art,* 21.529: 99

Anon. 10 September 1895. ‘Multiple Classified Advertisements’, *Dundee Courier,* 13165: 1

Anon. 14 August 1905. ‘Advertisements and Notices’, *Belfast Newsletter*: 6

Ashley, Bob and Joanne Hollows, Steve Jones, Ben Taylor. 2004. *Food and Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge)

Araposthatis, Stathis and Graeme Gooday. 2013. *Patently Contestable: Electrical Technologies and Inventor Identities on Trial in Britain* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press)

Ardeleanu, Constantin. 2012. ‘A British Meat Cannery in Moldovia (1844-52)’, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 90:4, pp. 671-704

Armstrong, Nancy. 1987. *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Auerbach, Jeffrey A. 2008. ‘Introduction’, in *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition,* ed. by J. A. Auerbach and P. H. Hoffenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate) pp. ix-xviii

Ault, Bradley A. 2015. ‘Kitchens’, in *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World,* ed. by J. Wilkins and R. Nadeau (Chichester: Wiley & Sons), pp. 206-211

Austin, Thomas. 1888. *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books* (London: N. Trubner & Co)

Babu, Aswathy G. 2021. ‘The Politics of Hair: Cultural Artefact and Symbolic Appropriation’, in *Literature, Theory and the History of Ideas: An Updated Compendium,* ed. by A Ahammad A and N. Rajan (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing)

Bacon, Francis. 1670. *Sylya Sylvarum, or, A Natural History in Ten Centuries* (London: J. R.)

Barham, Peter. 1993. ‘Mrs Marshall and ice cream made with liquid nitrogen’, in *Mrs Marshall, The Greatest Victorian Ice Cream Maker* (London: Smith Settle)

Barthes, Roland. [1957] 1973. *Mythologies* (London: Granada)

----- [1961] 1979. ‘Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption’, in *Food and Drink History*, ed. by R. Forster and O. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press) pp. 166-173

Beauvoir, Simone de. [1947] 2010. *The Second Sex,* trans. by C. Borde and S. Malovany-Chevallier (London: Vintage)

Beetham, Margaret. 2017. ‘Meeting Mrs Beeton: The personal is political in the recipe’, in *Food, Drink, and the Written Word in Britain, 1820-1945,* ed. by M. Addyman, L. Wood and C. Yiannitsaros (London: Routledge)

----- 2008. ‘Good Taste and Sweet Ordering: Dining with Mrs Beeton’, *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 36: 391-406

Beeton, Isabella. 1861. *The Book of Household Management* (London: S. O. Beeton)

Beeton, Mrs. [1877] 1888. *Mrs Beeton’s Everyday Cookery and Housekeeping Book* (London: Ward, Lock & Co)

Beeton, Mrs. [1877] c.1900. *Mrs Beeton’s Everyday Cookery and Housekeeping Book* (London: Ward, Lock & Co)

Berg, Maxine. 1980. *The Machinery Question and the Making of Political Economy, 1815-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Bhattacharya, Sumangala. 2016. ‘Kitchen Magic: Reforming the Victorian Kitchen with Alexis Soyer’, in *The Objects and Textures of Everyday Life in Britain,* ed. by D. H. McMahon and J. C. Myres (London: Routledge)

Boardman, Kay. 2000. ‘The Ideology of Domesticity: The Regulation of the Household Economy in Victorian Women’s Magazines’, *Victorian Periodicals Review.* 33.2: 150–164

Bosomworth, Dorothy (ed.). 1991. *The Victorian Catalogue of Household* Goods (London: Studio Editions)

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1979. *La Distinction* (Paris: La Minuit)

Brandon, Ruth. 2005. *The People’s Chef: Alexis Soyer, A Life in Seven Courses* (West Sussex: Wiley)

Bray, Joe T. 2003. *The Epistolary Novel: Representations of Consciousness* (London: Routledge)

Brears, Peter. 1998. ‘Food in Fashion; The Trend-setting Mrs Marshall’, in *Mrs Marshall, The Greatest Victorian Ice Cream Maker* (London: Smith Settle)

Briggs, Asa. 1989. *Victorian Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

‘broil, v.1.’. September 2019. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <www.oed.com/view/Entry/23617 > [Accessed 14 October 2019]

Broomfield, Andrea. 2007. *Food and Cooking in Victorian Britain: A History* (Westport: Praeger Publishers)

----- 2008. 'Rushing Dinner to the Table: The "Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine" and Industrialization's Effects on Middle-Class Food and Cooking, 1852-1860', *Victorian Periodicals Review,* 41:2, 101-123

Buckmaster, Charles. 1874. *Buckmaster's Cookery* (London: George Routledge and Sons)

Bullock, April. 2005. 'Alexis Soyer's Gastronomic Symposium of All Nations', *Gastronomica,* 5.4: 50-59

Burnett, John. [1966] 1989 *Plenty and Want: A social history of food in England from 1815 to the present day.* 3rd edn. (London: Routledge)

Butterfield, Herbert. 1965. *The Whig Interpretation of History* (New York: Norton)

'calefacient, adj. and n.'. September 2022. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. < https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/26292?redirectedFrom=calefacient#eid> [Accessed 9 November 2022]

Castle, Terry J. 1979. 'Lab'ring Bards: Birth "Topoi" and English Poetics 1660-1820'. *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 78.2: pp. 193–208

Carlyle, Thomas. Jun 1829. 'Anticipation; or, an Hundred Years Hence', *Edinburgh Review*, 49.98: 439-459

Civitello, Linda. 2004. *Cuisine and Culture: A History of Food and People* (Hoboken: Wiley)

Cohen, Deborah. 2009. *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press)

Collingham, Lizzie. 2006. *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Collins, Harry. 2010. *Tacit and Explicit Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

Counihan, Carole and Penny Van Esterick. 2013. *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 3rd edn, ed. by C. Counihan and P. V. Esterick (New York: Routledge)

Cowen, Ruth. 2007. *Relish: The Extraordinary Life of Alexis Soyer, Victorian Celebrity Chef* (London: Phoenix)

Daly, Suzanne. 2011. *The Empire Inside: Indian Commodities in Victorian Domestic Novels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press)

Dayton, John. 2013. 'Food and Civilised Society in the Homeric Epics', in *Food: Expressions and Impressions* (Leiden: Brill), pp. 31-41

de Blaquière, Dora. 5 August 1899. 'Grilling and Devilling', *The Girl's Own Paper*, pp. 710-711

Deith, John S. 1996. ‘Mrs Agnes B. Marshall’, in *Cooks and Other People: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium of Food and Cookery 1995,* ed. by Harlan Walker (Devon: Prospect Books)

De Ridder, Jolein and Marianne Van Remoortel. 2011. ‘Not “Simply Mrs. Warren”: Eliza Warren Frances (1810-1900) and the “Ladies’ Treasury’, *Victorian Periodicals Review,* 44.4: 307-326

Dickens, Charles. 18 July 1868. ‘Leaves from the Mahogany Tree’, *All the Year Round,* 20.482: 127-131

----- 15 May 1869. ‘Chops’, *All the Year Round,* 1.24: 562-564

----- [1861] 1996. *Great Expectations,* ed. by C. Mitchell (London: Penguin Classics)

----- [1865] 1997. *Our Mutual Friend,* ed. by A. Poole (London: Penguin)

----- [1858] 1999. ‘*Appendix B:* Preface to the Charles Dickens Edition (1867)’, in *Charles Dickens: David Copperfield,* ed. by N. Burgis (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 870

----- [1859] 1999. *A Tale of Two Cities,* ed. by P Merchant (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth)

Donkin, Bryan, John Hall and John Gamble. 1817. *Copies of Official Reports and Letters Relative to Donkin, Hall & Gamble’s Preserved Provisions* (London: J. Powell)

Doody, Margaret A. 1985. ‘Introduction’, in *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded,* ed. by P. Sabor (London: Penguin Classics)

Douglas, Mary. 1972. ‘Deciphering a Meal’, *Daedalus,* 101.1: 61-81

----- 1974. ‘Food as an Art Form’, *Studio International,* September: 83-88

Duguid, Lindsay. 8 January 2009. ‘Rossetti, Christina Georgina (1830-1894), poet’. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online.* Oxford University Press. < https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24139?rskey=PhVTIN&result=1> [Accessed 10 August 2022]

Durbach, Nadja. 2013. ‘Roast Beef, the New Poor Law, and the British Nation, 1834-63’, *Journal of British Studies* 52.4: 963–989

----- 2020. *Many Mouths: The Politics of Food in Britain from the Workhouse to the Welfare State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Dreifuss, Jean-Jacques, and Natalia Tikhonov Sigrist. 2012. ‘The Making of a Bestseller: Alexander and Jane Marcet’s *Conversations on Chemistry’, Science Networks Historical Studies,* 44: 19-32

Dryden, John. 1705. ‘Ovid’s *Canace to Macareus’,* in *Ovid’s Epistles, Translated by Several Hands* (London: J. Tonson)

Engelhardt, Molly. 2013. 'The Language of Flowers in the Victorian Knowledge Age', *Victoriographies,* 3.2: 136-160

Fara, Patricia. 2002. *Newton: The Making of Genius* (London: Macmillan)

Farrer, Keith. 2005. *To Feed a Nation: A History of Australian Food Science and Technology* (Victoria: CSIRO)

Fawcett, Millicent Garret. 1901. *Life of the Right Hon. Sir William Molesworth, Bart., M.P., F.R.S.* (London: Macmillan)

Ferguson, Priscilla Pankhurst. 1998. 'A Cultural Field in the Making: Gastronomy in 19th-Century France', *American Journal of Sociology,* 104.3: 597-641

----- 2004. *Accounting for Taste: The Triumph of French Cuisine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

Fiddes, Nick. 1991. *Meat: A Natural Symbol* (London: Routledge)

Fielding, Henry. 1731. *The Grub Street Opera* (London: E. Rayner)

Finlay, Mark R. 1992. 'Quackery and Cookery: Justus von Liebig's Extract of Meat and the Theory of Nutrition in the Victorian Age', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*? 66.3: 404-418

----- 1995. 'Early Marketing and the Theory of Nutrition: Science and Culture of Liebig's Extract of Meat', in *The Science and Culture of Nutrition, 1840-1940,* ed. by H. Kamminga and A. Cunningham (Leiden: Brill) pp. 48-74

Fiske, Stephen. 1869. *English Photographs: being sketches of English life, by an American* (London: Tinsley Brothers)

Flandrin, Jean-Louis and Massimo Montanari. 1999. *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present.* trans. by A. Sonnenfield (New York: Columbia University Press)

Flaubert, Gustave. [1856] 2004. *Madame Bovary: Provincial Manners,* trans. by M. Mauldon (Oxford: Oxford World Classics)

Floyd, Janet and Laurel Forster. 2003. *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Traditions,* ed. by J. Floyd and L. Forster (London: University of Nebraska Press)

Fortnum & Mason. 1849. *Catalogue of Preserved Provisions* (London: Fortnum & Mason)

Garrison, Laurie. 2009. 'Seductive Visual Studies: Scientific Focus and Editorial Control in The Woman in White and All the Year Round', in *The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century Picture and Press,* ed. by L. Brake and M. Demoor (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 168–83

Garval, Michael. 2007. 'Alexis Soyer and the Rise of the Celebrity Chef', *Romantic Gastronomies: A Volume of the Romantic Circles Praxis Series* <Garval, "Alexis

Soyer and the Rise of the Celebrity Chef" | Romantic Circles (romantic-circles.org)> [accessed 2 Feb 2022] 51 paragraphs

Gay, John. 1728. *The Beggar's Opera* (London: Printed for John Watts)

----- 1779. 'A Receipt for Stewing Veal', in *The Poems of Gay,* ed. by S. Johnson (London: J. Nichols), pp. 298-299.

Genette, Gérard. [1987] 1997. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation,* trans. by J. E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Gigante, Denise. 2005. *Taste: A Literary History* (New Haven: Yale University Press)

Gillan, Edward J. 2017. *The Victorian Palace of Science: Scientific Knowledge and the Building of the Houses of Parliament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Gillray, James. 21 December 1792. *French Liberty – British Slavery,* hand-coloured etching. 24.9 x 35.2cm, Metropolitan Museum, New York

----- 4 October 1798. *John Bull Taking a Luncheon; - or – British Cooks, Cramming Old Grumble-Gizzard, with Bonne-Chere,* hand-coloured etching. 25.7 x 36.2cm, Royal Museums Greenwich, London

----- 26 February 1805. *The Plumb-Pudding in Danger; –or– State Epicures Taking un Petit Souper,* hand-coloured etching, 26 x 36.2cm, Metropolitan Museum, New York

Gitter, Elizabeth. 1984. 'The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination', *PMLA,* 99.5: 936-54

Gorham, Deborah. 1982 *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London: Croom Helm)

'gridiron'. June 2022. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press < https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/Entry/81386?rskey=AbhEn8&result=1#eid> [accessed 22 July 2019]

Grey, C. May 1875. 'Tinned Meats', *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine,* 18.181: 266-277

Gurton, Gammer. 1783. *Gammer Gurton's Garland, Or, The Nursery Parnassus* (London: Christopher and Jennett)

Hamlett, Jane. 2009. 'The Dining Room Should Be the Man's Paradise, as the Drawing Room Is the Woman's', *Gender & History.* 21.3: 576-591

Handel, George Frideric. [1711] 1999. *Rinaldo, An Opera in Three Acts* (New York: Kalmus)

Harding, Graham. 2021. 'The Making of Modern Champagne: How and Why the *Taste for* and the *Taste of* Champagne Changed in Nineteenth-century Britain', *Consumption Markets and Culture,* 24.1: 6-29

Hardy, Sheila. 2011. *The Real Mrs Beeton: The Story of Eliza Acton* (Stroud: The History Press)

Harris, Deborah A. and Patti Giuffre. 2015. *Taking the Heat: Women Chefs and Gender Inequality in the Professional Kitchen* (London: Rutgers University Press)

Hart, F. Leslie. 1952. 'A History of the Adulteration of Food Before 1906', *Food, Drug, Cosmetic Law Journal*, 7.1: 5-22

Hassall, Arthur Hill. 1855. *Food and its Adulterations: Comprising the Reports of the Analytical Sanitary Commission of "The Lancet" for the Years 1851 to 1854 Inclusive* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans)

Hastings, George W. 1859. *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (London: John W. Parker and Son)

Heritage, Lizzie. [1894] 1896. *Cassell's New Universal Cookery Book* (London: Cassell and Company)

Hill, Georgiana. 1859. *The Gourmet's Guide to Rabbit Cooking, in One Hundred and Twenty-four Dishes* (London: W. Kent and Co)

----- 1860. *The Cook's Own Book: A Manual of Cookery, for the Kitchen and the Cottage* (London: Routledge, Warne & Routledge)

----- 1862. *Everybody's Pudding Book* (London: Richard Bentley)

----- 1862. *Foreign Desserts for English Tables* (London: Richard Bentley)

----- 1865. *How to Cook Apples, Shown in a Hundred Different Ways of Dressing that Fruit* (London: George Routledge and Sons)

----- 1865. *The Breakfast Book* (London: George Routledge and Sons)

----- 1866. *How to Cook or Serve Eggs in a Hundred Different Ways* (London: George Routledge and Sons)

----- 1867. *Cakes: How to Make Them in a Hundred Different Ways* (London: George Routledge and Sons)

'historicity, n.'. June 2022. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <historicity, n. : Oxford English Dictionary (oed.com)> [Accessed 1 August 2022]

Hogarth, William. 1749. *The Gate of Calais, or, The Roast Beef of Old England*, engraving, 38.5 x 46cm, Royal Academy of Arts, London

Homer. 1992. *Illiad*, trans. by R. Fagles (London: Penguin Classics)

----- 2001. *The Homeric Hymns*, trans. by M. Crudden (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Horsman, Reginald. 1996. *Frontier Doctor: William Beaumont, America's First Great Medical Scientist* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1996)

Huch, Ronald K. 1985. ‘The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science: Its Contribution to Victorian Health Reform, 1857-1886’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 17.3: 279–299

Hughes, Kathryn. 2006. *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs Beeton* (London: Harper Perennial)

Hughes, Thomas P. 2004. *Human-Build World: How to Think about Technology and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

Humble, Nicola. 2000. ‘Introduction’, in *Mrs Beeton’s Book of Household Management* (Oxford: Oxford World Classics)

----- 2005. *Culinary Pleasures: Cookbooks and the Transformation of British Food* (London: Faber and Faber)

----- 2010. ‘Domestic Arts’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. by F. O’Gorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) pp. 219-235

Igou, Anna. 2013. ‘Nothing Consumed: The Dangerous Space of Food in “Madame Bovary”’, *French Forum,* 38.1/2: 35-50

Ingrassia, Catherine. 2003. ‘Introduction’, in *Anti-Pamela, Eliza Haywood and Shamela, Henry Fielding,* ed. by C. Ingrassia (Peterborough ON: Broadview Press)

‘innovation, n.’. June 2022. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/96311?redirectedFrom=innovation+#eid> [Accessed 1 August 2022]

Jennings, James. 1837. Two Thousand Five Hundred Practical Recipes in Family Cookery (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper)

Jewry, Mary. [1879] 1890. *Warne’s Model Cookery and Housekeeping Book*, peoples edn (London: Frederick Warne and Co)

Johnstone, Isobel Christian 1826. *The Cook and Housewife’s Manual* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Author)

Jordanova, Ludmilla. 2000. *Defining Features: Scientific and Medical Portraits 1660-2000* (London: Reaktion Books)

Kauffman, Linda S. 1992. *Special Delivery: Epistolary Modes in Modern Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

Kay, Emma. 2017. *Cooking up History: Chefs of the Past* (London: Prospect Books)

Kenney-Herbert, Arthur Robert. 1878. *Culinary Jottings from Madras* (Madras: Higginbotham and Co)

----- 1893. *Tinned Food with Advice and Recipes for its Treatment: Being John Moir & Sons (limited) Export Catalogue* (Leeds: Alf Cooke)

King, William. 1708. *The Art of Cookery: A Poem in Imitation of Horace's Art of Cookery* (London: Printed for Bernard Lintott)

Kingstone, Helen. 2017. *Victorian Narratives of the Recent Past: Memory, History, Fiction* (London: Palgrave Macmillan)

Kitchiner, William. 1817. *Apicius Redivivus: The Cook's Oracle* (London: Samuel Bagster)

----- 1822. *Apicius Redivivus: The Cook's Oracle* (London: Hurst, Robinson & Co)

Krohn, Deborah L. 2013. 'Reflecting on Recipes', in *Cultural Histories of the Material World,* ed. by P. N. Miller (Michigan: University of Michigan Press) pp. 226-232

----- 2016. *Food and Knowledge in Renaissance Italy: Bartolomo Scappi's Paper Kitchens* (New York: Routledge)

Kuitert, Lisa. 2007. 'The Author's Image: Nineteenth-century Conventions and Techniques in Author Portraits', *Quærendo,* 37.3*:* 212-225

Laudan, Rachel. 2013. *Cuisine and Empire: Cooking in World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press)

Lehman, Gilly. 2013. 'Reading Recipe Books and Culinary History: Opening a New Field', in *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800,* ed. by M. DiMeo and S. Pennell (Manchester: Manchester University Press)

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. [1958] 1967. *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Doubleday)

----- 1965. 'The Culinary Triangle', *Partisan Review*, 33: 586-595

----- [1964] 1969. *The Raw and the Cooked* (London: Jonathan Cape)

----- [1968] 1978. *The Origin of Table Manners* (London: Jonathan Cape)

Lewes, George Henry. 1846. *A Biographical History of Philosophy*, vol. III. (London: Charles Knight)

Lieffers, Caroline. 2012. '"The Present Time is Eminently Scientific": The Science of Cookery in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Social History,* 45.4: 936-959

Lindsay, J. Seymour. 1964. *Iron and Brass Implements of the English House* (London: Alec Tiranti)

Lindsay, Lady Sarah. 1883. *A Few Choice Recipes* (London: Richard Bentley & Son)

Livesey, Ruth. 2016. *Writing the Stage Coach Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

Locke, John. 1750. *Elements of Natural Philosophy* (London: J. Thompson)

Logan, Thad. 2001. *The Victorian Parlour: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Lovell, Robert. 1661. *Panzooryktologia: sive, Panzoologicomineralogia, or, a Compleat History of Animals and Minerals* (Oxford: B. Hall)

Low, Sampson. 1862. *The Charities of London in 1861* (London: Sampson Low)

Macleod, Christine. 1992. 'Strategies for innovation: the diffusion of new technology in nineteenth-century British industry', *Economic History Review* 45.2: 285-307

Manley, J. J. 18 January 1873. 'Australian Food Products and their use in Great Britain', *The Argus*, p. 1

----- 24 January 1873. 'Australian Food Products and their use in Great Britain', *The Argus*, p. 6

Maitzen, Rohan Amanda. 1998. *Gender, Genre, and Victorian Historical Writing* (New York: Garland)

Marsden, Ben and Crosbie Smith. 2005. *Engineering Empires: A Cultural History of Technology in Nineteenth-century Britain* (London: Palgrave Macmillan)

Marsden, Ben. 2013. 'Introduction', in *Uncommon Contexts: Encounters Between science and Literature, 1800-1914*, ed. by B. Marsden, H. Hutchison and R. O'Connor (London: Pickering & Chatto)

----- 2013. 'Re-reading Isambard Kingdom Brunel: Engineering Literature in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *Uncommon Contexts: Encounters Between Science and Literature, 1800-1914*, ed. by B. Marsden, H. Hutchison and R. O'Connor (London: Pickering & Chatto)

Marshall, A. B. 1885. *The Book of Ices: Including Cream and Water Ices, Sorbets, Mousses, Iced Soufflés, and Various Iced Dishes, seventh thousand* (London: Marshall's School of Cookery)

----- 1891. *Mrs A. B. Marshall's Larger Cookery Book of Extra Recipes* (London: Marshall's School of Cookery)

----- 1894a [1888]. *Mrs. A. B. Marshall's Cookery Book* (London: Marshall's School of Cookery)

----- 1894b. *Fancy Ices* (London: Marshall's School of Cookery)

Marshall, Alfred William. 30 September 1884. *Improvements in 'Ice Caves' or Apparatus for Freezing Soufflés and Moulding Ice Puddings and the like, also Applicable as an Ice Safe and for Keeping Food or Drink at Low or High Temperature.* United Kingdom. Patent 13,007.

Marshall, Alfred William. 1901. *Census Return for The Towers, West End, Pinner, Middlesex, Hendon.* 1201, Folio 15, p. 21.

Mason, Nicholas. 2002. 'Building Brand Byron: Early-Nineteenth-Century Advertising and the Marketing of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage', *Modern Language Quarterly* 63.4: 411-440

May, Robert. 1665. *The Accomplisht Cook, or, The Art & Mystery of Cookery* (London: Printed for Obediah Balgrave)

McConnell, Anita. 2004. 'Kitchiner, William (1778–1827), epicure and writer'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*. Oxford University Press. https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15690 [Accessed 9 November 2022]

McGann, Jerome J. 1991. *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

McGeevor, Sophie. 7 October 2014. 'Can she bake? The Bake Off Back Story'. University of Cambridge Research Online < https://www.cam.ac.uk/research/features/can-she-bake-the-bake-off-back-story> [accessed 21 October 2019]

McKeever, Gerrard Lee. 2020. *Dialectics of Improvement: Scottish Romanticism, 1786-1831* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)

McLean, Alice. 2012. *Aesthetic Pleasure in Twentieth-Century Women's Food Writing* (London: Taylor and Francis)

----- 2021. 'The Curious Appetite of Elizabeth Robins Pennell', in *Elizabeth Robins Pennell: Collected Essays,* ed. by D. Buchanan and K. Morse Jones (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 191-212

Melman, Billie. 2006. *The Culture of History: English Uses of the Past, 1800–1953*. (New York: Oxford University Press)

Mendelsohn, J. Andrew. 2002. '"Like All That Lives": Biology, Medicine and Bacteria in the Age of Pasteur and Koch', *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 24.1: 3–36

Mennell, Stephen. 1985. *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell)

Milton, John. [1667] 2000. *Paradise Lost* (London: Penguin Books)

Mintz, Sidney W. 1985. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking)

Mole, Tom. 2007. *Byron's Romantic Celebrity: Industrial Culture and the Hermeneutic of Intimacy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan)

Molinari de Rennie, Cecilia. 2015. 'Art, Science, and Ideology in 19th-century Advertisement for Liebig's Extract of Meat', *HYLE – International Journal for Philosophy of Chemistry*. 21.1: 39-60

Morris, Helen Soutar. [1938] 2013. *Portrait of a Chef: The Life of Alexis Soyer, Sometime Chef to the Reform Club* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Morse, Elizabeth J. September 2004. 'Marcet, Jane Haldimand (1769-1858), writer on science and political economy'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online.* Oxford University Press. < https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18029> [Accessed 6 July 2022]

Nisbet, Robert. 1980. *History of the Idea of Progress* (New York: Basic Books)

Notaker, Henry. 2017. *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page over Seven Centuries* (Oakland: University of California Press)

Ofek, Galia. 2006. 'Sensational Hair: Gender, Genre, and Fetishism in the Sensational Decade', in *Victorian Sensations: Essays on a Scandalous Genre,* ed. by K. Harrison and R. Fantina (Columbus OH: Ohio State University Press), pp. 102-114

Pacey, Arnold. 2001. *Meaning in Technology* (London: MIT Press)

Paley, William. [1802] 1831. *Natural Theology* (Boston: Richardson, Lord & Hollbrook)

Payne, Arthur Gay. 1880. *The Housekeeper's Guide to Preserved Meats, Fruits, Vegetables, &c.* (London: Crosse & Blackwell)

----- 1882. *Choice Dishes at Small Cost* (London: Cassell)

'pellicle, n.'. September 2022. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <pellicle, n. : Oxford English Dictionary (oed.com)> [Accessed 8 November 2022]

Pennell, Elizabeth Robins. 1896. *The Feasts of Autolycus: The Diary of a Greedy Woman* (London: John Lan)

Pennell, Sara. 1998. '"Pots and Pans History": The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England', *Journal of Design History*, 11.3: 201-216

----- 2016. *The Birth of the English Kitchen, 1600-1850* (London: Bloomsbury)

Perren, Richard. 2017. *Taste, Trade and Technology: The Development of the International Meat Industry Since 1840* (New York: Routledge)

Pickering, Paul A. and Alex Tyrell. 2000. *The People's Bread: A History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (London: Leicester University Press)

Plotz, John. 2008. *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Prasch, Thomas. 2008. 'Eating the World: London in 1851', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 36.2: 587-602

'ptomaine, n.'. June 2020. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/154019> [accessed 30 June 2020]

Raven, James. 2009. 'The Book as a Commodity', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain,* ed. by M. F. Suarez SJ and M. L. Turner. 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 85-117

Rich, Rachel. 25 September 2014. 'Hill, Georgiana, (1825-1903), cookery writer'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-106198> [Accessed 2 July 2021]

----- 2015. "'If You Desire to Enjoy Life, Avoid Unpunctual People': Women, Timetabling and Domestic Advice, 1850-1910", *Cultural and Social History,* 12.1: 95-112. doi: 10.2752/147800415X14135484867225

----- 2019. 'Georgina Hill's Household Manual Series: How to Cook Dinner in a Hundred Different Ways', *Victorian Review,* 45.2: 200-204.

----- 2020. "Cookbook Writers and Recipe Readers: Georgiana Hill, Isabella Beeton and Victorian Domesticity", *Journal of Victorian Culture,* 25. 3: 408-423. doi: 10.1093/jvcult/vcaa007

'regenerator, n.'. June 2022. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <regenerator, n. : Oxford English Dictionary (oed.com)> [Accessed 26 July 2022]

Rogers, Ben. 2003. *Beef and Liberty: Roast Beef, John Bull, and the English Nation* (London: Vintage)

Rossetti, Christina. [1862] 2015. *Goblin Market* (London: Penguin Classics)

Roy, Modhumita. 2010. 'Some Like it Hot: Class, Gender and Empire in the Making of Mulligatawny Soup', *Economic and Political Weekly,* 45.32: 66-75

Ryan, Roger. 1997. 'The Emergence of Middle-Class Yachting in the North-West of England from the Later Nineteenth Century', in *Recreation and the Sea,* ed. by S. Fisher (Exeter: University of Exeter Press)

Sala, George Augustus. 1884. *Echoes of the year Eighteen Hundred and Eighty Three* (London: Remington & Co)

----- 1894. *Things I Have Seen and People I Have Known,* vol. 2 (London: Cassell and Company)

Sainson, Katia. 2001. '"Le Régénérateur de la France": Literary Accounts of Napoleonic Regeneration 1799-1805', *Nineteenth-Century French Studies,* 30.1/2: 9–25.

Scappi, Bartolomeo. 1570. *Opera di Bartolomeo Scappi* (Venice: Pontefice Papa Pio V)

Schaffer, Talia. 2003. 'The Importance of Being Greedy: Connoisseurship and Domesticity in the Writings of Elizabeth Robins Pennell', in *The Recipe Reader: Narratives, Contexts, Voices,* ed. by J. Floyd and L. Forster (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp.105-126

Schoenefeldt, Henrik. 2018. "The Historic Ventilation System of the House of commons, 1840-52: Re-visiting David Boswell Reid's Environmental Legacy', *Antiquaries Journal* 98: 245-95

Scott, Sir Walter. 1825. *Waverly, or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani)

----- [1823] 1995. *Saint Ronan's Well,* ed. by M. Weinstein (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press)

Secord, James. 2000. *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (London: University of Chicago Press)

Shakespeare, William. [1600] 2007. 'The Merchant of Venice', in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions), pp. 388-415

Shannon, Mary L. 2018. 'Dickens in Byron's Chair: Authenticity, Author Portraits, and Nineteenth-century Visual Culture', *Victorian Literature and Culture,* 46.1: 57-81

Shapin, Steven. 1984. 'Pump and Circumstance: Robert Boyle's Literary Technology', *Social Studies of Science.* 14.4: 481-520

Shelley, Mary. [1831] 2008. *Frankenstein* (Oxford: Oxford World Classics)

Shephard, Sue. 2006. *Pickled, Potted & Canned: How the Art and Science of Food Preserving Changed the World* (New York: Simon and Schuster)

Shishko, Bonnie. 2021. 'Culinary Ekphrasis: Writing Against Science in Elizabeth Robins Pennell's The Delights of Delicate Eating', in *Elizabeth Robins Pennell: Collected Essays,* ed. by D. Buchanan and K. Morse Jones (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 172-190

Smiles, Samuel. 1875. *Thrift* (London: John Murray)

Soyer, Alexis. 1846. *The Gastronomic Regenerator: A Simplified and Entirely New System of Cookery, with nearly Two Thousand Practical Receipts, suited to the income of all classes* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co)

----- 1848. *Soyer's Charitable Cookery, or, The Poor Man's Regenerator* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co)

----- 1849. *The Modern Housewife, or Ménagère* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co)

----- 1849b. *The Modern Housewife, or Ménagère,* Seventh Thousand Edn. (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co)

----- 1851. *The Modern Housewife, or Ménagère,* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co)

----- 1854. *A Shilling Cookery for the People* (London: Routledge)

----- 1857. *Soyer's Culinary Campaign: Being Historical Reminiscences of the Late War, with the Plain Art of Cookery for Military and Civil Institutions, The Army, Navy, Public, etc etc*. (London: Routledge)

Spencer, Colin. 2002. *British Food: An Extraordinary Thousand Years of History* (New York: Columbia University Press)

Stickney Ellis, Sarah. 1839. *The Women of England, Their Social Duties, and Domestic Habits* (London: Fisher, Son & Co)

Sumner, James. 2007. 'Retailing Scandal: The Disappearance of Friedrich Accum', in *(Re)Creating Science in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* ed. by A. Mordavsky Caleb (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing) pp. 32-48

----- 2008. 'Status, Scale and Secret Ingredients: The Retrospective Invention of London Porter', *History and Technology,* 24.3: 289-306

Sutton, David E. 2001. *Remembrances of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (Oxford: Berg)

Sydney, Smith. [c.1800] 1853. 'Sydney Smith's Recipe for a Winter Salad', in *The Cruet Stand: Select Pieces of Prose and Poetry,* ed. by C. Gough (London: Wertheim and Macintosh), p. 368

Tannahill, Reay. 1973. *Food in History* (London: Eyre Methuen)

Thackeray, William Makepeace. [1850] 2011. *The History of Pendennis* (Auckland: The Floating Press). Google Books edition

Thirsk, Joan. 1985. 'Forward', in *Women in English Society 1500-1800,* ed. by M. Prior (London: Methuen) pp. 1-21

Thompson, Andrew S. 2014. *The Empire Strikes Back: The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge)

Thompson, Deborah Ann. 1991. 'Anorexia as Lived Trope: Christina Rossetti's "Goblin Market"', *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal,* 24.3/4: 89-106

Trubeck, Amy B. 2000. *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press)

Waddington, Keir. 2011. 'The Dangerous Sausage: Diet, Meat and Disease in Victorian and Edwardian Britain', *Cultural and Social History,* 8.1: 51-71

Waugh, Patricia. 1984. *Metafiction: The Theory and Practice of Self-Conscious Fiction* (London: Routledge)

Weir, Robin. 1996. 'Mrs. A. B. Marshall: Ice-creammonger Extraordinary', in *Cooks and Other People: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium of Food and Cookery 1995,* ed. by Harlan Walker (Devon: Prospect Books)

----- 2000. ‘More on the Origin and History of the Ice-cream Cone’, in *Milk: Beyond the Dairy: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1999*, ed. by H. Walker (Devon: Prospect Books)

----- 23 September 2004. ‘Marshall [née Smith], Agnes Bertha (1855-1905), ice-cream maker’. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-67307> [accessed 3 September 2020]

----- 2013. ‘Foreward’, in *Ices and Ice Creams* (London: Square Peg)

Wolfe, Joel. 2015. ‘Summer’s Food for Winter’s Tables: Tin Consumption in the Americas’, in *Tin and Global Capitalism: A History of the Devil’s Metal, 1850-2000,* ed. by M. Ingulstad, A. Percharch and E. Storli (New York: Routledge) pp. 74-88

Woods, Rebecca J. H. 2020. ‘The Shape of Meat: Preserving Animal Flesh in Victorian Britain’, *Osiris,* 35: 123-141

Wynne, Deborah. 2001. *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (New York: Palgrave)

Van Leeuwen, Thomas A. P. 2020. *The Magic Stove: Barry, Soyer and The Reform Club or How a Great Chef Helped to Create a Great Building* (Amsterdam: Les Éditions Du Malentendu)

Volant, F., and J. R. Warren. 1859. *Memoirs of Alexis Soyer; with Unpublished Receipts and Odds and Ends of Gastronomy* (London: W. Kent)

Young, Paul. 2008. ‘Mission Impossible: Globalisation at the Great Exhibition’, in *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition,* ed. by J. A. Auerbach and P. H. Hoffenberg (Aldershot: Ashgate) pp. 3-26

Yoshida, Akemi. 2013. ‘Temptation of Fruit: The Symbolism of Fruit in Christina Rossetti’s “Goblin Market” and in the Works of D. G. Rossetti and J. E. Millais’, in *Plants in Literature: Essays in Critical Plant Studies,* ed. by R. Laist (Amsterdam: Rodopi)

Zlotnick, Susan. 1996. ‘Domesticating Imperialism: Curry and Cookbooks in Victorian England’, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies, Gender Nation and Nationalisms* 16.2/3: 51-68