'Stir it well in, it will give it a High French Taste': The relationship with French culinary influence in 18th and 19th century Ireland.

Johnathan Swift's satirical advice to the cook on soot falling into the soup is a reminder that controversary surrounding French culinary expertise and innovation is no recent phenomenon. This paper will explore Irish attitudes to French food with particular reference to Irish culinary manuscripts and the literature of the period. Despite protestations, French culinary methods, recipes and language colonised the Anglo speaking world. In Ireland, the Anglo-Irish gentry had their own 'rich and varied cuisine' (Mac Con Iomaire 2009 p.50) with French chefs travelling to work in their kitchens. French culture set the standards for much of aristocratic Europe in these centuries and Ireland was no exception. However given the nature of Ireland's complex relationship with England and thus with France, this paper will examine whether this complexity is reflected in the culinary discourse in Ireland.

The quotation used in the title of this paper comes from Swift's unfinished 'Directions to Servants' (1731), published after his death in 1745. Not one of Swift's finer satirical pieces, it is a rant of pitiless cynicism spoken in the voice of an exfootman, in format following the instruction manuals to servants of the time and quoted in Samuel and Sarah Adams 'The Complete Servant' of 1825 as an exemplar of what not to do. It is however a good point of access for a discussion on French food and the reaction it provoked.

The field of culinary history has been laid claim to by a myriad of academic disciplines in recent decades, all illuminating different aspects of the topic according to their particular field of expertise. Elias (1969), Douglas (1971), Goody (1982), and Mintz (1985) may be viewed as the founding fathers of the field and since the closing years of the last century the study of gastronomy in all its various manifestations has been actively prospected across all disciplines.

Of interest for the purposes of this discussion is an understanding of the development and historiography of modern European cuisine and the hegemonic position that French cuisine assumes in this history. Questions that arise are how, or from what did modern cuisine emerge, how did French cuisine emerge as the pre-eminent cuisine and what is it that makes it a cultural signifier in discourse.

The Emergence of Modern European Cuisine

Medieval cuisine was rooted in several different epistemic systems. Chief amongst these were the Galenic theory of humors and the religious strictures of Christianity, which included observance of fast days and adherence to the idea of the Great Chain of Being (Scully 1995, Grieco 1999, Flandrin 1999b). Leschinziner (2006, p.424) describes the transition from the medieval world order to the modern period as equating to a seismic shift in the epistemological foundations of culinary knowledge.

The gradual collapse of the theoretical and religious foundations of culinary and dietetic discourse in the face of the widespread dissemination of ideas was facilitated by the printing press. The spread of the intellectual culture of humanistic and Enlightenment philosophy set in train a major revision of European conceptions of the gastronomically possible (Mennell 1996, Flandrin 1999a, Cowan 2007). Mac Con Iomaire (2009) observes that following the Reformation, food and cuisine diversified along national lines, leaving behind the relative uniformity of the medieval period. Cowan (2007) and Leschziner (2006) note the pressures to maintain a sense of continuity and national identity in the face of these revolutionary changes, with identity increasingly articulated through a sense of national cuisines. Leschziner observes that the change in material conditions experienced in Europe in this period allowed individuals to theorize practices in a new way and restructure western cuisine around the opposition between sweet and savoury. The old binary of hot/cold, and the blending of the savoury and sweet tottered under the weight of the new ideas, 'not only was the distinction between sweet and savory not present until the eighteenth century, but in a literal sense, it was not conceivable' (2006, p.425).

French Cuisine

Within the context of the philosophical and dietetic concerns of the late middle ages the Italian and French courts were emerging as preeminent in the formation of an elegant courtly cuisine (Mennell 1996, p.70). Willan (1977) and Mennell (1996) both point to the Italian origins of French cuisine, Mennell making the distinction that the Italians were pioneers rather then leaders in the culinary arts.

It is with the publication of La Varenne's *Le Cuisinier françois* (1651) that the switch to French supremacy can arguably be said to have taken place (Wheaton 1983 p.114, Lauden 1998, Trubeck 2000 p.7, Scully 2006 p.12). In this book, according to Wheaton (1983, p.115) 'the printed record of French cooking breaks decisively with the middle ages'. With La Varenne we see the re-positioning of sugar based food to the dessert course at the end of the meal, the articulation of what becomes the basic *repertoire* of French food in his recipes for *bouillon*, *liasons*, *farces* and herb and spice mixtures, and the earliest recipe for *roux*. French *haute cuisine* had now established its rules and its method. As Parkhurst-Ferguson (2004, p.36) observes, it was with La Varenne that a cookbook proclaimed its 'Frenchness' for the first time. The fashionable diet was now codified as French (Guerrini 2011, Leschziner 2006).

In rapid succession there followed books by de Bonnefons, de Lune, *L'Art de bien traiter* signed by L.S.R, and Massialot, with La Chapelle's *The Modern Cook*, published in English in 1733, proclaiming the end of the old culinary world and the start of *cuisine moderne*. Leaving aside the culinary innovations in these books, what is interesting for the purpose of this discussion are the prefaces. A vitriolic tone is adopted that eschews any sense of collegiality with fellow practitioners, a trumpeting of culinary nationalism is overt, and 'the social connotations of food were being made more and more explicit. Good taste, national pride and deference to the court as the fount of all fashion' (Mennell 1996, p.74).

The catalyst for the collapse of the medieval food systems was the printing press, making what was largely an oral tradition available for discussion and criticism, 'the process of criticism of a text is likely to bring about an accelerated rate of change and rationalization' (Mennell 1996, p.64). French chefs took what they learned from the Italian courtly traditions, shaped it and articulated a modern courtly style of cooking which ineluctably defined *haute cuisine* thereafter as French.

The English Response

There was a stronger tradition in England of printing new cookbooks, as opposed to reprints of medieval texts, then in France. They were also aimed at a much wider readership, relatively speaking, from an early stage. While the recipes in Markham's *The English Huswife* (1615) are those of the gentry and nobility the book was

concerned with all levels of society (White 2004, p.73). The books by May, Rabisha, Lamb, Smith and Carter mark the end of 'whatever little native tradition England had of 'courtly' cookery books' (Mennell 1996, p.93).

The bulk of successful English cookery books in the late 17th century and through the 18th century articulated a sense of English food as being what may be described as country cooking at its best and were to a great extent written by women. In respect to both style and authorship English cookery books were now emerging as utterly distinctive from French cookery books. Articulating not just a sense of being distinctive they also view French food and 'French ways' as being inimical to the English way of life. The first authoresses include Hannah Wooley (1670), Eliza Smith (1727), Elizabeth Moxon (1749), Elizabeth Raffald (1769) and Hannah Glasse (1747). Mennell observes that 'the intertwined themes of economy, plainness and hostility to French cookery are very prominent in these books' (1996, p.96). To be French is to be castigated as extravagant and to be modern in the French style is to break with the continuities of the past, to eschew the fine roasts and pies of the English tradition in favour of the delicate little kickshaws of France.

French cooks and French food were now identifiable for the purposes of criticism, and the cuisines of England and France have developed their own articulated styles. France has embraced modernity and England has reacted by emphasizing the virtues of continuity. In reality English writers did absorb many French dishes into their *repertoire*, however whether by virtue of commercial profit or genuine national pride these are in the main not acknowledged. Hannah Glasse is an example of the tone adopted,

'A *Frenchman*, in his own Country, would dress a fine Dinner of twenty dishes, and all genteel and pretty, for the Expense he will put an *English* Lord to for dressing one dish. But then there is the little petty profit. I have heard of a Cook that used six Pounds of Butter to fry twelve Eggs; when every body knows, that understands Cooking, that Half a Pound is full enough, or more then need be used; But then it would not be *French*. So much is the blind Folly of this Age that they would rather be imposed on by a *French* Booby, then give Encouragement to a good *English* Cook!' (1983, p.ii).

The Irish View

In considering Irish attitudes to French food one avenue for exploration is absent, namely prefaces or commentary by Irish cookbook writers. There was no printed cookbook by an Irish writer before the foundation of the state in the 20th century, with the exception of Catherine Alexander's *Cheap Receipts and Hints on Cooking, collected for distribution amongst the Irish peasantry* in 1847. To use the term 'Irish' in the context of the history of Ireland prior to the foundation of the State, and increasingly in modern times, is to step into some of the most contested territory culturally, sociologically and politically. What are being explored in this paper are the culinary attitudes of the gentry and elites of the island of Ireland, which encompasses both the old Irish and the various manifestations of the Anglo-Irish classes. In terms of Irish food Allen (1983) summarized the situation, 'when we talk about an Irish identity in food, we have such a thing, but we must remember that we belong to a geographical and culinary group with Wales, England and Scotland as all countries share their traditions with their next-door neighbor'.

Cullen (1981, p.142) has observed that Ireland in the late 16th and 17th centuries had experienced 'the largest immigration seen within Europe within the last eight hundred years, profoundly influencing indigenous traditions and often fusing them into new and distinctive patterns'. Discussing the nature of diet Cullen distinguishes between the popular food sense, which he notes as being probably the poorest in western Europe, and the traditions of hospitality and lavish entertaining among the elite classes. One French traveler to Ireland in the 17th century, just after La Varenne had revolutionized French cooking, shows how food in Ireland still maintained strong medieval links. Describing a salad he is presented with in the town of Dromore, Albert Jouvain says that it was

'made according to the mode of the country, of I know not what herbs; I think there were sorrel and beets chopped together; it represented the form of a fish, the whole without oil or salt, and only a little vinegar made of beer, and a quantity of sugar strewed over it, that it resembled Mount Etna covered in snow, so that it is impossible to be eaten by any one not accustomed to it. I made my host laugh heartily in the presence of a gentleman, a lord of the town, on asking for oil to season this salad,

according to the French fashion, and after having dressed it, I persuaded the gentleman to taste it, who was pleased to hear me speak of the state and customs of France, and told me he was extremely desirous of seeing France' (Jouvain 1668, p.421).

Another glimpse of the complexity of the relationship between Ireland England and France is afforded by Bishop Stock's narrative of the French invasion of Mayo in 1798. Kennedy (2009) demonstrates how Bishop Stock, held captive in his castle by French officers under Lieutenant Colonel Charost, found the French ways of easy sociability much more congenial then those of their English liberator, 'They dined, drank and spent long evenings conversing together'. The theme of food and conviviality runs through the narrative, 'as he candidly admitted, during his captivity he had enjoyed fine food and excellent wine that the French had requisitioned from the cellars and larders of his loyal neighbours' (Kennedy 2009, p.102). In a form of reverse hospitality Stock's narrative demonstrates the importance of food and hospitality in establishing affections between Ireland and France, despite contradictory allegiances to England.

Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849)

Where discussion of elite culinary styles in France and England focuses on culinary praxis, in Ireland the preoccupations are more to do with the nature of hospitality and sociability and an increasing unease around the issue of gentility. In the absence of Irish printed cookery books there are other avenues that may be explored for commentary. The novels of Maria Edgeworth and manuscript cookbooks of the period are sources worthy of consultation on culinary matters.

Older conventions of hospitality, closely associated with abundance of food and drink, were gradually tempered after the Act of Union in 1800, a change noted by Edgeworth in *The Absentee*, when she writes about Dublin after the Union, and Lord Colombre's experience of it,

'the hospitality of which the father boasted, the son found in all its warmth, but meliorated and refined; less convivial, more social; the fashion of hospitality had improved. To make the stranger eat to excess,

to set before him old wine and old plate was no longer the sum of good breeding' (2001, p.82).

In *Ennui*, there are several observations made about *haute cuisine* and the social *cachet* of having a French cook is indicted. The Earl of Glenthorn, a man of his time, suffers from the fashionable disease of *ennui*...

'the pleasures of the table were all that seemed left to me in life. Most of the young men of any *ton*, either were, or pretended to be, *connoisseurs* in the science of good eating. Their *talk* (sic) was of sauces and of cooks, what dish each cook was famous for; whether his *forte* lay in white sauces or brown, in soups, *lentilles*, *fricandeaus*, *béchamel*, *matelots*, *daubes* etc, then the history and genealogy of the cooks came after the discussion of the merit of the works; whom my lord C—'s cook lived with formerly—what my lord D—gave his cook—where they met with these great geniuses etc...' (1992, p.152).

The Earl travels from Dublin with his 'own man' and his cook. Unsurprisingly these are respectively an Englishman and a Frenchman. The reader is treated to a vignette of the roadside antics of the pair with the Irish *postilion*, Paddy, when he takes charge of the chaise in which they are traveling... 'in vain the Englishman in monotonous anger, and the Frenchman in every note of the gamut, abused Paddy' (p.170).

Alert to the gradations of distinction between English, Irish and French pretensions Edgeworth appears more at ease with French and Irish sensibilities. In *Ennui*, of Lady Geraldine the Earl of Glenthorn remarks, somewhat approvingly, 'her manner appeared foreign, yet it was not quite French. If I should have been obliged to decide, I should however, have pronounced it rather more French then English (p.203). Edgeworth's locus of contention is between Ireland and England, understandably, not between Ireland and France. This is despite her family being forced to flee their home in the autumn of 1798 in consequence of the French invasion of the west of Ireland (Mc Cormack 1991 p.1052) although as Mc Cormack (2001) has noted the family had a chequered history in terms of denominational loyalty. It is the expense of the London season, not continental extravagance, which is at issue. Lord Colombre's father, faced with ruin as a result of life in London, and the social pressures of the *bon ton* there exclaims to his son 'there need, at all events, be none of this, if people

would but live upon their own estates and kill their own mutton' (p.66). Like that other commentator Mrs. Delaney, Edgeworth has a highly developed sense of 'appropriateness' as seen in the description of dinner at Mrs. Raffarty's house, 'Tusculum',

'the diner had two great faults—profusion and pretension. There was in fact ten times more on the table then was necessary; and the entertainment was far above the circumstances of the person by whom it was given; for instance the dish of fish at the head of the table had been brought across the island from Sligo and had cost five guineas; as the lady of the house failed not to make known... there was no proportion of fitness of things; a painful endeavor at what could not be attained and a toiling in vain to conceal and repair deficiencies and blunders' (2001, p.90).

Mrs. Raffarty, the grocer's wife, is guilty of getting it wrong rather then there being any inherent criticism of matters culinary. Social pretensions are not located in French culinary ways *per se*; rather in the denial of the characters own innate Irishness. True conviviality is celebrated, as seen in the description of the visit by Colombre to Count O'Halloran's castle in *The Absentee*. Having feasted on eel-pie and 'Irish ortolans', and 'the delicate sweetmeat, the Irish plum', 'by the common bond of sympathy between those who have no other tastes but eating and drinking, the colonel, the major and the captain, were now all the best companions possible for one another' (2001,p.122).

Like her contemporary Jane Austen, Edgeworth is adept at using culinary details. Where Sir Kit in *Castle Rackrent* punishes his wife's refusal to hand over her diamonds to him by ensuring the that there would always be 'sausages, or bacon, or pig meat in some shape or other' (1992, p.79) in open taunting of her Jewish heritage, Jane Austen in *Northanger Abbey* has Mrs. Morland gently reprove her daughter on her return from Northanger with the comment 'where ever you are you should always be contented, but especially at home, because there you must spend most of your time. I did not quite like, at breakfast, to hear you talk about the French bread at Northanger' (2011, p.225).

Irish Recipe Manuscripts

While there are no printed cookbooks of Irish authorship to refer to in this case, there is a wealth of culinary manuscripts to consult in an effort to establish Irish assimilation of French culinary ways. Two manuscripts are discussed here that are representative. Both are from the early 19th century, and both refer back to the mid 18th century in many of their recipes.

The first manuscript was purchased by the National Library of Ireland at auction in the last year (Lot 20 Mealy's 2011) and has not yet been assigned a catalogue number. Calf backed, it has twenty-two pages of recipes and cures, the dates running from 1811 to 1831. It is of Co. Limerick provenance, precisely where is not as yet ascertainable. What is illuminating for the purpose of this paper is the sixth recipe, for Beef Steak Pie. Here the writer of the recipe interjects that the recipes are from Lord Buckingham's cook and from the asides it may be presumed that the writer is unfamiliar with French terms and techniques. Lord Buckingham, Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, had accompanied his father, George Nugent-Temple-Grenville, to Ireland as a militia officer in 1798, and his father also served two terms as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1782-3 and 1787-9 (Mac ConIomaire and Kellaghan 2011). Lord Buckingham's cook was John Simpson who published 'A Complete System of Cookery' in 1806, two years before the date on the Limerick manuscript. The published recipe (fig.1) is commented on *sotto voce* by the person compiling the manuscript (fig.2).

Beef-steak Pie.

RAISE a small pie so as to match the mutton pie; cut some beef-steaks thin, butter a soutiespan, and sprinkle it with pepper and salt, shalots, thyme, and parsley; put the beef-steaks on, and the pan on the fire for a few minutes; then put them to cool; when quite cold, put them in the pie; scrape all the herbs in, cover the pie, and ornament as you please; it will take an hour and a half; when done, take the top off, and put in some coulis,

Fig. 1 Beef-steak Pie from Simpson's 'Complete System of Cookery'

One could hazard that there is a slight raising of the eyebrow at the presumed pretension of calling what the author feels is simply a pan by the unknown 'soutis',

followed quickly by the professional need to know precisely what is the correct utensil. At the end of the recipe there is simple bafflement at the use of the term coulis (fig.2).

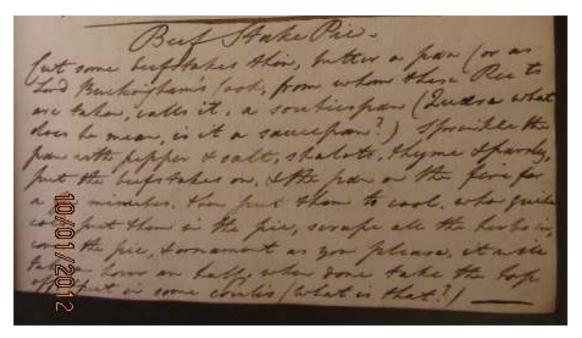


Fig.2 Beef Steak Pie from Mealy's Lot 20,2011, National Library of Ireland

The manuscript has one other interesting recipe. La Varenne and Simpson's *Soup a la Reine* features as simple 'White Soup', in the manuscript. Readers of Jane Austen will be familiar with white soup from *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) when Charles Bingley declares his intentions to hold a ball, 'but as for the ball, it is quite a settled thing and as soon as Nicholls has made white soup enough I shall send around my cards' (Austen 2003, p. 54). Originally known as *Pottage a la Reine*, it first appeared in La Varenne. As Scully (2006, p. 139) notes, the essence of this *pottage* is the *bouillon* produced by boiling the bones of fowl. By the time the author of the manuscript from Limerick is penning his/her version all that they have in common is the addition of ground almonds. It is a recipe that appears regularly in manuscripts, in a bewildering variety of forms, sometimes with the addition of vermicelli in place of almonds. It appears in one of its finer forms in Mrs. Baker's manuscript, Ms 34,952 in the National Library of Ireland.

Mrs. Baker's manuscript is a fine compendium of recipes. One of two volumes, the second one not known to be extant, the manuscript was bought from a Dublin bookseller by the late Dr. Monica Nevin and donated to the National Library (Mac Con Iomaire and Cashman 2011). The book bears the inscription 'Mrs. A.W. Baker's Book, Vol. 1st, Ballytobin, County Kilkenny'. 'The Bakers of Ballaghtobin were, no doubt, typical of many Anglo-Irish families who were content to live on their estates. Since they never held high office not sent a member to Parliament references to them in either printed or manuscript sources are few' (Nevin 1979), indeed they did live upon their own estates and killed their own mutton, to quote Lord Colombre's father. The manuscript is an example of the networking communities that existed around the exchange of practical tips and recipes in female circles (Cashman 2012). Mrs. Baker's white soup appears as Almond Soup and is a fine veal stock soup enriched with almonds and served with 'a French Roll stuck with almonds and stewed in a little of the soup in the middle'. Mrs. Baker's recipes show the social *cachet* that French bread carried. Her recipe for the French way of making leaven is extensive, and she remarks that in the shaping, the dough 'must be neither dauked (possibly docked), nor opened on the sides as is the custom in Ireland' (fig.3).

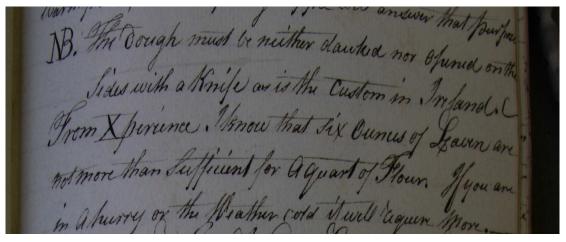


Fig. 3 Mrs Baker's recipe for Leaven made in the French Way MS 34,952 National Library of Ireland

Of the Irish manuscripts studied by this researcher thus far the two examined here are representative. There is no commentary that could be construed as disparaging regarding French food or manners. This is consistent with the impression posited that the Irish elites were more concerned with the status of their own position *vis-à-vis* their peers across the Irish Sea. Their place in the social hierarchy was sited within the

context of Anglo-Irish relations, despite or even perhaps feeding, a certain regard for French culture. What is apparent is the conjoining in the popular imagination of France with culinary concerns and also the development of the literary character of the slightly excitable French chef as a cultural stereotype of profligacy and excess. This stereotyping no doubt was part of the reason that King William IV, the last king and penultimate monarch of Britain's House of Hanover, dismissed his brother's French chefs on accession, replacing them with English ones to public approval.

Dorothea Herbert

Dorothea Herbert kept a diary, or 'retrospections', for the last decades of the 18th and early years of the 19th centuries. Published first in 1929 by Geoffrey Fortesque Mandeville, re-published as 'Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert 1770-1806' (2004), this is a transcription of the original manuscript lodged in Trinity College Dublin. Dorothea has much to say concerning social life in the upper levels of country society in her native Carrick-on-Suir and further afield. She tells us that in 1775 her mother

'being subject to Nervous Fevers was forced to take a French governess for us—we did not much relish this but with the help of the young Jephsons we kept her in proper subjection---they also had a French governess and the two *Mademoiselles* soon found conciliating manners more effacious then rough work—their names were Charles and Delacour' (p. 25).

She also tells us that the Herberts at Muckross had a French Cook who 'dressed our dinner under the trees which we eat very merrily till the fire caught some combustible matter on the mountain which blew up about us with a hideous explosion' (p.152). Dorothea's father, Nicholas, was the eighth of nine children of the Herberts of Muckross. Their connection with Kerry began in 1656, and they acquired the lands at Muckross in 1770, following the death of a MacCarthy relation. One of the more bizarre incidents Dorothea relates is of the arrival on Saturday the 2nd of June, 1782, of an old French Woman who

'came begging to us cover'd with Rags and Sores---My Mother took her in out of Charity and bought her two Cotton Negliges—she taught us all French capitally, and as capitally taught us to make Mushroom Soup and Soup Maigre—it was our chief amusement after our lessons to gather Mushrooms and Herbs for our Regale—with her good will she

would have superadded Frogs etc but we declined that part of it. Madame Bondagée being a Parisian had a remarkably good Accent and a good notion of teaching French grammatically—she was an enthusiast for her pauvre Roi as she termed the French king and gave us such an account of the attachment of the French for their Sovereign that none should suppose they would murder him and all his family shortly after as happened in the French Revolution... she fell into drinking and then there was no bearing her Tempers and Vagaries' (p.83).

When Dorothea is describing a party for a housewarming in the Summer of 1793 she gives further evidence of the fact that French taste was the *ne plus ultra*, even as far as rural Bonmahon,

'Miss Butlar, Miss Blunden and Fanny manufactured the Whips jellies and Creams and I made a Central Arch of Pasteboard and Wild heath with various other ornaments and Devices—Inshort a more flaming affair never was seen on the Banks of the Seine—what must it have appeared on the banks of the Mahon' (p.311).

Dorothea brings our attention back to the quote from Swift that started this exploration. Soot falling from the chimney into the food was a hazard of the time and Dorothea paints the scene when she tells us that Mr. Roe

'returned with the melancholy news that the Round of Beef Et Cætra had been render'd uneatable by the Soot falling from the Chimney—this made us all quite Cross as our Jaunt had given us appetites, but we were forced to wait until Eight Oclock for another dinner' (p.245).

In the light of what must have been an occupational hazard when cooking with open fires, we return to La Varenne, and perhaps arrive at a more nuanced understanding of Swift's comment when we read Recipe 48 in Chapter VIII of *The French Cook*.

'48. Chimney-Soot Ramekin

When your bread is a little over half-sautéed in a pan in butter or oil, sprinkle soot on it, along with salt and a lot of pepper. Serve it hot' (Scully 2006, p.210).

Far from being a casual jibe Swift's observation may be based on a critical understanding of La Varenne. This paper has traced how French cuisine emerged from the middle ages, how courtly dining developed to become in effect French *haute cuisine*, and how the cuisine of the British Isles responded to this. Where writers on 'the mainland' could respond to the challenge of articulating their sense of cuisine in the prefaces and commentary in their books, this was not an outlet that is visible in Ireland. Where Irish attitudes are visible, through literary sources and historical commentary, it is apparent that the concerns are focused more on Irish relationships with their peers across the Irish Sea, and that rather then focusing on concerns that are in the purely practical realm they cluster around issues of conviviality and hospitality. What can be demonstrated however by reference to writers such as Edgeworth and Herbert, *pace* Swift, is that it is French standards that are perceived as carrying the highest social *cachet*, despite the cultural stereotyping of their chefs.

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