

From Culinary Practice to Printed Text: The Eighteenth-Century Language of London Cookbooks

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Abstract

The present article will explore the role that cookbooks had in eighteenth-century London, being extremely popular and highly pirated, probably the most successful women's printed genre of the eighteenth century. These cookery books represented a reliable source of information not only about social distinction and food practices, but also about urban development and marketability. This is not only an analysis of the literature and culture of food as printed in the eighteenth-century by well-known London publishing houses, but also an insight into the vast scope of city dwellers. I will look at how the rhetoric of food reveals the mentality, customs, and culinary developments of eighteenth-century urban practices, ranging from the private area of the home to the public space of the print market. The catalog of didactic language on how to pluck poultry, burn charcoal, or prepare dishes in a clean and hygienic environment expresses the richness of food-related terminology, as well as the diversity of epithets praising the quality of the book or indicating the expected market. The article argues that the terminology used in these cookbooks, the paratexts and the systematic structure of the recipes reflect a specific country/city divide, since they provided instruction on how to adapt rural recipes to an urban kitchen, acknowledged the social division between servant and mistress, and shaped a new consumer behaviour.

Keywords: cookbooks, eighteenth-century London, marketability, rhetoric of food, paratext, didactic language, country/city divide.

Introduction

Eighteenth-century English cookbooks provide a detailed view of everyday living and work patterns of men and women of different occupations and from different social classes. Cookbooks tell complex stories about the cultural practices of a specific historical and geographical area, even if they commonly “belong to the humble literature of complex civilizations” (Appadurai 3). Nevertheless, while histories of food have largely become a major focus of study in the current scientific and academic context, and, since food has been a central trope in the landscape of text-oriented civilization, as well as “intrinsic to articulations of identity” (Boyce 248), the history of the cookbook genre in England remains relatively underappreciated. Before the formation of a national education system in Britain, the idea of accessible education that was promoted by Enlightenment thinkers was translated into the realm of popular education, which promoted a common culture and encouraged mass literacy by publishing cheap forms of educational writing such as almanacs, chapbooks, conduct books, household manuals, religious and political tracks as well as fiction narratives. The eighteenth century saw a considerable expansion of literacy and the book trade so that the effects of these two developments encouraged free thinking, critical reflection and the creation of new values. The content of these chapbooks ranged from devotional tracks to cookbooks, and they addressed all social ranks of literate people. It is during the eighteenth century that cookery books and treatises became marketable commodities attempting to teach cooking in a print environment dominated by urban growth. If mass literacy had not developed in England by the end of the eighteenth century, class formation would not have been possible. The printing press made mass literacy and education possible, while the availability and distribution of printed matter to the poor and

working classes, along with the small price paid for chapbooks, turned book consumption into a marketable leisure activity. Since food is an important element of material culture, it was considered that cookery books could transmit knowledge, more than culinary lore, to the uneducated public and help to promote a common culture based on shared food practices.

This article discusses cookery books published in London in the eighteenth century while focusing on the availability and growth in popularity of the genre as a result of the changes in literacy wrought by printing, the business revolution caused by print and the culinary metropolitan practices reflected in the linguistic and gustatory diversity. The study aims to explore these issues by highlighting the way terminology, paratextual devices and the systematic corpus of recipes reflect social stratification and new patterns of behaviour generated by a revolutionary medium of instruction.

Eighteenth-Century Cookbooks: A Popular Genre

To demonstrate how cookbooks and recipes became a widely distributed and consumed genre in eighteenth-century London, I will first briefly outline the reasons behind the large number of cookbooks – either reprinted in many editions, translated or plagiarised – while connecting these editions with the spread of literacy and civilisation in eighteenth-century England. Then I will explore the contents of some popular cookbooks written by women, with a view to observing how they managed to transform recipes from oral tradition to script in order to make them accessible and affordable to a wider readership.

Between 1700 and 1799, 435 British cookbooks were published (Merrett 115), which is quite an impressive number that can be justified by the lower price people could pay for a cookbook in comparison with other printed books, the Bible included. Even if these cookery manuals were not expensive, nor did they target specific social groups, most of the ingredients in some books – lobster and crabs, turtle soup, poultry, for example – may show that

only a small minority of the population could afford to indulge in the cooking process. Besides, kitchen equipment such as brass or copper cooking utensils, cutlery, mortars and pestles, graters and rolling pins were expensive, not to mention the difficult cooking conditions, since a cook had to bend and lift and experience dangerous times near flames and hot coals.

But the most challenging issue was the level of literacy among the population. Few people could read or write in English at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and even those classified as literate continued to lag behind in formal education. Cookbooks contained a very high proportion of foreign loanwords, a more elaborate vocabulary and demanding syntax, which presented difficulties among literate but not fully educated people. On the other hand, most of these handbooks with practical and methodical contents appeared anonymously or pseudonymously, which confirms their original oral genesis and explains their indebtedness to oral culture, reflected in the second person singular narrative mode, repetitions at every successive step and fixed formulaic sequences. This means that despite the predominant French culinary language imported by these cookbooks – apparently, “there are more French-inspired receipts in books by men than by women” (Lehmann 234) – oral and verbal constructs, such as rhymed verses or repetitions became helpful mnemonic devices in connecting the unknown to the known for many semi-literate readers. The many pirated editions and the translations of numerous cookbooks that came out in print indicate the growth in popularity that these handbooks enjoyed by contributing to the creation of popular culture, the rise of mass education and the spread of civilisation which reached its climax in the Industrial Era.

The most significant male names in London cookery book production were those of Henry Howard, a reputable chef in London (*England's Newest Way*, 1703); Patrick Lamb, master-cook to Queen Catherine of Braganza (*Royal Cookery, or, The Complete Court-Cook*, 1710); John Nott, the chef for the Duke of Bolton (*The Cook's and Confectioner's Dictionary*, 1723); Charles Carter, a chef to leading soldiers and diplomats in the service of Queen Anne

(*The Complete Practical Cookbook*, 1730). These court cooks were indebted to French cuisine and tried to promote themselves as artists in order to win fame with prestigious dishes which became “fashionable amongst the élite in Britain” (Davidson 284). Many edited cookbooks were, in fact, compilations of older recipes, whose text was produced by professional hackers or writers and one such example is John Farley’s *The London Art of Cookery* (1783). Farley was a principal cook at the exclusive London Tavern, and he included sixty-seven receipts of pudding in his book, which is a real indicator that the place and the recipes were intended for the affluent society. Everything in Farley’s 1811 edition concerns principles of “elegance, taste and economy,” and the French influence can be observed throughout the book: *fricasees*, *fricandeaus*, *bouillie beef au choux*, etc.

By 1800 “women nominally dominated the genre” (Merrett 115). Among these, the most popular authors were Mary Kettlby, *A Collection of Above Three Hundred Receipts*, first published at London in 1714; Mary Eales, *The Compleat Confectioner*, first published at London in 1718; Eliza Smith, *The Compleat Housewife*, first printed in 1727; Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, first published at London in 1747 (this was actually the best-selling cookbook in the eighteenth century and was the most popular in America in 1776); Elizabeth Cleland, *A New and Easy Method of Cookery*, first published at Edinburgh in 1759; Charlotte Mason, *The Lady’s Assistant*, London, 1777; and Sarah Martin, *The New Experienced Housekeeper*, first edition at London in 1795. Pointedly, as the eighteenth century progressed, these cookbooks entered a competition, each one desiring to be better, newer, and more complete than the previous one. For example, Martin’s cookbook looks like a reply to Elizabeth Raffald’s *The Experienced English Housekeeper, for the Use and Ease of Ladies, Housekeepers, Cooks, etc.*, printed at Manchester in 1769. The pretense to novelty stemmed not only from the title mentioning a new collection of original recipes which had not appeared in print before, but also from the explanations of the authoress in the Preface, where she

states that, unlike books of similar nature, this one is smaller and lower-priced; also, unlike customary rules and conventions of this branch, she did not include Bills of Fare, since “setting out a Table is guided by Fancy and varied by Fashion,” which results in the impossibility “to ascertain any particular Mode” (Martin, *Preface*).

Kettlby dedicated her collection of recipes to a female readership represented by wives, mothers and nurses. The subtitle, “By Several Hands,” indicates collective female authorship, which was a marker of the seventeenth-century manuscript culture. The 1714 edition had the first printed recipe for a new mode of preparing orange marmalade, which accompanied scones, sausages, game pies and roast beef on the sideboard. Like her contemporaries, Eales and Smith, she continued the tradition of “good housewifery” that emerged during the seventeenth century and collected recipes from manuscript cookery books. Kettlby adapted court recipes to the mundane needs of everyday consumers and simplified the dishes by “adopting the separation of sweet and savoury which characterised the French culinary revolution of the mid-seventeenth century” (Davidson 284). She aimed at the gentry and middle-class circles for this reason and adapted the posh recipes for budget menus and domestic cookery when including English dishes such as cabbage puddings, sponge biscuits and lemon cheesecake in addition to imported dishes: Portuguese cakes, Dutch beef and French Cutlets. For Kettlby, details are very important, as when she recommends separating old peas from new ones when shelling them before making pea soup, or when she carefully prepares a fish vinegar marinade seasoned with salt, pepper, onion, thyme, marjoram and parsley. The first person is used only in the preface. All the instructions and recipes employ second-person narration, and the verbs in the second person singular refer to actions to be performed by the reader according to the instructions listed in the recipe by the cook: “Skin a loin of mutton, and cut it into stakes” (8), “Take six pigeons with their giblets” (10), “Pick out all the meat of three little lobsters” (23), “Boil your calf’s head” (25), “Bone your veal” (27), “Wash your oysters very clean in their liquor” (39), “Make a Brine of Salt and

Water strong enough to bear an egg” (46), etc. The most common verbs used for instructions are “take,” “make,” and “put,” and their role is to raise the reader’s awareness of her own participation in the conversation between author and reader as the recipes do not take the form of a list of ingredients and are told like oral tales. Sometimes, modal verbs such as “must” and “may” are used in order to express either epistemic or deontic necessity. An index of her recipes in chronological order is added at the end of the book.

Eales’ culinary receipts (as they were called before the 1700s) follow the same structural pattern as Kettelby’s, but do not have a preface to provide insights into her personal motives for writing the book. Her recipes for confectionery are arranged alphabetically and by main ingredient: apricot, plum, peach, cucumber, quince, orange, etc. By contrast, Smith’s cookery book features an elaborate preface where she prides herself on her lifetime experience as a cook: “But what I here present the World with, is the Product of my own Experience, and that for the Space of Thirty Years and upwards: during which Time I have been constantly employed in fashionable and noble families” (*The Preface*). As an upper-class cook, she arranges the recipes in Bills of fare for every season of the year, and each season is divided into first and second courses. She also includes wine recipes, pickles and instructions for preparing and applying a certain medicine, and, unlike other writers, she gives precise measurements about the ingredients.

Therefore, Kettelby, Eales and Smith contributed to household improvement, to a new specialised cooking terminology while exploring a cultural area that impacted both eighteenth-century society and present-day cuisine. Their recipes were all built on the same principle: rubric, instructions for the ingredients and how to use them, and instructions for the administration of a specific medicine. The writers were acutely aware of their readership and integrated their writing into public standards of public and domestic taste. Numerous Dublin editions followed the London ones, outnumbering the editions of the male chefs and spreading quickly throughout the country.

These editions were surpassed in experience and expertise only by nineteenth-century ultimate how-to cookbooks, which used the same dishes, utensils, and cooking techniques and equipment employed in the late eighteenth century, but added new ingredients, spices, and sauces. For example, *The Newest and Most Complete Cookbook* was printed in Oslo (former Kristiania) in 1894; at the same time, a Danish anonymous female author had published *The New and Complete Cookbook* one century earlier, in 1796, where recipes for veal, beef, pork, rabbit, ham, lamb, wild boar, venison, partridge, capo, snipe, pheasant, quail, duck, chicken, goose, and pigeons were introduced. Almost all nineteenth-century cookbooks printed in London were new and complete, on the grounds that technological progress begged for new recipes.

Being extremely popular and probably the most successful women's printed genre of the eighteenth century, cookbooks were highly pirated, printed into multiple editions, translated into other languages and used until they wore out. Food rhetorics served not only as a social marker *vis-à-vis* food practices, in particular those social distinctions concerning middle and upper classes, but also as an indicator of urban development and marketability. It is noteworthy to carefully consider this genre since one of the first British women who earned her living by writing recipes was Hannah Wolley, "The first professional woman cookbook writer" (Merrett 121), author of *The Cook's Guide: Or, Rare Receipts for Cookery* (1664). Before the 1700s, the word used for any culinary recipe as well as for medical prescription was "receipt." Both terms denoted information related to a variety of preparations from food and medicines, medical and nutritional advice to cosmetic and household aids, instead of being considered pleasant and useful. Both culinary recipes and medical remedies in household healthcare were called by the same name since it was acknowledged that both food and medicines maintained health and treated illnesses. Initially, a recipe functioned as a home remedy, and the preservation and preparation of food were primarily medicinal in purpose. Apart from the collection of recipes that dealt in cookery, pastry, confectionery, pickles, cakes, jellies, made

wines and cordials, a cookbook also included receipts of medicines, such as drinks, syrups, and ointments to cure aches, wounds, and sores in a family, as well as in the neighborhood, as Smith did. And, like other books printed in the eighteenth century, cookbooks featured a preface, an introduction, an epistle dedicatory, lists of subscribers, bills of fare, illustrations, and other forms of paratexts that this article will investigate in the next section.

The Role of Paratextual Devices in Cookbook Writing

According to cookbook bibliographer Henry Notaker, “A cookbook is a book with about two-thirds cookery instruction and ... at least 40-50 percent in recipe form” (*Printed Cookbooks* 2). Indeed, early cookbooks, apart from providing recipes, instructed and advised a restricted audience consisting mainly, but not exclusively, of professionals, on how to preserve food, manage the household, manage and improve a farm, learn the appropriate time and season for ploughing and sowing corn, planting and managing “Hops, Liquorice, Madder, Saffron” and other crops, breeding and feeding “Poultry, Rabbits, Fish, Swine and all sorts of Cattle” (Bradley viii). These cookery books, as their titles suggest, were meant to ease the reader into dealing with utensils, cutlery, banquet arrangements, food preparation, recipes, household advice, anecdotes, and others. Frontispieces, title pages, prefaces, indexes, appendices belong to the paratextual apparatus, which consists of essential elements accompanying the text in order to embody, explain, disseminate and transmit knowledge in the written form. They offer a place for direct written extra-communication with the reader, which helps to establish a stronger relationship between the producers and consumers of knowledge in eighteenth-century England. This section looks at how the paratextual devices featuring cookbooks reflected the transition from orality to literacy in popular culture as well as the transformations in the rural-urban dichotomy. It will also compare nineteenth-century English with American editions for the purpose of observing how consumer

tastes and cooking preferences changed and evolved according to different social, cultural, geographical and temporal backgrounds.

As mentioned in the previous section, an anonymous book attributed to Kettilby was published in 1714, a collection of culinary and medical receipts contributed by a group of housewives. The preface mentions the difficult times Londoners experienced in the attempt to keep food expenses down. In the preface, she dismisses all previous attempts at writing cookbooks, considering them as deceitful and not worthy of public attention in comparison with her compilation, which is based on knowledge and experience and stems from her “desire of doing Good” (*The Preface*). The role of this collection is to make it profitable and beneficial to the poor and to those who could not have access to medical services; the collection was also intended “for the Service of Young and Unexperienced Dames, who may from hence be Instructed in the Polite Management of their Kitchens, and the Art of Adorning their Tables with a Splendid Frugality” (*The Preface*). The book addresses the lower sort, resolving to “teach Cook maids at Country Inns to serve us up a very agreeable Meal, from such provisions as are Plainest, and always at hand; instead of Spoiling those which are most Rare and Costly” (*The Preface*). In this collection, chocolate can be made at home without cocoa, a sign of how expensive it was, whereas pepper, salt, mace, cloves, ginger, nutmeg, mustard seeds, thyme, cinnamon, and even saffron are generously used to season meat, make sweet meat pies, or prepare cordial-water.

In addition, the presence of potatoes and tomatoes is very scarce in the early cookbooks, and Kettilby’s cookery book is no exception. There is only one entry for a “Potatoe-Pye” (29), where boiled Spanish potatoes are used as a base for a pie containing marrow, in addition to orange peel, lemon dipped in sugar, butter, eggs, cinnamon and caudle (a kind of eggnog) for flavour.

It is known that tomatoes were first regarded with suspicion and considered poisonous when, early in the sixteenth century, they were brought to Europe by the Spaniards. The Italians were the first to have included them in their dishes, and then they increasingly

spread to the Mediterranean to arrive in the northern areas of Europe: “Even in nineteenth-century Britain caution persisted and their use seems to have been restricted to upper-class and Jewish households, and Cobbet writing in 1833 observed that they were being sold at high prices” (Pickersgill 129).

Therefore, it was not until 1804 that “tomatas” appeared in the British cuisine, in *Culina Famulatrix Medicinae: Or Receipts in Cookery* written pseudonymously by Ignotus, a Scottish physician, Dr. Alexander Hunter by his real name. He provided one recipe for tomato sauce and one for “potting” or preserving tomatoes. Both were spiced with chili vinegar or cayenne pepper before being bottled. The English cuisine was still poor in tomato use in the nineteenth century; however, the cookbooks printed in North America treated the plant with less suspicion. For instance, when I examined a number of cookbooks published in Boston, New York, and Baltimore between 1823 and 1839, I noticed that the word “tomata” or “tomato” had at least one entry, the most popular recipe being the ketchup, which was to give rise to a whole canning industry and national sauce. Maria Eliza Ketelby Rundell prepared “tomata sauce” for hot or cold meats in *American Domestic Cookery*, printed at New York in 1823. She was shortly followed by Eliza Leslie, signing as “A Lady of Philadelphia” who made “Tomata Ketchup” in 1830 in Boston, seasoning the juice with horseradish, garlic, mace, and cloves (104). On the other hand, cookbooks published in London during the same period of time had no entry for tomato recipes. Only one London cookbook mentioned “tomata,” or “love-apple sauce” and “tomata catsup” in 1817 in William Kitchiner’s *Apicius Redivivus, or The Cook’s Oracle*, in which cooking had already become an art of composing culinary codes.

The potato was cheaper and more popular, featuring in various dishes. Sarah Harrison used it in 1733 to make potato pudding, potato pie and almond and potato butter (52). The potato pudding was included by Elizabeth Moxon in her 1749 compilation of receipts (Hughes 80). Ten years later, Cleland (Hughes 283) proved that Scottish cuisine was more diversified than the London

one, since her potato recipes were more varied: she fried sausages with apples and potatoes, made an apple pie with potatoes, prepared potato cheesecakes, and stuffed a roasted goose with boiled potatoes. There is a rich taxonomy for this plant, showing how versatile and cosmopolitan it is:

In Europe, names of the “earth apple” type are widespread. The modern French name *pomme de terre*, the Dutch *aardappel*, and the obsolete German *erdapfel* are among many variants. In Persia, the name *seb-i-zaminee* also means earth apple. Wild types continue to be eaten in South America, where a great diversity has been maintained. They are known as *papas criollas*, *papa* being the generic term for potato in South America. (Pickersgill 64)

Although considered the natural domain of women, English cookbook writing was primarily a family undertaking. Most eighteenth-century cookbooks were written for the instruction of non-professionals, but the great bulk of nineteenth-century cookbooks were intended for the use of families. By that time, cookbooks had developed into a systematic introduction into domestic cookery, almost all the titles containing the signpost “system,” be it a complete or a new one. Besides, the words “female,” “housewife,” or “women” occupied the title page, to show either the intended audience or the main sources for the book recipes and advice.

Even though Dr. Samuel Johnson, after considering Glasse’s *Art of Cookery*, asserted that “Women can spin very well, but they cannot make a good book of Cookery” (qtd. in Boswell 442) and declared that he “could write a better book of cookery than has ever yet been written” (qtd. in Boswell 441), female authors outnumbered male authors, even if the title page often mentioned their initials or the expression “By a Lady.” It even appears that, according to Notaker, “some cookbooks with the names of men on the title page might in fact have recipes originally written by women” (*History of Cookbooks* 44).

The subtitle of Glasse's *Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* is *Excelling Any Thing of the Kind ever yet published*, and, as the reader is told in the Preface, the book keeps cookery simple in both language and ingredients, cheap in avoiding extravagant and unnecessary ingredients and straightforward in style, since it was written for "the lower sort." The book is intended as a manual for servants and as a helping hand for ladies, which explains the didacticism of the author's tone. In the first chapter, Glasse reiterates that the book is not intended for a professional audience; instead, she addresses "the ignorant and unlearned" with a view to instructing them.

The Preface contains advice on how to pay less for a dish of twelve people using coarse lean beef instead of a leg of veal and bacon instead of ham. Wine might be left out for the same reason, unless someone desires French cooks, and hence, they "must pay for French tricks" (*The Preface*). French cooks are referred to as "boobies" for they are praised and encouraged at the expense of English cooks, a fact which makes Glasse shouting out her concern about "the blind folly of this age" (*The Preface*). In fact, in the third chapter, she insists that the reader read and observe her calculations on how expensive a French cook's sauce is. Glasse's annoyance echoes an already existing English aversion to the intrusion of French culinary influence, expertise, and popularity. French cooks were highly spoken of even by the Italians, though the latter envied the absolute dominance of French cuisine in Europe. Philippe Macquer, author of the 1773 dictionary of arts and trades stated that "in all nations French cooks pass for those who cook best and whose taste is most delicate with respect to fine dining" (qtd. in Takats 1). In the same vein, one New Yorker, when observing how a French cook prepared an onion soup, exclaimed that "it was true that all French people were cooks" (qtd. in Takats 1). This is reason enough for Glasse to express her nationalism *avant-la-lettre* and her support of English cooks. After all, she prefers the English bacon to the Westphalia hams. However, later in the *Preface* she contradicts herself when justifying the French names of some of her dishes, explaining that the dishes are known as such and actually "it

matters not whether they be called by a French, Dutch, or English name” as long as they are tasty and inexpensive.

The main traditional dishes that she focuses on contain beef, mutton and lamb, veal, pork, venison, poultry, the American imported turkey, doves, and pigeons, since meat was more important than vegetables, although it was more expensive. The book focuses on familiar and common dishes, as it is not intended for professional cooks. In addition to advice on how to roast and boil meat, dress fish, prepare soups and broths, puddings and pies, cheesecakes and jellies, pickle and preserve fruit and vegetables, jar cherries and preserves, and make proper food for Lent, the contents also include culinary instructions for captains of ships, directions for the sick, information on distillation, brewing and making wines, etc. Subsequently, the availability of distillation to all social classes and the cheaper access to home-made wine facilitated the growth of alcohol consumption and prompted concern about excessive drinking.

The appendix systematizes exceptional and cosmopolitan recipes that pertain to an elite household. The authoress describes how various dishes can be prepared the “other” way: how to steam green peas the Jews way, make marmalade of eggs the Jews way, dress haddocks the Spanish way, mince haddocks the Dutch way, dress beans the German way, fricassee pigeons the Italian way, dress chicken the French way, etc. Thus, apart from covering all the dishes that were normally served in a house, Glasse wished to introduce the reader to dishes that were new, less conventional, fashionable, and intended for special occasions.

For instance, there are recipes for dressing “brokala” which was the term used for sprouting broccoli, a vegetable derived from a wild cabbage which is said to have come to Italy in the seventeenth century from the Eastern Mediterranean, Crete, or Cyprus. The name comes from the Roman *brachus* (branch or arm) and resulted in the Italian brocco (shoot). Apparently, this type of cabbage did not catch on with the French cuisine. Eighteenth-century books sometimes refer to it as the “Italian asparagus,” while Philip Miller was the first to refer to it in 1724 in the second

volume of *The Gardener's Dictionary*, either in the vicinity of cucumbers and melons or in comparison with other vegetables.

Besides, new sauces appeared on an eighteenth-century table, carrying with them an interesting taxonomy. The most commonly used term for "sauce" was gravy, which first appeared in *The Forme of Cury* (c.1390), the earliest known instructive cookery book written in the English language by the Master cooks of King Richard II of England, "but these recipes were quite different from the thickened sauces that now carry the name" (Tebben 74). The fourteenth-century gravy recipes were based on boiled meat and broth, thickened with almonds and flavoured with spices. The British term "gravy" came as a sign of resistance to the French culinary imports, particularly to the word "sauce." Gravies were typical of low, household cuisine, whereas sauces tended to follow the French aristocratic model. In Maryann Tebben's own words, "Non-gravy sauces (spelled "sawse" or "sawce") contained many of the same ingredients (almonds, bread, herbs and spices, and sometimes the fat from the cooked meat), plus vinegar or wine, but these sauces were prepared separately from the meat poured over it or served alongside it" (74).

The word "gravy" appears as often as the word "sauce" in Glasse's book, and both reflect the previous description. Whereas gravy is thicker and fatter than the sauce, being used as a base for the sauce (gravy for white sauce, veal gravy, gravy for soups, etc.), the latter is a conversion of the thick natural juice of the meat into an array of flavoured sauces, usually made with melted butter and cream and then worked through a sieve: brown celery sauce, egg sauce, shallot sauce, mushroom sauce, lemon sauce, fish sauce, shrimp sauce, anchovy sauce, all seasoned and spiced according to the every person's palate. The foremother of these two liquid bases was the coulis, also spelled "cullis," the concentrated beef or veal essence that was made from the addition of flour to the caramelized juices left by the meat cooked with bouillon and aromatic vegetables. Brown sauces were mostly based on coulis (Peterson 14; Tebben 52). During the eighteenth century, many classic sauces – espagnole, béchamel, italienne – were developed (Peterson 14)

and they were all based on this *coulis universel*. Glasse explains the many ways of making sauce for a pig, depending on people's tastes. Some might not prefer sage in the sauce, while others love bread-sauce in a bason.

More exotic products were beginning to show up in eighteenth-century English cookbooks. Glasse introduced chocolate as an iconic term, since her recipe for "Sham chocolate" did not contain any cocoa powder whatsoever: "Take a pint of milk, boil it over a slow fire, with some whole cinnamon, and sweeten it with Lisbon sugar, beat up the yolks of three eggs, throw all together into a chocolate pot, and mill it one way, or it will turn. Serve it up in chocolate cups" (345).

The cinnamon and sweetness contributed to the flavor of chocolate, while the eggs helped the liquid to thicken the expected consistency. In the second chocolate recipe, she pioneered a novel ingredient, vanilla, spelled "vanelas," a spice coming from fermented and dried fruits of an orchid, originally from Mexico, and now produced mainly in Madagascar. According to Barbara Pickersgill, the word comes from the Spanish *vainillia* which means *little pod* (170-171), which Hernando Cortez took back to Europe in the sixteenth century as a kind of culinary exotism.

It is noticeable that the language of the English cookbooks was marked by many foreign loanwords, most of them from French and Spanish, which resulted in a lexical expansion to include cuisine from around the world. The language of the cookbooks had many interesting features, and it introduced several English or foreign words that had not yet been referred to in English dictionaries. The way epithets, metaphors and loanwords were employed in these cookery books clearly shows that the distinction between middle and lower classes was important in the eighteenth century, and it was still essential in the nineteenth century, when Latin titles dominated the market. Apart from the titles or prefaces of cookbooks, there were other markers indicating the intended audience: differences in literacy and rural-urban comparisons as the main geographic dimension of class. It is obvious that all these changes that began in the manuscript age and affected the

production and distribution of cookbooks along the eighteenth-century show a dynamic evolution that is still in place nowadays, even if most people worldwide prefer searching for recipes on the Internet to leafing through a printed cooking manual.

Conclusion

The rhetoric of food can disclose the mentality, customs, cultural and culinary expansion of eighteenth-century urban practices, ranging from the domestic private area to the public space of the print market. The systematic arrangement and orthography of recipes and the precise instructions on how to dry cherries, how to make mead, or how to prepare and preserve food in a clean and hygienic environment express the affluence of food-related terminology, mainly verbs (to conserve strawberries, to candy ginger, confections to perfume, cucumbers to pickle, to cure hams and bacon, to collar a breast of veal, crabs to butter, carps to stew, custards to season, etc.). Added to this are the various ornamental epithets describing the significance of the book or indicating the expected readership. Kettilby describes her recipes and potions as “an excellent Plum-Pudding” (89), “an excellent Water for the Stone-Cholick” (204), “A Whipt Syllabub, Extraordinary” (76), “an extraordinary Plum-Cake” (93), or “an incomparable Drink in a Thirsty Fever” (172). Smith follows a similar pattern and encourages readers to use her recipes as they can be “an excellent Remedy for Whooping-Coughs” (324), “an excellent Prescription for the Cure of Worms” (314), or “an extraordinary Ointment for Burns and Scalds” (304). The way language and style are used in the context of recipe discourse shapes our interpretation of various aspects of the cookbook, not only concerning things culinary, but also regarding the reader’s perception of a particular area and its values. The terminology used in these cookbooks, the paratexts and the systematic structure of the recipes indicate a strong connection between food and social class, as well as a distinction between urban and rural practices. This connection resulted from the instruction these cookery books provided on how to adapt rural

recipes to an urban kitchen while setting language in motion and acknowledging the social division between servant and mistress, professional and non-professional cook.

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