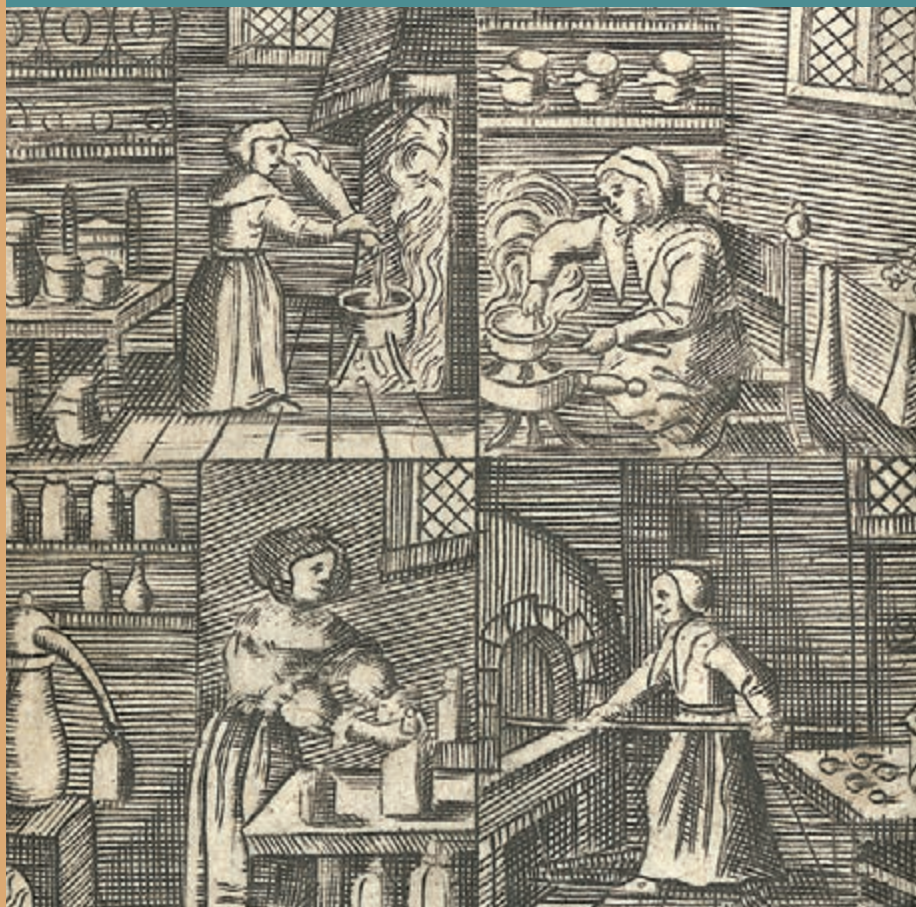


FOOD CULTURE, FOOD HISTORY BEFORE 1900



Edited by Madeline Bassnett and Hillary M. Nunn

In the Kitchen, 1550-1800

Reading English Cooking
at Home and Abroad

Amsterdam
University
Press

In the Kitchen, 1550–1800



Amsterdam
University
Press

Food Culture, Food History before 1900

The expanding interest that food studies have elicited in the past few decades confirms the importance of a field that is still very much in the making. The history and cultures of food have been the object of wide-ranging methodological approaches: literary, cultural, economic, and material (to name just a few), and continue to elicit contributions from all the major disciplines.

The series publishes monographs on the history and culture of food, and hosts contributions from different fields, historiographic approaches, and perspectives. Contributions cover a long chronological period running from the Middle Ages to the early nineteenth century, respecting the distinctive time frames of food history. A similar criterion determines the wide geographic parameters that the series follows. As of the later Middle Ages, food and cuisine traveled with extreme ease not only within the European continent but increasingly to other parts of the world. The purview of this series thus comprises contributions including Europe, the Atlantic world, as well as exchanges with Asia and the Middle East.

Series editor: Allen J. Grieco



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at Home and Abroad*

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Madeline Bassnett and
Hillary M. Nunn*

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Introduction: In the Kitchen

Madeline Bassnett and Hillary M. Nunn

In the early modern period, the work of preparing food and medicine held a significance resonating far beyond the household. Food preparation influenced the public realm when its skills and materials were invoked in political debates, scientific discourse, and diplomatic efforts, where it often served as a means of defining national and individual identity. Familiarity with cooking, as we shall see, mattered in literary works as well, infusing poems and plays with layered meanings derived from the culinary world. As it wove its way into a variety of early modern cultural discourses, cooking and the experiential knowledge it produced offered a sensory language that brought readers of all kinds into its domestic web. The impact of English modes of kitchenwork even expanded across oceans, as food played central and complicated roles in colonization. Yet cooking itself—the activities unfolding within the kitchen as well as the knowledge practices surrounding food preparation—has only recently begun to receive attention from literary scholars and historians.

To be sure, not all early modern cooking took place in the defined space of a kitchen. Rustic cottages and smaller city homes might have relied on a central or hearth fire in an all-purpose room, and many steps of food preparation occurred entirely out-of-doors. Yet the work of early modern cookery demanded at the very least a demarcated area where the tasks of chopping, mixing, and heating could be carried out. Defining the kitchen was one of the many goals of the period's household manuals. Gervase Markham's *English Husbandman* (1613), for instance, provides an idealized sketch of a yeoman's home that envisions the kitchen, buttery, dairy, and larder to occupy an entire wing, mirroring the sites of the dining hall and guest accommodations (and taking up roughly the same amount of floor space).¹ His plan makes clear that the kitchen is part of the main house and central to its function, though in a subordinate role that foregrounds

¹ Markham, *The English Husbandman*, sig. A4v.

it as place of hard labour, refuse, and bloody carcasses. ‘You shall place the vpper or best end of your house, as namely, where your dining Parlor and chieftest roomes are [...] to the South, that your buttery, kitching [*sic*] and other inferiour offices may stand to the North’, he instructs. Yet the placement of these ‘inferiour’ rooms in the cooler north had good logic, since ‘coldnesse bring[s] vnto them a manifold benefit’.² This not only avoided exposing foods in the larder to higher temperatures while in storage; it also acknowledged the tremendous heat generated during cooking, in the ‘conuenient Ouens, [and] the bruuing vessels adioyning’.³ *Maison Rustique* (1616), translated from Charles Estienne’s French-language manual and augmented by Markham, further acknowledges the problem of heat in the kitchen, advising that ‘The Ouen shall be set without the roome, hauing the mouth in the inner side of the chimney of the said Kitchin’.⁴ Apart from worrying about architectural planning and establishing the central role of the fireplace to the work of the kitchen—a role that Rebecca Laroche explores in this collection—these descriptions remain oddly barren, offering little sense of the tools, furnishings, and bustling activities of the cooks, servants, daughters, wives, and widows who entered the kitchen to perform tasks central to its purpose—cooking.

It is not surprising, then, that the empty rooms supplied by these male-written manuals are filled by England’s first female cookery book writer, Hannah Woolley. As the frontispiece to her best-selling recipe book, *The Queen-Like Closet; Or, Rich Cabinet* (1670), shows, the closet of cookery includes a wide variety of cooking activities and technologies. Divided into five panes, the woodcut invites us to peer in on the work of female servants, giving us a glimpse of what really went on in those enclosed spaces. The top left image shows a woman pouring a flagon of liquid into a steaming cauldron, a roiling hearth fire filling the chimney with smoke. Just below, another woman stops up a distillation vial, a small still to the left of her, heated by a dedicated flame. In the bottom section, two women are at work: one stirs a cauldron hanging over a blazing hearth fire while whole chickens and cuts of beef rotate on spits below. The second is busy baking meat-filled coffins—the hard pastry containers for meats, herbs, and spices, which are too tough to be eaten. Mirrored by the panel above, she reaches into the bake oven with a long peel. A final image, at the top right, shows us a woman stirring a small pot over a chafing dish, steam billowing from its rim.

2 Markham, sig. A4r.

3 Markham, sig. B1r.

4 Estienne, *Maison Rustique*, 16.



Yet Woolley's frontispiece does not tell us the whole story, either. While it populates and activates the kitchen space, revealing the vital and myriad activities of cookery, these images also suggest a firm delineation between the kitchen, the rest of the household, and the world beyond. As Sara Pennell reminds us, however, the kitchen is an outward-looking, permeable space, and should more accurately be considered 'a domestic zone participating in and embodying some of the most significant socio-economic, socio-technical and cultural transformations in British culture'.⁵ In 'repopulat[ing] the kitchen', which is too often portrayed as 'an empty space to be filled with prescribed activities', Pennell concentrates on the interactions of people, objects, and practices that made this household workplace so vital.⁶ Whether as dedicated rooms in grand manor houses, work areas in one-room cottages, or outdoor spaces devoted to food preparation, kitchens were a site of industry, urgency, heat, and mess. They influenced not only the domestic space, but larger social, economic, and political worlds as well.

It is towards this complex world of kitchen activities, which we group under the broad nomenclature of 'cooking', that this collection turns. Devoted to the arts of cooking and medicine, early modern kitchens concentrated on producing, processing, and preserving materials necessary for nourishment and survival; yet they also fed social and economic networks and nurtured a sense of physical, spiritual, and political connection to surrounding lands and their cultures. The essays in this volume concentrate on this expansive view of cooking and aspire to show how the kitchen's inner workings prove tightly, though often invisibly, interwoven with local, national, and, increasingly, global surroundings. Even as those preparing and serving often go without acknowledgment—and the labourers and enslaved people producing raw materials are routinely rendered invisible—the labour, ideas, and practices of cooking unavoidably intersected with the public world. Cooks depended on sources beyond kitchen walls for raw materials, for instance, incorporating plants from household gardens as well as spices and cures imported from across the seas via London's always-busy docks. As this collection emphasizes, kitchens are by their nature permeable locations, influenced by the materials they incorporate and transform; the household practices unfolding in their midst correspondingly stretch rhizomatically beyond the home into public and political spheres.

5 Pennell, *The Birth of the English Kitchen*, 1.

6 Pennell, 11.



Foodways and Cookery in Current Scholarship

Early modern literary scholars and historians have made great strides in establishing food studies as a critical perspective central to understanding the life, culture, and politics of early modern England. Literary explorations have focused most intently on the space of the table and hospitality, eating and digestion, and local and global patterns and politics of exchange.⁷ Historical examinations, although focusing in particular on diet and agriculture, have ventured further into the kitchen's work space to explore historical techniques and technologies of cookery.⁸ Scholars of early modern print and manuscript recipes and recipe culture have likewise drawn us closer to the world of the kitchen and the work of cookery, focusing particularly on gender, domestic knowledge production, and authorship.⁹ We build on these diverse and intersecting conversations to foreground the work of food preparation—whether imaginative, physical, or spatial—and establish its significance in deepening our understanding of early modern food cultures and practices. Engaging with literary and historical methodologies, including close reading, recipe analysis, and perspectives on gender, class, race, and colonialism, this essay collection breaks substantially new ground. By concentrating on the too-often-hidden practices behind the pleasures of eating, we begin to develop a shared theoretical and practical language for the art of cooking that combines the physical with the intellectual, the local with the global, and the domestic with the political.

Especially significant to this volume is the concept of making and its relationship to embodied knowledge. Analyses of making in the early modern period often begin with recipes: documents that describe what happens in the kitchen. Recipes give us a lens into the materiality of this space, with its many dimensions reflected in the range of instructions the recipes provide—for savoury and sweet dishes, medicines and beauty remedies, household and veterinary advice. They encourage doing and discovery and

7 See, for example, Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef*; Bassnett, *Women, Food Exchange, and Governance*; Fitzpatrick, *Food in Shakespeare*; Goldstein, *Eating and Ethics*; Goldstein and Tigner, *Culinary Shakespeare*; Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*; and Shahani, *Tasting Difference*.

8 Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*; Stobart, *Household Medicine in Seventeenth-Century England*; and Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*. For discussions of techniques and technologies, see especially Albala, 'Cooking as Research Methodology' and *Cooking in Europe, 1250–1650*; Brears, *Cooking and Dining*; Day, *Cooking in Europe, 1650–1850* and *Food History Jottings*; and Pennell, *Birth of the Kitchen*.

9 See, for example, DiMeo and Pennell, *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*; Field, "Many Hands Hands"; Kowalchuk, *Preserving on Paper*; Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*; Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice?'; and Wall, *Recipes for Thought*.



reveal how practice and knowledge go hand in hand.¹⁰ Some recipes, such as Woolley's outrageous 'To make a Rock in Sweet-Meats', are fantasies, more literary than practical: a plum cake spiked with biscuits to look like 'ragged' stones, decorated with sugar snakes, snails, and worms, and a waterfall contraption using glasses, spouts, and wine.¹¹ But Woolley's folly is unusual, and many early modern recipes facilitate real-life, active interaction with the ingredients, technologies, and cultures of the kitchen—even for modern-day cooks, as Margaret Simon's essay shows us. As cooking, an act central to the kitchen, engages us in the 'manipulation of matter', it also draws our attention to how it can create and foster relationships.¹² Cooking forges human and nonhuman connections, as both Jennifer Munroe and Madeline Bassnett discuss—between maker and eater, servant and mistress, the cook and their environment, ingredients, and tools. As Katherine Walker further demonstrates, cookery is an embodied practice, relying on physical instinct alongside learned skill. When we cook, we find a place within and among the world, bringing together immediate sensory experience, observation, and the accumulation of traditional knowledge in a creatively profound act. The resulting creations, as David B. Goldstein and Andy Crow argue, can resonate politically as well, implicating English domestic practices in the evolution of national identity.

Also essential to the purpose of this collection are explorations of how the domestic practice of cookery provided a channel through which everyday English households connected with and impacted the faraway places whose products in turn influenced their kitchen practices. While the majority of our essays focus on the cooking ethics and practices of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, essays by Julie A. Fisher and Edith Snook take us to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial North America to consider how cooking was implicated in settler colonialism even as it could facilitate relationships with Indigenous communities. Yet these sometimes paradoxical and always complex and troubling colonial relations had their roots in very English ideas of self and other, tradition and innovation, nativism and cosmopolitanism. While publications like Gervase Markham's *The English Husbandman* (1613) and *The English Huswife* (bound within the larger volume *Courtney Contentments* in 1615) attempted to foreground a national

10 For discussions of recipes, making, and knowledge see especially Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*; Smith, 'In the Workshop of History' and the Making and Knowing Project's *Secrets of Craft and Nature* website; and Wall, *Recipes for Thought*.

11 Woolley, *Queen-Like*, 345–49.

12 Smith, 'In the Workshop of History', 27.



identity through diet and domestic practice, recipes (including those in Markham's manuals) inevitably revealed English cooking's worldliness, integrating imported ingredients alongside domestic products.¹³ Kim F. Hall's groundbreaking essay, 'Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century', paved the way for examining the implications of such 'foreign' ingredients, focusing especially on the increased consumption of sugar from Caribbean plantations to show how women and the domestic sphere were implicated in a mercantile system increasingly dependent on the labour of enslaved Africans and Indigenous peoples.¹⁴ Following Hall, scholars have examined further how the arrival of spices from India, chocolate from the Americas, and plantation-raised sugar changed the average household's perceptions and consumption of imported foods.¹⁵ As Gitanjali G. Shahani observes in *Tasting Difference: Food, Race, and Cultural Encounters in Early Modern Literature*, despite the origins of ingredients such as spices and sugar in places unfamiliar to many English people, their common presence in didactic and literary writing helped to create the framework through which English cooks and consumers imagined India and the Caribbean. Shahani argues, 'It is in the writing about these tastes—in the imaginative literature of the period, in cookbooks, in dietary manuals—that a conception of racial, cultural, and religious difference is articulated'.¹⁶ In turning to the practice of cookery, essays by Amy L. Tigner, Rob Wakeman, and Melissa Schultheis further reveal the intricate relationships between otherness, assimilation, and colonialism.

As *In the Kitchen* extends the work of recipe scholars to investigate more deeply the embodied practices and exchanges inherent in the work of cookery—exploring the ways in which cooking technologies, methods, and discourses assimilate new ingredients and practices and inquiring further into cooking's entanglement with early modern empire building and colonialism—this collection also seeks to expand the very definition of early modern cooking. Luce Giard suggests that the work of cookery is processual, beginning with the imagined meal and the gathering or purchase of ingredients, and proceeding to the work of chopping, mixing,

13 See Wall, *Staging Domesticity*, for a particularly effective illustration of the way that popular domestic manuals aimed to preserve English national identity by building household skills and reliance on local ingredients. See also Park, 'Discandying Cleopatra', for an examination of the role of preservation in integrating the foreign with the domestic.

14 Hall, 'Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces'.

15 See, for example, Pennell, 'Recipes and Reception', and Tigner, 'Trans-Border Kitchens'.

16 Shahani, *Tasting Difference*, 2.

and the application of heat.¹⁷ Cooking is an ethos as well as a practice; our interactions with plants and animals, pots and pans, speak to how we understand ourselves and our relationships to the human and nonhuman worlds.¹⁸ Our essays take up these processual and ethical perspectives to reimagine how English cooking and its theories and practices reverberate through early modern life. Tracing the ways in which the impact of cooking ripples through culture, our authors show that even as cooking practices may be embedded within the spiritual and physical lives of the household, the impact of these practices extends beyond the kitchen, taking up integral roles in the formation not just of individuals and households but the nation—and world—more broadly.

Embodied Ecologies

Cooking is a profoundly physical task. Although today we can distance ourselves from that reality, hiding behind our mixers and microwaves, early modern cooks and kitchen workers had only their own strong bodies to rely on. Recipes can give us a sense of the labour involved, often pinning the work of beating or grinding to a time: one hour or two. At the same time, that physical labour draws attention to cooking as an embodied and relational practice. Drawing on ecocritical approaches, essays in this section illustrate how cookery is not only entangled with the bodies of those doing the cooking, but also reaches beyond the walls of the kitchen to connect with the local environment, as well as the bodies of those who ingest the prepared foods and medicines. Recipe books, with their lists of ingredients and instrumental language, illuminate the sheer number of different items that combine to make a dish and help us imaginatively locate them in the natural world. Warm milk from a cow reminds us of the close, physical interaction early modern people had with food-producing animals, for instance, and alerts us to the physical labour required not only to make food, but also to collect the materials necessary for its production. Literary texts such as *Paradise Lost*, and dramatic works that bring cooking and dining to life on the stage, allow us further glimpses into the embodied and relational practice of cookery.

Jennifer Munroe sets the tone for this deeply relational understanding of cooking. In ‘Sympoesis and Early Modern Cooking: Troubling the Boundaries

17 Giard, ‘Doing-Cooking’.

18 See also Pollan, *Cooked*, for discussions of relational ethics.



of Human/Nonhuman', she draws attention to cooking's tentacular reach, showing how it complicates and deconstructs the boundaries between human and nonhuman worlds. Revealing the kitchen as a space of co-creation and collaboration, she examines the connections made between human-ingredient-environment as herbs are gathered and animals are reared for foods and medicines, and the way those ingredients are transformed through cookery, effecting transformation on the bodies ingesting them. In close analyses of two recipe manuscripts, attributed to Constance Hall and Mary Granville and Anne Granville D'Ewes, Munroe shows how cooking 'exceeds the limits of the human' (36) as the cook incorporates ingredients and interacts with their tools—pots, knives, utensils—and their materials—metal, earthenware, wood. Further suggesting that early modern recipes recognize the necessity for resilience and contingency, and showing how the ingredients and processes of cookery are not always under human authority, she foregrounds these historical ways of knowing as useful strategies in our own precarious world, where 'we humans have never really been *in control*' (41).

Madeline Bassnett's essay, 'Between Earth and Sky: The Cook as Environmental Mediator in *Paradise Lost*', similarly examines the relations between cooks and their environments. Turning to the vitalist worlds of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Bassnett investigates 'how cooking relies on, emerges from, and interacts with [...] Heaven, Earth, and Hell' (46). Drawing attention to Milton's use of cooking terms, particularly 'concoction' and 'fermentation', she suggests that both Eve and the devils engage in cooking practices that extend from and reflect their respective worlds. As Eve's Edenic food preparation respectfully relies on and interacts with the concoctive process of ripening and takes part in the similarly concoctive cycle of life, the devils' pillaging preparation of minerals, which relies on techniques of 'fire cookery', creates inedible objects and caters only to death (55). Milton's characters show us the cook's unparalleled power to mediate between worlds and tables while also encouraging us to consider our contemporary context, in which cooking and eating likewise have profound ecological consequences.

The notion of cookery as an embodied practice is further developed by Katherine Walker in 'Instinct and the Body of the Early Modern Cook'. Here, Walker examines two cooks: Lickfinger in Ben Jonson's *The Staple of News* and Furnace in Philip Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. Both cooks, she argues, rely on their physical, embodied instincts to pursue their craft, which correspondingly draws attention to the skill and cultural knowledge that underpins their creations. In reading these cooks



through a Paracelsian emphasis on the relationship between experience and understanding, and the significance of making and generating new knowledge, Walker reveals how playing the cook, whether on stage or off, is a physically engaged process. As Lickfinger foregrounds the kitchen as an epistemological space, and Furnace struggles for recognition of his expertise, both cooks highlight their skill as something uniquely earned and innately experienced. Trained through practice, they understand that their talents extend from their corporeal experience of ingredients and tools, textures and flavours, and the nourishing and medicinal properties of the dishes they serve.

Bread, Cake, and Carp

If cooking partakes of these embodied and ecological relationships, then the foods and the ingredients of the kitchen likewise function to open the kitchen and the act of cookery to local and global environments. The essays in this section mingle ecocritical and materialist approaches to highlight cooking as a culturally influenced process, one that reflects not only ingredient availability but also changing ideas of spirituality, geography, and national identity. Considering kitchen practices in this light, the chapters' authors explore connections between food and the individuals who eat and produce it, hinting at the profound impact kitchenwork has not just on the formation of domestic identities, but public ones as well. These chapters also focus substantial attention on household recipes recorded in domestic manuscripts, underscoring how these largely personal texts offer insight into topics ranging from individual faith to globalization. In doing so, they emphasize that the physical engagement between cooks and ingredients implicates a complex range of worldly relations.

Margaret Simon's 'Early Modern Leaven in Bread, Bodies, and Spirit' begins this section by exploring early modern breadmaking's mingling of spiritual and bodily practice. Simon weaves together an examination of metaphors based upon leavening in early modern religious poetry with accounts of her experiments obtaining and using ale-based leaven in her own breadmaking. 'While leaven might not easily answer any one theological question', Simon asserts, its medicinal and culinary uses argue for 'domestic practice as a method of spiritual knowing which early modern practitioners could express across their culture's most central spaces—church and home' (92). Leaven's medicinal uses, as seen in Mrs. Corlyon's manuscript compilation, illuminate the substance's relationship to bodily health, particularly



purgation, while George Herbert's and John Donne's poetry reveals leaven's relationship to both salvation and corruption, particularly in consideration of original sin. Intertwining these strands of sin and purgation with embodied domestic duties, Simon establishes breadmaking as an 'unacknowledged epistemological network activated in the kitchen', which enriches spiritual as well as physical health (105).

For Amy L. Tigner, cake offers a similarly rich, if not more decadent, window into early modern life. In her essay 'Cake: An Early Modern Chronicle of Trade, Technology, and Exchange', Tigner examines global exploration, colonization, and cultural exchange through in-depth readings of four different recipes for these ever-evolving desserts. Focusing on sugar's increasing importance to cake recipes throughout the seventeenth century, Tigner's study of manuscript recipe collections shows how English cakes grew sweeter as sugar became more available. At the same time, she argues, English bakers often adapted European recipes acquired through women's continental travel and exchange, which required and developed new kitchen technologies. With a focus on recipes from Elinor Fettiplace, the Granville family, Constance Hall, and Ann Fanshawe, Tigner links these developments in cake recipes to new uses of paper and baking hoops in the kitchen, as well as the growing influence of imperialism and travel on English cooking culture.

Imports of another sort pervade Rob Wakeman's 'The Power of the Pot: Naturalizing Carp Through the Early Modern English Receipt Book', which examines how early modern cooks and their recipe books responded to the presence of invasive species. Focusing on the carp, imported to stock fishponds at the end of the fifteenth century and then reproducing exponentially in the wild, Wakeman explores methods of domesticating and naturalizing a foreign food through the creative and sophisticated strategies of English cookery. The perception of the carp as a fish in need of special preparation, Wakeman argues, reinforces the notion that what makes species invasive 'is their lack of integration within local cultural practices' (143). He surveys more than a dozen early modern cookbooks, in print and in manuscript, to illustrate preparation methods meant to purge the 'earthy' matter associated with the fish's foreign origins in favour of the taste of local 'sweet' waters (140). These recipes, Wakeman concludes, offer 'alternative strategies for living and eating in the Anthropocene: naturalizing newcomers rather than yearning for the unreality of prelapsarian Nature before globalization' (142). Evoking the ethical thinking of Donna Haraway and Michael Pollan, the essay complicates ideas that some dishes can exemplify national identity while others violate such cultural constructs.



Royalist Cookery

This section builds further on the connection between kitchenwork and national identity, examining how cookbooks connected politically charged notions of nationhood to practices of food preparation during the Commonwealth and Restoration. In particular, these essays consider how royalist authors presented cooking as an extension of their political philosophies, turning to food as a means of communicating reactions to the Civil War's disruption of English identity. Tracing these political concerns through printed cookbooks, which represented royalist concerns in the public sphere, and through manuscript collections, which represented more personal and familial approaches to political turmoil, these essays show how cooking is both a political discourse and public performance that attempts to restore and redraw relationships within and without the nation.

David B. Goldstein's 'How to Make a Bisk: The Restoration Cookbook as National Restorative' turns to the courtly cookbooks of Robert May and William Rabisha to investigate the way in which the bisk, or 'bisque', ushered in a new approach to English cuisine. Arguing that this capacious dish encapsulates the 'grand project of incorporation' towards which May and Rabisha strive, Goldstein posits the bisk as a symbol of a shared, yet contentious, national—and even international—commensality (151). These bisk recipes, as Goldstein shows, draw on the Erasmian rhetoric of *copia* to illustrate a 'reasonable excess' that contrasts with the puritan forces of the Interregnum: the sheer number of ingredients in the soup outlined in May and Rabisha's cookbooks exemplify a spirit of inclusion and assimilation that encompasses religious tolerance (164). Even as the bisk represents a new, more hospitable England, however, it also embodies the imperialist impulse to subsume the other, evoking the naturalizing impulse that Wakeman observes in carp cookery. 'Ultimately', Goldstein argues, 'the bisk articulates a double-edged ethics of culinary and cultural production: liberality, destruction, and wastefulness in the service of hospitality, tolerance, and integration' (169).

In "A Little Winter Savory, A Little Time": Making History in Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen', Andy Crow takes on a very different Restoration cookbook, *The Court & Kitchen of Elizabeth, Commonly Called Joan Cromwel, the Wife of the Late Usurper* (1664). This satirical attack on the Commonwealth Protectorate presents the domestic and the national as linked, so much so that 'the structure and daily practices of a household both arise from and nurture the political outlook and behaviours of its members' (178). The book's presentation of the Cromwell family's food habits, Crow argues, is a means of explaining Oliver Cromwell's failures in managing the nation. Investigating



the relationship between the anti-Cromwellian historical narrative of the first portion of *The Court & Kitchen* and the recipes that follow, Crow shows how the anonymous author treats Elizabeth Cromwell's management of time in the kitchen as analogous to and causative of the instabilities that faced the Protectorate. As Crow argues, this dual narrative makes the book 'best understood as a piece of history writing' that contributes to England's national healing process after the Restoration (179).

The role of cookbooks in creating an English identity is also the focus of Melissa Schultheis's 'A Culinary Embassy: Diplomatic Home Making in Lady Ann Fanshawe's *Booke of Receipts*'. Schultheis divides Fanshawe's recipes into two categories—those recorded by her amanuensis Joseph Averie in 1651, and those recorded in the 1660s, during her time in Spain as a diplomat's wife. Recipes in Averie's hand, transcribed at the end of the Civil Wars, offer an account of Fanshawe's efforts to heal and restore her sense of home and belonging in an England where her family is politically marginalized. In contrast, her later periods of residency in Madrid generate recipes that reveal a new excitement about international cuisines and customs, elucidate changing perceptions about the kitchen, and reveal the kitchen's contribution to 'the social and domestic stability of a successful diplomat's family' (207). Yet Schultheis also demonstrates how Fanshawe's recipes create the structure for an ongoing practice of culinary diplomacy, as new and unidentified hands record recipes that sustain Fanshawe's cosmopolitan interests. Through a close analysis of recipes 'like' pickled mangoes, this essay offers a valuable look at the kitchen's role in diplomacy, trade, and globalization.

Around the Hearth

The final section brings us to the heart of the kitchen—the hearth fire, establishing it as a place not only important for cookery but also for sociability, contemplation, and the sharing of knowledge. But cooking fires are not always about positive interactions; they also facilitate the advancement of exploitative, and specifically colonial, relations. These essays explore how tending the fire encourages mindfulness and embodied awareness, and illuminate how fires serve as a nexus between Indigenous peoples and English settlers in what is now known as North America. As these essays argue, fire relations, most commonly cultivated in kitchens and through cookery, mediate our understanding of and relations to self and other, the kitchen and the world.



Rebecca Laroche's essay, 'Minding the Fire: Human-Fire Coagency in Margaret Cavendish's *Matrimonial Trouble* and Seventeenth-Century Recipes', examines the language used to describe low fires. These types of fires, whether described as 'gentle' or 'sober', require attentiveness and care to maintain the right level of heat and ensure that they do not extinguish (225). Laroche argues that such attentiveness signals a kitchen practice of mindfulness and an understanding of fire as something to be worked with rather than simply controlled. Yet terms like 'gentle' and 'sober', Laroche points out, are also gendered terms, valorizing certain behaviours in women, especially female servants, who are left to tend both fire and pot. Characters in Margaret Cavendish's two-part play, *Matrimonial Trouble*, she suggests, illuminate the relationship between low fires and female interiority at the same time as they assert the importance of mindful human-fire relations. Women's work is intellectual and physical, in other words, with attentiveness signaling 'a mind spiritually, not just socially, harnessed and enhanced' (238). As Laroche indicates, the fire relations Cavendish's play supports are relations we too should cultivate in an era of climate change, drought, and increasingly frequent wildfires. As Indigenous and Aboriginal practices of fire-management—in which people work together with fire and land—are belatedly validated by settler media, we are reminded of fire's power as both ally and destroyer, and the importance of cultivating careful relations in an increasingly uncertain world.

The hearth fires of both settler and Indigenous communities in seventeenth-century New England are the focus of Julie A. Fisher's essay, "'Teâgun kuttimaûnch: What Food Shall I Prepare for You?": Exchanges in Early New England Kitchens'. Following the settler family of Grace and Thomas Minor, Fisher establishes the couple as important, yet informal translators between settler and Indigenous communities. Noting Grace's equal participation in translating an Algonquian language, Fisher explores the importance of kitchens and cooking in language acquisition among both settler and Indigenous women and children. These 'bilinguals' learnt second languages through providing hospitality and welcoming members of the other community into their homes (247). For the settlers, part of hospitable behaviour included learning how to cook with corn—a skill also born of necessity. Such exchanges of knowledge, both cookery and linguistic, happened most readily in the kitchen, around hearth and cooking fires. However, if hospitality contributed to such exchange, then so did the more brutal reality of colonial practices, as Indigenous people toiled as hired or enslaved labour for settler families. Yet, as Fisher concludes, 'By attending to English kitchens and the cooking therein as likely places and activities



that cultivated these exchanges of knowledge, we are reminded that cultural encounters and colonial politics owed as much to hearths and homes as they did to courtrooms and council fires' (259).

Edith Snook's essay, "A New Source of Happiness to Man"?: Maple Sugaring and Settler Colonialism in the Early Modern Atlantic World', investigates further the colonial encounters mediated by cooking fires—in this case, the manufacturing of maple sugar. Snook examines in detail the eighteenth-century recipe, 'Remarks on the Manufacturing of Maple Sugar', published widely—from Philadelphia and New Hampshire, to London, Boston, New York, and Nova Scotia. Tracing, like Fisher, Indigenous-settler relations through the medium of cooking and foodways, Snook highlights not only the ways in which colonial practices obscured Indigenous knowledge, storytelling, and practice concerning the collection of sap and its transformation into sugar; she also draws attention to the ethical differences between cooking and manufacturing. As Snook explains, the 'Remarks' originate from abolitionist Quakers looking for an alternative to plantation sugar with its dependence on enslaved labour; yet the 'Remarks' also serve to reinforce settler colonialism in the Americas through the capitalist ethos of manufacturing and the appropriation of land for maple plantations. Fire, here, is simply a means to a colonial end, with maple sugar production marked by 'expansion, profit, and control' (281). Like Laroche and Fisher, Snook suggests that cooking fires cannot be overlooked as places where relationships can be both formed and deformed.

Whether examining activities in the era's kitchens or exploring the politics of recipe writing, the chapters in this collection advance current scholarly conversations surrounding early modern foodways to focus attention on the act of cooking. The volume owes a great debt to the innovative, often collaborative, online efforts of early modern recipe scholars, whose open access projects have created and extended interest in an often overlooked field. *The Recipes Project*, for example, has introduced thousands of readers to the history of early modern cooking, and the Early Modern Recipes Online Collective (EMROC) has been creating crowdsourced transcriptions for the era's recipe books since 2012.¹⁹ *EMMR: Early Modern Maritime Recipes*, meanwhile, offers a curated, freely-available collection of early recipes from Canada's Maritime provinces.²⁰ The distinctive quality of learning by experience in the kitchen makes Marissa Nicosia's *Cooking in the Archives* blog an

19 Smith et al., *The Recipes Project: Food, Art, Science, and Medicine*; EMROC: *Early Modern Recipes Online Collective*.

20 Snook and Bennett, *EMMR: Early Modern Maritime Recipes*.



ongoing influence in recipe studies, and the interest that such hands-on activity garners has given rise to such influential public programmes as the Folger Shakespeare Library's *Before 'Farm to Table'* initiative.²¹ In fostering collaboration—imaginative, practical, and scholarly—these online projects embody cooking's ability to bring people together. We hope this collection fosters and furthers these kitchen conversations.

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21 Nicosia, *Cooking in the Archives*; Folger Shakespeare Library, *Before 'Farm to Table'*.



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