MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Courtly and Country Culinary Trends in 17th-century London"

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2015 / Vienna 2015

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	A 066 805
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt / degree programme as it appears on the student record sheet:	Masterstudium Global Geschichte und Global Studies
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Univ. Prof. Dr. Thomas Ertl

For Richard, if only you knew.

Abstract

The subject of this thesis is an investigation into the courtly and country culinary influences which shaped the food history of 17th-century London. A brief demographic consideration of migration from the countryside to the English capital will acquaint the reader with the culinary needs of the countryman in the city. Similarly, the strong trends of courtly eating habits at Whitehall will be presented, exploring the growing demand for more exotic ingredients as a direct result of discovery in the New World. In the first part of this piece of work a state of the art of the courtly eating habits will be presented, followed by a presentation of country eating habits in the English capital city. In the main body of this thesis, the analysis, the key research question of where these two eating habits converged will be pursued. A wide range of secondary sources will be consulted in order to gain an accurate level of culinary detail as well as historical context. A further level of authenticity will be added to this thesis by the use of certain primary sources including maps, cookbooks, paintings and diaries of the time. Finally, this thesis will be bound together with a conclusion which will directly address the key results of the main body of analysis, followed by a consideration of this thesis in the wider context of food history per se.

Zusammenfassung

Thema dieser Arbeit ist eine Untersuchung der Einflüsse der höfischen und ländlichen Küchen die die Nahrungsgeschichte Londons im 17. Jahrhundert gestalteten. Eine kurze Erörterung der Migration vom ländlichen Bereich in die englische Hauptstadt eröffnet einen Einblick in die kulinarischen Bedürfnisse des Landmenschen in der großen Stadt. Auf ähnliche Weise werden die stark etablierten höfischen Essgewohnheiten in Whitehall beschrieben, die nach der Entdeckung neuer Nahrungsmittel in der neuen Welt zu einer hohen Nachfrage an exotischen Zutaten führten. Im ersten Abschnitt dieser Arbeit werden die damaligen Essgewohnheiten des englischen Königshofes geschildert. Danach werden auch die Essgewohnheiten der Landleute in der Großstadt präsentiert. In der Analyse, aus welcher der Hauptteil dieser Arbeit besteht, wird die Forschungsleitfrage erforscht, nämlich die Frage ob und wo diese zwei Essgewohnheiten konvergierten. Ein weites Spektrum an Sekundärliteratur wird eingesehen um einen möglichst hohen Grad an kulinarischem Detail zu erreichen sowie einen gründlichen historischen Kontext darzubieten. Weiterhin wird dieser Arbeit durch die Heranziehung primärer Quellen wie etwa Karten, Kochbüchern, Gemälden, und Tagebüchern des 17. Jahrhunderts zusätzliche Authentizität verliehen. Endlich wird diese Arbeit durch eine Schlussfolgerung welche die Erkenntnisse der Analyse thematisiert sowie eine Kontextualisierung dieser Arbeit im weiteren Rahmen der Nahrungsgeschichte verbunden. Darüber hinaus liefert die Arbeit Einblicke nicht nur in die Geschichte Londons und des Hofes der Stuart, sondern trägt auch dazu bei, das sozialgeschichtliche Konzept von höfischer und ländlicher Klasse auf breiter Ebene zu diskutieren.

Timeline of Relevant Dates

1603 Death of Elizabeth I and coronation of James I

1606 Gunpowder Plot

1607 Jamestown founded

1625 Charles I crowned king

1642 English Civil Wars begin

1649 Execution of Charles I and start of Cromwell's Interregnum

1660 Restoration of Charles II

1707 Act of the Union with Scotland

1713 Death of Anne, end of Stuart monarchy

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Introduction

The subject of this thesis is an investigation into the courtly and country culinary influences which shaped the food history of 17th-century London. In studying the narrow medium of food a sharp image of Stuart life can indeed be formed. It is just one of many lenses which the historian can use in order to travel back to the 17th century. A brief demographic consideration of migration from the countryside to the English capital will orientate the reader as to the culinary needs of the countryman in the city. Critical to setting the scene of the country man in the city will be a presentation of country dweller's culinary habits in their native surroundings of the English countryside. Similarly, the strong trends of courtly eating habits at Whitehall will be presented based upon the growing demand for more exotic ingredients as a direct result of their discovery in the New World and as a direct reflection of French culinary influences on the English court. These are just two examples of how courtly dining habits were influenced by external occurrences beyond the national borders of the British Isles. The eating habits of certain monarchs will be investigated, including an examination of their menus and demands for specific ingredients which will ensure that the reader is also familiar with the notion of courtly culinary trends.

This thesis will be divided into three sections. In the first part of this piece of work the state of the art of the courtly eating trends will be presented. This will largely focus on dishes which were consumed at the royal banquets of Whitehall and will also look to investigate the kitchens of royal residences on London's periphery. The initial presentation of courtly culinary trends will show a correlation between the rise in popularity of certain foods and the accession to the throne of specific monarchs. Courtly eating, of course, not only encompasses the collective trends of the wealthy members of the court; it is clear from the outset that courtly eating also expresses the personal taste of individual kings and queens of England, as the monarch dictated courtly fashion to a great extent.

In the second section of this thesis country eating habits in the English capital in the 17th century will be examined. This will include a brief presentation of what the culinary norms were for a country dweller in the English countryside before investigating how London adopted this manner of eating into its foodscape. The expansion of a city upon its culinary needs and desires is indeed a valid way in which a city's history can be narrated. With regard to Stuart London the reader will be introduced to the way in which the city was already centred on the strong need to feed its large country population by the turn of the 17th century. In any historical time or geographical location, industry and society could not exist unless the

general population could be fed and the settlement prosper. This was the case in Antiquity as much as it was in 17th century London. To build and expand a city according to its growing culinary needs, therefore, is not a unique characteristic that can be directly attributed to the Stuarts, but is a tool which they used.[1]

Of most interest will be a presentation of what the country dwellers who migrated to London under the reign of the Stuarts contributed to London's rich food history. Migration from counties within England and from the Continent to London will prove to be a fundamental undertone of the whole period in question. Furthermore, the impact of migration will be reflected in particular examples which will include the establishment of country gardening techniques in the city, breakthroughs in farming which slowly led to fresh meat being available all year round and the country class's consumption of white bread being firmly established. Further aspects of Stuart London's culinary trends will also be analysed in light of key historical events and advancements in farming techniques.

In the main body of this thesis, the key research question of where these two eating trends converged will be pursued. This research is set against the backdrop of the proposed theoretical model of courtly and country culinary trends. Convergence will be analysed on the basis of physical places in 17th-century London where similarities in eating style can be observed, such as in particular taverns, inns and ale houses, cook shops, markets and from London's many street sellers. Here convergence will be identified as the mutual participation of both the courtly and country populations in eating similar dishes, cooking from similar recipe books or attending the same eating establishment. The convergence of courtly and country eating trends will also take on a more abstract notion and investigate social class and food consumption. In a wider context this thesis will seek to establish whether such a clear cut model of distinct social groups, namely courtly and country, can indeed be applied to 17th-century London, and if so, to what extent.

With regard to methodology a wide range of secondary sources will firstly be consulted in order to gain an accurate level of culinary detail, as well as the historical context of the topic in question. From the outset, the poorer country class will be referred to as the 'ordinary class' and the wealthy class as the 'gentry'. The former is an extension of the classification of '*ordinary people*' by Maurice Ashley and the latter gleaned from the work of

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[1] Carolyn *Steel*, Hungry City: How Food shapes our Lives, (London 2009) 83-84.

Hugh Trevor-Roper.[2] These social markers have been deemed necessary because by definition the ordinary class implies a lower standard of living, yet well above the breadline. 'Poor' in the sense of Elizabethan England and beyond is a term of pure destitution. This destitution was widespread in England's working class as it could be caused by a range of factors including a bad harvest, a lack of support from direct family members or from illness, which could impede the man of the household's ability to work. A further way in which Elizabethan England's ordinary class can be categorised is the *'poor commons'*, a term coined by clergyman William Harrison.[3] Categorising the courtly social group is similarly problematic. 'Rich' is equally not a term accurate enough for this study and so the term 'gentry' will be used, as it tends to imply more than hereditary wealth that would normally be associated with the aristocratic social class. In contrast the term gentry implies both land ownership and entrepreneurial strengths. As will be demonstrated, the food industry of 17th-century London provided a wealth of opportunities for the entrepreneurial mind.

A further level of authenticity will be added to this thesis with the use of primary sources including maps, surveys, cookbooks, paintings and diaries of the time. Among this array of sources the works of prominent 17th-century Londoners will be singled out and investigated in more depth. Into this category falls Naval Administrator and diarist, Samuel Pepys (1633-1703), fellow diarist, gardener and associate of the Royal Society, John Evelyn (1620-1706) and finally personal cook to Charles II, Robert May (1588-1644). In consulting such primary sources, the proposed model of courtly and country dining in 17th-century London will be firmly kept in mind and the extent to which one can dissect the two be instrumental to the analysis. Considerations as to the extent to which the courtly class shaped their counterparts, with references to advice of the gentlemen mentioned above, will also be made. Further points of analysis will be centred on England's agricultural revolution and whether it can be said that the countryside therefore sustained the city. Where would London have been without her constant supply of foodstuffs from the Home Counties and beyond?

Finally, this thesis will conclude with references to eating establishments, recipes and cookbooks which could be identified as sources which show the convergence of courtly and country eating trends. The many elements of the culinary trends of 17th-century London will be concluded in light of a two-faced model of courtly and country dining. Further areas where

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[2] Maurice *Ashley*, Life in Stuart England, (London 1964) 21. Hugh *Trevor Roper*, The Gentry, 1540-1640, (London, 1953) 1-8.
[3] William *Harrison*, Description of England (London 1577) 26. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/32593/32593-h/32593-h.htm 12.09.15).

the courtly and country model could be applied in the study of 17th-century London will be considered along with the alternative ways in which London's food of this time could be categorised. Lastly, a consideration of this piece of work in the wider context of London's food history will be made. What started from humble country beginnings in Stuart times has undoubtedly gone on to become one of the most diverse foodscapes in the world.

Part 1 Courtly Eating Trends of 17th-Century London

1.1. The Elizabethan culinary legacy on the English court: a taste for everything sweet

There was little evidence of the rife poverty and considerable economic inflation of England in the 1590s in the banqueting hall of Elizabeth I. Indeed, the Tudor period could be generalised by the pattern in which the rich acquired more wealth while the poor dived increasingly further into the pit of poverty. In the twilight years of the Tudor dynasty England's ordinary class did not fare too well and Elizabeth's government had to pass legislation to bring back the country from the brink. A particularly harsh famine caused by three consecutive inclement summers, 1494-1497, did not bode well for steady agricultural output or for economic stability. Thus it is clear that the Elizabethan legacy for London's growing ordinary class was not a healthy one in any regard, be it economic, social or political. On the other hand little was reflected of the harsh conditions of the 1590s at Elizabeth's court. There is no doubt that as the ordinary class struggled to feed their families whilst the gentry embarked on a number of money-making schemes which would only further increase their wealth. London's courtly and country class therefore, at this point in time, can arguably be viewed as two separate entities.[4]

It is appropriate at this point to consider and define exactly what was meant by 'country' and 'courtly class' in late Tudor and early Stuart England. Firstly, when considering the country class attention is typically drawn to the families which Maurice Ashley describes as part of his presentation of the ordinary class. Ashley pinpoints families that were established in the heart of the English countryside, maybe in Suffolk or Kent that supported themselves with a smallholding of land and livestock but were by no means well off. The country to urban migration which took place during the 17th century in England is reflective of the belief of such individual families that a city such as London would provide them with a better fortune. On the other hand, the courtly class at the highest end of the social hierarchy was indicative of royalty and peerage. This was not the only social group which made up the courtly class. Alongside the monarch, prominent, typically aristocratic individuals that either through their wealth or a notable achievement or deeds similarly gained access to a privileged life. The arguably larger layer of courtly diners in 17th-century London, however, was made up of businessmen and entrepreneurs who through their merit at work gained access to the

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[4] Joel *Hurstfield* (Editor) and Alan G.R. *Smith* (Editor), Elizabethan People. State and Society, (London 1972) 55. Examples of such restorative legislation includes a reference to 'An Act for the maintenance of husbandry and tillage' (1598).

delights of courtly food. Entrepreneurial success and consequent accumulated wealth can indeed be identified as a point of access into the gentry class.

At Elizabeth I's court, food was plentiful and dining was increasingly being viewed as form of entertainment. Moreover, her dining tendencies set a precedent for culinary change. The old Tudor courtly staple of boar was now being rapidly replaced, as were *'swans, heron, bustard and peacock, while rabbits were becoming more popular'.*[5] The decline of boar, now on the brink of extinction, is not surprising when one considers the importance of hunting in the Tudor court. Areas of countryside which were in close proximity to London, perhaps Essex or Hertfordshire, now supplied courtly banquets with birds such as wheatears and dotterels. Moreover, both of these species were considered delicacies. Tudor England's global expansion could also be detected at a late 16th-century courtly banquet; the presence of guinea-fowl, turkey meat, saffron and green walnuts, for example, all indicate this new, courtly, culinary trend.[6]

Elizabeth I's lust for all things sweet could fill a number of books both on history and cookery shelves. Therefore a classic entry point into Elizabethan courtly dining is through the medium of one of Elizabeth I's own personal favourite ingredients: sugar. Elizabeth I indulged in sugary foods so much that she and many of her courtiers suffered significant tooth decay. The way in which the Tudors had no knowledge of its negative effects on the body indicates an authentic Tudor way of thinking. Sugar was anything but bad. Clergyman William Harrison firmly establishes the point that sugar originated as a medicinal ingredient. He himself refers back to the ancient world and Pliny's reference to it. Popular Elizabethan courtly dishes which were centred on sugar were desserts, and include *'sweets, tarts, jellies, fools, syllabubs, junkets, biscuits, comfits and preserves'.*[7]

In 1601, sugar was just one commodity which made up the profile of a range of new produce, spices and meat which were being landed on the banks of the Thames. These new foods were often shrouded in controversy and it is no surprise that heated debates were taking place in Parliament. Such debates were centred around the nature of wealthy individuals' desire to gain a parliamentary patent on commodities, which included foods. Patents regarding food material ranged from the sourcing of currants in the New World to vinegar, dried pilchards, salt and saltpetre. The session in Parliament was particularly lively on the

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[5] Richard *Tames*, Feeding London: a Taste of History, (London 2003) 19.
[6] *Tames*, Feeding London, 17-19.
[7] *Tames*, Feeding London, 19.

occasion when a certain Mr Hackwell of Lincoln's Inn addressed the House and enquired as to whether anyone had already sought a parliamentary endorsed patent for bread. This witty remark emphasises how such monopolies in the food trade were not feasible in a practical or constitutional sense. What can be denoted from this debate is how the Elizabethan courtly class demonstrated the seeds of entrepreneurial skill which the Stuarts would make their own.[8]

In making reference to foodstuffs from the New World a critical point is raised, namely the way in which food groups were defined. In studying the 17th-century food history of London the definition of spices as it stands today would have largely been an alien term to the Stuarts. In the wider context of food history the category of spices is one of the most challenging to define. By way of illustration, spices in the 17th-century English sense might refer to pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, ginger but also certain dried fruits. Spices were not necessarily fiery on the tongue in taste and this is arguably the way in which later definitions of spices are different from 17th-century ones.[9] Kitchen gardens, of whatever size, also provided a household with a diverse array of natural accoutrements. The spoiled meat theory, which maintains that spices were added to meat in order to disguise the taste of mould, is an argument which Paul Freedman refutes.[10] His reason for rejecting the notion that spices were added to meats in the early modern world to prevent the taste of mould being detected by the consumer is simple: Meat in such a severely degraded form would have had potentially fatal effects on the body. Spices instead were used to tone down the strong salty flavour the preservation process left behind. This is arguably a more credible explanation of the use of added spicing to meats than the spoiled meat theory offers. Spices were also not exclusively reserved for savoury dishes. Desserts of the Stuart kitchen could also be enhanced with a sprinkling of spices.[11]

In turning to consider the ordinary class, William Harrison's *Description of England*, 1577, provides a relatively balanced insight into the eating trends of both courtly and country classes. Harrison travelled around England concerned with both the new heights of the gentry's culinary indulgence and by the plight of England's poor. Having briefly acknowledged the coexistence of a trend for more indulgent foods for wealthy Londoners along with the opposite case for London's poor, Harrison's work will now be presented. The

[8] *Hurstfield* and *Smith*, Elizabethan People, 62.
[9] Roger *Owen*, In: The Oxford Companion to Food, (Oxford/New York 1999) 744.
[10] Paul *Freedman*, Out of the East. Spices and the Medieval Imagination, (New Haven/London 2008) 3-4.
[11] Paul S. *Lloyd*, Food and Identity in England, 1540-1640: Eating to Impress, (London/New York 2015) 131.

aim of the consultation and analysis of Harrison's work will be the unveiling of how the gentry fared in Elizabethan London and exactly what culinary trends can be identified. In this chapter on Elizabethan England's courtly culinary trends, the ordinary class will momentarily be put to one side.

Great details of Elizabethan courtly dining can be amassed throughout Harrison's survey of late-Tudor England. In the quote below he discusses both the gentry and the ordinary classes, along with already firmly established and expected notions of the late 16th century, the arrival of certain new foods on British shores as a direct result of English expeditions to the New World. In this citation Harrison starts by nostalgically reflecting on culinary trends and behaviours of his younger years:

'Whereas in my time their use is not only resumed among the poor commons, I mean of melons, pompons, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets, parsnips, carrots, cabbages, navews, turnips, and all kinds of salad herbs—but also fed upon as dainty dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobility, who make their provision yearly for new seeds out of strange countries, from whence they have them abundantly. Neither do they now stay with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but adventure further upon such as are very dangerous and hurtful, as the verangenes, mushrooms, etc., as if nature had ordained all for the belly, or that all things were to be eaten for whose mischievous operation the Lord in some measure hath given and provided a remedy'.[12]

Harrison more pertinently describes how along with a taste for anything and everything sugary, an interesting phenomenon was taking place at the tables of Elizabethan courtly diners: they were recycling or even upcycling foods which were traditionally country foods in origin and most definitely belonged to the dishes of the ordinary class. Furthermore, what is also of great interest is the connection he makes between food and religious belief. The connection of eating certain foods and their nature, maybe sweet or sour, and their metaphorical meaning was important in Tudor England. Similarly a plentiful harvest would indicate a divine blessing whilst a poor harvest would cause one to seek penance. The latter was largely a country phenomenon but not exclusively.

To gain a further level of clarity still on Elizabethan courtly dining a presentation of an array of ingredients and recipes is a valid medium in which to proceed. Harrison's writings

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[12] *Harrison,* Description of England, 26. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/32593/32593-h/32593-h.htm 25.06.15).

also include valuable observations of how England's nobility dined in the late Tudor period, which provides a solid cornerstone upon which Stuart London's courtly culinary trends can be cemented. Harrison's account illustrates that London was, as it to a certain extent still remains, the home of noble dining:

> *'In number of dishes and change of meat the nobility of England (whose cooks are for the most part musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers) do most exceed, sith there is no day in manner that passeth over their heads wherein they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, cony, capon, pig, or so many of these as the season yieldeth, but also some portion of the red or fallow deer, beside great variety of fish and wild fowl, and thereto sundry other delicates wherein the sweet hand of the seafaring Portugal is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to taste of every dish that standeth before him…'.[13]*

Harrison pinpoints two novel features of Elizabethan courtly dining. One of these is the more extensive portfolio of meats on offer. By the mid-17th-century Stuart cookery would be concocting many new sauces to accompany these meats. Secondly, it is also interesting to observe how plentiful Portuguese food was at the Elizabethan banquet which Harrison describes. With this observation, the point can be firmly established that even at Elizabethan banquets courtly food did not necessarily mean English food. Furthermore the common perception that beef was the most popular meat of late Tudor and indeed Stuart dining is not conveyed in Harrison's writings. Yet, the observations of Venetian merchant, Alessandro Magno, a Venetian merchant who carefully noted down his observations of life in late Tudor England contests Harrison's position on beef consumption. Harrison refers to a substantial range of meats which were on offer at the late Tudor courtly banquet table, this refutes the evidence that Britons preference for beef as their meat of choice which Magno described. Similarly some secondary authors such as Tames suggest that beef consumption in Stuart England was so great that the beginnings of a national dish can be observed. [14] Contradictions between Magno and Harrison's accounts may be explained simply by the fact that they were writing in slightly different geographical locations and a few crucial years apart.

Similarly, the notion that Elizabethans were suspicious of fresh produce is also in general contested by Harrison's account of late 16th century England. On the contrary, he makes an incredible amount of references consistently throughout his text to fresh fruit and

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[13] *Harrison,* Description of England, 88. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/32593/32593-h/32593-h.htm 25.06.15).
[14] *Tames*, Feeding London, 7.

vegetables of which the word *'suspicion'* does not once appear in conjunction. The Stuarts were prudent with their own abilities to garden when the opportunity arose. Nevertheless, Harrison in his account includes his concern for the potentially poisonous mushrooms he witnessed men consume. Concerns about dying from eating poisonous mushrooms is, however, a valid worry in which one should indulge in any time or place. The generalisation of Elizabethans and early Stuarts being suspicious of fresh produce must be taken with a pinch of salt. It simply is a false observation in the historical archive. Both courtly and country diners were open to new fresh fruit. After all, even a poor country dweller had access to a wide range of fruit trees and bushes. A more accurate observation of this circumstance would be that both country and courtly classes viewed new produce with suspicion; however, once the food had proved itself to the diner as a reliable source of nourishment it was accepted wholeheartedly.

The arrival and moreover establishment of any new food type is a process which requires a lengthy amount of time. If the example of beans which originated in the Americas is taken, the benefits of their consumption were not immediately taken up by the general population of England but their consumption at the court of Elizabeth I did much to make them an accepted food. With a lack of nutritional science, coupled with the strong tradition of food, particularly natural produce as medicines, the bean had to prove itself to the masses for a wide range of reasons before it could be accepted as a staple food to be enjoyed by all. The way in which the haricot bean became primarily a courtly food was arguably achieved by the recipe used to cook them and by the quality of ingredients which would complement them on the courtly diner's plate. The country class also ate beans, as is evident from the recipe by Robert May for pease pottage which will duly be referred to. What is critical to highlight here is that the beans which the country class consumed could also be described as dried peas. They were certainly not the kidney or haricot beans which the courtly class were starting to absorb.[15]

One further field of valuable study in setting the culinary scene of Stuart London can be found in the writings of the towering figure of Elizabethan English literature: William Shakespeare (1564-1616). A consideration of Shakespeare is useful for the study of

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[15] *Dickson Wright*, A History of English Food, (London 2011) 134. Here Dickson Wright makes reference to the introduction of the bean into the English diet in its many varieties. Elizabeth I favoured white, haricot beans which stemmed from Central America. This fact establishes the courtly identity of beans. Dickson Wright also explains how the bean transformed London's landscape: Bean fields sprung up just beyond the boundary of Chelsea. The way in which Harrison's text makes plentiful references to fresh fruit and vegetables adds further evidence to reject the perception that Tudors and Stuarts were suspicious of fresh produce.

Elizabethan London's food history and arguably beyond for two reasons. Firstly, Shakespeare's works are one of the most accurate sources in the historical archive from the late 16th and first two decades of the 17th century. Secondly, due to the success of his plays and particularly the opening of the Globe theatre on the Thames' South Bank, of which Shakespeare was a shareholder, marked the dawn of a new age of entertainment in London; the combination of dining out with a visit to the theatre. The way in which dining became a theatrical performance would indeed become the pinnacle of courtly dining by the 1660s. On the other hand, Shakespeare's ordinary class patrons of the Globe theatre liked to enjoy simple foods such as fruit and nuts, oysters, whelks and crabs. Dickson Wright also refers to archaeological evidence which adds weight to the evidence of the consumption of such foods at theatrical performances. Of particular interest to archaeologists were the hazelnut shells discovered at the site of the Globe. The position of food at the heart of Elizabethan entertainment touched upon a growing trait of Stuart cooking; the presentation of food as a theatrical performance.[16]

1.2 James I and the migration of Scottish eating trends to the Home Counties

With the notion that key elements of food history involve lengthy, long term processes it would be surprising to read that with the accession of James I to the throne London's culinary trends changed dramatically overnight. Of course this was not the case. James had resided in London before, so it was not a new location to him. There are a few anecdotal examples to connect James I's arrival in London with an increased consumption of beef in the City, of clotted cream and of clouty dumpling, a native Scottish pudding, the arrival of a twice-baked biscuit in the South and the improvement in salting fish preservation techniques. There may have been some truth in these few examples, yet as ever in the discipline of food history there is often much competition to stake the definitive claim of having invented a food, recorded a recipe or having transported a food to a new location. With regard to later historical periods definitive claim-staking is possible: The Kellogg brothers' discovery of cornflakes in 1898 is a solid example of this.[17]

However, the anecdotal examples mentioned above touch on a seemingly crucial area of food history; the importance of actors for transporting recipes or dishes to new locations.

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[16] *Dickson Wright*, A History of English Food, 188.

[17] *Dickson Wright,* A History of English Food, 171-175. Such accurate discoveries of who created a certain food is much more inaccessible with regard to the 17th century. Kellogg's website as confirmation of the late 19th century as the date of their discovery of corn flakes shows how with time such information has become more verifiable (http://www.kelloggs.com/en_US/our-history.html 19.07.15).

This idea leads to the question as to which actors instigated new trends in the developments of national cuisine. The way in which London's food history has been shaped by both the upper and lower echelons of society speaks of a general trend in this whole thesis that changes in London's dining habits were not necessarily facilitated by a top-down hierarchical influence. It must also be kept in mind that London of the 17th century was not divided into the strict boundaries of the East End and West End sectors as it is today. However, in 17th-century London there was *'a gradual westward migration of the richer households'*.[18]

The example of James I and 17th-century London's food history will be centred on one element, the establishment of farming Scottish breeds of cows in the Home Counties. The Home Counties are the eight countries which directly surround the City and County of London. Mark Overton adds the level of accuracy needed to verify the fact that Scottish cattle were now favoured. Thus the arrival of Scottish beef in 17th century London is no longer an anecdote. Furthermore, Overton adds a date of the mid-17th century and two locations of where the cattle originated from, Galloway and the Highlands, to this process of culinary change. Moreover, the South became an area in which livestock could be fattened up to then be sold on, often in the proximity of London. Given the fact that transporting foodstuffs, let alone livestock, was a cumbersome and often expensive task, the need to establish a southern breed of Scottish cattle is clear. However, the extent to which the growth of the popularity of Scottish beef in London and the Southeast can be directly attributed to James I is questionable. As Overton implies, a significant period of time passed before Scottish cattle were established in the Home Counties and the reign of James I.[19]

In reconstructing the journey of Scottish beef to the Home Counties or to the South in general one single element of Scottish culinary influences on 17th-century London can be examined. In order to unfold this story more accurately there is one greater entity which needs to be considered, namely agriculture. Moreover, the first thought of which that comes to mind – that of Scottish farmers rushing to get sell their livestock across the border – should not be entirely dismissed. Political amity is supposed to facilitate better trade relations and this seemingly was the case with regard to Scotland's farmers, most of whom produced beef. James's ascension to the throne therefore did much for this trade. By the early 1680s cattle

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[18] Christopher *Hibbert*, London: the Biography of a City, (London 1980), 55.
[19] Mark *Overton,* Agricultural Revolution in England. The transformation of the agrarian economy 1500-1850 (Cambridge 1996) 49.

exported from Scotland to England stood at an estimated annual figure of 11 000; within a decade this figure would increase to an annual estimated export of 11 600.[20]

In reflection on the narrative of certain elements of Scottishness appearing in London's diet in the early 17th century there is a need for a brief evaluation of Scottish food itself. It would be wrong to consider any style of eating as a homogenous entity, with uniformity in the preparation and serving of food. In their article on '*Scottish Food and Scottish History*' A. Gibson and T.C Smout make it clear that the Scottish diet and way of eating at the time in question was a very diverse one. Therefore the 17th-century Scottish diet as an eating tradition could be broken into the diets of the Highlanders and Lowlanders or indeed of many regional traditions, as is very evident in the case of England at this time. High grazing grounds would provide a diet richer in meat. This simple correlation illustrates the Highland diet in a very simplistic manner. Secondly, Gibson and Smout indicate that a process of change was taking place with regard to the Lowland diet, which was distancing itself from a strong meat-eating tradition and moving towards a stronger grain-based one. Therefore, with so many variables at play, it would seem an impossible task to ever replicate exactly which culinary trends can be directly attributed to James I, but the single example of an increased level of Scottish livestock flooding across the border, even if London was not their destination, appears to be largely a consequence of his royal appointment.[21]

1.3 Eating in the image of a king? Courtly dining under Charles I.

Charles I liked to dine in the limelight. He had a public gallery installed in his banqueting hall from which his dinner times could be observed. The following painting by Dutch artist Gerrit Houckgeest (ca. 1600-1661) is entitled 'Charles I, Queen Henrietta Maria, and Charles II when Prince of Wales Dining in Public', signed and dated as 1635. Houckgeest's work perfectly encapsulates the theatrical dining with which Charles I's court had become synonymous. This painting is unquestionably an invaluable source for the archive of courtly dining, while it also imparts a strong impression as a visual source. The foods to be eaten are on the table while Charles I with his wife, Henrietta Maria, and their children are the only members of the court to be seated whilst dining. The sense of movement which this painting portrays, of both the courtiers – those present who sought the favour of the monarch -

[20] D. *Woodward*, A Comparative Study of the Irish and Scottish Livestock Trades in the Seventeenth Century, 152. In: L.M Cullum and T.C Smout (Editors), Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History, 1600-1900 (Edinburgh 1977).
[21] A. *Gibson* and T.C *Smout*, Scottish Food and Scottish History, 1500-1800, In: Scottish Society 1500-1800, R.A Houston (Editor) and I.D Whyte (Editor) (Cambridge 1989) 62-65.

and of the servants responsible for the splendour and abundance of the foods and beverages of the banquet, is also evident. The painting does not depict courtiers directly dining with the king, yet it is clear that with the opportunity to observe the king dining, they would be familiar with the nature of courtly food. Those in the gallery, who were very probably invited by the king himself, can be identified as further agents who brought tastes for courtly food into the English capital.

Figure 1: Gerrit Houckgeest (ca 1600-1661), Charles I, Queen Henrietta Maria, and Charles II when Prince of Wales Dining in Public, 1635, now part of the royal collection housed in the Queen's drawing room at Windsor Castle. Downloaded from http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/402966/charles-i-queen-henrietta-maria-and-charles-ii-when-prince-of-wales-dining-in *(04.07.15).*

Maybe the most poignant iconographical observation to be made here is the way in which it was such indulgence in luxury and grandeur that would ultimately sign Charles I's death warrant in 1649. The position of Charles II at his father's table in this painting is also of great significance. The courtly culinary delights of his childhood arguably remained with Charles II throughout his whole life and directly added such culinary flare to his restoration to

the English throne in 1660. The detail of the food consumed at Charles I's banquet in Houckgeest's painting is not clear but its value as a historical source for the etiquette, protocol and notion of Charles I's dining as a busy not static process cannot be emphasised enough.

Dining in London under Charles I, king of England from 1625 until 1649 for the ordinary classes is, nevertheless, a challenging topic to uncover. What made dining under Charles I different from dining under James I? The answer would be 'not a great deal' and that is for two reasons. Firstly, the processes of change mentioned in the chapter on James I require a good amount of time for new vogues to take hold. Secondly, times were hard under Charles I. Joan Thirsk talks of an *'anxiety about food supply'* which died down in the year that Charles I acceded to the throne.[22] Yet by 1630 grain prices were high again. The fact that Westminster also suffered this problem, to the extent that Londoners had to pay a sum of 13s. 4d. in order to purchase white wheat, expresses just how tough the situation was for Charles I's subjects. However, as the painting above illustrates, Charles continued to eat like a king, whilst for London's ordinary class it arguably was a case of making do with the resources one had.[23]

The Civil War would be a great catalyst for change in the whole of England and religion was at the heart of this process. On the topic of religion it is of great significance to note that in a post-1534 England there were pockets of Catholics who lived in the country, typically in the North in Lancashire for example. Cromwell's Protectorate existed on the precursor of a certain degree of religious diversity and so the Puritan years were not as radical in culinary terms as historians would like us to believe. If the myth of Cromwell banning Christmas is debunked it is clear that the whole religious festival was not forbidden by the Puritan regime, but elements of it such as the inclusion of certain ingredients in the traditional plum pudding which was a main feature of 17th century English Christmases. [24] It should therefore be the disruption of the English Civil Wars, 1642-1650, which should be the focus of historical food studies of this period to which the content of the Puritan diet is secondary.

Colin Spencer even goes as far to say that the Puritan movement '*did affect our diet in a profound manner, for it was to abolish feudal tenures and arbitrary taxation, both of which hugely benefited the common man and therefore improved his ability to grow his own*

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[22] Joan *Thirsk*, Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions, 1500-1760, (London/New York 2007) 61.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ian *Crofton,* Curious History of Food and Drink, (London 2013) 109.

crops'.[25] In addition to the way in which the Puritan years mobilised the common man, or members of the ordinary class, new rights and political power were granted to the *'propertied class'.*[26] The changes which the puritan movement brought in light of their rejection of the Church of England were also extensive. The ordinary and gentry class both felt a sense of freedom not previously seen. This had very much to do with the area of dining. Food and drink were accompanied by a sense of enjoyment which Spencer describes as *'sensual'.*[27] An investigation into the impact of Puritan dining alone on 17th century London would be an interesting area of investigation in its own right. The main conclusion of this topic which can be made for this thesis is that stereotype of Puritan food as being bland and minimal is not necessarily the correct image to have in mind.

A further author who challenges perceptions of the Civil War years is Ben Coates. In his book entitled '*The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London'* he details the impact of this crisis on the city of London with regard to many factors including food. Before presenting his findings it should not be forgotten how vulnerable London, the capital, was deemed to be during the Civil War. Although fighting never took place there, the nearest battles took place in Essex, and so defence posts sprung up all around the periphery of the city. Whilst in the vicinity of the city, London was under the conditions of an emergency state and the fear of a siege and food supplies running out was a reality for all. The impact of the Civil War entailed difficulties in getting supplies into the city. The scale of abandonment particularly of men who had gone off to fight, meant that even the strict Puritan rules of no work on a Sunday had to be ignored.

Coates firstly offers his own theory as to why bread prices of the 1640s in London did not increase as would be expected in wartime. His explanation hinges on the fact that transportation of grain by land was expensive, this meant that grain supply tended to be limited to a local source. Consequently, Coates makes an important point about 17th century London's grain supply. An element of it was supplied by a ship from Kent or East Anglia, by sea, or on vessels which would travel down the Thames or River Lea. London remained a Parliamentarian hotspot throughout the war and but the Royalists were able to hinder grain supply with a blockade on the Thames. The dramatic grain price increase did not occur as

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[25] *Spencer*, British Food, 137.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.

expected because those farmers who were under pressure to charge more money for their grain increased the yield, so prices on the London market were stable.[28]

The case was however not the same with the supply of livestock to London's markets. Due to the fact that the North tended to harbour Royalist strongholds and was the place from which London sourced a lot of its meat, the Royalists were able to hinder London's meat supply – but only to a certain extent. As already made reference to in the chapter on James I, the popularity of Scottish beef by the mid-1600s meant that Scottish cows were now being fattened up in the South ready to be sold on in London. The disruption the Royalists sought to cause did not have a huge impact because, as Coates writes, there was an element of delay because the establishment of northern livestock in the Home Counties was a slow process. Thus the impact of the antics of the Royalists in the North was only felt virtually at the end of the war.[29]

In a similar light of the Civil War and consequent Restoration Joan Thirsk also debates the extent of change which this unrest brought about, if any, in her book '*The Restoration'*. In this book she surveys a number of perspectives on the Restoration from historians who argue variously for a change in diet following the Restoration or a continuity in eating habits throughout the political disruption. Therefore on the one hand she balances Christopher Hill's position on the lack of change in the highest levels of the social order in stark contrast to the agricultural breakthroughs which took place. At the agrarian level the previous networks which were in place in the Tudor period became completely disjointed during the Stuart age and this phenomenon went on to change the general identity of the Stuart monarchy. Country influences therefore penetrated the highest social levels of Stuart England, the king could indeed not exist without the hard work of the country labourer. In this way the Restoration and two social classes of the courtly and country model can be viewed as fused entities.[30]

In concluding this chapter on London's food history and Charles I, including the Civil Wars, the level of continuity with regard to the supply of basic commodities is striking. Although London was in a state of emergency there was little to be concerned about. The foresight of certain grain farmers to increase their yield in order to keep London's grain prices on an even keel is impressive. Moreover, the measure the Royalists took to disrupt meat

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[28] Ben *Coates*, The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50, (Aldershot/Burlington 2004) 147-148.
[29] *Coates*, The Impact of the English Civil War, 148.
[30] Joan *Thirsk,* The Restoration, (London 1976) 108.

supply to the capital required a certain amount of time for its impact to be felt and so could not be observed in London until the end of the war. Had the Royalists been able to intercept London's grain supply, their influence on the course of the war would arguably have been stronger. The whole impact of the English Civil Wars on London's food history is moreover quite uneventful. Londoners, both courtly and country, still relied on the same basic foodstuffs. Even if Cromwell did ban certain recipes or ingredients, there is strong evidence to suggest from the way such a diverse range of goods could be sourced in the capital by the mid-17th century – coupled with the frequent interactions of ordinary class and gentry class – that one's culinary needs, however exotic, could always be obliged.

1.4 The Gentry as agents of courtly eating: Covent Garden, the Russell family and the work of Hugh Trevor-Roper

Apart from briefly studying the menus of banquet dining in Whitehall there is another social group who ate according to courtly traditions; the gentry. The gentry compromised of rich families who were attracted to set up residence in London due to the entrepreneurial opportunities for increasing a family's wealth the city offered. It must be emphasised that it was their land ownership that defined their status and not a hereditary title. Therefore, as previously established the classification of gentry according to the work of Hugh Trevor-Roper will serve as the point of entry for this chapter. In particular Trevor-Roper's rejection of a theory on the rise of the gentry in 17th century England proposed by Professor Tawney.

In his model which theorises the rise of the gentry in 17th century England Professor Tawney maintains a duel hypothesis. In short, Tawney acknowledges the acceleration of this social group, which to a certain extent was due to breakthroughs in agricultural techniques. The second part of Tawney's model associates the rise of the gentry with the '*contemporaneous decline of the aristocracy, caused [...] by combination of economic conservatism with fashionable extravagance'*.[31] Trevor-Roper agrees with Tawney's model more than he disagrees with it. In essence he advocates the viewpoint that these hypotheses are wrongly formulated. Trevor-Roper, furthermore, criticises the statistical sample Professor Tawney used among other aspects. Trevor-Roper also points out a level of poverty among certain courtly gentlemen at certain points in time and he completely rejects the conclusion that the gentry rose in the 17th century due to the detriments of the peers. A culinary observation can also be made in the higher echelons of English society in recipes by Digby

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[31] *Trevor-Roper*, The Gentry, 1-8.

Knight which include references to a lord or a lady in their title.[32] Whatever the specific mechanics of the debate which Tawney and Trevor-Roper were locked in, one thing is clear: the rise of the English gentry in the 17th century influenced many areas of society, including food. The following example of the Russell family and the success of Covent Garden market will demonstrate this point.

It was not only the location of the site of Covent Garden – at the rear of the Russell family home at Bedford House, on the Strand – which allowed Francis Russell, the fourth Duke of Bedford, to develop London's first official market square. This project was carried out under the direction of Indigo Jones between 1631 and 1639. The Russell family, one generation after Francis, with John Russell the 5th Earl of Bedford at the head of the household, were granted permission directly from Charles II in the form of a royal charter to sell fruit and vegetables at a market on the site. Covent Garden, as its names implies, was previously a plot of land owned by monks and was called Convent Garden. By 1705 the plot of land where the market stood was worth £500, and by 1741 it was yielding on average £1200 per annum. A similarity can be drawn upon here of the same entrepreneurial skills London's tavern and inn proprietors possessed and indeed developed during over the course of the 17th century.[33]

In the grander scheme of things the Russell Family's ownership of property in both the country, at Woburn located in Bedfordshire and Thorney located in the Cambridgeshire Fens, and in London created an opportunity for exchange between these two contrasting locations. The topic of the interactions between the city and countryside is a well-defined theme of this thesis and the question as to which single entity depended on the other provokes an endless debate. Nevertheless a certain element of clarity can be ascertained from the case of the Russell family properties in London and the nearby countryside. In this case the flow of traffic was heaviest in the direction from the city to the country and not vice versa. *'From London came not only imported luxuries, such as tea and coffee and seafood, like soles, smelts, salmon, lobsters, barrels of oysters, but also fruit from Covent Garden and pork from Smithfield'.*[34] Therefore it was not only from within the boundaries of the City that Stuart

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[32] Sir Kenelm *Digby Knight*, The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelm Digby Knight Opened, (London 1669) 68. (Gutenberg https://www.gutenberg.org/files/16441/16441-h/16441-h.htm 21.09.2015). Here is a reference to a recipe for 'My Lord Herbert's Mead' or on page 93 there is a recipe for 'Metheglin or Sweet Drink of my Lady Stuart'. It would appear that these recipes were Digby Knight's tribute to and acknowledgement of some of the higher members of 17th century English society.
[33] *Tames,* Feeding London, 78.
[34] *Tames,* Feeding London, 169.

England's economy was fuelled. The gentry's demand for courtly luxury foods on their country estates can indeed be identified as a significant contributory factor to London's economy in its own right.[35]

The establishment of market gardens in general in 17th-century London is a great legacy of the Stuart era. *'Market gardens were established in the immediate vicinity of London and Westminster by the middle of the seventeenth century and provided the capital with an impressively large range of fruit and vegetables'.*[36]The location of such a market so early on at Westminster speaks of a courtly demand for the sale of fresh produce. Covent Garden market was therefore not the first market garden in the capital. Of equal importance were the charters and guilds founded in order to facilitate such markets at all. In 1605 a charter specifically for London's market gardeners was signed. In addition to that a guild for London's fruiterers was set up by 1606 and by 1622 the Gardener's Company had an estimated 500 members.[37]

In conclusion, the example of the establishment of Covent Garden binds together a number of factors which establishes the courtly and country model as a flexible one. On the one hand, the courtly insight to construct Covent Garden, an architectural first for London, was strongly supported by courtly purchasing power. The circumstance of buying in London to support the country estate arguably establishes a new category of culinary insight: country courtly. On the other hand the purchasing power of the country masses in London, who we know were seeking more fresh produce in their diet should not be forgotten. The establishment of the gardeners' guild however is the entity in which these two social classes met. This intersection between the classes will be touched upon again in the analysis.

1.5 The Restoration: decade(s) of indulgence, exclusive to the court?

The Restoration of 1660 saw Charles II return to London both in a grand style and with universal approval of his enthronement. This is not to suggest that the political differences of those pro and anti-monarchy were swept aside but for both sides the message was clear; Charles II as king of England was a far better option for the country than Cromwell's Protectorate. Yet the English Civil War years did not by any means result in the death of London's courtly eating. Courtly eating in the sense of acquiring exotic ingredients

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[35] *Tames,* Feeding London, 168-169.

[36] Joan *Thirsk,* The Agrarian History of England and Wales V.1 Regional Farming Systems 1640-1750, (Cambridge 1984) 250.

[37] *Thirsk,* The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 251.

and having the wealth to follow eating fashions among London's rich was so deeply embedded in the identity of the gentry that the Civil War could not hinder its course of progress. Indeed, by the second half of the 17th century we can now strongly identify prominent, typically entrepreneurial individuals whose wealth in the English capital ensured that they could be courtly diners. Before engaging seriously with this topic in great detail, one pressing question has to be addressed. Could the ordinary class ever really experience the grandeur of English Restoration dining considering the fact that they could never replicate the same calibre of ingredients London's nobility could afford?

Whilst placing this fundamental question into the background and leaving it for further consideration in the analysis, this section will present the strong courtly identity of Restoration eating. From the outset it is clear that participation in authentic Restoration cuisine depended on the ownership of a certain level of wealth to facilitate the purchase of ingredients such as posset, syllabub and cockscomb in a pie. Restoration eating in its purest form arguably is therefore synonymous with 17th century courtly dining trends. That is not to say, however, that country forms of Restoration eating were not available or any less valid. In the previous section it has been observed how the courtly class upcycled recipes which were previously country recipes in heritage. In the restoration period a similar phenomenon can be observed; the ordinary, country class mirrored the culinary revolution which was taking pace in the courtly class and produced less fanciful versions of dishes which were essentially courtly in nature. The pages of Robert May's cookbook verify this point. His recipe for chicken pie includes an elaborate version with the addition of 20 cock's combs or his scaled down version where he does not put a number on the amount of chickens which should be added to the pie or in one place he recommends simply using the giblets of the bird. May knew that not all of those who would read or hear of his recipes would have a princely budget for their culinary needs.[38]

Digby Knight's recipe for posset, reproduced below, is important for several reasons. Firstly, in many ways it can indeed be classed as the dessert of the Restoration. The use of milk shows it is not a country recipe, as in the country milk was only a provision for children or for the frail and ill as advocated by Maurice Ashley. [39] The changing perceptions of foods can be viewed as a definite process in motion in the 17th century, but rather a long term one. It

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[38] Robert *May*, The Accomplisht Cook, (London 1699) 212-213. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22790/22790-h/cook1.html#secIX 21.09.15).
[39] *Ashley*, Life in Stuart England, 32.

must not be forgotten that this example of the changed perception of milk cannot be generalised, as posset is a courtly recipe through and through. The wind of culinary change was in the air, however. The use of fire conjures up images of the merchant's house previously described from the Geffreye Museum resources. The use of sugar in the posset is also significant, as before the setting of the trend towards sugar use and indulgence by the Elizabethans, honey would have been the natural sweetener used in such concoctions. The adding of sack – which is a sweetened wine – further enhanced with by adding brandy and ale arguably create a new area of indulge for Stuart London: the combination of sugar and alcohol.

Digby Knight's recipe may be simple, but it includes ingredients which many poorer families would consider a great luxury:

A PLAIN ORDINARY POSSET

Put a pint of good Milk to boil; as soon as it doth so, take it from the fire, to let the great heat of it cool a little; for doing so, the curd will be the tenderer, and the whole of a more uniform consistence. When it is prettily cooled, pour it into your pot, wherein is about two spoonfuls of Sack, and about four of Ale, with sufficient Sugar dissolved in them. So let it stand a while near the fire, till you eat it.[40]

The serving of posset not only marked a new chapter in the British monarchy but in culinary terms it indicated a return to the style of dining the courtly class preferred the best: banqueting. The copious amounts of food which would be served at a restoration feast, combined with a more diverse number of foods available is indeed one culinary legacy which can be attributed to the Stuarts. Further shining examples of restoration recipes and culinary ideas can be found in Robert May's cookbook, to refer to just one source on this topic.

The Restoration could also be felt on the streets of London, not only on the memorable day, 29th May, 1660, among the excitement and hubbub of the crowd that tried to catch a glimpse of their new king riding into the City on horseback. Also at the level of country dining trends, the Restoration was an event which was strongly celebrated in a culinary manner. Robert May consciously wrote for the country class as well as the courtly one. His recipe for oyster pottage is evident of this. Here he combined two inexpensive dishes. The way in which he considered both the courtly and country class in his cookbook is rather baffling. Why would a

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[40] *Digby Knight*, The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelm Digby Knight, 112. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16441/16441-h/16441-h.htm#Page_5 14.07.15)

distinguished royal chef want to improve the culinary standard of the social classes below him? Yet, Robert May was not the only figure of 17th-century London to perform deeds for the common good.

In a brief conclusion of this section, the following points are noteworthy of restoration dining in the English capital. The home of restoration dining was unequivocally the court, the court of Charles II, based at Whitehall. This is where the banquets took place and this is arguably where restoration London's most indulgent food could be found. This is all well and good but without agents to transfer the culinary ideas which they had witnessed at the king's table, restoration dining would have been an isolated culinary circumstance which was exclusive to the king. Restoration dining could, however, be found not only across the City, but has been encapsulated in word by prominent cooks and authors of the day. It is only due to the interactions of these agents with fellow members of the gentry outside the vicinity of the king's court that opulent restoration dining could really take off.

In this regard, the Restoration was an event which was exclusive to the court in culinary terms, yet the sense of contentment the ordinary labourer or servant felt when eating a pie which contained more than one type if meat and of which the pastry was properly sealed on the top, should not be underestimated. The courtly and country divide in London can never be viewed as an equal playing field. The Restoration for the country class also entailed a series of harsh conditions, the great death count due to the plague and the destruction of around a third of the City of London in September 1666. Under such conditions, eating to survive was the main motivation of the ordinary class and not more, yet the fire was an event hardly ever connected with the pomp and circumstance of the restoration years.

Part 2: The Country Eating Trends of 17th-century London

2.1 Demographics: the distinction between and meaning of English and non-English born

In 1600 the approximate population of the city of London was 200 000; by 1700, it stood at an estimated 575 000.[41] This demographic growth can be explained in a twofold manner: London was a migration destination for countryside to city migration and for international migration from the rest of the world. Thus, the population of London at this time was made up of those from the countryside and those from foreign lands. It would appear not to be appropriate to categorise the citizens of London in Stuart times as Londoners but as those *'English born'* and *'non-English born'*.[42] Consequently, with regard to *'English born'* migration to the capital seemed a necessary measure to improve their standard of living or to seek a better fortune than traditional farming could offer. [43]

The notion of *'Non-English born'* beyond the geographical dimension of Europe during the 17th century is difficult to trace. The examples which indicate migration from the Continent are however traceable. The Huguenots, French Protestant refugees who arrived in London after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, may well have started out eating country food, but certainly by the first decade of the 18th century, around 1711, they had changed their culinary habits considerably. The types of contracts they were attracting in the silver trade for example meant that they were setting precedents for their *'English-born'* counterparts. Furthermore the theory that success in the City from any profession that ensured that an individual became wealthy, could become a factor of social mobilisation. Thus it became clear that with sufficient income and upward mobility, the country, ordinary class member could be transferred to the ranks of London's courtly diners.[44]

To gain more direct access to the influence of *'Non-English born'* or *'aliens'* on the foodscape of 17th century London there is one industry which directly combines the two: the brewing of beer. The amalgamation of England's beer and ale brewers at the turn of the 16th century ended the ale brewers' resentment of their beer-brewing counterparts. Thus as a united market, the English brewing industry, consisting of both ale and beer, started a period of growth at an impressive rate. More accuracy can however be gained from a brief

[41] Leigh *Shaw-Taylor* and E. A *Wrigley*, Occupational Structure and Population Change, In: The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain. Volume 1 1700-1870 (Cambridge 2014), 76.

[42] Jacob *Selwood*, Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London, (Farnham 2010) 122.

[43] Stephen *Mennell,* All Manners of Food. Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present (Oxford 1987) 127.

[44] Lien Bich *Luu*, Immigrants of the Industries of London, 1500-1700, (Aldershot 2005) 248-249.

consideration of the preference for beer, English beer, at '*prestigious City livery companies'*
banquets and meals' in London of the late 1570s onwards. [45] It is here that a demarcation
between courtly drinking and country drinking can be made. In the late Tudor period the class
markers were established: the courtly nobility drank English beer while the country folk drank
ale. This demarcation would not remain in place for long as countrymen started to develop a
taste for English beer. The establishment of beer as the most popular drink on English shores
in a universal sense however would take some 200 years.[46]

The dominance of English beer would however take two hundred years to establish
itself as England's national drink. Pivotal in this change from English ale to English beer were
soldiers and sailors who, whilst on military service in Europe, came back with a passion for
beer. London was the home of navy and without doubt sailors can be identified as agents of
this culinary – or in this case, beverage – change. With regard to price beer cost less than ale,
it took less time to brew, and it could be persevered better than ale. The demand for English
beer was so great that England soon became an exporter of its own brew. The importance of
beer is made clear by the fact that in 1514 the City of London sent 300s <u>tuns</u> of beer to Henry
V's soldiers fighting in France compared to 200 <u>tuns</u> of ale. By the 1570s London was home
to many breweries including Westminster, while the biggest were to be found at Southwark
and East Smithfield. With the establishment of the Stuarts as fundamentally English beer
drinkers, by preference arguably due to the high frequency of courtly and country encounters
within the capital.[47]

One nationality which consistently resurfaces in London's history of the 17th century is
also anchored in the brewing of beer. Dutch influences on the capital stemmed from the
Gunpowder Plot of 1606 to the establishment of country gardening techniques in the city
which arguably set the precedent for the establishment of Covent Garden in 1654. With regard
to London's booming brewing industry, Dutch communities can strongly be associated with
this trend. In 1613, Dutch settlers in London were seen to be haggling with the locals in
exchanges which would ensure they got English beer in return for departing with their grain
or any other commodities of which they were in possession. Up until the 16th century Dutch
brewers were held the same high esteem as their German counterparts. By the second half of
the 17th century their direct presence in the brewing of London's beer diminished; 1650 can

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[45] *Luu*, Immigrants of the Industries of London, 267.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

be viewed as a watershed date for this. After the mid-17th century few Dutch names can be observed in the records of the Brewers' Company. This signified the Anglicisation of London's brewing industry but does not mean that the Dutch were suddenly absent from the capital. After the 1650s the Dutch were still active in the brewing of English beer in London by ensuring that the breweries had a steady stream of skilled workers which they required.[48]

A brief reflection on the statistics of 17th century London's Non-English born can positively denote that the percentage of aliens fell from 12.5% in 1553 to around 5% at the turn of the following century.[49] Therefore the category of non-English born was a social category with not much weight to it, arguably aggravated by suspicion of foreign revolutionaries. It could also be the case that second or third-generation immigrants were still considered as aliens or Non-English born was a category which included Irish, Scottish and Welsh heritages. Whatever the exact demographic situation was, the ratio of English born to non-English born should not be viewed as an equal playing field in 17th century London. What is most important, however, for the purposes of testing the courtly and country model of the consumption of food and drink, the case of English beer shows how both classes united under certain circumstances and how migrant workforces also fitted into these processes. The questions which such a complex set of circumstances provokes also could merit further study in their own right. Was it ever possible for a courtly diner to belong to the *'non-English* born' category? A profile of the spouses of various 17th century monarchs would positively verify this social status.

2.2 Agrarian framework of country food: from the humble vegetable patch to an agricultural revolution

The agricultural breakthroughs or even revolution as some refer to of 17th-century England could occupy a thesis in its own right. Some historians suggest that the processes of the English Agricultural Revolution were well underway during the 17th century, such as Jules N. Pretty. Other historians, on the other hand, such as Mark Overton explicitly state that it took place in the hundred years after 1750. Whatever date one stamps on the English Agricultural Revolution, as a uniform process, clear signs of agricultural progress can be observed in the food history of 17th century London. It is most certainly a topic which binds together many elements concerned with the preparation of food from supply to sale. Indeed the basic entity of a city is a manmade construction which requires the transportation of

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[48] *Luu*, Immigrants of the Industries of London, 260.
[49] *Selwood,* Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London, 23.

supplies of all kinds. Therefore London could not operate on its own, it could not exist as a distant island, separate from the countryside. Then, as today, its need to feed itself advocated a heavy reliance on a whole multitude of geographical areas which could be described as food suppliers. In Stuart times this stemmed largely from a strong emphasis on agricultural provisions from the Home Counties, the seven counties which directly surround the county of London. These include Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Essex, Berkshire, Middlesex, Surrey, Kent and Sussex. One illustration of how dependent London was on the Home Counties can be located in the mid-17th, during the English Civil War.

Figure 2.5 English farming regions, 1640–1750. *Source:* After Thirsk. (1984b), xx, 50
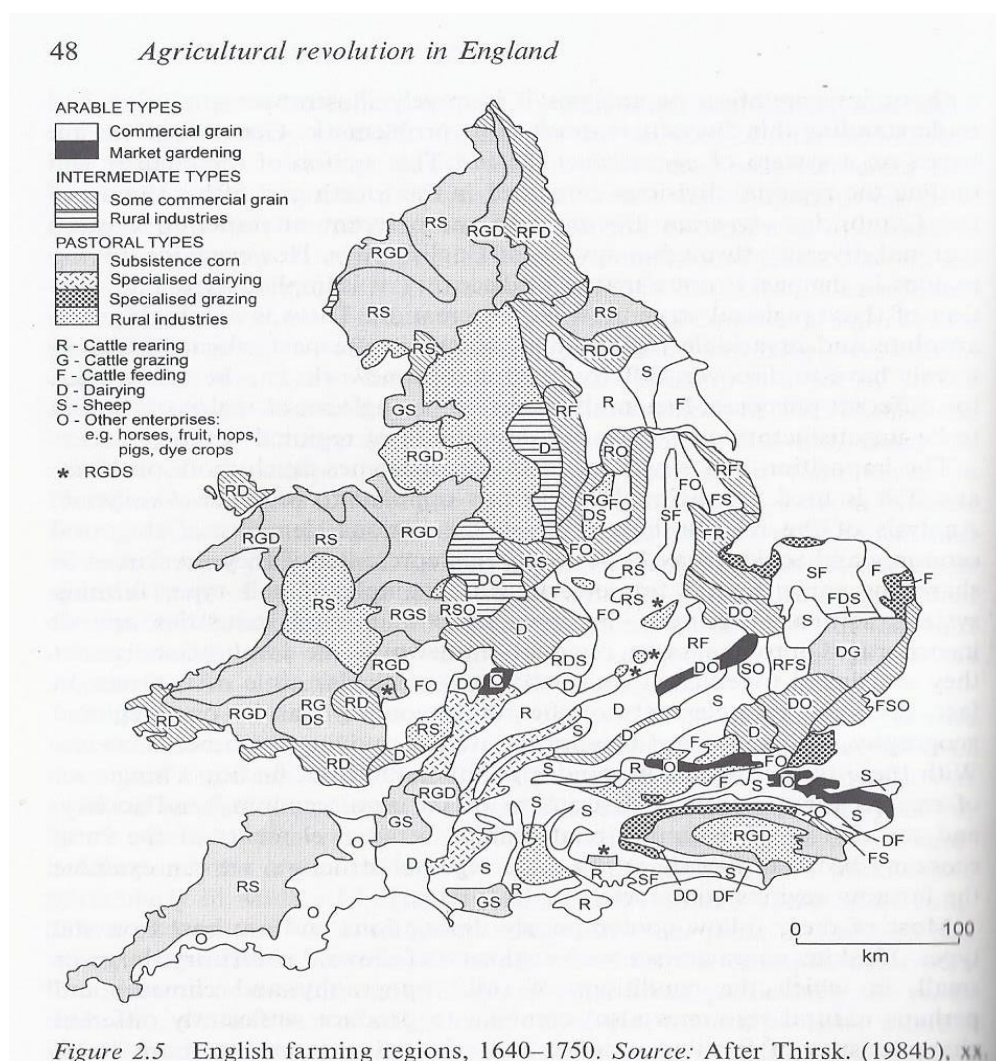
The above map which Mark Overton has created after gaining the information it portrays in word from Joan Thirsk indicates the general impact the Agricultural Revolution had on England. The first point of significance is to underline how diverse the agricultural profile of 17th-18th century England is. Secondly, with regard to London, the city sits largely

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[50] *Overton*, Agricultural Revolution in England, 48.

at the epicentre of a wide range of differing agricultural specialities. This arguably is no coincidence and the convergence of meat, dairy products, market gardening and commercial grain perfectly mirrors the foods which were in most demand in the capital.

In his article on the '*Farmers' Extension Practice and Technology Adaptation*' Jules N. Pretty draws out key elements of the Agricultural Revolution which are very relevant to the model of courtly and country dining in 17th century London. Pretty refers to six people and processes of innovation which are the epitome of the Agricultural Revolution. These include Jethro Tull (1674-1741) and the seed drill which allowed farmers to plant seeds with a greater degree of accuracy, Charles Townsend (1674-1738) and the use of turnips as livestock feed which meant that fresh meat was now available all year round, Thomas Coke (1754-1842) and the Norfolk Four Course Rotation which saw crop rotation optimised and Robert Bakewell (1725-1795) and the selection of livestock for more efficient breeding. The critical point which Pretty makes in conjunction with these innovations is that these individuals were not innovators but '*good popularizers*'.[51] Thus the dates attributed to the agricultural breakthroughs just mentioned were certainly in practice in the late Tudor, certainly Stuart and early Georgian Great Britain. Therefore returning to the example of the establishment of Scottish livestock in the Home Counties this practice can now be seen as part of a greater process, a subtle advancement of agricultural techniques.[52]

It was arguably a strong agrarian foundation that enabled London, on the whole, to eat so well. Without wanting to regress into an endless debate as to whether the city thrived because of strong country agricultural support or the countryside flourished due to strong demand from the city, for the purposes of this chapter the first set of circumstances will be upheld. It would not be a historically accurate argument at all to consider that the agricultural revolution took place in 17th century London. With the debate around exactly when the English agricultural revolution took place, it is clear that is an issue which should be dealt with carefully. Therefore, this thesis sides with the historians who advocate that there was an agricultural revolution taking place during the 17th century. In the interests of studying London's food history it is the consequences thereof which will prove to be most important. To consider London as an urban jungle completely detached from livestock, grain and agricultural produce in general would also be a misconception.

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[51] Jules N. *Pretty,* Farmers' Extension Practice and Technology Adaptation: Agricultural Revolution in 17-19th Century Britain, In: Agriculture and Human Values, Winter-Spring, 1991, 134.
[52] *Pretty,* Farmers' Extension Practice and Technology Adaptation, 132-134.

It was the task of the butcher, on the whole, in 17th century London to slaughter the animals he wanted to sell. Similarly, London geographically had a number of relatively large open, green spaces in the vicinity where in parts basic crops could be grown and lastly with the growing trend for fresh greens in both the courtly and country diet and without refrigeration, there was certain produce which had to be grown locally. Pease pottage, for example, was a popular dish which formed part of the staple diet for many poorer families and relied solely on the use of dried peas. By the time of the Restoration, however, fresh produce had gained popularity and prevalence in the preparation of food. The demand for green produce combined with a further element of health advice which advocated their nutritious benefits is indeed one way in which the establishment of Covent Garden market, 1656, can be explained. An alternative explanation for its establishment arguably is attached to the gardening skills of a *'Non-English born'* social group who consistently animate 17th century London's history: the Dutch.

The insight to steer London's diet towards a healthier one, rich in vitamins and nutrients, can be associated with restoration dining, and to a certain extent can be directly attributed to the work of keen gardener and diarist John Evelyn, 1620-1706. *Acetaria. A Discourse of Sallets* was one of Evelyn's main works and was printed in 1699. The word sallet refers to *'certain Esculent Plants and Herbs, improv'd by Culture, Industry, and Art of the Gard'ner: Or, as others say, they are a Composition of Edule Plants and Roots of Several kinds, to be eaten Raw or Green, Blanch'd or Candied; Simple and per se, or intermingl'd with others according to the season'.*[53] Evelyn's book continues with advice on how to grow individual items in English soil which do not necessarily originate from English shores. The description of growing techniques is set against the greater backdrop of advising citizens of Stuart England on how to combine such green produce in sallets and such recipes. It would appear that Evelyn's not only had the English garden in mind whilst writing this book but also health concerns which are remarkable for the period in question. This trend combined with the more effective agricultural supply to the capital with the Agricultural Revolution meant that if one did not own a garden in order to grow the produce Evelyn advised one could buy fresh produce at the markets. Therefore, increased consumption of fresh produce was a dual courtly and country process.

There is no doubt that such a breakthrough changed the dining habits of both courtly and country diners in London but at what speed it is difficult to tell. What is also intriguing

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[53] John *Evelyn,* Acetaria. A Discourse of Sallets, (London 1699) 1.

about this event is the way in which London as a capital city in many regards, beyond the category of food history, during the reign of the Stuarts was on the brink of something great: industrialisation. One poignant observation that Barry Coward makes adds a further element of clarity in evaluating the agrarian verses urban situation. He not only advocates the notion of Stuart England as a country on the brink of industrialisation, but he also pinpoints further elements at play which were hindering its progress. These factors include: inflation which came about by increased pressure on the agrarian sector as a direct results of the growing population, and the fact that demand was always greater than supply despite significant efforts to increase the agricultural output. Therefore the attempts at more efficient farming which individuals like Townsend attempted can be viewed as a part of a greater 17th-century process.[54]

On the other hand, England's agricultural revolution could be viewed from the other end of the spectrum as a direct consequence of London's *'explosive growth'*.[55] Thus the city influenced the agricultural landscape and moreover the city caused the agricultural advancement, according to this model. The work of Lin Bich Luu illustrates the process behind this perception of England between 1500 and 1700. Luu correlates the significant population growth of London, with suggestions of a 300 000 increase between 1600 and 1700, to industrial growth which also expanded over the course of her period of study. With regard to London's appetite she writes, *'Its gargantuan levels of consumption, for food, fuel and drink, rendered London the most important single market'*.[56] Luu is not the only scholar who places London's economy as possibly the most important entity which fuelled the English economy in the early modern world. Expressions of demands for food commodities include *'88 400 beeves and 600 000 sheep a year'*, that is in reference to the 1690s.[57] Consequently, *'The metropolitan demand for food gave 'a definite stimulus to England's agriculture' as cereals, dairy produce (cheese and butter) as well as garden produce had to be imported to meet the burgeoning demand'*.[58] These are but a few examples to express how London's expansion, including during the hundred and eleven years of the House of Stuart's reign, directly prove that the city can be viewed as a catalyst for agricultural progress.

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[54] Barry *Coward*, The Stuart Age. A History of England, 1603-1714, (London 1980) 15.
[55] Ibid.
[56] *Luu,* Immigrants of the Industries of London, 34.
[57] J. B*oulton*, London 1540-1700. In: P. Clark (Editor), The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, Volume 2: 1540-1840, (Cambridge 2000) 324.
[58] *Luu,* Immigrants of the Industries of London, 34.

2.3 17th-century London: a city centred on the culinary needs of the country man

It is not surprising that 17th-century country food largely stemmed from opportunities to exploit the land in the countryman's native setting. This food tradition in its entirety could be described as being agrarian. The country folk that migrated to London arguably used their country heritage as a heavy influence in modelling their new urban lifestyle. Therefore it is important to briefly describe what country living meant for the Stuarts. The average family of this period would consist of around four people and the man would be the main bread winner. After having gained a respectable standard in a trade as an apprentice, a man could go on to earn reasonable money in the countryside as a farm labourer or carpenter for example. Such jobs would tend to ensure the ownership of a cottage and with it four acres of land, which could serve both as pasture for cattle and as land for basic crops.

The basic food habits can be described in the following way: breakfast would be taken around 06:30 in the morning and consisted of bread and ale, lunch was eaten at midday and normally was a meal provided by the individual's employer, and dinner, eaten around 18:30, would consist of fresh produce grown in the family's vegetable garden and some form of meat. We know it was common for country folk of the Stuart age to regularly eat bacon and eggs and they also hunted for their own meat, when the opportunity arose. It must also be mentioned that bread in the countryside was made from rye, not wheat. However, this would not be the case in the English capital, as by the mid-17th century white bread made from wheat was the bread of day.[59]

The kitchen facilities in a country Stuart cottage consisted of the main piece of equipment; a kettle or cauldron, as it was known. With a fire positioned underneath this the woman of the family could make a basic broth, perhaps pease pottage, of which the ingredients were supplemented by the donation of the landlord's fresh leftovers such as beans. All meals which required cutlery were eaten from a pewter plate with a wooden spoon. Fish could be caught fresh from rivers or streams, and so the diet in the countryside was arguably a balanced one. Dairy cows did not yield a significant amount of milk and so it was reserved only for children or invalids. Due to a lack of significant means to preserve fresh meat and fish, beyond salt, it had to be eaten promptly. Cheese, however, was a staple food which could be stored relatively successfully in an attic and complemented the copious amounts of bread consumed. However, ordinary class Stuarts were constantly aware that times would come

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[59] *Ashley,* Stuart England, 31.

when meat and fish were sparse, such as the period after Christmas, when starvation could become a real threat. Times of such hunger caused English men and women to riot intermittently throughout the 17th century.[60]

Stuart London's country population, be they first, second or third-generation country folk, left their mark on the English capital in a way the courtly social class could not: tending to the needs of the countryman, the majority population, became the main way in which London was geographically orientated. While the courtly consumers could be associated with a few high calibre places such as Westminster, Lambeth Palace and Whitehall, London's country social class had constant reminders of their heritage in the way the streets were organised. As the following map will illustrate, *'A Guide for Cuntry men in the famous cetty of London'*, 1653, 17th century London was a city which tailored the needs of its country population. If the boot were on the other foot and the courtly social class dominated then one would expect to find streets, lanes and parks named after the great monarchical culinary favourites, Syllabub Street in recognition of Elizabeth I's sweet tooth and Angus Row for James I's appetite for Scottish beef, to name only a few examples of this notion. Instead, and as the aforementioned map shows, street names are far more humdrum and prosaic as they refer to humble foodstuffs and simple recipes, as in the (in-) famous Pudding Lane.

A further geographical consideration of 17th-century London and its organisation based on the needs to feed its country population can be observed in the way that particular boroughs started to specialise in a certain food commodity. St George's became an area which specialised in selling poultry. Stratford, which is located to the north east of the City, became an area known for its resident millers. This trend within London and its vicinity of specialising in specific foodstuffs can be viewed as a microcosm for the greater culinary trend which was taking place across the country: an increased emphasis and pride in regional foods and regional recipes. By the 19th century London would become a city which geographically could be viewed as a tight-knit series of boroughs which all specialised in a particular profession or trade.[61]

The following map entitled *'A Guide for Cuntry men in the famous cittey of London'*, 1653, gives an insight into a further way in which the history of London can be narrated; through the affinity of its street names to particular foods available for the native country dwellers who migrated there. Streets which are particularly interesting to note from the key of

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[60] Ibid.
[61] Peter *Ackroyd*, London: A Biography, (London 2000) 126.

this map are the following: Grub Streete, Milke Streete, The Powltry, Puddin Lane, Garlicke hill, Bredstreete, Old Fishe Streete, Fish Streete Hill, Pie Corner and Cow Lane. A study of London according to its street names would go beyond the limits of this thesis and is not exclusive to the Stuart Era. However, the simple names of streets in 17th century London which are named after food sources is a recurrent theme and can strongly be associated with need to feed the country-born population. Streets which would indicate courtly eating trends such as sugar, coffee and strawberries are not present on this map. Thus London of the 17th century from a cartographical perspective can be placed into the country culinary category. Alternatively, even with a consideration for the rising demand for regional foods, Stuart London could also be considered as a microcosm of the culinary tastes and traditions of the whole country.

A Guide for Cuntry men In the famous Citty of London, 1653.

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The need to name streets in such a basic manner could possibly be a reflection of the low levels of literacy in the English capital. It would also indicate the need for the migrants from the countryside to be able to source their native foodstuffs in their new urban setting. Further useful information which can be deduced from this map is the location of Belins Gate Quay, as John Stow identified it, which would later be known as Billingsgate Fish market. The reader of this map can also clearly locate London Bridge and with the knowledge of the problems it caused for both large and small water craft can further understand why Billingsgate became London's most popular landing quay for fish. Moreover despite the generalisation that Londoners preferred freshwater fish, there is little evidence to support this claim. John Stow makes reference to salt water fish, including shellfish, oysters and lobster as well as freshwater fish. One apparent mystery regarding fish consumption in 17th century London is why fish was not sourced from the Thames. The answer is simple; after years of serving as a waterway, waste disposal and sewer to growing population, the river was too polluted to support life.[63]

In briefly surveying London's markets it is most fitting to return to Elizabethan London. Smithfield meat market received cattle walked from Essex, Suffolk, Kent and Bedfordshire. In the summer months, fruit was transported to the capital from Kent, or arrived along the Thames from counties within England and Wales, specifically the ones which end in 'shire'. On the most fruitful days up to twenty fishing vessels would compete for competition on the landing platforms along the Thames. Moreover, the strong mark which the Elizabethan years left on London with regard to the markets was the way in which certain culinary commodities were to be sold at specific markets designated for the relevant foodstuffs. The qualifying factor which allowed an individual to sell their foodstuffs at a certain London markets was membership to the relevant livery company. Thus the London markets favoured London traders, and a lack of membership to a guild equated to treatment as a *'stranger'*. The Elizabethan legacy further dictated that London markets gave preference to London traders and in doing so created a further demographic group *'London trader'* and *'stranger trader'*.[64] This distinction seemingly constitutes a further demographic categorisation which can be added to *'English born'* and *'Non-English born'*.[65]

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[63] John *Stow,* A Survey of London, 1603, (Online at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603/pp205-211 22.07.15).
[64] *Picard,* Elizabeth's London, (London 2003) 148.
[65] *Selwood*, Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London, 122.

Equally, what is interesting to observe about 17th-century London's markets in light of the courtly and country model is how these two roles played out at these locations. *'In London, the public food markets (meat, fruit and vegetables, and dairy products) and the places where a much wider range of goods were sold (woollen fabrics, clothing, leads, nails) were city property and were administered to by the market committee'*.[66] Moreover there was a complex system in place on the ground of *'rents, concessions and taxes'* between courtly landowner and country stallholder, market trader or street seller.[67] Selling in the open air was as profitable and respectable as a selling in a shop would later become. Furthermore there was a further element of political power at play which will be considered in the analysis; London's guilds.[68]

The markets themselves had their own de facto code of conduct which one had to adhere to in order to frequent the markets listed above. Elizabethans did not take well to the practice of '*forestalling*' which saw market goods intercepted en route. Neither did they take kindly to the practice of '*engrossing*' which would see one person buy a trader out of his supply of a whole commodity, only for that person to sell it on themselves at a much higher price. Lastly, they also frowned upon the practice of '*regrating*'. Under these circumstances an individual would buy at one particular market and then be seen selling his purchases at another of London's markets. The markets were open six days a week from 6am until 11 am and then from 1pm until 5pm. On a Sunday no meat could be purchased, only fruit, milk and vegetables. Elizabethan London's market traders did not abide by these rigid opening hours. The scandals, as Picard describes them, that took place over reactions to market traders who did not adhere to the rules of proper practice caused riots in London in 1595. With a brief insight into London's markets of the late Tudor period established, it is now fitting to compare their practice with that of the Stuarts.[69]

Of course London's market traditions would only grow stronger in the 17th century. This is evident from a range of factors including a larger population to feed, the firmer establishment of agricultural techniques in closer proximity to the City and a more diverse range of foods on offer. However, by the end of the 17th century a new trend was emerging, namely that of buying and selling food in a shop. Some authors write that this caused the

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[66] *Picard,* Elizabeth's London, 148.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Dontella *Calabi,* The Market and the City. Square, Street and Architecture in Early Modern Europe, (Aldershot/Burlington 2004) 108.
[69] *Picard,* Elizabeth's London, 150-151.

decline of London's street sellers. However, given the fact that London's street sellers would be instrumental in feeding Victorian Londoners on a daily basis suggests that the legacy of the street vendor continued well after the establishment of shops. However, this shift indoors can be considered as a process of change which was anchored in Stuart London.[70]

2.4 Country recipes: a poor man's diet?

Poverty was rife across England in general in the early modern era. In the last days of the Tudor dynasty the closing of the monasteries which had previously provided for the poor became a great social problem, to the extent that Elizabeth I passed legislation to ensure the survival of the destitute. The 1590s was a particularly hard decade economically for Englishmen. The Poor Laws were passed in 1601, in order to bring England's poorest citizens back from the brink. However, the monarch's interest primarily lay with the protection of the gentry's private property and the maintenance of law and order. As the second aim was born out the primary aim this translated in England's multiple parishes that the poor should be kept from destitution but only by a hair's width. Poverty and destitution was indeed generally viewed as a choice individuals made, not circumstances into which they fell. Local parishes would deter down-and-outs, vagabonds and such poor individuals from their geographical boundaries and it is no surprise that such individuals were attracted to the English capital and made the streets so dangerous that it was feared to go out on the streets at night. For the poorest individuals to live on London's streets, it is fair to say that their street food came from scavenging.

With the 17th century in general considered among historians as a century of economic decline and increasing food prices, poverty reached such a significant level in 1630 that Charles I passed the Book of Orders. This was legislation which aimed at adding more clarity to the Elizabethan Poor Laws and also introduced such measures as the prevention of hoarding foodstuffs. Ale houses were more tightly controlled and the hunger riots which had caused Charles I to act died down. Similarly charity donations within the counties, a system by which the wealthier could support the poor, formed the basis of a successful scheme. Therefore 1630 could be viewed a decade when the poor and their diet fared much better than they would in the 1660s and the Restoration. It hard to distinguish the two social classes which were so strongly defined in the city of London during this époque, the poor class and

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[70] *Spencer*, British Food, 157.

the gentry. This division of social class must also be evident on the plates which they consumed food – or was it? [71]

A point which will be briefly mentioned here and picked up upon again in the analysis is the way in which the country born participated in the food trends of the day set typically by courtly eating traditions. One example of this is the consumption of white bread by both rich and poor in 17th-century London. The consumption of white bread as a general trend of the 17th century is thought to have stemmed from the French Court. This was one of many culinary influences which originated from the other side of the Channel. What is striking about the participation in this eating trend by the country born is the fact that in the countryside they would tend to eat various types of brown bread. The example of clap bread which could also be described as an oat-based bread known as a local speciality bread in 17th-century Lancashire proves this point.[72] In this region the bread of the day was made from oats, which in general is indicative of a Stuart country class diet. This leads to the question then, why did the country born resort to eating white bread? This intriguing point will be further expanded upon in the analysis. The consumption of white bread by both those from humble and noble backgrounds is not the only food which can be identified as a way in which courtly and country culinary tradition converged in London.[73]

The correlation of poverty and a poor diet in 17th-century England is a topic of debate. On the one hand the existence of the Poor Laws and lack of provisions for those on the edges of society indicates a state of destitution which arguably could be coupled with those who poached illegally on great estates in order to source meat for their family. Over the course of the 17th century periods of poor harvests sporadically led to starvation. On the other hand, for the ordinary person, as Maurice Ashley describes the majority of the population, the 17th century was a period over which the ordinary man or woman could indulge into new culinary areas. Finally, the ordinary man or woman on average ate meat twice a week, fish four times a week and as previously mentioned had access to their own vegetable patch.[74]

With regard to London, an urban jungle, a very different environment to country, evidence of how the ordinary man or woman fared there can be summarised in the following way. If the head of the household had employment then his family would eat well. London's

[71] *Ashley*, Life in Stuart England, 25-27.
[72] *Dickson Wright*, A History of English Food, 146.
[73] *Thirsk*, Food in Early Modern England, 202.
[74] *Ashley*, Life in Stuart England, 31.

ordinary citizens ate out, like the gentry did, for practical reasons such as a lack of cooking facilities but arguably also because they wanted to participate in the London Season. The existence of a fixed priced menu thus indicates the participation of London's less well off, or ordinary class, in the dining experiences of the taverns, inns and ale houses, alongside the gentry class, albeit accompanied by a meal with less luxurious ingredients or a scaled down version of what the well-to-do gentleman would eat. One consistent observation which can be made of 17th century London dining is how it was always a country and courtly affair.[75]

2.5 London's provisions for country residents: the demand for regional foods

With a demographic impression already strongly established of 17th-century London of *English* and *Non-English born* it is not surprising that those of English-born origin wanted to eat foods native to their county in their new urban setting. Despite the fact that the Home Counties can be identified as the culinary supply zone of 17th century London, there was strong demand for regional specialities from counties further afield. If the example of cheese is taken, a Stuart country staple food, a strong picture of the affinity of London's country inhabitants to this food can be painted. Cheddar and Cheshire cheeses were transported down to the capital through England's waterways which implicitly implies that cheeses arrived in London in the ship's hold on the Thames. Cheese was also popular among those who dined in a courtly tradition, yet these cheeses came from further afield, including sources such as France and Italy. So great was the demand for regional foods, or in other words foods from a wide range of England's counties, that it became a lucrative business venture for London's middlemen who would bring regional specialities to the capital. The implications of this phenomenon are twofold: firstly, Stuart London became like a microcosm for countrywide diverse culinary traditions and secondly, it was both classes, courtly and country who wanted such foods.[76]

Samuel Pepys' diary gives testimony to the courtly need for country regional foods. On one occasion he mentions eating eels which his wife had bought from a street seller.[77]

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[75] The concept of the London season where mainly courtly but also country classes started to eat out more in London supports this notion. Forsyth's example of the fix priced menu where the levels of fanciness of a meal would be completely dependent on what the diner could food perfectly demonstrates the proximity in which the two classes ate. Hazel *Forsyth*, 17th Century, In: London Eats Out. 500 years of capital dining, (London 1999) 31.

[76] *Tames,* Feeding London, 20.

[77] Samuel *Pepys*, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, volume one, (London 1660) 318. Facsimile edited by R.C *Latham* and W. *Matthews* (London 1971). Pepys' entry dated 15th December 1660 makes direct reference to the aforesaid eels.

Given the lack of airs and graces among the fishmongers on the landing platforms, this act can reasonably be taken as evidence that Pepys mingled with social classes lower than his own. Further places where courtly dining met country can positively be identified as the cook shops where a meat pie or joint of meat could be brought to be cooked or where a pie could be bought. Or indeed the taverns, as places of gastronomic experience and entertainment, also were the places in which the courtly class met the country class. With the topic of instances of convergences of the two culinary traditions in question, the heart of the thesis, the analysis, can be accessed.

It is true to say that London's ordinary class were challenged by the kitchen facilities their accommodation in the capital provided. To make the sweeping statement and claim that no ordinary class inhabitants had an oven would be an unfounded statement to make. We know of the significant demographic growth, the increased emphasis on certain industries and how the coupling of the two made the heart of the City very cramped. It was not until 1665 in the aftermath of the Great Fire of London that the issue of overcrowding and safety was taken seriously. Charles II's declaration of 1666 entitled *'An Act for Rebuilding the City'* detailed how London's houses should be rebuilt, not only with regard to styles of houses but how close they were allowed to be to each other.[78] The fire was the first time the close proximity of the houses was evaluated and gives the clear impression of how overcrowded the ordinary class were. Returning to the topic of their cooking facilities, it seemed to be a case of making do with what they had. Often the greatest challenge facing them was one of space.[79]

Therefore the streets of Stuart London offered ample opportunities for both the ordinary and gentry class to buy regional fresh fruit and vegetables. Individual street sellers were a common sight on the streets of Stuart London, thus in selling even one line of food stuff a living could be made. There was also a subtle gender divide of which goods were deemed appropriate for a man to sell and in turn for a woman to sell. According to this line of thought women sold fresh, more perishable goods while men sold goods of more substance and shelf life.[80] However the Stuart period was also the time in which the street sellers were

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[78] *Declaration of Charles II*, 'Charles II, 1666: An Act for rebuilding the Citty of London.'.In: Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80, ed. John Raithby (s.l, 1819), 603-612 sourced at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp603-612 (23.07.15).

[79] Culinary challenges faced by the ordinary class at home, Sara *Pennell*, 'Great Quantities of gooseberry pye and baked clod of beef': victualling and eating out in early modern London, In: Londonopolis. Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London, Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner (Editors), (Manchester 2000) 230.

[80] *Ackroyd*, London, 630-631.

directly challenged by the increasingly more common situation of selling in shops.[81] Good practice was therefore key in order to continue as a street trader. Street traders were policed to a certain extent by a warden in the borough who was responsible for fair trading. One example of a restriction enforced was not being allowed to sell bread directly to a customer on the street. This is one example Liza Picard cites.[82] Food vendors satisfied the hunger of the local population on a daily basis. It must not be forgotten that the majority of ordinary class inhabitants of 17th London did not have access to a kitchen of anything more than a cauldron. Although the technology in the kitchen overall progressed in the 17th century, which included the invention of the pudding cloth, more advanced cauldrons and the arrival of the fork, it took time for such breakthroughs to enter into the general sphere of food preparation and dining. The technological advancements in the kitchen, along with the sourcing of more diverse ingredients is one way in which the dining experience of both the courtly and the country social class can be summarised.

The pie man, for example, became an institution on London's streets and is arguably one of the most iconic images of Stuart London. Pies from the pie man would include proteins such as beef or mutton, fish including eels or fruit pies made from seasonal fruit. The example of the pie challenges the often deeply engrained stereotype that dining in the 17th century did not included nutritious meals. Therefore the example of the pies available on London's streets indicates that food purchased during this period offered a certain level of quality. Indeed in both primary and secondary sources there is a lack of evidence of severe cases of food adulteration which Victorian London would become notorious for. There must have been cases which arguably archives relating to the work of London's wardens would indicate but as a generalisation London's butchers, bakers, brewers and grocers can be seen to have adhered to a code of good conduct. Returning to the example of the pie, the inclusion of a wider range of fruit, beyond the English apple which could easily be sourced in Kent, also showed a growing acceptance towards the consumption of fruit and vegetables.

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[81] *Spencer*, British Food, 157.
[82] *Picard*, Elizabeth's London, 170.

Part 3: Courtly and Country Culinary Encounters

3.1 Serving courtly and country food under one roof: taverns, cook shops and inns

London was not a city that revolved around the needs and fashions of the rich. Both the rich and poor were united in their quest for a better life in the capital city. The population of London boomed over the course of the 17th century. If one considers this boom to mainly be due to the increased number of average, lower-class citizens then it is fitting to seek a boom in general food provisions of the city. This is the niche in which there arguably was the greatest amount of expansion in London's catering provisions of the 17th century. Hazel Forsyth states that population growth can be correlated with an augmentation in the number of inns, taverns, ale houses and cook shops. She also adds how the foods served – to make a generalisation, meats – would increasingly be served with a wider range of fresh produce. The introduction of a fixed price menu meant that a hearty meal at a tavern was affordable for the ordinary class. For the courtly class, meanwhile, the taverns, ale houses and inns provided a good business opportunity. Therefore whilst sourcing, preparing and serving food to hungry Londoners, the degree of demand for foods was such that the individual patrons of inns, taverns, ale houses etc. had to be open to the principles of '*specialisation, innovation and commercialisation'*.[83]

It may prove instructive to briefly delve further into the notions of an entrepreneurial mind, which in some cases included policies such as charging more money for added extras to a dish. An example which Forsyth provides includes the notion of a patron paying four times for his meal. First, the hungry diner would have to pay for the meat on their plate, secondly for a dressing added, thirdly for a sauce and finally for the fancy name which the dish in its entirety was called. What is a further point of interesting observation is the critique the London taverns, inns and ale houses received. One would assume that with the prestige with which they are presented they would be reputable. This appears not to have been the case; William Harrison was a critic of the inns in his home city, even giving the impression that they were among the worst in the whole of England. However the food served inside was received, the possession of a quality sign on the door was essential to attracting custom.[84]

A credible insight into dining in London's 17th-century inns and taverns can be found in the pages of Samuel Pepys' diary. Pepys regularly frequented such eating establishments,

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[83] *Forsyth*, 17th Century, 31.
[84] *Forsyth,* 17th Century, 32.

often in the company of fellow businessmen and prominent individuals. References to 17th-century London's taverns are a recurrent theme of Pepys' diary. He does not always reveal the name of the particular one he visited on the date mentioned in his diary. However, one of the taverns he names includes Dog Tavern, in which he was to be found on 8th March 1660.[85] In this location it is not the food which he mentions, but the fact that he learnt of the death of the King of Sweden. On 22nd June, 1660, Pepys dined at the Sun Tavern, and on this occasion he made reference to the fact that he had dinner there but no details are disclosed concerning what he consumed.[86] Finally on 10th October, 1666, Pepys mentions the fact that he ate herrings at the Dog Tavern, which seems to be one of his favourite haunts, thus one might conclude that he found the food there satisfactory.[87] Pepys' lack of culinary details with regard to the taverns is frustrating, as in other places in his diary, typically when he dined at home or purchased individual items on London's streets, the food in question is described in great detail. It would appear that for Pepys the company he entertained whilst at the taverns held his attention and therefore he unfortunately fails to discuss culinary details at the same time.

The hints of the dining-out scene to which Pepys refers does indeed touch upon a greater aspect of 17th-century London's dining trends. Eating out at taverns, inns and ale houses can be identified as the '*advent of the London season*'.[88] In practical terms, this meant that Londoners were introduced to a wider range of options for eating out. Eating out therefore in this sense was a sign of indulgence. The story is not as simple as it appears; we are indeed faced with a paradox regarding eating out in 17th-century London. On the one hand in general the sources advocate the 17th century as a century of rising food prices. This stance is supported by F.J Fisher and Barry Coward, for example. The question then is how could one afford to dine out if prices rose so dramatically? The answer may be found in the economic situation of the 1590s. If the steep inflation of the 1590s is considered, then then it is true to say that England's citizens of any social class had to be as prudent as possible with money and as self-sufficient as possible. If these skills were successfully acquired then the steep increase in food prices which occurred especially in the second half of the 17th century would have not had such a devastating impact. In other words, the Stuarts must have had a parsimonious approach to money which prompted them to save for bleaker times, even

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[85] *Pepys*, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, 82.
[86] *Pepys*, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, 181.
[87] *Pepys*, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, volume seven, (London 1666) 316. Facsimile edited by R.C *Latham* and W. *Matthews* (London 1972).
[88] *Forsyth,* 17th Century, 31.

accumulating a modest buffer of capital. These savings would have been crucial to improving one's social standing, as with the boon of the fixed price menu the ordinary class could also participate in the London season. To generalise on this topic, the figures provided by Barry Coward indicate that London experienced *'a general price inflation of the order of about five times from 1501-10 to 1641-50, but a rise in the price of food in the same period of nearly seven times'*.[89] This particularly steep rise in food prices can be explained by the fact that the 1590s included a series of poor, or as Coward would have it, '*disastrous*' harvests.[90] Although the first 30 years of the 1600s also witnessed a trend of food prices rising, these at least occurred at a slower place.[91] In a similar light, the steep price augmentation which Coward observes could well be interpreted as the economic impact of the Civil War and Cromwellian years.

An awareness of the need to be prudent with money is just one explanation why the London's country, ordinary class could participate in the London season as Forsyth describes. Equally the price of a basic meal increased gradually and did not jump to an unaffordable level overnight. Indeed, this trend of rising prices slowly evened out over the following 20 years. Possibly the most significant factor to explain this general economic pattern is the way in which the English became more efficient at meeting the demands of a demographically expanding country. This is a further point advocated by Coward. Arguably one driving cause of the Industrial Revolution of the 1790s would be the need to feed the general population more efficiently and thus increase work productivity. Admittedly this is a very narrow lens to view such a monumental event through but it is a valid point to make with regard to early modern food history. Whatever one's position on the general economic situation of 17th-century England, Coward's reference to a general price overhaul remains seemingly a controversial topic in historians' discussions.[92]

Yet here we learn that 17th-century Londoners could for the first time indulge in dining out and, more significantly, could afford the experience. Forsyth supports this idea and provides examples to substantiate it, such as the opening of a luxury eating house at Shaver's Hall, Piccadilly, the appearance of eating houses in Pleasure Gardens and the growing popularity of French cuisine. The rather exotic ingredients of the Pleasure Gardens were

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[89] *Coward,* The Stuart Age, 14.
[90] *Coward,* The Stuart Age, 15.
[91] Consensus on rising prices: F.J *Fisher* pinpoints agricultural prices of late-Tudor and Early Stuart Eras as being '*steeped*' and '*prolonged*', F.J *Fisher*, In: Essays on the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England: in honour of R.H Tawney (Cambridge/ New York 2006) 3.
[92] *Coward*, The Stuart Age, 14-15.

essentially French in origin, including snails, sea food and salads. Whether the ordinary class could afford such delicacies is hard to establish and certainly dependent on individual circumstances. One had to dress for the occasion, for example. Increasingly, class divide is a difficult topic to avoid at many levels of this thesis. Moreover the topic of social mobility and whether 17th-century England's society could be neatly ordered into a form of class system is debatable. A general consensus can be found, however, on the great process of social mobility, which according to the model of country and courtly social divisions saw ordinary country classes facilitating a gradual augmentation of their social status that took place after 1650. [93]

Forsyth continues to explain how the artisans, business and lower echelons of society followed different culinary trends. With Maurice Ashley's description of country eating habits in mind, Forsyth states that the lower classes' eating habit changed little over the course of the 17th century. This leads to the question as to whether the practices associated with eating in 17th-century London such as the time and manner in which one ate could ever be viewed as a topic which unified the courtly and country class. The connection with the country heritage of whatever generation can be viewed as a stronger bond than the courtly diners to the court. The rejection of Charles I is evidence of this. Similarly for the courtly class, dinner time may have been moved from midday to 2pm at the latest, whilst the lower classes refused to join in the growing trend of the wealthy to indulge in a rich meal in the evening. This is strong evidence again of the strong bond of the ordinary class to the country. However, of both classes it can be said that the consumption of meat remained high and more vegetables were gradually introduced over the course of the century.[94]

3.2 Pease pottage: a dish for the gentry and ordinary man.

Pease pudding hot,

Pease pudding cold,

Pease pudding in the pot,

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[93] *Forsyth,* 17th Century, 31. Social Mobility is a topic mentioned by Barry *Coward,* The Stuart Age, 55. He does not speak of a country and courtly model but considerations of the opportunities London offered the ordinary class to increase their wealth make the use of Coward's reference to social mobility a valid one. A further valid consideration here is of the extent to which farmers who were not directly in the City benefitted from elements of agricultural progress.

[94] Maurice *Ashley,* Life in Stuart England*,* 31.

Nine days old. [95]

Pease pottage – or pudding – was a dish which was unequivocally eaten by both the gentry and poor. From this folklore poem it is evident that pease pottage could be eaten immediately as a hot dish, consumed cold or even left in the pot for a considerable amount of time and eaten on a later occasion. This is undoubtedly why it was so popular among both courtly and country diners. A dinner guest could appreciate the quality cuts of meat and fresh vegetables of a courtly pease pottage, while a country man would be satisfied to be sustained from a days' old pottage which had not yet succumbed to decay. Charles Perry details exactly what constitutes a pease pottage and will be the main recipe of reference for this thesis. Pease pudding can also be described as pease porridge and shows a great culinary connection to Britain in its concrete reliance on peas as the principal ingredients. Historically Britons – for the sake of this thesis the definition of country can be added to this definition – preferred peas over other pulses. Dried peas were an inexpensive ingredient available across the British Isles. A simple country diet would allow room for the adding of fine pieces of bacon to the pottage and would complement the bland nature of the pottage well with its salty taste. Pease pottage also can be categorised as a dish which emerged against a culinary tradition of French equivalent pottages which would eventually be named soups.[96]

The history of pease pottage is particularly interesting at the turn of the 17th century due to a new invention which was starting to appear in the cooking process of English foods: the pudding cloth. With regard to pease pottage the pudding cloth allowed for a heartier end product. Sugar and pepper were also added to the recipe in the early Stuart years and mint could also be used to make the dish more edible. After the ingredients were mixed together they were boiled in a pudding cloth, maybe along with a cut of meat in the pot. Egg or breadcrumbs could also be added to the sturdier Stuart version of pease pudding. Occasionally butter was added to make it more palatable. The way in which pease pottage required only cheap ingredients to make a filling dish became a further way in which courtly diners could take a country dish and add more enticing ingredients to it. Pease pottage therefore can be identified as an amphibious dish, both courtly and country, or as a country dish which was adopted by the courtly kitchen.

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[95] Charles *Perry*, In: Oxford Companion to Food, 591. English nursery rhyme transcribed here is a popular tribute to England's fondness of this dish.
[96] Ibid.

Robert May's recipe of pease pottage, of the 1660s entails the following ingredients and processes:

'Boil green pease with some strong broth, and interlarded bacon cut into slices; the pease being boiled, put to them some chopped parsley, pepper, anniseed, and strain some of the pease to thicken the broth; give it a walm and serve it on sippets, with boil'd chickens, pigeons, kids, or lambs-heads, mutton, duck, mallard, or any poultry.

Sometimes for variety you may thicken the broth with eggs'.[97]

What is most striking about May's pease pottage recipe is how it indeed could be received by both courtly and country diner. May wrote his book with the country class fully in mind. The most evident way from his recipe with regard to how pease pottage could be identified as a dish of universal consumption is how he offers his recipe as a modest pottage or as an extravagant one. While the country diner would maybe add some chopped parsley and a small serving of meat, the courtly diner could add the delicate spices which May mentions along with a range of meat. London's taverns and cook shops could therefore serve both their courtly and country diner with a universal dish.

For the ordinary class, however, even back in the Middle Ages the consumption of pottage had an important function. It *'served as the major vehicle for the consumption of meat, usually in the form of by-products'.*[98] Due to the fact that the flavour achieved by the use of by-products – typically animal organs, which were largely undesirable – the consumption of onions, leeks and garlic increased dramatically in an attempt to make the meaty ingredients of the dish more palatable. Tames refers to these fresh produce as a *'holy trinity'.*[99] Furthermore, he states that the demand for these products was so great that London had to import onions and garlic from the Continent. Whether the pease pottage or pottages in general were really universal dishes is questionable. The need to add onions, garlics and leek to the recipe indicates that the ordinary class diner would have been all too aware of the dismal taste that they were trying to hide. In contrast the courtly class added bespoke spices in a display of extravagance which would arguably only grow over the course of the 17th century.

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[97] *May*, The Accomplisht Cook, 77. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22790/22790-h/cook1.html#rec186a 12.09.15).
[98] *Tames*, Feeding London, 16.
[99] Ibid.

3.3 The curious consumption of white bread: universal consumption?

One of the greatest paradoxes of this study on Stuart London eating trends is the case of white bread consumption. Refining flour was a process which inarguably added to the cost of the finished loaf yet it appears that London's ordinary class could afford to eat it consistently across the 17th century. Moreover, white bread or wheat bread consumption is synonymous with the courtly class. Yet, Londoners' desire to participate in the consumption of white bread, beyond the boundaries that their social class would normally dictate, was so great that this has been described by Tames rather an as '*insistence*'.[100] Indeed the need for white flour was of such significance in the capital meant that the Tudors were inclined to establish imports of wheat from Norfolk, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in order to meet the demand for it. This feat is most puzzling if one considers the fact that 17th-century London's ordinary class who were native to the countryside would eat wholegrain bread in this setting. We know of rye, oat and barley being used in country loaves. The questions must be from the outset, therefore: What caused this change, to what extent can it be traced and how can it be explained? The fact that the gentry ate white bread as a staple is not surprising; if they could afford exotic ingredients from the New World then the consumption of white bread might be considered mundane. Yet how the gentry came to adopt this eating habit is also of significance.[101]

With strong conviction to achieve the highest level of accuracy possible throughout this piece of work the starting point for this section must be to challenge Tames' notion of white bread. The establishment of a correct definition of exactly what Stuart white bread was is therefore imperative. From the outset it is clear that there is no definitive Stuart white bread recipe. It is a rather ambiguous, grey area. Digby Knight's cookbook includes references to French white bread and white-bread for example. This great quandary as to what is meant by white bread in Stuart England does provide the historian with a problematic circumstance. Surely if the definition is so diverse then what was considered as white bread by Stuarts both country and courtly alike must have also implied the baking of a wide range of loaves using different recipes which were all considered as white bread.[102]

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[100] *Tames*, Feeding London, 17.

[101] *Tames,* Feeding London, 17. On transport routes through which wheat arrived in London. On the specific grain used for certain bread: *Davidson*, The Oxford Companion to Food, 844-845.

[102] *Digby Knight*, The Closet of Sir Kenelm Digby Knight, 12, 123-124. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16441/16441-h/16441-h.htm 24.09.15).

Indeed, the case of white bread or wheat bread in Stuart London is circumstance which is difficult to decipher; however, the agricultural argument is the strongest one thus far to account for it. '*The Oxford Companion to Food*' offers a further insight into the history of wheat bread and its consumption:

'During the Middle Ages wheat recovered somewhat. It was, however, used mainly for the delicate bread of the rich, both in Britain and in the rest of Europe. Coarse bread for trenchers (slices used as plates) was made from barley or rye. The common bread of most people was maslin: wheat and rye ground together, and sometimes grown together (although this was not very successful, for the rye bread ripened before the wheat was ready). Poorer bread was made from barley or rye alone, of from rough mixtures of these with bean meal or pea meal, or even acorns. The principle type of wheat grown in Britain was cone wheat...'.[103]

This excerpt makes the status of white bread in medieval Britain clear; it was the bread of the rich. The notion of consuming rye bread in other counties in Britain not in the vicinity from London has already been established. W.R. Ackroyd and Joyce Doughty add compelling evidence to the curious case of white bread, namely the way in which different types of flour could be mixed together. This may go some way towards explaining how the ordinary classes could afford such an apparently refined dish. One has to question whether a baker in London, on Bread Street, would notice the fact that he wasn't working with a pure flour and if he did, would he sell it as a mixed flour or rather as a pure white bread? The uncovering of mixed flours adds credible weight to the notion that both the courtly and the country class of 17th century ate white bread but their definitions of white bread were poles apart, reflective of their social status.

A further theory which is feasible is that the bread of Stuart England was dependent on the agrarian capabilities of the local arable lands. Such a dependency on the agrarian capabilities of the local fields was largely dependent on one factor: the soil. Soil varies tremendously across Great Britain, which explains why certain crops thrive in certain areas whilst others dwindle. It must also be kept in mind that it was not only expensive but a laborious process to transport food commodities across the country. Due to the fact that London is a construction of urbanisation, and not a friendly environment for agricultural growth, the unexpected case of mutual white bread consumption, of both the courtly and country classes is not such as anomaly as it would first appear.

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[103] W.R *Ackroyd* and Joyce *Doughty* (1970) In: Oxford Companion to Food, 844-845.

To explain the regional difference in bread available due to varying agrarian difference the work of Joan Thisk is an essential read. Thirsk writes the following about 17ᵗʰ century British farming in Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness. *'Arable crops were mostly oats, and bigg for animal and domestic consumption'.*[104] It is clear than in rural England the main function of growing grain was to feed livestock, the fact that a family could also make a loaf of bread out of the same provision is a by-product thereof. Thirsk names this special type of bread, which was intended as grain for animal fodder, as '*clap-bread'* or otherwise known as a form of oat bread. Bigg, a variety of coarse barley, was used domestically for brewing and malting. Thirsk makes a pertinent observation that oats and bigg '*dominate inventory lists'* of the region concerned, Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness. Furthermore, Thirsk points out that *'[w]heat and rye are seldom mentioned'.* If the model of the bread being dependent on the most suitable grain which could be grown in the local soil is consistently applied, wheat production and white bread in the sense of wheat bread did not appear in this pocket of northern England exactly for that reason. The soil would not allow it.[105]

One further area of analysis in the case of the curious white bread consumption of Stuart London is the fact that grain supply already dominated London's local economy by the 13ᵗʰ century. Therefore by the 17ᵗʰ century, granaries were well established in close proximity to the city. Moreover London attracted such a wide range of English agricultural produce that this slowed down the absorption of exotic goods the EIC brought in to the city. London's Royal Exchange, established in 1571, would become England's largest grain exchange and this fact alone explains why Londoners, both courtly and country, could mutually participate in the consumption of white bread. However, the availability of grain would mean that they could consume any bread that they wanted, or at least any bread their income would allow. Ready availability and steady demand would suggest, however, that even for refined products the price should have been reasonable. Consequently, the choice to eat white bread therefore can also be viewed in this context as a democratic right offered to both courtly and country citizen and be deemed as an entity of convergence of the ordinary and courtly social classes of 17ᵗʰ century London.[106]

A final theory which could explain the popularity of white bread as the bread of choice for both the courtly and the country population in Stuart London lies in the dispute of the

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[104] *Thirsk*, Agrarian History of England and Wales, 17.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Steel, Hungry City, 84-85.

bakers' guilds of 16th century London. The rift which has been previously mentioned between the guild for the production of white bread and brown bread was so great that it resulted in a royal charter being granted in order to attempt to solve the dispute. The Tudor legacy of bread-making in the English capital was not a peaceful one. Even the royal charter had to be retracted because the white bread guild resented having to pay more in compensation for its establishment than the brown bread company. Another viable reason why white bread was consumed by both country and courtly classes was that the white bread guild won the dispute regarding the compensation payments against the brown bread guild. White bread won the monopoly. This event, combined with the commercialisation of agriculture in the vicinity of London, gives the most valid reason as to why white bread was the universal bread of the day.[107]

3.4 Instigators of culinary ideas: the English East India Company (EIC), the French court and the New World

The English East India Company (EIC) fleetingly preceded the reign of the Stuarts and was established in 1600 by the granting of a royal charter by Elizabeth I. Historians tend to study the EIC in terms of a later timeframe - beyond the 1750s, for example – in order to discuss hard facts and figures concerned. By this point it time it was known as the British East India Company, a small reflection perhaps on how it now involved merchants from the Port of London and beyond. It would be a pointless task to attempt to convince the reader of concrete figures and influences on London of the EIC during the reign of the Stuarts. It is however not meaningless to acknowledge the EIC and certain food commodities which can be associated with its success, as early as the 17th century, even though the hard facts are lacking. This is not to say that there is no evidence at all of the EIC's success in 17th-century London. It should be kept in mind that the initial organisation of the EIC was not the formidable force of a great number of ships it would later become. Equally, not every EIC ship was obliged to enter the Port of London and unload its goods there.

The food historian uncovers individual ingredients as the archaeologist uncovers individual bones. Yet investigating the EIC in such close proximity to its establishment poses a severe challenge, as mentioned above. Yet there is a strong undertone in the literature which suggests that one could source a whole array of exotic commodities in the EIC docks, which were originally located in Deptford. The lack of written accounts of such transactions is a

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[107] *Picard*, Elizabeth's London, 151.

point of frustration for the historian, yet the observation that such exchanges were taking place is a valid one for this thesis because arguably it fused together courtly, country and non-English heritages. The EIC can consequently be briefly studied in a quantitative sense. Moreover, three elements of the EIC 17th-century global culinary influence will be explored with arrival of the pineapple, tea and coffee in 17th-century London.

The embellishment of Lambeth Bridge with intricate images of pineapples gives a clear message that the arrival of this fruit in 17th-century London, at an undefined point in time, was considered such an occasion that by the 18th century it should be celebrated with an architectural tribute. Dickson Wright maintains that the pineapple was brought back from the Atlantic World by renowned botanist and explorer John Tradescant the younger, 1608-1662. The stone pineapples represent a tribute which still bears witness to Britain's early modern culinary global expansion today. Some attribute the use of a pineapple to the act of welcoming, either a foreign dignity or a seafarer returning back to his home. Whatever the exact reason for the use of pineapples in London's building, on St Paul's, Ham House and Portland Place for example, it is a strong symbol of culinary change in early modern London.[108]

A further qualitative way in which the growing influence of the EIC can be measured on the foodscape of 17th century London is with regard to their importation of tea. James Walvin writes that tea had been the subject of many travelogues by the early 17th century, particularly with regard to China. Tea drinking did not really take hold until the 1600s. *'Symbolically, the East India Company made an offering of their first formal import of tea –a mere two ounces- to King Charles II in 1664. Curiously, it was in London's coffee houses, which rapidly increased in number after the Civil War, that tea found its most popular outlet'.*[109] The presentation of the EIC's first import of tea to Charles II makes tea of the 17th century a courtly drink. By 1678 it was starting to be imported as a bulk commodity.[110] With the commercialisation of tea it would not remain a drink of the courtly class. The Industrial Revolution would turn this refined, exotic drink into a drink for the masses, and moreover the working man.[111]

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[108] *Dickson Wright*, A History of English Food, 180/4.

[109] James *Walvin*, Fruits of Empire. Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800, (Basingstoke/London 1997) 14.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Peer *Vries*, Zur politischen Ökonomie des Tees: was uns Tee über die englische und chinesische Wirtschaft der Frühen Neuzeit sagen kann (Wien/Köln/Weimar 2009) 59-60.

As already revealed by Walvin, 17th-century London was home to a growing number of coffee houses, a further sign of the success of the EIC. One has to be careful when referring to coffee houses in an essay on food history because they are largely associated with a complex culture of their own and it is always debatable as to whether coffee-drinking is the main function there. Nevertheless, in seeking traces of how the EIC was changing the culinary landscape of 17th-century London a brief consideration of the EIC's importation of coffee is valid. When coffee first came to London it was sold as a Turkish drink. The culture which went along with drinking it, including business meetings on a whole range of trade issues, the imparting of knowledge which caused them to be known as *'penny universities'* and meetings purely for social reasons arguably made the coffee-drinking a secondary aspect of a coffee house visit. Whether one visited a coffee house for the coffee or for other reasons is irrelevant; what is most impressive is the rate at which coffee houses began to be established across the capital. By the end of Stuart Age, London was home to an estimated 500 and this was within the timeframe of approximately 60 years. Intriguingly, they were becoming more popular places to visit than the taverns.[112]

A further strong culinary influence which is geographically closer to English shores but still foreign is the influence of the French Court on London's foodscape of the 17th century. From the writings of William Harrison to Robert May, who wrote almost one hundred years apart, the influence of the French kitchen is consistently a strong topic, in the late-Tudor English kitchen through to Restoration cooking and beyond. It would be erroneous to only consider the influence of French cooking as an element of Restoration dining, or indeed the cause thereof. The fact that Charles II was in exile in France for a significant period of time makes it all too easy for one to conclude that French culinary influences in London stemmed from Charles II's culinary experiences in the French court. If one examines the 17th century as a whole, the influence of French dining on the capital's dining habits in general is astonishing. A great deal of evidence of French influences can be unveiled and even put into relation with which sector of society they concerned.

There is an example of French migration to 17th-century London which challenges the perception that French dining meant courtly dining. The group in question are the Protestant Huguenots who were allowed to reside in England after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. The Huguenots are an example of how the courtly and country model, which is at the heart of this piece of work, is one which should be viewed with space for transference

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between the two. With the case of the Huguenots which will be duly presented, the courtly and country model can be viewed as a sociological model. This model does not only extend or can be extended beyond the boundaries of food history and into other social issues, but the case of Huguenots in London is arguably a remarkable one because their history in London in a nutshell can be viewed as a process of convergence from a country heritage to a courtly one.

Similarly, the French Huguenot community based at Spitalfields, located in today's East End, was so successful in weaving and eventually the silver and goldsmith trade that the local native English traders around them had to play to their tune. The culinary influence of French cuisine on the English court, especially on Charles II, can be replicated with ease, but the culinary influence that the Huguenot community had on London is more challenging to establish. The Old Bailey, London's principal and historical court, provides a wide range of information on London's French Protestant Huguenot community. After being permitted to seek refuge in the city after the associated legislation of 1685, the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, London's Huguenots settled in two locations, around the church they established within the vicinity of the City on Threadneedle Street and at the Savoy, in the West End. The Old Bailey online estimate the total size of Huguenot migration to London at somewhere between 50 000 and 80 000. This does not mean that such a figure settled around the two churches mentioned, as the Huguenots went on to settle within the geographical area of Greater London.[113]

The Old Bailey, London's oldest court, not only provides a wealth of information on the Huguenots who came to Stuart London but also make an interesting point with regard to food. The Huguenots were criticised by local – presumably English-born inhabitants of the capital – about their strange culinary tastes and practices. To make a direct citation, *'[b]oth their language and fashions set the French apart, and there were complaints about their unfamiliar diet'.* Such an observation is music to the ears of the food historian but again is a very difficult detail to uncover. Further study into inventories of shops in close proximity to Spitalfields, a survey of middle men, the businessmen who made their living from sourcing regional foods, could also be a possible route to uncovering the diet of the Huguenot. Another way to determine their level of influence might be to establish what they ate in their native surrounding and to assess 17th-century London for traces of these foodstuffs and practices. These methods of extending the study into the culinary traditions specifically of the

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[113] The Proceedings of the Old Bailey London's Central Criminal Court, 1674-1913, (https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Huguenot.jsp 08.07.15).

Huguenots is a task too intensive for this thesis. But this identification of their culinary habits as being strange, different from the ordinary class Londoner, is useful for the study of 17th-century London's food scape.[114]

3.5 Samuel Pepys' culinary survey of 17th Century London: inter-penetration, chance encounters and historical events
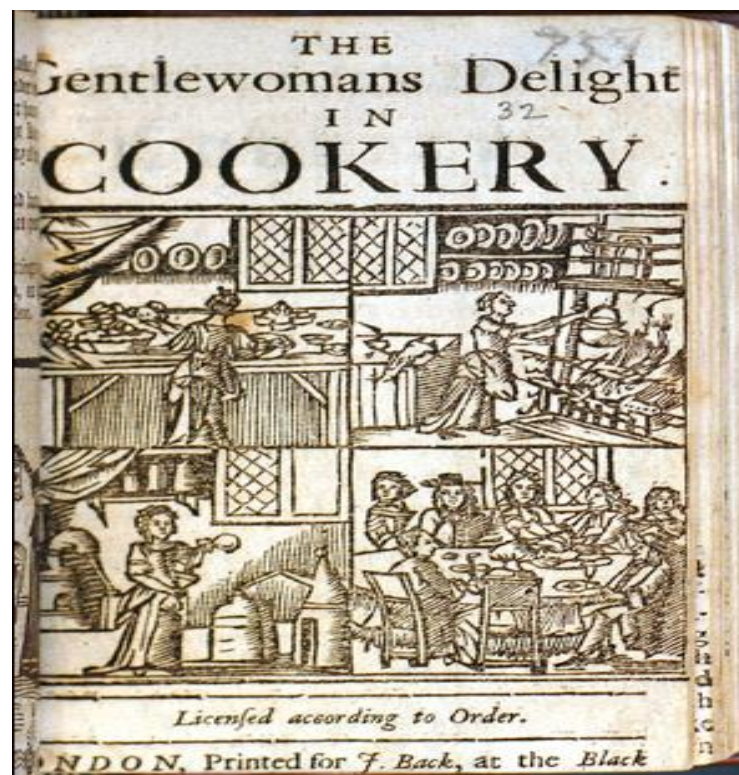
The diary of Samuel Pepys, 1633-1703, written in the 1660s, is one of the most valuable accounts of life in 17th-century London in the British archive. For the purposes of this thesis, searching for traces of food consumption and dining out in the English capital has been the main focal point of researching Pepys and his work. It is challenging, however, not to take note of the sense of busyness that animated 17th-century London, the sounds and smells of the city and moreover the effect of prominent historical events of this decade, notably the Great Plague of 1665 and the Great Fire of London of 1666. Samuel Pepys himself arguably can be viewed as a courtly diner. His social status alone as a Naval Administrator and advisor to the king, as well as his educated background and combined with his wealth, are strong indicators of his ability to afford and sustain courtly dining within the comfort of his home and also at popular culinary institutions London had to offer. However, the point already made about his lack of attention to culinary detail whilst dining out must be kept in mind.

Therefore one further topic of interest for this piece of work is Pepys' house. His ability to cook at home, or to be cooked for by his wife or his domestic staff, depended on what equipment he had in his kitchen. In the 1660s Pepys lived in a house belonging to the Navy Office which could be found on Seething Lane. The Geffrye Museum of London, founded in 1914, specialises in the history of the home and is a most relevant point of reference in this section. Townhouses in 17th-century London, such as the one Pepys would have owned, were sizeable structures of approximately three or four storeys. In comparison, the building in which the Geffreye Museum is housed today is a former alms house, funded by the Company of Ironmongers in 1714. The pictorial cross-section of the merchant townhouse which the Geffrye Museum displays will be briefly referred to. The following observations of this image can be made: The ground floor was normally reserved for a shop or workshop and residential quarters could be found in the floors above. The basic infrastructure

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[114] Ibid.

was a timber frame with a roof made of tiles and a chimney which ran vertically throughout.[115]

The chimney had an outlet in the house, which would be in the domestic quarters situated in the hall. This was the room in which the merchant family gathered for meals, and was typically not located on the ground floor. A merchant family would also have the income to employ servants and apprentices who would be employed in the family-run business which operated out of the ground floor of the building. The privilege of being able to afford domestic staff must be synonymous with some form of courtly eating category, as only these families would be able to afford fashionable upper-class ingredients as well as paying a servant to spend a considerable amount of time preparing meals. Within a merchant townhouse there is convincing evidence to suggest that a two-tiered culinary system was in place. The domestic staff would not enjoy the delights of fancy restoration dining, in other words. The provisions for the domestic staff might reasonably be supposed to have comprised of country staples instead. At the heart of this observation is the question as to whether, within the framework of a 17th-century London merchant's townhouse, country and courtly culinary dining were so very far removed from each other?[116]

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[115] Geffrye Museum of the Home, London, (http://www.geffrye-museum.org.uk/collections/thematics/17th/townhouses/page-1/ 07-07.15)
[116] Ibid.

The way in which all of the domestic staff appear to remain in the room and had the opportunity to sample dishes implies that they might have become more than a domestic servant to the family. This close interaction suggests that some country domestic staff may have had ready access to courtly foods. Even if servants were exposed to only the fleeting sampling of a dish or the eating up of courtly leftovers, they would inevitably have become well acquainted with the dishes which they prepared, served and later disposed of. More concrete evidence which clearly demonstrates the more amicable relationship between the courtly class which was served and the country class which did the serving can be found amidst the chaos of the Great Fire of London. The first victim of the disaster was a servant girl to the proprietor of the bakery in which the fire broke out, Thomas Farriner. Farriner made desperate attempts to save his servant girl from the flames. Unfortunately her fear of having to make a significant jump from the bakery window to a neighbouring one prevented her from escaping and she succumbed to a tragic death in the flames.[117] In this light, the bond therefore between master and servant – and so courtly and country social classes – can be viewed as a strong one. That is not to say, of course, that master and servant were on the same social level, merely that a close daily contact allowed close interaction and, presumably, the understanding of different classes. That the distinction of social levels was maintained concerning food is indicated by Harrison, with a direct reference to the food consumed which separated them.

'The gentlemen and merchants keep much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himself with four, five, or six dishes, when they have but small resort, or peradventure with one, or two, or three at the most, when they have no strangers to accompany them at their tables. And yet their servants have their ordinary diet assigned, beside such as is left at their master's boards, and not appointed to be brought thither the second time, which nevertheless is often seen, generally in venison, lamb, or some especial dish, whereon the merchantman himself liketh to feed when it is cold, or peradventure for sundry causes incident to the feeder is better so than if it were warm or hot'.[118]

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[117] Stephen *Porter*, The Great Fire of London (Gloucestershire 2009) 26.

[118] *Harrison*, Elizabethan England, 92. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/32593/32593-h/32593-h.htm 17.07.15).

Richard Tames contributes a further element of useful terminology which can be added to the study of courtly and country dining in 17th century London and the connotations of these concepts as a fused entity. Tames observes the patterns of those who regularly enter the City on business and require maybe one night's accommodation there, yet whose roots remain firmly entrenched in their native country surroundings. At the same time, however, Tames explains how a trip to the capital would provide such professionals with the opportunity to buy spices which would not be available to them at regional annual fairs. For both brief sojourns in London and the culinary reasons which made such ventures attractive Tames coins a terms which categorises this process: *'inter-penetration'*.[119] With this term he denotes English society per se and the flow of human traffic from rural areas into London. More specifically this describes the process of businessmen spending a few days in the City, their loyal custom to their favourite inns and taverns and the impact back in their countryside surrounding of the foodstuffs which they took back home with them. This process in general is in contrast to French society, for example, as in 17th-century France city experiences and country lifestyle remained two distinctly separate entities.[120]

Thus the process of *'inter-penetration'* or the existence of a certain level of constant interaction or dialogue between the English countryside and urban metropolis can be denoted as a distinctive characteristic of Stuart society in general. In practical terms, this would mean the requirement for the London Inn to stock the ingredients of a certain county in order to be able to not only satisfy but also to impress those who were on business in London. This had mutual benefits for both the businessman and the inn proprietor; on the one hand popular country food dishes could be sourced in London and on the other a respectable income could be made by providing such bespoke foods.[121]

It is interesting to note that inns were located on the edges of the City and served travellers and carriers coming in and out of the English capital, with both food and accommodation. Their situation on the main routes in and out of the city would have given rise to the demand for country dishes which suited those travelling between rural areas and the metropolis. John Taylor's 1637 list of inns indicated inns at the Peacocke in Aldersgate Street, or the George at Holborn Bridge, he also mentions the Swan of the Strand, The Angel located behind St Clement's Church and Bell in Holborn. Moreover those who used London's inns

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[119] Tames, Feeding London, 169. Equally *Forsyth*, 17th Century, 33.
[120] Ibid.
[121] *Tames,* Feeding London, 169.

can be divided according their regional heritage. Travellers and carriers from St Albans, for example, preferred the Peacocke Inn. London's food could also be consistently identified according to regional preferences across the course of the 17th century.

3.6 Robert May and John Evelyn: the Restoration, decadent dining and the dawn of public health advice

'I have so managed them for the general good, that those whose Purses cannot reach to the cost of rich Dishes, I have descended to their meaner Expences, that they may give, though upon a sudden Treatment, to their Kindred, Friends, Allies and Acquaintance, a handsome and relishing entertainment in all seasons of the year, though at some distance from Towns or Villages'.[122]

This chapter will assume the reader's knowledge of the Restoration of Charles II to the English throne in 1660. Given the fact that the years of the Interregnum were to a certain extent limited and simply not as exciting as previous years, in culinary terms the Restoration can certainly be described as a culinary celebration, possibly even one of the greatest culinary celebrations of English history per se. For the purposes of this part of the analysis, however, the Restoration will be viewed in a more critical light. Did London's country class really participate in this event as the courtly class undoubtedly did? Were there two sides to the Restoration culinary coin? Why did the courtly class seek to improve the health and living standards of the country class with their advice? Moreover what exactly changed? Did the courtly class always hold a position above the country class beyond the realm of food? Such questions were also posed by contemporaries of the time who lived through the restoration years, and their associated writings will make up the foundation of this chapter.

Robert May's opinion of English dining in 1660 appears to represent the point of view that culinary arts were no longer what they used to be. In his own words he described his distinguished culinary publication as a collection of recipes which were *'formally the delights of the Nobility, before good housekeeping had left England'*.[123] This stance seems to be the complete contrary image to the notion of the culinary delights and indulgence of Restoration eating which most readers – possibly even historians – might expect. What exactly May thought was missing from elegant dining in 1660 is not easy to uncover. However, if the Civil

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[122] *May*, The Accomplisht Cook, A5v (Gutenberg https://www.gutenberg.org/files/22790/22790-h/22790-h.htm 25.09.15).

[123] *May*, The Accomplisht Cook, A8. (Gutenberg https://www.gutenberg.org/files/22790/22790-h/22790-h.htm 25.09.15).

War years of the mid-1600s are considered along with the English Protectorate, these could well be the circumstances that May considered negative factors on what he considered to be the former glorious days of English courtly dining.[124]

With that said, it would not be correct to anchor Restoration cook, Robert May, in the courtly dining tradition which was evident in 17th-century London. May discloses his ideas of courtly dining in great detail, the intricacies of which appear incredibly theatrical to modern-day readers – or for that matter, diners – but which suited the tastes of his courtly readers and restoration dining as a whole. The following citation refers to some theatrical antics which May encouraged in the dining rooms of the well-to-do. With most of the courses out of the way, '*by this time you may suppose they will desire to see what is in the Pies; where lifting first the lid off one pie, out skips some Frogs, which makes the Ladies to skip and shreek; next after the other Pie, whence comes out the Birds; who by a natural instinct flying at the light, will put out the Candles; so that what with the flying Birds, and skipping Frogs, the one above, the other beneath, will cause much delight and pleasure to the whole company…*'.[125]

Despite his recommendation to impress the female diners with frogs jumping out of pies and birds which by natural instinct would extinguish the light at the dinner and thus plunge everyone into darkness, May also had the country folk in mind. His inclusion of more humble recipes is indicative of the fact that he knew that England's society, which was predominantly made up of the ordinary class, could not afford the luxury ingredients he prescribed for courtly dining. A further fact which May was also aware of was the fact that the conveying of the recipes in his book depended on the individual's ability to read. The copy of May's book which the British Library holds has the inscription of a woman in the inside cover, a certain Elizabeth Brooke, 1674, who belonged to the 10% of England's female population in the 17th century who could read. Although this literacy rate appears fairly high, it must be said that not all of this 10% of the female population could write as well.[126] A clear further point of divergence of courtly and country eating in 17th-century London can therefore be found in the methods used to record the recipes or mechanism to remember the key ingredients. The dependence on oral traditions alone to remember the ingredients of a pease

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[124] *British Library*, Learning Texts in Context, The Accomplisht Cook Handwritten first page, http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/booksforcooks/1600s/handwrithome/firstpage.html (07.07.15)
[125] *May*, The Accomplisht Cook, A8. (Gutenberg https://www.gutenberg.org/files/22790/22790-h/22790-h.htm 25.09.15).
[126] *British Library*, Learning Texts in Context, The Accomplisht Cook Handwritten first page, (http://www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/booksforcooks/1600s/handwrithome/firstpage.html 07.07.15)

pudding, for example, is a valid reason to account for the inclusion of so few ingredients in this recipe.

May, despite his high-ranking position in the court of Charles II, wanted to share his culinary insight with the masses. Charles II appeared to be somewhat detached from his subjects; he wanted to enjoy himself and as David Kerr Cameron mentions, the life his court indulged in did not provide a good role model for the ordinary class to follow.[127] Robert May provided this service to commoners as a good deed, and genuine desire for them to be able to eat a healthier diet. The opening citation of this section verifies this. Therefore charged with such the duty of improving the health of the ordinary class, echoes of country dining can be found in his cookbook which includes recipes for pies, pottages and broths. Equally, the analogies he uses for cooking, such as making a ship-like form out of pastry as a guideline for making a pie, is a language which both London's courtly and country classes could understand. Lastly, May was also critical of French cuisine despite the fact that it was in France that he learnt the majority of his skills.[128]

Robert May fits in well with the model of courtly and country dining in 17th-century London. His stance on restoration dining as a period of decline in skills and recipes goes firmly against the grain of the typical perception of Restoration dining. May seemed to want to leave a culinary legacy of placing English cuisine back on course, irrespective of which social class his readers belonged to. His position as Charles II's chef and his distinguished career behind him strongly gives the impression that he did not write his book in order to make some sort of financial gain. He himself realised that cookbooks were expensive and not a feasible purchase for a labourer, servant or maid. His critique of the culinary tradition which set him up as a great chef adds further credibility to his position and despite his formative years being spent in Paris he was an English chef through and through. The aim of his cookbook therefore was not only to leave his own form of personal legacy on English cuisine but he also demonstrated a strong desire to raise the nutritional levels of dining among the courtly and country classes. The area of health advice is where May's work and legacy converges on that of diarist John Evelyn. Consequently, this part of the analysis on Restoration dining will now focus on his work.

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[127] *Cameron*, London's Pleasures, 16.
[128] *May*, The Accomplisht Cook, A4 and A7v. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22790-h/22790-h.htm 11.10.15).

For the specific purposes of this thesis Robert May and John Evelyn will be placed side by side. This is not a usual practice in the study of 17th-century London. By and large Evelyn is usually compared to his contemporary and fellow diarist, Samuel Pepys. The juxtaposition of Robert May and John Evelyn is useful because they can be placed on the same axis of courtly dining meeting country food traditions in 17th-century London. This is why the following comparison will be made. John Evelyn (1626-1706) was born in Surrey into a wealthy family which owned a significant amount of land. He received an outstanding education which included his admission to Balliol Colleges, Oxford. Despite leaving this renowned institution without receiving a degree, his career and legacy as a diarist, soldier, political and health advisor makes him one of the great Englishmen of 17th-century England. One of his most famous works '*Acetaria: A discourse of Sallets'* can be considered as one of the earliest works which sought to improve the general population's health and, most important for this thesis, their eating habits as well. The combination of Evelyn's prominence as a figure of Stuart London society and as a knowledgeable gardener means that the knowledge which he imparts in his *Acetaria* could help improve living standards. Further elements of Evelyn's impressive career included his appointment in 1662 to the council and consequent lifelong membership of the Royal Society. Among other great deeds, the Royal Society would be the first institution to carry out the first detailed farming survey of Britain in 1664 and therefore strongly had their fingers on the pulse of change in 17th century England.[129]

Another way in which Evelyn's culinary and health-conscious recommendations can be categorised is a further point of interest. In his book entitled *'The Heretic's Feast: A History of Vegetarianism'*, Colin Spencer establishes a convincing argument as to how Evelyn's promotion of eating a greener diet could be perceived as an act of heresy according to the ethics of Stuart England. Spencer views 17th-century England as a time when a range of radical ideas emerged. One example which he provides is the various schisms in the religious sector. He points out that some religious groups began to view animals in a different light and so the general consensus that they should end up on the dinner table was contested. Such ideology of the notion of savages and beasts also stemmed from the English discovery and occupation in the New World. Spencer explains how the discovery of *'alien, native cultures'*

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[129] *Britannica* Academic Encyclopaedia article on John *Evelyn*, Online at http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/197048/John-Evelyn (11.10.15). Royal Society pioneering agricultural survey, *Pretty*, Farmers' Extension Practice and Technology Adaptation, 134.

brought about the thought that savages could also become part of the human race.[130] What then does this have to do with what the Stuarts were eating? The philosophical distinction of savage and human and how the former could somehow be absorbed into the latter – but arguably would always remain at an inferior position – meant that the savage behaviour of the human's killing of animals, often in a brutal way, was hypocritical and savage behaviour.[131] The Tudor method of slaughtering animals was particularly inhumane: An animal was supposed to bleed for at least 8 to 10 minutes or would be brutally stabbed in the neck and left for days to succumb to its eventual death.[132]

According to Colin Spencer John Evelyn's recommendation of consuming more fruit and vegetables fits into the radical sector of Stuart society which was endorsing a vegetarian diet. Moreover, such a diet which Evelyn promoted was known as the '*Herby-Diet*'. Despite popular belief that it would be anachronistic to correlate the following of faddy diets in 17th-century London, 17th-century London had many fashionable trends to adopt, and not only in the realms of food consumption. Evelyn was not only concerned with ethical eating but also with environmental issues such as the preservation of England's trees. His concerns about the need to preserve and sustain Britain's woodlands were expressed in his '*Discourse of Forest-trees and the Propagation of Timber'*, c.a. 1670. All in all, Evelyn's work was motivated by his desire to preserve the environment combined with an '*enthusiasm for the health, long life, and wholesomeness'* of his dietary recommendations for the general population.[133]

The approach of connecting the quality of the food which one consumed with the state of one's health is one area of progressive science which was taking place in 17th-century London in many ways. The medieval legacy in general viewed various types of food as medicine, in the sense that certain foods should be eaten in order to alleviate particular symptoms. The correlation of food consumption and medicinal remedies would be a topic which would go beyond the boundaries of this thesis because the information on such practices is so vast. One salient example from 17th-century London, however, can be found in the height of the Restoration years. In 1665 the Great Plague hit London, the last such epidemic to hit the English capital. With regard to food history this caused an interesting set of circumstances: both the courtly and the country class largely turned to culinary remedies in

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[130] Spencer, The Heretic's Feast: A History of Vegetarianism' (London 1993) 205.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Colin Spencer, The Heretic's Feast, 215. Slaughtering methods, here Spencer refers to a lecture given by Keith *Thomas*, given to the Guild of Food Writers, 1990.
[133] *Spencer,* The Heretic's Feast, 212.

order to avoid certain death. Garlic was a remedy which was synonymous with the poor man's medicine cabinet. While the courtly class could afford a range of remedies apothecaries had to offer them, the ordinary class would turn to their kitchen cupboards. '*Housewives could go to their kitchen cupboards and find all the necessary ingredients: London treacle (two or three pence worth would do), vinegar, and saltpetre, plus broths, ales, and the run of household herbs.* [134]

Further insight into the medicinal use of food in Stuart England in the mid-1660s as a direct result of the Great Plague can be inferred from the recipe entitled *'Plague Water'*. The ingredients for plague water in the preceding paragraph stem from the pages of a cookbook by noble English man Sir Kenelm Digby Knight. Sir Kenelm Digby Knight was not only a respected philosopher, courtier and diplomat but also, in the late 1620s, a privateer. His father was involved in the Gunpowder Plot of 1606 and subsequently executed for treason. It is therefore striking that Digby would go on to be knighted by James I, the very man his father tried to blow up. This does not mean to say, however, that Digby Knight was always favoured by the monarch; he was expelled from Charles II's court on more than one occasion. For the purposes of this thesis, Digby Knight's book, '*The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelm Digby Knight opened'*, gives a highly credible courtly insight into dining in Stuart England. Moreover as a courtier, among other distinguished roles, Digby Knight resided in London for the most part. Therefore his profile fits into the realms of this study very well.[135]

Digby Knight's plague water involves the following ingredients and process:

'Take a pound of Rue, of Rosemary, Sage, Sorrel, Celandine, Mugwort, of the tops of red brambles of Pimpernel, Wild-dragons, Agrimony, Balm, Angelica of each a pound. Put these Compounds in a Pot, fill it with White-wine above the herbs, so let it stand four days. Then still it for your use in a Limbeck.[136]

Plague water not only implies a strong emphasis on the medieval, medicinal approach to food but it also displays a wide range of herbs, or as the Stuarts would have referred to them, *'spices',* available to the courtly diner or courtly member of society. The use of food as a medicine was however not a practice which was exclusive to the courtly class. The country

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[134] Alanson Lloyd *Moote* and Dorothy C. *Moote*, The Great Plague, (Baltimore 2004) 108.

[135] *Britannica Encyclopaedia*, (http://www.britannica.com/biography/Kenelm-Digby 26.09.15).

[136] *Digby Knight,* The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelm Digby Knight, 148. (Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16441/16441-h/16441-h.htm#Page_147 14.04.15)

class took much the same approach, but substituted expensive items with more modest ingredients such as onions. The perceived medicinal properties of food can therefore be identified as a further way in which the courtly and country classes converged. Although the capital required to purchase sought-after plague remedies of the time would have divided the two classes, the act of seeking a remedy using foods and herbs to try to prevent an otherwise certain death was a preoccupation which surpassed class barriers.

3.7 Courtly and country culinary power: an assessment of the influence of London's guilds of the baker, butcher and fishmonger.

As can be observed from the intricate detail in the border of the map, entitled *'A Cuntryman's Guide to the Citty'*, 1653, referred to in section 1, the embellishment of this geographical document with the coats of arms of certain guilds conveys clearly to the reader that 17th-century London was a merchant city. Consequently, a study of the guilds, the professional association of merchants, particularly of London's bakers, butchers and fishmongers, will provide a further method of analysis of 17th-century London's courtly and country food traditions. At first sight it is easy to categorise guilds as courtly entities. There are essentially political groups of merchants who represented their fellow professionals at the Guild Hall. In medieval times, merchants' power was sealed in their running of towns and cities; Venice is a classic example of this. The political power of the guilds was also felt in 17th-century London. The greatest symbol of their power was the election of the mayor.

In medieval times London's guilds emerged essentially as a means by which members of the same profession could be organised in the city. The merchants working in European towns of a significant size such as London or Hamburg were positioned in a trade network known as a hanse. In London the guilds' network was very influential. Streets were often named according to their strong affinity to the guild dominant in a particular area. Bread Street, located at the heart of the City, with St Paul's behind, is synonymous with the bakers that became organised there according to their guild membership. The fishmonger's trade boomed in medieval Catholic England when Friday was declared a fast day and meat was therefore firmly struck from the menu. Due to this reason Friday Street was born. If the 12th-century London practice of the correlation of specific guilds to specific streets is put to one side, it is the livery companies or guilds of the 13th century which required an official charter to come into fruition that were still significant in 17th century London. Thus the oldest charter thereof belongs to the Worshipful Company of Weavers and dates back to 1155. The Worshipful Company of London's bakers was commissioned thereafter and is considered the

second oldest guild in London. [137] At the heart of this analysis of courtly and country interaction, London's guilds pose a problem: How to categorise these tight-knit groups of professionals?

On the one hand certain prominent names, such as Thomas Gresham, founder of the Royal Exchange in 1571, can firmly be associated with London's guilds. In this particular case it was the insight of Richard Gresham, Thomas' father, of how the Antwerp Exchange functioned and attracted such a large amount of trade, including foodstuffs, that saw his son adopt Richard Gresham's vision for London's own exchange. The London Exchange also arguably echoed a new trend of late-Tudor England; conducting business inside a building and it also housed a number of bespoke shops. The London Exchange is an example of the guilds as courtly entities. The suggestion of an ordinary-class man to launch such a project would not have been heeded by authorities. Even Gresham had to wait a significant amount of time before his idea was approved. Thus, courtly social class did not always include favour.[138]

On the other hand, London's guilds can be viewed as a collective made up of individual members. It is clear from the outset that if a Stuart wanted to be a respectable baker, butcher or market trader then membership to the relevant livery company was imperative. A lack of membership could cause the aspiring tradesman to be ostracised. Liza Picard firmly establishes this fact with regard to Elizabethan London's markets, where there were two kinds of trader, a *'freeman of London'* and a *'countryman from outside London-a stranger'*.[139] This clearly gives the impression that there was a real prospect of a non-Londoner who wanted to trade being discriminated against at a 17th-century market. This classification of *'freeman of London'* and *'stranger'* further provides an insight into the mind-set of 17th-century London's social order. Thus, a country and courtly demarcation is fitting. Moreover, the use of the word *'freeman'* is provocative in that it implies that the stranger is a slave, to touch upon Hegelian thought. Equally the use of *'stranger'* implies that the London freeman when among fellow London freemen was indeed among friends. To expand on this analogy a little further, with regard to food history, the London *'freeman's'* food choices were

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[137] *City of London*, City Livery Companies, (https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/about-the-city/about-us/community-partnerships/Pages/city-livery-companies.aspx 11.10.15).

[138] *Calabri*, The Market and the City, 176-180.

[139] *Picard,* Elizabeth's London, 148.

on the whole accepted while the *'stranger's'* were viewed with an air of suspicion. This was the case with the Huguenot community at Spitalfields.[140]

This distinction – and quite possibly discrimination – illustrates the necessity of guild membership of the relevant guild or livery company for traders from both courtly and country backgrounds. This membership would ensure their acceptance as a city trader. However, the guilds and livery companies with their assembly at the Guild Hall of course represent a further example of hierarchal 17th-century London with the courtly class firmly seated at the top. To sit at the Guildhall necessarily required a certain amount of personal wealth and a courtly social background. One would not expect to find an apprentice or husbandry-man at the level of the Guildhall. That would be comparable to finding an ordinary-class citizen at the royal court. Therefore there had to be a certain level of trust among the country and courtly guild members, in order to ensure that their best interests would be looked after. As with any political group, from the outset London's guilds were not peaceful entities. The Worshipful Company of Bakers and the dispute between baking white and brown bread in Elizabethan London perfectly illustrates this point and in so doing helps us with the quandary of why Stuart Londoners as a collective consumed white bread.

Indeed in Elizabethan London, in 1559, London was home to 127 master bakers. Moreover, every loaf could be identified by its own hallmark which the baker would seal on the top. This was a reflection of the way the bread market was regulated with fixed weights and prices, which would be set by the Lord Mayor. However, by 1597, the old system by which a baker could deduct his personal expenses from his business in order to support his family was beginning to show cracks. A master baker would employ up to three journeymen and up to two apprentices. The premises would typically house one oven, although there were some exceptions to this trend. Bread could only be sold at bakeries, at the marketplace, at customer's businesses or sold at the door of private houses. The general dispute of the bread guild lay in the fact that bread-making in the City was divided between white bakers and brown bakers. The latter was a completely separate entity which was tasked with providing inns with loaves made from coarser grain. The rivalry between these two companies was so great that Elizabeth I was forced to combine the two into one company under royal charter. This did not ensure their unity for long, as by 1580 they were separate companies again. This example of the schism of the bakers' guild that Elizabeth sought to permanently unite offers

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[140] Ibid. Suspicions about the Huguenot's diet is recorded by the Old Bailey, (https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Huguenot.jsp 08.07.15).

further insight into why the situation of bread consumption in Stuart London and in 17th-century England in general is such a complicated one.[141]

The nature of London's guilds means that they are difficult to categorise as either courtly or country entities. Membership to a guild or livery company however was not the only route to a successful career in the City. Jeremy Boulton observes in his book on *'Neighbourhood and Society'* that membership of such institutions or indeed citizenship was not necessary for success in all trades. It must be also be added here that Boulton writes about the suburban area of Boroughside in his book and so it is reasonable to think that membership of a guild was not so important on London's peripheries. Interestingly, Boulton also identifies owning a house as the first significant step on the ladder towards political and social power. Moreover, this stage could be achieved without citizenship, arguably even to successful continental migrants. [142] The courtly and country model in this light therefore is a malleable one.

Guilds were concerned with the needs of their ordinary-class members because they took the virtue of charity very seriously. Yet interestingly the use of the word *'company'* or *'society'* being added to a business' publication depended on literacy and access to a printing press, something which the ordinary class could not always afford. Therefore, there is strong reason to believe that a whole area of study dedicated to the functioning of ordinary-class businesses in Stuart London is missing. Or as Philip Withington writes, *'[a]s a result, more informal types of purposeful association – 'networks' and 'interactions' – are vastly under-represented in the sample'.*[143] In this regard the guilds and prevalence of certain food businesses in 17th-century London was an elitist, courtly phenomenon. Whether the courtly element of it such as centralised power at the Guild Hall could have existed without the participation of hundreds of butchers, bakers, fishmongers and gardeners across the city is doubtful. Thus, the guilds can positively be identified as entities where both courtly and country elements of 17th-century London are represented.[144]

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[141] *Picard*, Elizabeth's London, 151.

[142] Jeremy *Boulton*, *'Neighbourhood and Society. A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century',* (Cambridge 1987) 102.

[143] Philip *Withington*, Society in Early Modern England. The Vernacular Origins of Some Powerful Ideas, (Cambridge/Malden 2010) 116.

[144] Ibid.

3.8 Declassification of courtly and country eating: alternative considerations and redefinitions.

The final section of this study of 17th-century Londoners' courtly and country eating trends will focus on a more abstract meaning of courtly and country dining. At the heart of this section will be the endeavour to account for significant phenomena which have challenged the stereotypes expected of both country and courtly eating and ultimately seek to investigate whether it is appropriate at all to classify London's food scape of the 17th century in this manner. This brief study will commence in the full knowledge that the whole categorisation of the eating trends of courtly and country classes could well be a misconception. In this case, a possible way in which 17th-century London's food scape could more precisely be defined will be considered. This section also entertains the possibility that it may have been the food available to certain groups which shaped the ordinary and gentry classes and not the case that these two distinct social classes influenced the food.

The first way in which the courtly and culinary model can be contested is in the way in which it always appears to be hierarchical. The gentry class always sits above the ordinary class. The gentry class however was aware of the plight of their humble counterparts. In some specific cases the gentry helped the ordinary class. As Sara Pennell observes, there was a process of food transference going on between the courtly and country class which she identifies as the *'clandestine passage of leftovers'*.[145] In practical terms, this meant the opportune stealing of food. Shoe cleaners were notorious for doing this. But with the common knowledge of the closure of prominent monasteries in the vicinity of London as places of charity, there were those among the gentry class who took on a benevolent role. Within the security of a businessman's home, servants might help themselves to leftovers, quite possibly with their master's knowledge. To be caught stealing and dismissed from employment would spiral an ordinary class man or woman into a world of squalor and destitution.

In terms of physical places of exchange, it is interesting that Rosemary Lane rag fair was a hotspot for the exchange of leftovers, where the courtly class aided the plight of the ordinary class. The exact circumstances of this exchange are difficult to assess and there are no formal records of individual persons of items of food involved. Nevertheless, Rosemary Lane rag fair can be viewed as a direct challenge to the strict hierarchical order upon which the courtly-country model is based. On the other hand, it seems doubtful whether the courtly

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[145] *Pennell*, 'Great Quantities of gooseberry pye', 242.

diners in question actually noticed the disappearance of the remains of their dinner on their plate or whether it would have mattered to them if they had. After all, the disposal of leftovers, unless it were significant amounts which could be re-used in a different meal, would be the province of the servants, not the diners. The stealing of food in such a manner was frowned upon but was by no means a significant offence. This shows how the reality of starvation was a factor both the courtly and the country social classes were aware of.[146]

This acknowledgement aside, one must return to the central debate at the heart of this section, namely the debate of whether a classification of courtly and country dining in 17th-century London is an appropriate distinction to make at all. One further area of investigation is to consider the city of London and whether London was typical of urban dining in Stuart times in a wider context beyond the capital or whether it was an exception. Richard Tames makes it clear that in the context of consumption in 17th-century northern Europe, London not only represented the highest concentration of consumers but also the richest. Furthermore, he proposes that such was the consumption of food in 17th-century London that it fuelled a large proportion of the nation's economy.[147] The multifaceted way in which the topic of 17th-century food history of London encompasses so many factors, from agricultural output to the ways in which London's butchers, bakers and fishmongers could add value to the raw goods and sell them as products, along with a consideration of London as an emerging international centre of trade also in food commodities, adds further conviction to Tames' argument. In this regard, future investigations into 17th-century London's food history could see London placed in a comparative study alongside prominent European capital cities such as Paris and Amsterdam. The consumption of such cities and the effect on their respective domestic economies could establish whether 17th-century London was an exception or was indeed a typical western European capital city which followed a common economic course.

In a similar light it is useful to make a brief comparison with 17th-century English and French courtly dining trends in the locations of London and Paris. Stephen Mennell maintains that due to the English Civil Wars, England's social elites were not so open to *'social forces compelling them towards conspicuous consumption'*.[148] In contrast, across the Channel in France, French courtiers continued to display the trend of refined taste, and moreover due to their more public face within French society they were very keen to *'emulate'* the

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[146] Ibid.
[147] *Tames*, Feeding London, 20.
[148] *Mennell,* All Manners of Food, 108.

court's *'tastes and fashions'*.[149] The French court was a more visible entity and so its influence on 17th-century France's gentry class remained a strong one, for the time being.[150] The influence of the rejection of the monarchy in the 1640s and the civil war which followed remains an event in the English collective memory still referred to today in the theatre of the annual opening of Parliament where an official representing Charles I is thrown out of the chamber. This symbolic but also physical separation of the monarch from Parliament after the civil war in England adds to a sense of separation which was already in place. As Carolyn Steel writes, *'London always had a uniquely hands-off approach to feeding itself.'*[151] In other words, the monarch at Whitehall never had been concerned with the plight of his or her subjects within the vicinity of the capital anyway. In this regard the events of the civil war are irrelevant. On the other hand, traces of the decade of unrest which the civil war brought about can be observed in the food scape of 17th-century London. However, on reflection, the turbulent events which would unravel in France by the end of the 18th century made both the distance between the English courtly class and the monarchy a beneficial policy, and moreover made the Civil War years seem like a storm in a tea cup.

With the thought in mind that maybe 17th-century London was following a unique path as previously reflected on, it is indeed meaningful to briefly compare the capital city of England with the capital city of France in a demographic sense. This brief comparison between the demographics of London and Paris not only offers an insight into the situation of a city of the same rank but it also demonstrates how by 1714 London had demographically surpassed her French counterpart. This statistic can be observed below in the table configured by Mennell.

Table 1   Approximate population of London and Paris, 1600–1800

Date	London	Paris
1600	200,000	400,000
1650	350,000	450,000
1700	575,000	500,000
1750	675,000	525,000
1800	900,000	550,000

Sources: Wrigley (1967: 215–16); Landry (1935); Hélin (1963: 249).   [152]

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149 Ibid.
150 Ibid.
151 Steel, Hungry City, 84.
152 *Mennell,* All Good Manners of Food, 127.

This way in which the figures for London's population continue to swell particularly after 1750 see London concretely enter a higher demographic category than Paris. This significantly higher rate of demographic growth is most evident in Mennell's table by 1800. Although this date is situated outside of the boundary of the Stuart period it is highly likely that the seeds for such demographic growth were firmly sown in the 17th century. What is of more significance is with regard to food history is that London must have had ample infrastructure by 1700, allowing Londoners to work at a more efficient rate than ever seen before and moreover to support this feat in a culinary sense. From a very wide and general viewpoint it can be affirmed that in some way London was on a course which was different compared to other western European cities. For some historians there is reason enough to believe that this development is why the Industrial Revolution took place in Britain. However, considering demographics alone as a basis upon which to attempt to make a comparison in food history is a method which can only ever produce general findings and it offers little detail.

To move on and consider the model of courtly and country dining to be a false classification, one has to return to Selwood's demographic distinction of *'English Born'* and *'Non-English born':* There is a strong third demographic social group which shines through the food history of 17th-century London, namely continentals.[153] To add a further degree of precision to this notion, the identity 'continental' can be broken down into two further specific national identities, namely Dutch and French. Not only did their influence on the English capital extend beyond the sphere of food but these two nationalities also appear at the heart of various controversies of 17th-century London. The market garden, a great legacy of Stuart London, can and should be attributed to the Dutch. Moreover, there is very strong evidence to suggest that it was Dutch country gardening techniques that inspired the establishment of Covent Garden market. [154] Dutch culinary supplies in general were indeed a subtle but important part of feeding 17-century London. Similarly, the elements of French cuisine which appear consistently throughout the Stuart period may stem from the royal kitchens at Whitehall but permeated to the humble streets of Soho. The continental – or in this case, Dutch and French – culinary influences embraced both courtly and country traditions.

Selwood's demographic classification of 17th-century London poses a fundamental problem: we do not know whether English-born includes the rest of the British Isles. The

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[153] *Selwood,* Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London, 122.
[154] *Dickson Wright*, A History of English Food, 180.

union of the Great Britain was only formally cemented in 1707. Therefore this date undoubtedly signifies an entry point for historians to speak of Great Britain. That is not to say, however, that before this formal arrangement there was not a British identity in varying degrees. With regard to London's food history of the 17th century, the concept of acceptance of Britishness can be demonstrated in the acceptance of recipes beyond the boundaries of those which were native to one's local county. However, the importance of regional recipes must also not be forgotten. Moreover, their reliance on oral traditions to pass them down from generation to generation meant that the use of regional specialities tended to be limited to a small geographical area. However, could London's food scape be categorised as 'British' by the end of the reign of the Stuarts in 1713?

The definitive answer to the question above would have to be yes. On the other hand, one could also argue it had always been so because country food is so diverse and from so many counties, both in near proximity and at a great distance from the capital. British food in this sense can be viewed more as a fluid entity and therefore not a suitable subject for the courtly and country distinction. More importantly, however, is the question of how long London's food could be categorised as being British? Given certain events of the late 18th century and beyond, the Industrial Revolution, the great success of the EIC, and Britain's role in the transatlantic slave trade, great changes were taking place in British culture and society as new ideas and influences flowed into the kingdom. It is not surprising that Britain was heading towards or even was already in pole position of the world stage, and the flavours, dishes and restaurants starting to thrive in its capital were now taking on a more international flair, well beyond the demographic distinction of English or Continental-born.

A final consideration of the courtly and country model is one which questions what culinary change really took place under the Stuarts. From the outset of researching this thesis it is clear that Stuart food was firmly built on the foundations of medieval and Tudor dining. Equally, as Peter Brears writes, most of the basic foods which we rely upon on a daily basis were already established in Tudor England. Indeed it is not difficult to identify the basic food groups of meat, fish, bread and dairy in Stuart recipes.[155] In this sense nothing radical happened. Similarly, Dickson Wright's position that a change in monarch does not constitute great culinary change is a further point to acknowledge. There was a tide of slow culinary change however in London's food, in that it became more international. Arguably the ingredients from the New World discovered under the Tudors, which needed a rather long

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[155] Peter *Brears*, Food and Cooking in 17th Century Britain. History and Recipes, (Birmingham 1985) 9.

time span in order to enter the ranks of daily staples, were becoming more trusted and accepted in the 17th century. The ingredients themselves of 17th-century England, which were diversifying into a more exotic direction, consistently support the courtly and country model. Spices such as saffron became a buzzword for one's membership in England's upper social circles whilst the reliance on English-grown herbs such as sage kept one's social status grounded in the ordinary class.

One final point of convergence of the courtly and country model is a consideration of whether this model is actually intertwined in a greater conflict: the relationship between the country and the city. Maybe the whole model is challenging to use as a tool of analysis because of the on-going struggle for power between the urban dwellings and the countryside. The '[c]ity and country have been locked together in an uneasy symbiotic clinch, with urban authorities doing all in their power to maintain the upperhand'.[156] A quandary which has consistently arisen over the course of this study is where does the countryside end and the city begin? The migration south and establishment of Scottish breeds of cows in the Home Counties is one example of this. Do we consider the Scottish cows which were raised in 17th-century Essex for example as country cattle or as the next day's food for the capital? In a similar light, the agricultural advancements in Norfolk and in the surrounding agricultural areas also present a similar problem. Did the countryside dominate the city with such turning points or did London, with its increasing population, cause the countryside to modernise? Indeed this sense of conflict can be observed in 17th-century London's food scape and especially with regard to the courtly and ordinary class.

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[156] *Steel,* Hungry City, 7.

Conclusion

The first and most pressing point of the conclusion of this thesis has to be a consideration of whether the classification of courtly and country food is fundamentally a correct distinction to make. This categorisation is indeed the axis upon which this study stands. Firstly, with regard to the courtly distinction, the plethora of writings in the National Archives on the whole spectrum of various areas of London life which the court directly influenced wholeheartedly validates a culinary influence as one aspect of this phenomenon. Yet the influence of the monarch alone as a culinary trendsetter is a weak argument. The English king or queen could essentially live in a bubble, detached from London's nobility and with a certain amount of freedom to pursue interests of their choice; with regard to culinary indulgence this was no different.

The point of great significance here is the identification of the agents who acted as the bridge between unequivocal courtly eating at the banquets of the English royal court and courtly eating within the realms of the privileged members of London's gentry. These agents, as carriers of courtly culinary influence, can be identified and categorised into three groups: The members of the court themselves, or the nobility who sought to dine socially with the king or queen, advisors to the monarch who were wined and dined at Whitehall such as Samuel Pepys, and prominent merchants or explorers who were welcomed to display their new culinary discoveries to their monarch. One further group which can be identified out of the general constellation of these three social groups of courtly culinary agents, and with an astonishing level of precision, is the Royal Society. As previously mentioned, the Royal Society carried out the first agricultural survey of Britain in 1664. As an institution of intellectual, economic and political power in the City the role of the Royal Society as innovators of agricultural change in 17th-century England complements the work of prominent individuals such as John Evelyn and Sir Kenelm Digby Knight. The 17th century was indeed the century in which public health advice was born.

At the other end of the social scale, at the level of the country food consumers, the notion of English born and non-English born is a construct which appeared in the late 17th century. English born in other terms can arguably be described as a reference to the county county of a person's birth. Given the general trend of 17th-century England there was a steady and significant flow of country-dwellers to the City and its vicinity, it is not surprising that recipes from a country man or woman's native county constituted the general backbone of the ordinary class's culinary repertoire. Moreover, despite taking up residence in a new urban

setting a preference for country dishes remained. The connection to the countryside, and more specifically to agriculture, was not an exclusive entity of the ordinary class; the gentry class were just as much attached to life in rural England as the former farm labourers who migrated to the English capital. This affinity with the countryside and, moreover, agriculture in its many forms, can be identified as a further point of convergence of the two contrasting classes which make up the courtly and country model.

One event of the 17th century which is particularly insightful when attempting to evaluate the parallel processes of courtly and country dining which were simultaneously taking place in London is the Restoration. With regard to what could be viewed as the most significant culinary event of the century, certain provocative questions are triggered. The question remains as to whether the country way in which the Restoration was marked in the English capital in culinary terms could ever compete on a par with that of the gentry and courtly diners? If the authentic ingredients were not used and a mock recipe cobbled together, did a Londoner not participate in the gastronomic explosion with which the Restoration has become synonymous? This question is not only challenging to investigate but may well have also been largely irrelevant at the time. The ordinary, country class in Restoration London was content with the delights of the Restoration dining they enjoyed.

The pie is a classic example of how two social classes at opposing ends of the social spectrum could celebrate or acknowledge the same historical event by eating different versions of the same dish. Arguably it was the shopping budget which was the factor which separated these two social groups. Nevertheless, should a country ordinary class citizen acquire sufficient wealth to partake of courtly dishes, would he or she want to leave his country culinary heritage and swap over to the courtly way of dining? Identity and food is a topic which unfailingly shows a certain level of loyalty to the behaviours of the social group one is born into. Similarly, a twofold courtly and country culinary model can at times be a simplistic way in which to view Stuart London's food.

Indeed, eating is a complex social behaviour which involves many considerations. In this sense, courtly and country culinary distinctions cannot be dissected in such a satisfactory manner. So in this sense, the demarcation of courtly and country food in 17th-century London cannot be verified. This is because the study of eating food as a behaviour would include such a vast multitude of factors ranging from when one would eat, their table manners and with whom they dined to what one would eat. Such a complex set of considerations would distort the boundaries of the courtly and country model to too greatly. In this sense the courtly and

country model is made redundant. However the eating habits of specific sectors of 17th-century London society could be a way in which eating as a complex social behaviour could be studied. The merchant class would be a fitting subject for such a venture. Not only were they specifically agents of culinary change as they brought new ingredients to English shores, but the power they acquired from the guilds also implies a high level of etiquette in their dining which is evident at their Guildhall banquets. The idea implied here is that although those who dined at the Guildhall may not have been born into the social norms and behavioural expectations of the courtly class, their invitation to such a banquet would have required. In this light, the merchant guilds could be viewed as instigating agents of culinary change in matters far beyond food.

Upon a further reflection of courtly and country eating habits more pertinent questions arise. These include the possibility of the existence of courtly and country eating trends in 17th-century England but set in a different setting than London. In other words, was London the exception and the only location in which courtly and country eating trends could be observed? If one considers England's other ports of significant size, Norwich and Liverpool, the capital they accumulated due to their seafaring ventures in the Atlantic and the rise of entrepreneurial merchants based in these ports implies wealth which would constitute access to a courtly diet. It may therefore seem unlikely that London should be the only city to display such distinctly separate eating habits by two classes. On the other hand, it must be said that London enjoyed a singular position as the economic and cultural capital, as well as the regular home of the monarch. Furthermore, the concentration of nobility and courtiers is certain to have been higher in London than in the northern cities.

Similarly, country eating of the 17th century can also be viewed from a counter-perspective. London of the 17th century was not strongly geographically divided into the distinct areas of East End and West End, or in other words, into two strong units of poverty and wealth. Given this lack of boundaries, there was much more scope for interactions of the gentry and ordinary class, especially in the realms of dining. This would be a further point to contest the black and white definitions of courtly and country dining because it is clear that grey areas also have to be acknowledged. These include the simultaneous prospects of ascension into the courtly dining category from a humble country background and equally the descent into country dining from an originally courtly standpoint. One brief example to illustrate this point is the effect of the English Civil Wars, 1642-1650, as discussed in this thesis.

Further historiographical points which challenge the neat assignment of the twofold dining phenomenon in 17th-century London include the unequal weighting in written documents related to the upper and lower classes. The royal household, prominent landholders and certain entrepreneurial individuals on the whole meticulously documented the way they ate throughout the 17th century. On the other hand, observation of the country dwellers before they migrated to London whilst establishing themselves there, generally relies on the writings of prominent individuals who made it their duty to tour Britain and write down their own observations of the ordinary class' eating habits on the way. This point of inequality in the historical archive dilutes the establishment of courtly and country eating trends in 17th-century London, but does not invalidate it entirely.

The cookbooks, recipes, inventories and evidence of the sale of ingredients on London's streets, along with dining at taverns, inns and ale houses all indicate a wide spectrum of varying foods available and all of course available at varying price ranges. Yet if price alone was enough to establish the boundary of where courtly food ended and country food started then one would expect to find completely different dishes in each category. This was consistently not the case across the Stuart period. The concept of upcycling country food by the gentry has already been presented and indeed is one of the most relevant findings of this piece of work. From this standpoint one could go on to predict that the mass participation in dishes which required specific ingredients such as sugar ultimately caused the price of this commodity to be reduced and thus enable the ordinary class to pepper their country dishes with a touch of courtly eloquence.

It is not the story of sugar alone which witnesses a fusion of courtly and country dining traditions. At the opposite end of the social spectrum sits the wholly country dish of pease pottage, which when upcycled by the gentry became a dish including sugar, spices and a decent cut of meat. The question seems then to be one of culinary ownership. Did the ordinary class have a de facto claim on typically country foods, being their own, and did the gentry have a de facto claim on sugar, spices and eventually tea? Throughout the investigation into this topic a great deal of evidence has surfaced which indicates that such a theory cannot be sustained. The courtly and country foods of 17th-century London can be traced with relative ease but where their boundaries lie is not so easy to establish. Having said that, the nine areas of convergence which have successfully been identified in the analysis indicate that courtly and country dining should not be viewed not as two rigid, separate entities but as fluid

objects of which convergence at specific times and places can positively be verified in the food history of 17th-century London.

The final point of conclusion then is a consideration of London's food history per se. With the foresight of the eclectic melting pot it has become, it is easy to forget the courtly and country footing upon which it was established. History is largely accountable for this. During the reign of the Stuarts London became a home for French, Jewish, German and Dutch migrants who for various reasons were expelled from their native lands. Although it has not been the central theme of this thesis, in researching the culinary implications of their presence has been a constant subtle consideration. Equally, the Jews who were permitted to live in Britain again after the repeal of the legislation of 1209 which expelled them gives further food for thought. Their imprint on London's food scape, alongside the Huguenots, Jews, Germans and Dutch would be a further direction of expansion of this thesis, if such an opportunity were to arise.

Certainly it would make sense to carry out a food survey of 17th-century London in conjunction with the successful establishment of such ethnic groups. Maybe this is the element which combined with the notions of courtly and country culinary trends out of which the category of Londoners' food was born. Throughout the process of researching this thesis one grey area, and one which has many considerations and implications, is that of whether it is correct to identify food available in 17th-century London as London cuisine. The categorisation of English and continental food, courtly and country food has been established but the concept of London food is noticeable by its absence in the literature. London food may be a label which never can be placed on the capital city of England simply because it is such a diverse place.

From the vivid impression of 17th-century London which has been strongly conveyed in the literature there are other hints at the social division of courtly and country categories. This area, which is strongly hierarchical, is the social division of courtly and country social categorisation according to the clothes, including both the quality of material one could afford, the style of garment worn and the volume of outfits a 17th-century Londoner could own. The expansion of the 17th-century social marker of courtly and country into the realm of clothes would track the journey of food to some extent in the same manner. The influence of imperial expansion such as that of the EIC to the East and the Atlantic New World discoveries in the West arguably are monumental events which strongly left their mark on materials available, vibrant colours on offer and the desire to participate in the fashion trends which can

be identified in the English capital under the Stuarts. A further area of potential research, given sufficient funding and access to the archives, might be an investigation into the correlation between clothing and food consumption. This topic would be particularly interesting in cases where the persons concerned gain or lose social prestige and adjust their consumption of cloth and food stuffs accordingly.

One last reflective thought on the study of the food history of 17th-century London – and indeed of England – is one of how this phase of food history shaped the national cuisine which emerged in later centuries, in some cases not so distant ones. The steady consumption of beef throughout the Stuart years would later be combined with the potato, roasted, and combined with further side dishes of vegetables, stuffing and Yorkshire puddings covered in gravy; with that one of England's most famous dishes was created, roast beef. Throughout the Stuart period from the accession of James I to the throne to the death of Anne, the development of the roast beef dinner can be observed. Furthermore, there are some authors who claim that it was already a national dish during the 17th century.

Traces of the arrival of the curry in the English capital again show the emergence of what would eventually become a national dish. Although the first Indian restaurant did not open in London until the 18th century and the first formal recipe was not written down until Hannah Glasse's cookbook of 1747, the curry is a dish which can be glimpsed in the 17th century. In this light the Stuart era can be viewed as a century of culinary experimentation and foundation. Similarly, the dish of jellied eels which is strongly connected to the East End of London today also has its roots in Stuart London. The fact that in Stuart times eels were a dish of both courtly and country class was a culinary trend which would not last. With the geographical demarcation of London into its East End and West End divide which we know today, the consumption of eels firmly migrated to the East End with London's country class, which, with industrialisation of the 18th century, would become synonymous with the working class.

In taking a step back and reflecting on the wider courtly and country demarcation of 17th-century London society this division is a distinction which can be applied to a multitude of entities beyond the subject of food. Similarly, although the courtly and country classes lived in relative proximity to one another the lives they led on the whole were poles apart. Yet there are many examples of these two worlds interacting and in some circumstances feeling a sense of duty to one another. The building of alms houses at the end of the Stuart period is just one example of how the well-heeled members of society reached out to London's poorest.

There were of course always those who lived far below the margins of even the ordinary class citizens of 17th-century London. With the inclusion of such a diverse range of social status courtly and country as a generalisation is a model which cannot be applied with black and white precision. It encompasses so many shades of grey. Nevertheless, specific instances of convergence can be gleaned which makes investigating this topic and period of history very worthwhile.

However, despite the ability to identify specific convergences, one thread left untied in this whole project is the unveiling of concrete amounts of foods which both the courtly and country class consumed in 17th-century London. Indeed, in English historical circles it is debatable as to whether such definitive data can be elicited at all. Some authors have produced pie charts and graphs based on their readings of primary sources but each of these have their own focuses and rely on limited historical information which cannot be generalised. Therefore, the state of historical research on Stuart England at the moment can only offer us narratives which indicate the frequent consumption of country staple foods by the ordinary classes and approximate consumption of certain food groups such as meat. The courtly class, on the other hand, appear to have had no limits upon the frequency with which they consumed all manner of foods as long as they had the funds to support their culinary indulgences. The courtly and country demarcation per se is one which offers great clarity at times while at others important details remained blurred. Despite the nature of this analytical tool, it does in a small way aid the study of Stuart London's food history and indeed Stuart history per se, and with that the purpose of this thesis is fulfilled.

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Appendix

Victualling and eating out

Table 11.2 Presence of goods by ranked frequency, in St Sepulchre and St Giles in the Fields parishes inventories, 1660–1740

1660–80		1690–1710		1720–40	
Object	Frequency	Object	Frequency	Object	Frequency
Fireirons	38	Spits	42	Saucepans	48
Spits	36	Firegrate	41	Pewter plates	44
Roasting jack	35	Roasting jack	41	Pewter dishes	43
Brass kettles	34	Frying pans	35	Roasting jack	39
Iron pots	33	Saucepans	33	Ceramics[a]	38
Frying pans	28	Pewter dishes	31	Spits	37
Skillets	26	Pewter plates	30	Gridiron	34
Pewter dishes	26	Brass pots	28	Drinking pots	32
Pewter porringers	23	Gridirons	26	Trivets	31
Pewterwares[b]	22	Drinking pots	25	Hot drinks goods[c]	29

Notes Each period sample comprised fifty inventories. [a]'Ceramics' includes all specified and unspecified assemblages of earthen- and stonewares, but not porcelain china. [b]'Pewterwares' denotes parcels of unspecified pewter recorded in inventories, which could contain both table and hearth goods. [c]'Hot drinks goods' denotes equipment for preparing and consuming tea, coffee, chocolate, etc.

[157]

    The above study of fifty inventories offers a further angle through which the whole topic of this thesis can be examined; through the evolution of cooking equipment available. In any historical period or geographical location access to decent equipment was essential to producing an excellent meal. As can be observed from these parish inventories the peaks and troughs in the availability of culinary equipment is clear. This implies both technological process in terms of a newer piece of equipment replacing an older one and a reflection of the changing eating and drinking habits in London. The category of 'hot drink goods' being included in the inventories by 1720 is one such example.

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[157] *Pennell,* 'Great Quantities of gooseberry pye', 241.