A recipe for “buknade”, a thick meat stew, in a copy of the Forme of Cury, a handwritten cooking manual composed by the master cooks of Richard II, the King of England from 1377 to 1399. The instructions call for “hens or rabbits or veal or other flesh”, ground almonds, currants, sugar, ginger powder, herbs stewed in drippings, onions, rice flour for additional thickening as needed, and saffron for color. This and other English culinary texts from 1300-1700 are discussed in an article by Sarah Peters Kernan (see p. 3 inside).
HOUSTON CULINARY HISTORIAN MARTHA B. TAYLOR, 1929-2020

Martha Brooks Taylor, who passed away at her home in Houston last Dec. 18 at the age of 91, was a founding member of the Houston Culinary Historians and a longtime friend of our own organization. She spoke to CHAA in Oct. 1994 about one of her areas of expertise: “Opuntia: Prickly Pear Cactus, Food for the 21st Century”. Martha’s survivors include two children, eight grandchildren, and eight great-grandchildren.

Born and raised in Texas, Martha (or MarthaLu to her friends) studied English Literature and Theatre at Baylor University—the same school where her grandfather, Samuel Palmer Brooks, had been the longtime President, including in the year when Martha was born. Not long after graduating there she met her husband, Everett William (Bill) Taylor, when they were both working at KPRC, Houston’s first TV station.

She was later employed as a travel agent, and she herself traveled widely. She was admired for her sophistication and hospitality. Martha served on the board of the Girl Scouts of America and was also active in the Houston Rotary Club. She amassed a large collection of cookbooks, and studied the culinary history of the U.S. as well as of other world regions; she was especially interested in the foods of Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey.

The Houston Culinary Historians was co-founded in the late 1980s by Martha and others, notably Cathleen Baird Huck and Alice and Robert Arndt. Several of them were scholars employed at museums, journals, or universities, and HCH took a serious approach to culinary history. Every several months a new topic was selected for collective study, such as Cajun Cuisine, Vegetarianism, Turkish Foods, or The Potato. All members were asked to do reading and research on the selected topic and to summarize their findings at the group’s meetings. Another feature of HCH was that new officers were chosen every year or two; at various times Martha served as President, Vice President, Treasurer, and as member of the Newsletter Cmte. Besides HCH, she joined several other food groups, including the Culinary Historians of Boston and the International Assn. of Culinary Professionals (IACP). For the IACP’s Food History Special Interest Committee, she helped organize the Endangered Treasures dinner, an annual fundraiser for the preservation of historical cookbooks.

Her culinary interests led Martha to attend meetings and conferences all over the U.S., and in 1993 she traveled to England to speak about the prickly pear cactus at the Oxford Symposium on Food and History. She was also an avid reader and supporter of Repast. In 2001, she took time to send us these encouraging words: “As one of the founders of the Houston Culinary Historians, I have seen many newsletters from the various groups. The CHAA letters which you have been writing are some of the best yet. Thanks for the good job you are doing. Keep up the good work.” We have tried to!

Repast plans to summarize Martha’s work on the prickly pear in the “Fruits of the World” theme issues scheduled for next year.
Reading and Writing Culinary Recipes in England, 1300–1700

by Sarah Peters Kernan

Recipe collections have been circulated among social peers and households since the Middle Ages. While it is difficult to tie many cookbooks and recipe collections to specific people prior to the 17th Century, it is important to remember the people and networks behind these books. Readers could turn to recipes and cookbooks as solid markers of one’s status and of the communities in which people desired, or were expected, to live.

In my larger research project on this topic, an in-progress book, I propose a new framework for considering these early cookbooks and recipes. This framework was shaped not only by the food and structure of recipes, but also by the networks of readers who copied, purchased, and used these texts. I argue that recipe circulation and readership was driven by networks—groups of people who, through their social ties and the desire to codify relationships and hierarchies via both food and text, drove the creation and circulation of English cookbooks.

There are several ways to consider the narrative of recipe production in England, including chronologically, through specific ingredients and culinary preparations, and by major authors and texts. I have instead opted to use several types of book-based evidence to discern major groups of recipe readers and writers over a 400-year period. These types of evidence include diverse textual, codicological, and bibliographical features including dedications, ingredients, mise en page, marginalia, watermarks, and stains found in over 100 cookeries (a term that I will use here to include both manuscript recipe collections and printed cookbooks) in libraries throughout the U.S. and Europe, and tens of digitized books and manuscripts.

There are, naturally, many cookbooks and recipe collections which are outliers, but I have identified five major categories of reader and writer networks from 1300 to 1700. I will provide brief descriptions of these groups and conclude with a summary of why this framework is useful and what we can learn from these networks.

Royal and Noble Households

Many medieval English culinary recipes were closely associated with aristocratic circles. Medieval European court culture was rather homogenized, in that throughout England and the Continent, court cuisine, fashion, entertainment, and traditions remained fairly standardized, with some regional variations. Noble feasting was an example of this standardized practice, and one that was reflected clearly in the cookbooks circulated in medieval England and on the Continent. Many 14th-Century cookbooks, such as the Forme of Cury, associated with the household of Richard II, outline the types of foods served at lavish feasts (see photograph on front page). Whether the recipes were actually being used in the kitchen for culinary instruction and as aides-mémoire, by the household steward for planning feast menus, or as a historical record of the types of dishes a particular household or chef was capable of producing, the circulation of noble recipes reinforced the court culture and cuisine that persisted for centuries through economic ties, religious associations, and familial connections.

Fourteenth-Century cookbooks exhibit their close relationship with the aristocracy in several ways. Some are explicit, as in the Forme of Cury, which trumpets the authorship of the text within Richard II’s household in coordination with the household cooks, physicians, and scribes. In copies of Utilis coquinairo and other manuscripts, the lavish ingredients and preparations suggest a noble background. Birds such as the peacock and the swan, game meats, and many varieties of fish including the lamprey, were accessible only to the wealthiest households. The large quantities of spices also suggest an original authorship and readership within noble circles. Additionally, in these and other manuscripts, the recipes frequently exhibit close relationships to Continental, particularly French, culinary recipes, which speaks to the standardized court cuisine of the period. These noble connections and the circulation of such recipes among households of this status would serve to reinforce the strict social ties and conventions of the late Middle Ages. This was particularly important during the 14th Century, a time of social and economic uncertainty, when the entire population was grappling with disasters such as the Hundred Years’ War, the Black Death, and a series of major famines.

Fifteenth-Century Professionals

Professionals in 15th-Century England, including physicians, lawyers, and merchants, included collections of culinary recipes in their manuscripts. Medical professionals’ manuscripts account for the largest body of these texts: 12 manuscripts housed at the British Library can be definitively traced to ownership by medical professionals, such as physicians and surgeons. This group of manuscripts constitutes nearly 20% of 15th-Century English manuscripts containing cookeries.

The dozen aforementioned manuscripts share several major characteristics that indicate that practitioners not only collected...
and read cookeries, but also used the texts for a purpose other than medical practice or cooking instruction. First, these cookbooks are contained in manuscripts that share similar or identical texts and codicological characteristics; second, the cookeries do not contain the same markings of use as the medical texts in the manuscripts; and third, many cookery recipes contain ingredients which would be difficult or impossible for non-nobles to obtain, rendering the cookeries useless as practical guides for the kitchens of many professional households.

This combination of clues suggests that medical professionals used cookeries for the specific purpose of familiarizing themselves with the types of foods appropriate to their aspirations. We know that practitioners owned these manuscripts and that these cookeries were circulated with other texts regularly read by practitioners. Yet features such as manuscript decoration and the lack of marginalia in the cookeries indicate that they were not used in a kitchen setting. The recipe ingredients further suggest that few physicians or surgeons could have actually produced the final dishes. Together, this evidence leads to the conclusion that practitioners employed these texts to learn about higher-status foods and dishes, even if they could not yet afford them for their own households.

Sixteenth-Century Gentry Readers

As with the emerging professional class in 15th-Century England, in the following century the gentry (the non-noble but landowning upper class) continued to use manuscript and printed texts to codify and disseminate group knowledge and behavior. This group of readers avidly collected and read household and husbandry texts. Cookbooks and other recipe books were an important component of libraries, as these texts served as guides to living in accordance with one’s status.

The first English vernacular cookery, printed in 1500 by Richard Pynson, was originally circulated in manuscript form, as were its two subsequent editions. Other than its nature as a printed book, this Book of Cookery is very much a typical medieval cookery. It looks like a medieval text, with its black gothic typeface, and it reads like one, too, in its menus of several 14th- and 15th-Century noble feasts and 275 late-medieval noble recipes such as bucknade (a thick stew of veal or other meat, usually with a combination of ground almonds, spices, and herbs), leche lombarde (a sweet jelly-like dish sliced into strips), eles in bruet (a strongly seasoned eel soup thickened with bread), and sauce camelyne (made with powdered cinnamon and ginger, vinegar or wine, and often with other spices, currants, and nuts). The Book of Cookery made a noble manuscript cookery available to more people, but the readership was not distant from that of 15th-Century cookbooks. Such a book would appeal to noble households as a tool for planning meals, as well as gentlemen aspiring to be more like their social superiors.

English readers had to wait until 1545 for a brand new cookbook, but it was aimed at gentry readers in every way. This anonymous work, A Proper New Book of Cookery, was popular enough to warrant seven editions from 1545 to the 1570s. A

Proper New Book of Cookery showcased a new bibliographic feature, a title page, to advertise to gentry readers. Rather than giving menus of actual feasts, the book recommended meal courses. It contained recipes for distinctly early-modern dishes such as mutton, stewed tripe, tarts, and snow (a whipped cream served with fruit or other desserts, made by beating egg whites with thick cream, sugar, and rosewater). The recipes are also notable for containing more detailed instructions, a feature that would provide greater assistance in gentry kitchens than in noble ones.

Women Readers of Printed Cookbooks

Just as gentlemen and professionals owned cookeries long before the texts specifically addressed the needs of their class, women owned cookbooks long before they were targeted as consumers. For example, Margaret Parker, the wife of Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker, owned a copy of A Proper New Book of Cookery printed in approximately 1558.

A century after the introduction of the printing press in England, printers there began producing cookbooks for women in the 1570s. Following the 1573 first printing of John Partridge’s *The Treasure of Commodious Conceits*, a text subtitled *The Huswivies Closet, of healthfull prouision*, printers produced a surge of cookbooks for women. Printers and authors identified women as the main consumers of the genre and would continue to do so until the present day. Twenty-three editions of six women’s cookbooks were printed in England from 1573 to 1600; thirty-four editions of eight different books were printed from 1573 to 1609. An overwhelming majority of all printed cookbooks were printed for female readers beginning in 1580. Authors, printers, and booksellers were still targeting the gentry, but book producers viewed gentlewomen, particularly those emulating noble dining and home-keeping practices, as the most likely consumers of this exploding genre.

Sixteenth-Century printed cookbooks for women contained not only culinary recipes and menus, but also medical and domestic advice and recipes. These books projected an image of the ideal gentlewoman: a domestic goddess capable of sustaining her family with delicious meals, curing household medical ailments, furnishing the household with home-crafted inks, perfumes, and powders, all while acting as the consummate hostess for gentle guests, preparing confectionary delights like sweetmeats and preserves. These texts are a mirror of general expectations of gentlewomen during the Tudor period. Yet women of this stature would only perform some of these tasks, and only with assistance from household servants. Typically, gentlewomen would not partake in the physical act of cooking except when cooking crossed over into confectionary and medical preparations. These arts were well within the purview of gentlewomen, as they required expensive ingredients, especially sugar.

**Manuscript Recipe Compilers**

While there are examples from the 16th Century, it was in the 17th Century that men and women from the nobility, gentry, and middling classes began compiling extensive recipe collections in personal manuscripts in great numbers.

These manuscript recipe books contained recipes not only from printed sources, but also recipes collected and gifted from family, friends, and neighbors. The recipes—culinary, medicinal, and household—were usually quite diverse, and often compiled over the course of multiple generations in a family. Recipe collectors recorded an abundance of personal information, as well as evidence of their social networks and communities. Men and women created systems of symbols to note the efficacy of their recipes. They wrote comments in the margins about the culinary process and final results. They even included wills and other family documents in the books, and sometimes practiced their handwriting and arithmetic alongside the recipes.

Hundreds of extant manuscript recipe books dot the archival landscape. Only a handful have been linked together through family and friendship ties, but this promises to be a fruitful area

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ENTERTAINING EDIBLES

RIDDLING PRACTICES IN ENGLISH RECIPES AND MENUS

by Nathalie Cooke and Leehu Sigler

Dr. Nathalie M. Cooke is a Prof. of English at McGill University, where she is also an Associate Dean of Archives & Rare Collections at McGill Library. Her areas of expertise include food writing, Canadian literature, and the history of the book. Dr. Cooke’s publications include, among many others, the essay collection What’s to Eat?: Entrées in Canadian Food History (2009) and an edition of Catharine Parr Traill’s 1855 settler cookbook, The Female Emigrant’s Guide, co-edited with Fiona Lucas. She is also the founding editor of the bilingual, open-access CuiZine: The Journal of Canadian Food Cultures. Leehu Sigler recently completed his master’s degree in English at McGill and is currently employed as project coordinator for The Riddle Project, described below. In the past, he has served as an editor at the Montreal literary journal Scrivener Creative Review and has worked with the government-funded initiative Poetry Matters. In addition to editing and creative writing, his interests also include photography and game design.

If you can guess from hints like these
Your fare take part of when you please.¹

Unless cookbooks have extensive annotations, or better yet, stained and smeared pages that indicate which recipes were in frequent use, they provide limited access to what was actually prepared and consumed. Instead of descriptive practice, they offer evidence of prescriptive practice: that is, what cooks were counselled to produce rather than what was eaten around the table. In contrast to cookbooks, however, authors of literary works rarely have a culinary agenda or a nutritional prescription in mind as they set pen to paper. Their objectives are rhetorical, and detailed accounts of meals and dishes help set the stage for plot and character development. As a result, literary works often allow their readers to comfortably consume the fictional meals served up as credible for the period and locale.

Rather counterintuitively, then, one finds that fictional books, more than the prescriptions found in cookbooks, are an excellent source of information about the fare actually served and enjoyed at particular periods in British culinary history. Take Jane Austen, for example. In the novel Emma (1815), Austen demonstrates how there is often a difference between what is prescribed for dinner and what the guests actually eat. Mr. Woodhouse, Emma’s father, who hosts a supper early in the novel, is one perpetrator of the difference: “He loved to have the cloth laid, because it had been the fashion of his youth, but his conviction of suppers being very unwholesome made him rather sorry to see any thing put on it; and while his hospitality would have welcomed his visitors to every thing, his care for their health made him grieve that they would eat” (Chapter III).² As a result, Emma serves plenty of cakes and wine to Mrs. Bates and Mrs. Goddard after an evening meal, to make “all the amends in her power…for whatever unwilling self-denial his care of their constitution might have obliged them to practise during the meal” (Chapter VIII). She “had provided a plentiful dinner for [Mrs. Bates and Mrs. Goddard]; she wished she could know that they had been allowed to eat it” (Chapter VIII). Clearly, these two women did not consume the dishes that Mr. Woodhouse and Emma prescribed for dinner.

Fictional works also help us understand practices that appeared around the dinner table or during a meal. Jane Austen’s Emma is not only a frequent guest of evening soirees, but a riddle enthusiast. Throughout Austen’s novel, both Emma and Harriet write, solve, and pass along charades, a specific riddling form that first hints at the solution’s individual syllables, and finally offers clues about the whole word or phrase. Indeed, as Jillian Heydt-Stevenson claims, it is possible to understand Austen’s novel as a charade.³ The novel not only shows how riddles, like food, bring individuals together, but details the affinity for word games around the table in the large homes of the day. Emma shows us attitudes toward both food and riddles in ways that cookbooks and recipes alone cannot.

The coexistence of riddles and mealtime descriptions in Emma might appear peculiar to the modern reader. However, this facet of the novel is no coincidence. From the Biblical tale of Samson to the Saturnalia and Twelfth Night traditions, and all the way to the satirical works of 19th Century English journalists and artists, riddles have provided a source of entertainment or challenge at mealtime.

It is here that The Riddle Project, hosted by the McGill University Library and funded by the Social Sciences and Research Council of Canada, was born. In Summer 2018, McGill Library finalized the purchase of manuscripts hailing from the Doncaster area of South Yorkshire, England. The Doncaster recipes collection consists of 15 books, primarily manuscript with some printed, containing over 1,300 culinary and medical handwritten recipes, plus numerous loose recipes also in manuscript, dated 1780-1860; and 1950. Among the cookbooks and scattered papers was a curiosity that bore the title “Enigmatic Bill of Fare”. We came to realize that this was a table setting menu, but a curious one— all of the dishes were written in riddles! After this first discovery, we naturally set about exploring the Enigmatic Bill of Fare and related traditions, finding other examples along the way. We discovered that such unusual and enigmatic menus originated in early 18th-Century England and appeared until the late 19th Century. During the past two years we have come to learn not only what was on the menu, but also about the riddling pastimes that accompanied meals of the period.
Books like *Emma* allow us to be flies on the wall of some of the great homes of Southern England. But *Emma* is important, too, because it offers two valuable clues for how Enigmatic Bills of Fare were used. First, Austen detailed the way coteries shared and copied puzzles amongst themselves, largely in the form of handwritten manuscripts during her time. This practice helps account for the circulation of many Enigmatic Bills of Fare (EBoFs) that are not only similar, but identical, although written in different hands and at different times. Second, Austen described the way conversational exchanges afforded by puzzles, such as the charade, consolidated people, whether friends, families, or lovers. Both meals and riddles enabled a sense of community, accommodating visitors and newcomers while also testing their worthiness for wholehearted adoption into private and familial circles.

But we are getting ahead of ourselves. Let us turn now to the heart of the mystery and reveal this riddling practice recently uncovered thanks to the extensive digitization efforts, databases, and computational tools that make such digital material available and searchable.

**What Can the Doncaster Collection Teach Us?**

If one sat at a table and received a table setting diagram like that presented at the right, one would be surprised. “Move Jack”, “Crooked Sarah”, and “The Grand Seignior’s Dominions” are not typical names for dishes. Puzzle me this!

This Enigmatic Bill of Fare comes from one of two books begun in 1805 by Eliza Smithson (and continued by another hand), found in Hooten Pagnell Hall, Doncaster, Northern England. The Doncaster collection not only contains this cryptic menu, but many recipes, medicinal remedies, and a vast collection of riddles, including the sort of charades that appear in Austen’s *Emma*.

Handwritten manuscripts such as the Doncaster papers luckily contain notes and marginalia that offer clues about the dishes that were enjoyed—or not. One example occurs on a page with the recipe for “Lemon Curd”, where “very good” is written in the top right-hand corner, a clear notation that someone has tried this particular recipe and enjoyed it. Some of the other recipes, such as the one for “Mince Pies”, have an “X” marked off to the side. Clearly these were tried, but it is quite possible that these recipes did not pass the taster’s palate test to warrant a more detailed annotation. Other pages, such as the one bearing the recipe of “Doncaster Yeast”, reveal heavy smudge stains, suggesting that they were handled frequently. Consequently, personal and handwritten manuscripts may demonstrate what people were actually eating in the large homes of England, validating or departing from the prescriptive practices of cookbooks published at that time.
Exchanges evidenced by these recipes are mirrored by the riddles scattered in the Doncaster collection and similar manuscripts. Riddles often have initials or names written beside them, and many identical puzzles appear across multiple manuscripts and later publications. Exchanges implied by the appearance of identical riddles are seen even more clearly in Enigmatic Bills of Fare. For example, some riddling dishes found in the Doncaster papers had appeared some 50 years earlier in other Enigmatic Bills of Fare, and many appeared in similar 18th-Century manuscripts and publications from across the United Kingdom. Since the beginning of The Riddle Project, we have identified several dozen enigmatic menus. Most of them have no unique riddles: their puzzling dishes can be found across multiple different manuscripts. Some of the cryptic menus are even identical despite spanning decades and multiple geographic locations. The circulation of duplicate cryptic dishes and menus suggests that they were used successfully and that hosts extensively copied and enjoyed them. Perhaps, as with the individual riddles in Austen’s novel, friends exchanged such menus by post as challenges?

Although we cannot know for certain, it is likely that guests who were invited to and entertained by an enigmatic dinner copied down the menu for future use, spreading the practice. Such exchanges and the eventual migration of riddling menus to popular journals have allowed us to follow their development and spread across the UK. Our first documented Enigmatic Bill of Fare appeared in 1733. By 1755, identical riddling dishes were served at The King’s Feast for King Charles II. Within a few years, menus from the mid-18th Century began appearing in periodicals from around Suffolk, Exeter, and even as far as Dublin. Indeed, we have discovered riddles identical to those appearing in the earliest discovered Enigmatic Bill of Fare in periodicals dated nearly 80 years later. Clearly, enigmatical dinners were immensely enjoyed, and either the riddles or the dishes—likely both—must have satisfied appetites around the table.

Solving the Enigmatic Bill of Fare

One initial and ongoing challenge of The Riddle Project is solving the dishes’ riddles. In Smithson’s books, the original hand that wrote the riddles provided some answers and a different hand suggested others. This second hand, attempting solutions in pencil, was writing likely some 30 years after Smithson. As she took her pencil to paper, she, too, was stumped by some of the riddles. We imagine that the first hand might have been mistress of the house, whereas the second hand could have been a cook attempting to interpret the culinary solutions.

After several months of research, we decided to emulate the exchanges of our 18th- and mid-19th-Century diners. We exchanged information with others, and we asked for their responses in turn. After transcribing the Doncaster menus and other riddles, we used McGill Library’s blog and social media accounts to show these riddles to as many people as we could, hoping to receive suggestions for answers. Luckily, our crowd-sourcing method yielded many answers, and some riddles even produced multiple possible solutions. Internet outreach allowed us to communicate with food and riddle enthusiasts from across the globe—even in Ireland and New Zealand.

See the next page for a rendering of the Smithson enigmatic table setting (with riddles and answers depicted), recreated with hand-drawn images of the offered foods. Some of the place-setting riddles included clues such as “a part of your shoes stewed” (the answer: “stewed sole”), and “an act of industry & what occasions wrinkles” (‘spin” combined with “age” or “ache” to produce “Spinach”). “One of the Twelve Tribes of Israel” could be “Simeon” (a pun on salmon). But another possible solution is “Issachar” (“Is-a-char”, a potted fish dish popular in the early 19th Century), suggested in one of the crowd-sourced answers that we received.

Certain riddles, such as “a part of your shoes stewed” and “crooked Sarah” (“Sal awry” to produce “Celery”), imply that both wit and a grin were required to understand some of the served dishes. “One of the Twelve Tribes of Israel”, as well as “what Adam gave Eve” (a spare rib), both suggest that Biblical knowledge, particularly of the Old Testament, was required as well. General knowledge was also expected of guests, in order for them to know that the “Grand Seignior’s dominion” was “Turkey”, and that the “Tailor’s Racket” was “Cabbage” (small bits of cloth left over from sewing). Evidently, multiple forms of literacy were employed around the table. Hosts tested guests for their general knowledge, familiarity with the Bible, and even their humor, all required to understand the many puns and word games being served. In deciphering these riddles, we discover what fare was being proposed, but we also gain insight into the form of entertainment provided by cryptic menus, as well as hints to how they were enjoyed around the tables of the era.

What We Don’t Know (Yet)

Research into Enigmatic Bills of Fare has taught us where these riddles come from, how they were exchanged, and even what was on the menu in addition to the puzzling entertainment. However, like the historical menu, we can only know what was prescribed for dinner: a healthy dose of riddles and food. What guests actually ate, and how they played with and solved these menus, are questions that still elude us.

Although we found Enigmatic Bills of Fare in all manner of manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and almanacs between the 18th and mid-19th Centuries, we know little about their use around the table. Were they employed as invitations for a meal, sent as menu cards to other guests, as implied by one riddling poem titled “An Invitation to an Entertainment with the Bill of Fare” from 1780? Perhaps the solutions to the riddling dishes were revealed as food was served? If so, then perhaps they were primarily used for personal collections, allowing people to copy amusing puzzles to take home as souvenirs.

Jane Austen’s Harriet behaved similarly, “collecting and transcribing all the riddles of every sort that she could meet with” (Chapter IX). Iona and Peter Opie, in their landmark publication about children’s riddling practices, note how important is the step of copying and memorizing riddles to the tradition and its preservation. For children in particular, one can imagine the sense of pride and intellectual confidence garnered from reciting a riddle, especially if the one at a loss is an adult! Perhaps this intellectual challenge was the purpose and point for guests around an Enigmatic Bill of Fare, which was also known as “The Intellectual Feast” in at least five separate
manuscripts and publications.

Then again, maybe riddles simply made feasters laugh as guests succeeded or failed to solve a menu placed on their plates. Or perhaps those who typically find social situations awkward were put more at ease by conversation starters readily at hand. Enigmatic Bills of Fare are artifacts that offer us glimpses of the food and riddles prescribed. But what actually happened around the table? Surely that is food for our own dinner table conversation.

Now What?

Until now, our research into Enigmatic Bills of Fare has been extensive but has nevertheless proven just how much more needs to be discovered. Emma offers hints as to how riddles and food coexisted for the leisure class in the British mansions of the day, suggesting how they were enjoyed, exchanged, and circulated through social coteries. But while Austen’s Emma illustrates the practice of charades in her day, there is no such illustrative guide to Enigmatic Bills of Fare. The lack of contemporaneous sources describing and documenting enigmatic meals of the period continues to leave us wondering.

Despite the obscurity surrounding Enigmatic Bills of Fare, there is still much to uncover about riddles and food. Our research into enigmatic menus has led us to a number of discoveries of other forms of cryptic writings mingled with food-related entertainment pastimes in Great Britain and around the globe. One popular example are Scripture Cakes, a custom that is said to have begun in Ireland and England in the early 1700s. These are recipes written in another kind of code: entirely in Bible verse. (Some Jeremiah 6:20 with your coffee? That’s “sugar” to most of us.)

All of our research to date, including the evolution of Enigmatic Bills of Fare from the UK across the Atlantic, is available on McGill University Library’s Quartex exhibition titled “Food Riddles and Riddling Ways”. The Library Matters series at McGill also features ongoing articles on riddle-related items, and both the ‘Riddles in Time’ Instagram as well as the Riddle Project Github present previous and ongoing research.

Although the British Enigmatic Bill of Fare changed and ultimately disappeared after the 19th Century, we continue to keep an eye open for related practices. Even today, many restaurants and bars still keep the tradition alive by combining enigmas and food in unique ways. At The Mad Hatter in Oxford, for example, guests are required to answer a riddle to enter the establishment. House rules dictate in all caps: “NO RIDDLE NO ENTRY”. Many other modern speakeasies employ similar measures, requiring guests to find a secret door, discover a secret menu, or provide a code in order to enter the establishment.

continued on next page
**RIDDLING PRACTICES continued from page 9**

But we, too, have decided to sustain the tradition. As Emma asked Mr. Elton: “Why will not you write one yourself for us?” (Chapter IX). He refused, horrified, only to provide a charade the following day. We have followed suit. In our pandemic and post-pandemic age, where much of our collaboration and research is conducted digitally, we have found time to create, share, and laugh about riddling meals through online platforms. So what do food and riddles have in common that makes them such unlikely allies over hundreds of years? *Emma* suggests the answer to that riddle, too: they bring people together.

**Endnotes**

1. From “An Invitation to an Entertainment with the Bill of Fare”, part of “Pleasing Variety for Miss Mary Arnold”, a 184-page bound manuscript of verses by a Mrs. Stapleton, England, ca. 1780, MS.1987.001 in Early Modern English Manuscripts Collection, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Univ. of California, Los Angeles. Available at https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/21198/nn1t306.

2. All citations to Jane Austen’s *Emma* are taken from the Project Gutenberg version available at http://www.gutenberg.org/files/158/158-h/158-h.htm.


4. The answers are “Sturgeon”, “Celery”, and “Turkey”.

5. Page 22 of *Doncaster Recipes*, one of the book-length manuscripts in the Doncaster papers at McGill’s Rare Books and Special Collections, Manuscript Collection, MSG 1230.

6. Page 12 of *Doncaster Recipes*.

7. Page 56 of *Recipes from Doncaster*, another one of the book-length manuscripts in the Doncaster papers.

8. See for example the charade: “My first is equality; my second is inferiority; my whole is superiority.” (“Matchless” and “Peerless” are possible answers: in either case, consider the two individual syllables, and then the entire word.) Although this charade appears in a popular riddle compendium by the pseudonymous Peter Puzzlewell in 1794, we have found this handwritten charade in the Diaries of Lady Anne Romilly (MS207 in Birmingham Cadbury Library, p. 1) from 1793, as well as in manuscripts owned by Elizabeth Berney from 1788 (MS.2016.009 in UCLA Clark Library, p. 2).

9. Some of the most popular repetitions include riddles such as “the divine part of man” or “the immortal part of man” (the answer to which is either heart or soul/sole); “A Dutch Prince” (orange pudding), an example of which actually appears in the second course of an incomplete Smithson table setting; as well as variations of riddles with the answer spare-rib, which can include “What Adam gave to Eve”, “Adam’s wife in her virgin state”, or even “a lean wife” (The Riddle Project, “BOF_Unique Riddles”, 2020).

10. For example, the 1808 receipt book of Sarah Yeates in Pennsylvania has an enigmatic menu identical to the English MS.1987.001 from ca. 1780 (see endnote 1).


**CULINARY RECIPES continued from page 5**

of study. Many recipe books can be connected to individual owners and compilers, and many recipes are attributed by name to the donors who provided the texts. Part of my current work in progress is documenting these people and connections so as to better understand this category of networks of recipe readers and writers.

**Conclusions**

Considering the history of English cookbook production through the framework of reader and writer networks is useful in a number of ways. First, through networks we can see the impact of these cookbooks and recipes on book production and circulation, the limits of early print and its intertwining with manuscript culture, and the development of culinary habits over time. Second, unraveling the web of recipe reader and writer networks in conjunction with concurrent changes in food trends and book production is important in demonstrating the growth of the cookery genre and the rapid expansion of readership in the 15th and 16th Centuries. This expansion of readership furthermore supports a broader claim in my research that a widespread audience existed for manuscript cookeries prior to the introduction of print and the subsequent explosion in cookbook production. These early reader networks shaped the prodigious circulation of recipes among families and individuals in 17th, and 18th-Century recipe books and the parallel circulation and readership of cookbooks as printed texts.

Over the course of several centuries, distinct groups of recipe readers and writers yearned for cookbooks that reflected their social identities. We can assess from the longevity and popularity of cookbooks the degree to which these communities had some connection to the recipes within, and the social identities that these texts asserted.

**Further Reading**


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How English Mustard Powder Became an “Off the Shelf” Product

This coming year, or thereabouts, will mark 300 years since the introduction of Durham’s, the first commercial dry mustard. Mustard was widely used in England as a condiment or as an ingredient in salad dressings, sauces, or deviled meats and other cooked dishes. In centuries prior, English households had been purchasing whole dried mustard seeds to be crushed in the kitchen or at the table with a mortar and pestle. In 1722 (or by some reports, 1720 or 1729), the matriarch of a family by the name of Clements, in Durham, North East England, had the idea to fine-mill the seeds into a powder, much as wheat grains were ground into flour. By the 1760s, Durham’s and other brands of bottled English dry mustard were being exported to North America. A century later Isabella Beeton commented on the history of the product, as follows:

From the circumstance of Mrs. Clements being a resident at Durham, it obtained the name of Durham mustard. In the county of that name it is still principally cultivated, and the plant is remarkable for the rapidity of its growth. It is the best stimulant employed to impart strength to the digestive organs, and even in its previously coarsely-pounded state, had a high reputation with our ancestors (Mrs Beeton’s Book of Household Management [London, 1861]).

Durham was eventually acquired by a rival brand, Colman’s of Norwich. In England, mustard continued to be purchased mainly in dry form, even long after the industrialization period following World War 2. For more on mustard history, see the recent book by Dr. Demet Güzey, Mustard: A Global History (Reaktion Books, 2019).

— RKS

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The Thoroughly Modern Eliza Acton

Last year marked the 175th anniversary of the first edition of Eliza Acton’s Modern Cookery, in All Its Branches (London, 1845). The book’s format was itself an advance: It was Acton’s original idea that each recipe should describe the cook’s steps, followed by a list of ingredients and the total cooking time needed. In addition to the first published use of kidney in beef pie, Modern Cookery included such recipes as pig’s ears and feet, venison, sturgeon, conger eel, domestic as well as wild pigeon, corn polenta, hominy, and Anglo-Indian curries and chutneys. It was also the first English cookbook to use the words “Brussels sprout”, spaghetti (“sparghetti”), or “Christmas pudding” (for plum pudding). Eventually it was eclipsed by Isabella Beeton’s Book of Household Management (1861), which drew many of its recipes from Acton’s earlier book. — RKS
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**RIDDLING PRACTICES continued from page 10**

12. The King’s Feast, served for Charles II in 1755, held by the British Library (MSS 15956) and transcribed by India Mandelkern (https://homogastronomicus.blogspot.com/2011/05/the-kings-feast.html).

13. See, for example, the Enigmatic Bill of Fare appearing in *The Lady’s Monthly Museum* (1812).


23. For instance, the bars Callooh Callay and The Chelsea Prayer Room in London are hidden and require that guests know a secret four-digit code to enter (https://www.squar emeal.co.uk/restaurants/best-for/best-speakeasy-london_9356).
TALK SUMMARY

HOW CHAO AND CHIANG CHANGED CHINESE-AMERICAN CUISINE

by Randy K. Schwartz

Before World War 2, Chinese-American restaurant owners chose their food and décor to appeal to Chinese manual laborers and to uninformed Americans. The owners, most of them from the Guangzhou (Canton) area of southeastern China, were happy to cater to the rather unadventurous tastes of their non-Asian customers, who preferred chop suey, chow mein, and a few other canonical dishes compatible with the “Chinese-ey” foods being marketed by La Choy and other firms. But in 1943 the U.S. finally repealed its Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and in the years that followed the country began to take in ethnic Chinese from many other areas of China and from other countries of East and Southeast Asia.

Two immigrants who changed how Americans think about Chinese food were the focus of a Feb. 1 presentation via Zoom, “Culinary Luminaries: Buwei Yang Chao and Cecilia Chiang”. The event was the first in a series on the theme “Food and Power”, presented by the Food Studies Program at the Schools of Public Engagement of the New School University in Manhattan. Chef and author Kian Lam Kho spoke about Mrs. Chao, Yale history professor Paul Freedman spoke about Mrs. Chiang, and independent scholar Andrew Coe of Brooklyn served as moderator.

Buwei Yang Chao (1889-1981) was born in Nanjing in northeastern China, and was adopted and raised by a wealthy family. She became a gynecologist practicing Western medicine, eventually in Beijing, but later shelved her career to raise a family. The academic work of her husband Yuen Ren Chao, a linguist, brought the family to Cambridge, MA, in 1938. There, Mrs. Chao began to write down recipes in Chinese. With transcription and editing help from her husband and their daughter Rulan, she published the pioneering work How to Cook and Eat in Chinese (New York: John Day Co., 1945).

Mr. Kho explained that the book, with a Preface by renowned novelist Pearl S. Buck, was critically well received and had a huge influence, introducing refined and authentic Chinese food to American readers. Part 1, entitled “Cooking and Eating”, was an overview of Chinese culinary culture, ingredients, and preparation techniques. It included the first English-language distinction between the Chinese foods prepared for a full meal (fan) and those for a snack (tien-hsin), and it discussed customs in tableware, communal dining, and banquets. In Part 2, “Recipes and Menus”, Mrs. Chao’s firsts included discussions of red-cooked meats (which are large pieces braised in soy sauce, wine, and spices), stirring, the hot pot (for chafing), and pot stickers (a Northern China specialty, dumplings cooked in a shallow pan to crisp the undersides). English phrases such as “red cooking”, “stir fry”, and “pot sticker” were first coined by Yuen Ren Chao for use in this book. Mr. Kho added that Mrs. Chao was a prolific writer. Her other books were An Autobiography of a Chinese Woman (1947) and How to Order and Eat in Chinese to Get the Best Meal in a Chinese Restaurant (1974).

The late Sun Yung (Cecilia) Chiang (1920-2020) grew up in a large family that lived near Shanghai and later in Beijing. They were very wealthy—in fact, they had two hired cooks, one for each food genre! Upon the Communist victory in 1949, Cecilia and her husband, economist Chiang Liang, moved to Tokyo, where they raised a family and she co-founded a Chinese restaurant called the Forbidden City. In the late 1950s the family moved to San Francisco, where Cecilia opened The Mandarin on Polk Street; a rave review by SF Chronicle columnist Herb Caen put it on the map. Later, it became an elegant 300-seat place on Ghirardelli Square near Fisherman’s Wharf, and another branch was established in Beverly Hills, CA.

Mrs. Chiang’s key contribution as restaurateur was similar to Mrs. Chao’s as writer: to bring authentic regional Chinese food to the U.S. and to convince Americans to see it as gourmet fare. Prof. Freedman, who conversed with Cecilia at length in researching his 2016 book Ten Restaurants That Changed America, recounted that she said her restaurant dishes were reconstructed purely from her memories of them in China. She maintained exacting standards in food preparation; for instance, she insisted that ingredients be cut into very uniformly-sized pieces so that they’d cook evenly. She looked down on earlier Cantonese restaurateurs as uncultured and aiming too low, while in more recent years she had become alarmed that even regional Chinese food in the U.S. was becoming watered down and stereotypical. Mrs. Chiang left us two memoirs: The Mandarin Way (1974) and The Seventh Daughter: My Culinary Journey from Beijing to San Francisco (2007). She sold The Mandarin in 1991, and two years later her son Philip Chiang co-founded the restaurant chain P. F. Chang’s China Bistro, omitting the letter “i” in the surname.

Red-Cooked Meat Proper: Plain

From Buwei Yang Chao, How to Cook and Eat in Chinese, pp. 52-53.

For this type of Red-Cooked Meat, the order of preference of cuts should be: fresh bacon, fresh shoulder, fresh ham, pork chop.

3-4 lbs. pork, 1 tsp. salt
1 cup water, 4 slices ginger (if
2 Tbsp. sherry you can get it)
½ cup soy sauce, ½ Tbsp. sugar

Wash meat, cut into 1- or 1½-inch cubes. Put meat and 1 cup water in a heavy pot and use big fire. When it boils, add sherry, soy sauce, salt, and ginger. Cover pot tight and cook over very low fire for 1⅓ hours. (In case of pork chop, use only 1 hour here.) Then add sugar. Again, over low fire, cook for ½ to 1 hour. Test meat [for doneness by inserting a fork or chopstick].
C.H.A.A. ZOOMS FORWARD

The monthly online Zoom talks presented during this pandemic year by the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor have been greeted with thunderous applause and have spread awareness of CHAA across the country and overseas. We included summaries of the four Fall 2020 talks in our Winter 2021 issue, and we will summarize the January through June talks in our Summer issue.

The series of Sunday afternoon talks is organized by our Program Chair, Glenda Bullock, in collaboration with our hosting partner, the Ann Arbor District Library (AADL). Before introducing each speaker, Glenda briefly introduces the viewers to CHAA and encourages them to check out our website. So far, our organization has gained about two dozen new members and subscribers due to these events.

The free online programs, each lasting about one hour including a question-and-answer segment, are drawing 60-120 participants, or in the February case over 300 of them thanks to a “plug” from the New York Times. People have tuned in “live” from as far away as Honolulu, Vancouver, London, and Istanbul. The AADL staff edits the recordings and posts them on its YouTube channel; links are available via the CHAA website (https://culinaryhistoriansannarbor.org/program-schedule).

The Feb. 21 program featured author Linda Civitello speaking from her home in Connecticut about “Baking Powder Wars: The Cutthroat Food Fight That Revolutionized Cooking.” Pre-registered participants received Linda’s handout with her baking-powder adaptation of a recipe for “Good Common Cake”, originally leavened with pearl ash in The Cook Not Mad, or Rational Cookery (Watertown, NY, 1831). The handout noted that the 1831 cookbook is part of the digitized collection of 76 American cookbooks available on the website of the Feeding America Project at Michigan State University. Linda continued, “Jan Longone, Curator of American Culinary History at the Clements Library, University of Michigan, and one of the founders of the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor, wrote an essay about the history of cookbooks to introduce the Feeding America Project. Every food historian owes Jan a great debt.”

In addition to the 300+ who tuned in “live” for the Feb. 21 talk, nearly 500 views of the AADL recording have been tallied. A woman wrote to us from Poughkeepsie, NY:

I read about Linda Civitello’s presentation in the NY Times and signed on, with low expectations that it would hold my interest. Well, was I wonderfully surprised! It was absorbing, fascinating, highly accessible and frequently as funny as it was enlightening. I spent long parts of 2 phone conversations afterward passing along my delight and nuggets of the history I’d learned. Congratulations to Ms. Civitello - so knowledgeable and so down to earth - you, and the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor for a terrific event. I’ll keep my eye out for others.

CHERYL MACKRELL 1940-2021

Cheryl Melby MacKrell, who had worked during her retirement as a volunteer at the Janice Bluestein Longone Center for American Culinary Research, passed away in her Ann Arbor home last Feb. 27 at age 80. She is survived by her husband John and by her two children, two grandchildren, and one great-grandchild.

A native of Ann Arbor, Cheryl attended college at the Univ. of Iowa, then returned to Ann Arbor to earn a master’s degree in French literature at the Univ. of Michigan (UM) in 1966. She had a career as a French teacher at Pioneer High School. She was also a teach-in organizer for the nation’s first Earth Day (UM, 1970), an early volunteer with Recycle Ann Arbor, and an activist in local, state, and national political campaigns. Her lifelong love of music led her to marriages with James Melby (whom she met at the Interlochen Festival) in 1959, and with John MacKrell (whom she met at church choir) in 1987.

Cheryl was also an excellent cook, and enjoyed preparing what she called “peasant food” for family and friends. At UM’s Longone Center, one of the leading research archives of American culinary history, she was part of a team of docents cataloging thousands of culinary books, manuscripts, periodicals, menus, and ephemera, most of which had recently been donated by CHAA co-founders Jan and Dan Longone. At the CHAA program “The Docents Speak” (Sept. 16, 2001), Cheryl summarized for us her study of the advertising wars between Royal Baking Powder and its rivals, as well as ads for General Mills “Betty Crocker” products, ads from stove and utensil manufacturers, and radio and newspaper ads.
In conjunction with our current focus on English culinary history, readers might enjoy listening to “Laura Mason— On British Culinary Traditions” (57 mins.), which is the podcast episode number 27 (Nov. 2020) of Tanya Gervasi’s series “Green World” and is available on Spotify (https://open.spotify.com/show/4saxSEScOd46B8k5AZ1B7i). In this interview Mason, the well-known author and culinary historian who passed away in February at age 63, informally describes her lifelong engagement with food, cooking, and gastronomy, starting with her childhood on a dairy farm in Upper Wharfedale in the Yorkshire Dales. Her interest in culinary history was sparked as a teenager there, when she found an edition of Sir Hugh Plat’s Delights for ladies (1600) on the bookshelves of her family’s farmhouse. She earned a degree in home economics and began writing about cookery in the 1970s. In addition to more than a dozen cookbooks about regional food traditions, her later works included Traditional Foods of Britain: A Regional Inventory (1999), which is a survey of the origin and production of about 400 dishes; Farmhouse Cookery (2004), written as part of the National Trust’s “Farming Forward” campaign to promote foods grown on British farms; and several books on the history of sweets.

In the Africville Kitchen: The Comforts of Home (Africville Heritage Trust, 2020), co-authored by Juanita Peters, Claudia Castillo-Prent and Adina Fraser-Marsman, is a cookbook documenting the foodways of Africville, Nova Scotia. Africville, a community of African Canadians that was located on the northern shore of Halifax Harbour, lasted for about 100 years before it was demolished in the 1960s to make way for industrial development. There are few remnants today other than the Africville Museum (https://africvillemuseum.org). Copies of this cookbook can be purchased via the museum website; all proceeds from sales go to the museum’s Scholarship Fund.

Several friends of the CHAA have published new books in the last two years—

- A Japanese New Year recipe book is the latest work by Lucy Seligman of Richmond, CA, who was a key member of CHAA and wrote frequently for this periodical in the early 1990s when she lived in Ann Arbor. In The Wonderful World of Osechi: Japanese New Year’s Recipes (Independently published, 2019), we learn why Shogatsu, the four-day New Year holiday, is one of the best times for eating and relaxing in Japan. People there prepare their holiday foods a day or two in advance, believing that the whole year can be happy and prosperous if it is launched properly on Jan. 1. Lucy, formerly the proprietor of her own cooking school in Japan, is an author and lecturer and runs a cooking school, Lucy’s Kitchen, in Richmond.
- Annabel Jackson’s new work, The Making of Macau’s Fusion Cuisine: From Family Table to World Stage (Hong Kong Univ. Press, 2020), which covers both Macau itself and its diaspora, spotlights the central role of food customs in forming and maintaining Macanese cultural identity. This cuisine arose when the home cooking of Portuguese missionaries mixed with culinary influences by land and sea, from South China and from further afield in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Jackson, a writer and researcher based in the UK, lived in Hong Kong for more than two decades and has been visiting Macau for 30 years. She holds an M.A. in the Anthropology of Food from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, where she is currently completing her Ph.D. in that field. She is the author of 13 books, including 6 cookbooks on Asian cuisines, and she wrote “Aroma, Taste and Memory at Home and in the Diaspora: Macanese Cuisine and Cultural Identity” for Repast (Spring 2017).
- Toni Tipton-Martin, in her latest book Jubilee: Recipes from Two Centuries of African American Cooking (New York: Clarkson Potter, 2019), uncovers how Black cooks shaped American cuisine, often in hidden ways. For example, in introducing some cornbread recipes, she discusses how cornbread dressing arose when enslaved people sought to recreate kusha, an African dish of steamed or boiled grains of millet or sorghum. Those and other recipes in her book are adapted from her collection of nearly 400 historical African-American cookbooks, and they reflect the food customs mostly of prosperous homes. Ms. Tipton-Martin, who is Editor in Chief of Cook’s Country magazine and TV show, began her journalism career as nutrition writer at the Los Angeles Times and rose to become one of the first African-American food editors in the U.S., at the Cleveland Plain Dealer in 1991. For Repast (Spring 2013) she wrote the article, “A 19th-Century Author Breaks a Stereotype: Robert Roberts’s House Servant’s Directory”.
- Executive Chef Arno Schmidt has completed an illustrated life story, Looking into Kitchens around the World (Independently published, 2020). Readers become his companions on his journey from home cooking and an apprenticeship in his native Austria immediately after WW2, to his restaurant work in seven other countries, including at the Grand Royal Hotel in Stockholm, the Hotel Victoria in Zermatt, Switzerland, and the Regency, St. Regis, and Waldorf-Astoria Hotels in New York. Chef Schmidt wrote the memoir “Fresh Food in War-Torn Austria” for our Spring 2016 issue, and “How We Loved to Be Romanced at Fine Restaurants” in Summer 2017.
During the pandemic, programs are being held virtually via Zoom starting at 4:00 p.m.

**Sunday, May 16, 2021**
Oswald Rivera, food author, blogger, and vlogger in New York, “Puerto Rican Cuisine in America”.

**Sunday, June 20, 2021**
Sarah B. Hood, journalist, lecturer, and Board member of the Culinary Historians of Canada, “The Marmalade Mavens” (marmalade from ancient times to the present).

**On the Back Burner:** We welcome ideas and submissions from all readers of *Repast*, including for the following planned future issues. Suggestions for future themes are also welcome.
- Summer 2021: Culinary History in England, Part 3
- Fall 2021, Winter 2022: unthemed
- Spring and Summer 2022: Fruits of the World and How to Use Them