

**The Value of Domestic Knowledge:  
Recipes and Receipt Book Manuscripts in the  
Nottinghamshire Households of the Long Eighteenth  
Century**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines receipt book manuscripts of Nottinghamshire households during the long eighteenth century, and explores their value, utility and significance to the individuals and communities that they were situated within, as well as to the scholarly understanding of those who study them. It outlines the structural make-up of regional examples, maps the networks and communities of knowledge that are reflected, and has challenged what it posits as an overly gendered perception of participation in domestic recipe sharing activity during this period.

Through the transcription, categorisation and documentation of sources selected for their local relevance, this thesis contributes a more detailed and nuanced picture of the specific social and cultural landscape in which they were produced. Taking a prosopographical approach has facilitated the critical assessment of the fluid and varied form and structure of receipt book examples, particularly in relation to their functional utility to the individuals, families, and communities that produced and benefited from them. By closely mapping recipe attributions across such a regionally specific sample, it has been able to draw upon source content alongside contextual biographical and supplementary evidence in order to contribute to our understanding of the complexities of local relationships and recipe-networks which are shown to have crossed household, gender, and status boundaries.

## **Acknowledgements**

In the early stages of this research, I was offered the sage advice that I would need an army of trusted supporters. I consider myself incredibly fortunate to have had just that.

I am grateful to my Director of Studies, Dr. Kevin Gould, for encouraging and guiding me along a path of opportunity that I had never even conceived of as a possibility, and to my supervisors, Prof. Martyn Bennett, and Dr. John McCallum, for their invaluable support, guidance, and reassurance throughout. Between you all, you managed to achieve the perfect blend of encouragement, constructive feedback, and gentle mocking to keep me on track. For that, I will be forever grateful.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>UNMASC</b>	University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections
<b>NA</b>	Nottinghamshire Archives
<b>DRO</b>	Derbyshire Record Office
<b>BL</b>	The British Library
<b>ODNB</b>	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
<b>NPG</b>	National Portrait Gallery

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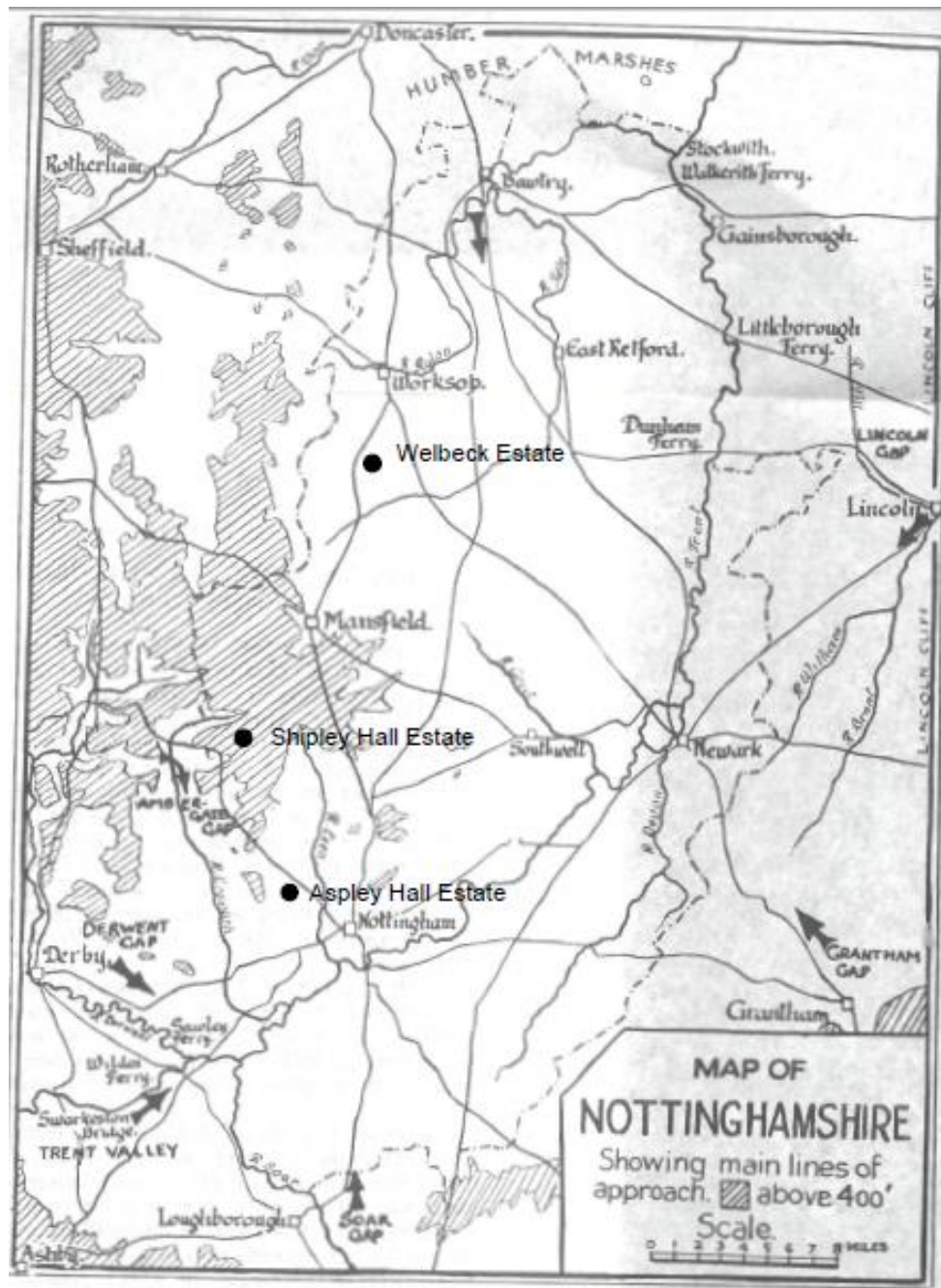
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## **Note on Transcription**

Original spelling and grammar conventions have been retained wherever possible when quoting from primary source material. In instances where this may render the meaning of words or phrases unclear, these have been expanded upon or indicated in brackets. When referring to archival descriptions or secondary editions of primary documents, the conventions employed by their editors have been adopted.

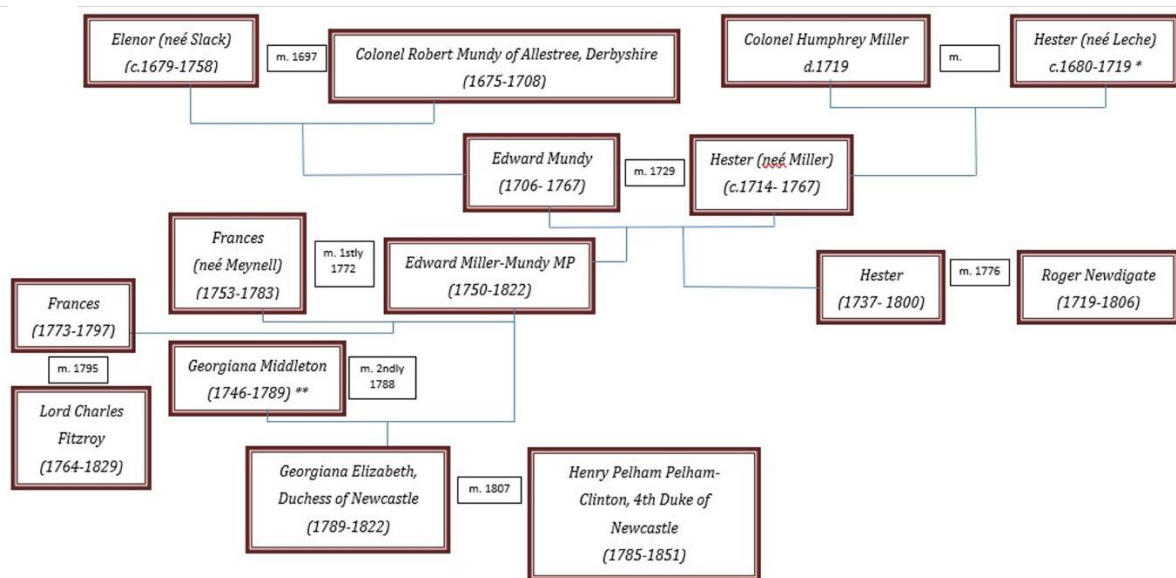
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<sup>1</sup> J.D. Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd: London, 1966), p.79.

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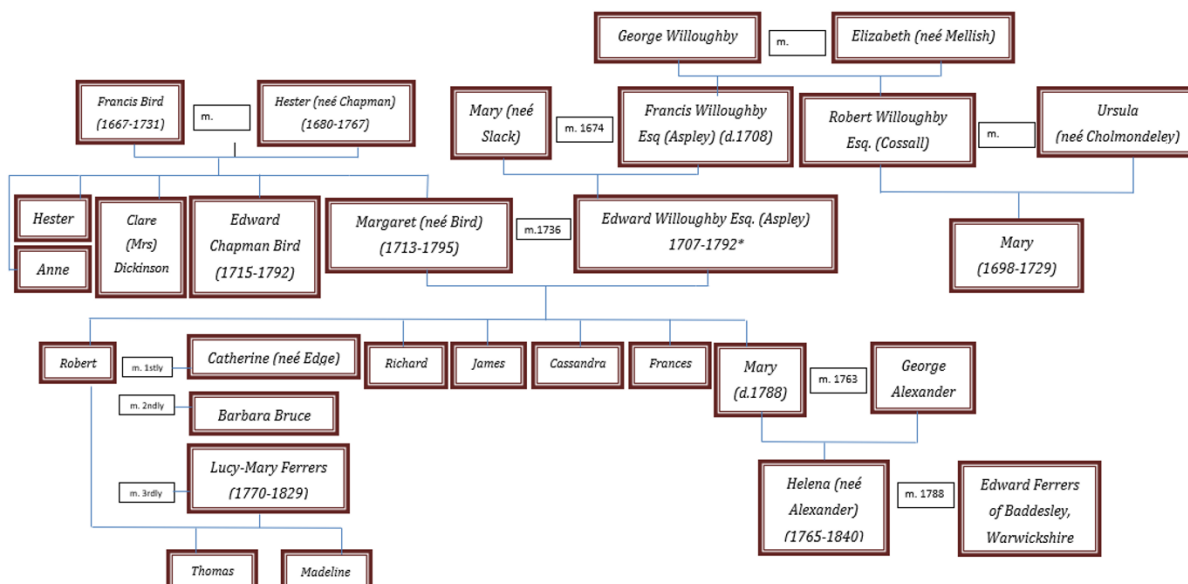


\* Hester Miller (né Leche) was sole heir to the Shipley Estate.

\*\* Lady Georgiana Middleton was widowed from her first husband, Thomas Willoughby, 4<sup>th</sup> Baron Middleton (1728-1781). Her daughter, Georgiana inherited her estates, as well as those of her brother James Chadwick Esq. and her sister, Mrs Whetham.

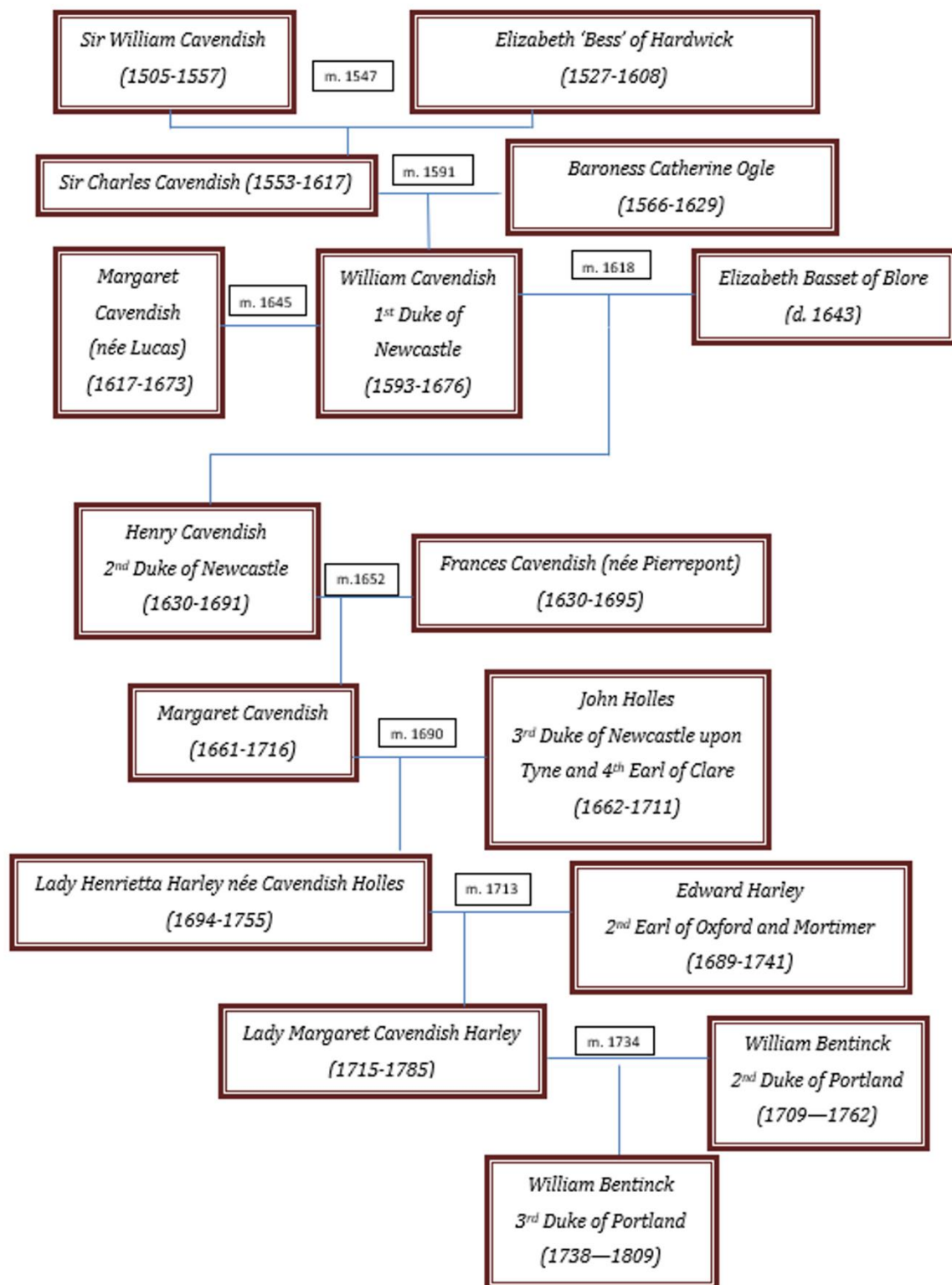
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\* Edward Willoughby Esq inherited the estates of Aspley Wood from his father in 1708 and Cossall from his uncle, Robert, in 1721.

**Fig. IV: Family Tree: Henrietta Harley and the Cavendish/Holles/Harley Family of Welbeck Abbey**



## Introduction

In the early modern period, recipe compilations in both print and manuscript form were known more commonly as 'receipt' books. These were a popular form of writing, with many households collecting culinary and medicinal 'receipts' (or recipes) into bound volumes of favoured examples, gathered either from their own social circles, and/or from printed sources. Surviving manuscript collections, originating largely from aristocratic and gentry households, showcase the large number and diverse content of receipts shared and collected into discrete volumes which varied in style, size, and subject matter. Scholarly understanding and appreciation of these as a window into the everyday domestic matters of food, medicine, cosmetics, and general household knowledge, has grown considerably in recent years, and large-scale digitisation efforts such as The Perdita Project, and the unrivalled selection of recipe collections made available by the Wellcome Library, have made a wealth of these historically valuable sources readily accessible to researchers. Academics with interests ranging between early modern food, medicine, culture, and domestic writing, such as Sara Pennell, Michelle DiMeo, and Elaine Leong, have written widely and convincingly on the broader value of receipt book manuscripts to historians. DiMeo and Pennell's *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, for example, is a published collection of essays which 'rehabilitates the early modern recipe text as more than simply a document of domestic life and a functional text of instruction', and Leong's *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, contends that recipe books 'served a multitude of social and cultural roles... [and] should be read as medical, social and cultural artefacts'.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books, 1550-1800* (Manchester University Press: Manchester and New York, 2013), p.2; Elaine Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge: Medicine Science, and the Household in Early Modern England* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 2018), p.45.



Receipt book scholarship has so far though taken a largely national or transnational approach warranted by the sheer scale, geographical breadth, and the richness of emerging source material to be considered. This has in turn created a tendency for English recipe books and their value to be considered within the broader brushstrokes of a national or international picture. This thesis will instead take a regional prosopographical approach, examining local recipe collections from individuals and households in, or related to, Nottinghamshire. These collections are yet to be mined as the focus of such a detailed study of recipe writing and collecting culture. It is the premise of this thesis that the value and phenomenon of recipe book and receipt-sharing culture was not unique to the fashionable circles of London, or the uppermost aristocratic households, but rather that by taking a regional approach to source analysis it becomes clear that the popularity and ripples of cultural influence extended well beyond this, permeating everyday life in households across local regions. It will therefore contend that through examining recipe sources in detail at a local level, there is much to be learnt about the everyday knowledge, social connections, and inner workings of the early modern household, thereby adding to the wider picture of research in this developing field.

Nottinghamshire represents a useful region upon which to centre such a geographical study; along with an abundant source base in local archives, its rapidly growing population and industrial expansion throughout the eighteenth century firmly established Nottingham as an important and prosperous provincial town, with rapidly developing cultural and commercial links across the wider county and beyond.<sup>2</sup> With easy access to the Great North Road from

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<sup>2</sup> John Beckett (ed.), *A Centenary History of Nottingham* (Phillimore and Co. Ltd: Chichester, 2006), p.1, p.3. See also: Adrian Hemstock (ed.), 'Part II: Early Modern Nottingham' in Beckett (ed.), *A Centenary History of Nottingham*, pp.107-186; John Beckett, 'An Industrial Town in the Making, 1750-1830) in Beckett (ed.), *A Centenary History of Nottingham*, pp.189-219.

London to the northern counties and Scotland, and with the River Trent flowing to the south and east of the town towards the Humber, its central location in the heart of early modern England facilitated trade, as well as the transportation of people, goods and knowledge.<sup>3</sup> As such, the region witnessed an increase in apothecaries, druggists, physicians and surgeons, creating a diverse and rapidly expanding 'medical marketplace' ripe for interaction and exchange with everyday household knowledge and practice.<sup>4</sup> However, this growth in available commercialised medical treatment and knowledge was undoubtedly concentrated in the urban centre of the town of Nottingham, rather than the surrounding villages of the county, as characterised by the establishment of the Nottingham General Hospital in the town and the subsequent appointment of prominent physicians such as John Storer, John Attenborough and Charles Pennington towards the end of the century.<sup>5</sup> Nottingham's role as a commercial and cultural centre outside of, but still connected to, London also created an abundance and appetite for culinary and household knowledge to support the smooth running, good diet, and preservation of good health amongst Nottinghamshire's most prosperous households and community. Thus, by examining the details of quotidian local, domestic knowledge and practices through the lens of the recipe books they produced, this thesis will add to historical understanding of the area during the long eighteenth century.

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<sup>3</sup> J.D. Chambers, *Modern Nottingham in the Making* (Nottingham Journal Limited, 1945), p.5; Beckett, 'An Industrial Town in the Making', pp.189-219; Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603-1714, Third Edition* (Longman Pearson Education Limited: Harlow, 2003), pp.490-491.

<sup>4</sup> See Charles Deering, *History of Nottingham* (S.R. Publishers, 1970), pp.94-95 for a comparison made between 1641 and 1739: Apothecaries, 1641 – 4, 1739 – 5; Druggists, 1641 – 0, 1739 - 3; Physicians, 1641 – 0, 1739 – 6; Surgeons, 1641 – 0, 1739 – 3. For more on the 'medical marketplace' see: Mark S.R. Jenner and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, c.1450- c.1850* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke and New York, 2007), pp.1-23.

<sup>5</sup> John Throsby, *The history and antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Nottingham; containing the whole of Thoroton's account of that place, and all that is valuable in Deering* (Nottingham: Burbage and Stretton, Tupman, Wilson, and Sutton), pp.108-111; Terry Fry, 'Dr. John Storer, 1747-1837', *Articles from the Thoroton Society Newsletter* (5 May 2017), at <http://www.thorotonsociety.org.uk/publications/articles/drjohnstorer.htm> [Accessed 26 March 2022].

## Sources

Regional collections housed in the University of Nottingham's Manuscripts and Special Collections (UNMASC) at the King's Meadow archive offer a source base of almost 2000 individual recipes, contained in eight bound manuscript volumes across the collections of three individuals, and their households. These collections are a combination of both sole- and collaboratively-authored manuscripts, including the four household books of Margaret Willoughby and the Willoughby family of Aspley Hall (1737-c.1790), the recipe book of Elenor Mundy (1728-c.1767) who gifted her volume as a 'starter collection' to her daughter-in-law, Hester Miller Mundy, heiress of Shipley Hall, and finally, the three finely presented recipe volumes by Henrietta Harley, Countess of Oxford, of Welbeck Abbey (1743). As Fig. 1 (below) demonstrates, the households of all of these families and their associated recipe collections were considerable, and although the grandest of those was the Harley's at Welbeck Abbey, the more modest halls of Aspley and Shipley were still notable in size and architecture, making the household knowledge particularly valuable and relevant in the smooth-running of such substantial gentry and aristocratic domestic settings.

**Fig. 1 Pictured left to right, Welbeck Abbey, 1829; Shipley Hall, c.1890; and Aspley Hall, c.1925.<sup>6</sup>**



<sup>6</sup> 'Welbeck Abbey in Nottinghamshire' in *Jones's Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen* (Jones & Company: London, 1829), p.25; 'Shipley Hall without later portico, Postcard by E. Truman, 147 Bath Street, Ilkeston', Source: [www.picturethepast.org.uk](http://www.picturethepast.org.uk) [Accessed: 21 February 2021]; 'Aspley Hall, c.1925', Source: [www.picturenottingham.co.uk](http://www.picturenottingham.co.uk) [Accessed: 21 February 2021].

The eight volumes originating from these households will form the basis of this study and were selected based on the quality and consistency of their content, particularly in the singularity of their remit as recipe books, as opposed to other examples found in the same King's Meadow archives, which combine elements of commonplace, miscellany, or account-keeping genres. They were also restricted based on geographical proximity and connection to the region, and a date range restricted to those produced and in use during the eighteenth century, having all been initially compiled during the reign of George II (1727-1760). Finally, they were also selected for their distinctly female authorship by individuals for which there was some degree of supporting biographical information to further contextualise the sources. Supplementary primary sources from outside of these specific limitations have however been consulted for comparison and will feature in the thesis where relevant. These include other domestic texts produced by related family members in an earlier period, such as a recipe book ascribed to Henrietta's father, John Holles (1662-1711), as well as a volume of medicinal recipes by her great-grandfather, William Cavendish (1593-1676). Other contextual sources, produced in the same period by individuals outside of the households associated with the main source base of receipt books, will be drawn upon to offer comparative examples; for example, a volume described as a household account, and a recipe book of Dorothy Gore of Blythe Hall, Nottingham (1683-1738), which feature menus of dinners, rather than recipes themselves.

### **The Receipt Books of Margaret Willoughby and the Willoughby Family of Aspley Hall (1737-c.1790)**

The Willoughby collection consists of four separate volumes, catalogued collectively as the 'Household books of Margaret Willoughby and the Willoughby family, 1737-c.1790', with only the fourth overtly ascribed to an individual, Mrs Margaret Willoughby (née Bird,

c.1713-1795), while the others represent a compilation of multiple contributors or owners related to the Willoughby household.<sup>7</sup> The Willoughby of Aspley Hall recipe manuscripts are miscellaneous in their nature, and collectively account for more than half of the total number of recipes across the total source base, having gathered a total of 1290 individually recorded receipts of both a culinary and medicinal interest.

The first volume, embossed on the spine with the title 'Willoughby Household Book, Vol. I', comprises 213 receipts organised into two parts, with 138 recipes over 99 pages in the front half of the volume (reading front to back) which are focussed on food and drink, while the back half of the volume (flipped to read back to front) consists of 75 recipes over 47 pages, and is concerned predominantly with medicinal and other household remedies.<sup>8</sup> The small amount of overlap of recipe types between the two halves means that there are a total of 142 (66.7%) recipes categorised as culinary, and 71 (33.3%) that can be broadly defined as medicinal or household. Both the front and back sections of the collection are prefaced with an index summarising the content of each, and each section contains numbered pages on folios where recipes are recorded. This source will be referenced using the page numbers for recipes to avoid confusion, except for when locating the unnumbered index item pages, where the folio numbers (recto and verso) will be employed instead.

'Willoughby Household Book, Vol. II' is a larger compilation of 355 recipes, which are all recorded to read front to back, but with two sections created instead by a substantial section of 71 folios left blank in the middle of the volume.<sup>9</sup> There is an index towards the back of the text, particularly useful in this instance as both sections include both culinary

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<sup>7</sup> University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections (UNMASC), MS 87/1-4, 'Household books of Margaret Willoughby and the Willoughby family', 1737-c.1790.

<sup>8</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Willoughby Household Book, Vol. I', 1737-c.1790.

<sup>9</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Willoughby Household Book, Vol. II', 1737-c.1790.

and medical recipes interchangeably. Overall, there are a total of 132 (37.2%) food-related and 223 medical (62.8%) receipts. All folios are page-numbered throughout and will be referenced accordingly.

‘Willoughby Household Book Vol. III’ is a more evenly balanced collection of the culinary and the medicinal, all reading front to back, and split into two sections by a double page spread of blank folios approximately mid-way through.<sup>10</sup> The front section is devoted to culinary recipes, whilst the back section mostly contains medicinal, interspersed with seven anomalous food and drink related receipts in between. An index prefaces the volume in this example, with a single folio side dedicated to each letter of the alphabet from A to W, with the exception of the letter ‘I’ for which there is no space reserved, unlike where there is a blank folio left for where ‘N’ recipes might go, albeit with none added to that section. The volume contains a total of 234 recipes, and these include 120 (51.3%) culinary and 114 (48.7%) medicinal receipts. All pages containing recipes are numbered by the compiler, and these will be used to reference specific pages, except on the preceding index pages where no page number is recorded, therefore folio references will be used in these instances instead.

Finally, the fourth volume, embossed on the spine in gold lettering with ‘Margaret Willoughby’s Book, 1737’ and including a title page with the same name and date denoting specific ownership by her.<sup>11</sup> Mrs Margaret Willoughby (née Bird) was the daughter of Francis Bird, the London-based sculptor well-known for his works at St Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, and his wife, Hester Bird, who were a known recusant family.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, ‘Willoughby Household Book, Vol. III’, 1737-c.1790.

<sup>11</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, ‘Margaret Willoughby’s Book, 1737’, 1737-c.1790.

<sup>12</sup> R. Rendel, ‘Francis Bird, Sculptor, 1667-1731’, *Recusant History*, Vol 11, Iss. 4 (January 1972), pp.206-209.

Margaret married into the Catholic branch of the Willoughby family at Aspley in 1736 when she wed Mr Edward Willoughby, the eldest son of Francis Willoughby of Aspley, Nottinghamshire, and his wife, Mary. Margaret and Edward went on to have at least six children together; Robert Willoughby (father of Admiral Nesbit Willoughby), Richard, James, Cassandra, Frances and finally, Mary, who married George Alexander in 1763. Margaret died in November 1795 at the age of 82, and it is likely that whilst the fourth volume was owned by her, that all four volumes were a result of the collective effort and ownership of both Margaret, and the extended Willoughby of Aspley and Cossall families to which she belonged.<sup>13</sup> The fourth volume, attributed distinctly to Margaret, is the most substantial of the Willoughby selection, containing a total of 488 recipes all reading front to back, where for the first time in the examples introduced so far, the proportion of medicinal recipes outweighs that of the culinary with 284 (58.2%) medical, compared with 204 (41.8%) concerned with food and drink. There are no discernible sections to distinguish between types of recipes in this example, with culinary and medical knowledge recorded interchangeably in such varied hands over the 319 pages as to make it impossible to calculate the exact number of them accurately. An index to the rear organises recipes in one hand, most likely Margaret Willoughby's, by letters of the alphabet divided into half-folio, portrait, columns. Additional columns have been added after 'Y' for further 'S' and 'B' sections, where the recipes for which had exceeded the space available in those original index sections. All pages following the title page have been numbered manually by a compiler and will be referenced according to those page numbers.

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<sup>13</sup> Description of 'Willoughby, Margaret, Mrs, -1795 (née Bird, wife of Edward Willoughby of Aspley, Nottinghamshire), Household books of Margaret Willoughby and the Willoughby family, 1737-c.1790, University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections. GB 159 MS 87', at <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb159-ms87> [Accessed: 20 November 2020].

## **The Receipt Book of Elenor Mundy and Hester Miller-Mundy of Shipley Hall (1728-c.1767)**

Elenor Mundy's recipe book (1728-c.1767) contains a substantial collection of 399 recipes, originally compiled by Mrs Elenor 'Ellen' Mundy (née Slack, 1679-1758), widow of Colonel Robert Mundy of Allestree, Derbyshire, as indicated with an elaborate frontispiece specifying her name and the year of its production.<sup>14</sup> Little is known of Ellen Mundy (née Slack) except for basic lineage as noted in the monumental inscription at Allestree which connects Ellen to her husband, father, and children: 'In the memory of Colonel Robert Mundy Esq. third son of Gilbert Mundy Esq. of this town, who married Ellen, the daughter of John Slack, of Wirksworth, gent. by whom he had issue, John, Robert, Gilbert and Edward: the three youngest survived their father, who died February 29th, 1708 in the 31th year of his age'.<sup>15</sup> In 1729, Ellen and Robert's third son, Edward Mundy, married Hester Miller (1714-1767), sole heiress of the Shipley Hall Estate, and the format of the book indicates that this likely originated as a 'starter collection', compiled by Ellen, for presentation as a wedding gift to her daughter-in-law, Hester, as was common in the period.<sup>16</sup> The original presentation copy of the volume has been designed as a coherent whole of recipes in one distinct hand, with a clear table of contents and recipes divided into discrete sections (for soups, puddings, meat dishes, fish dishes, etc.). These recipes are recorded using only the recto side of the folios, whilst the verso sides were originally left blank, presumably for its intended recipient, Hester, to add to. One hundred and six recipes are added to the initial selection, in various hands on the verso folio sides, including one which appears to be that

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<sup>14</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Elenor Mundy's recipe book', 1728-c.1790.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Noble (ed.), *The History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Derby: Drawn Up from Actual Observation and from the Best Authorities; Part II* (Henry Mozley and Son: Derby, 1829), p.17.

<sup>16</sup> Description of 'Mundy, Elenor, -, fl 1728, Recipe book of Elenor Mundy, 1728-c.1767, 1728-c.1767. University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections. GB 159 MS 86', at <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb159-ms86> [Accessed: 21 November 2020]. For more on 'starter' collections, see Elaine Leong, 'Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household', *Centauros*, Vol. 55, Iss. 2 (2013), pp.81-103.



of the original compiler, Elenor, thereby suggesting that she continued to contribute to the collection after it was passed on to a subsequent owner. The collection is primarily concerned with culinary knowledge accounting for 350 (88%) of its recipes, whilst medicinal content is the focus of just 49 (12%) of its combined receipts, concentrated within the section originally headed as 'Cordiall Waters'. The division of medical recipes added in the original collection, and those added subsequently to verso pages is roughly equal, with 26 of the 49 (53%) being later additions, thus indicating that both Elenor and Hester had a limited interest in collecting medicinal-related remedies.

Hester and her husband, Robert, had only one son, Edward Miller-Mundy of Shipley Hall (1750-1822) who married firstly, Frances Meynell, and secondly, Georgiana Willoughby, widow of Thomas Willoughby, 4<sup>th</sup> Baron Middleton. Names cited within the collection indicate that the volume continued to be used and contributed to, at least until the generation of their children, including Edward (above), as well as their daughter, also Hester (d.1800), who married Sir. Roger Newdigate, 5<sup>th</sup> Baronet. This volume, along with the four Willoughby volumes, is bound and embossed on the spine identically, and all bear a bookplate of J. Butler-Bowdon of Pleasington Hall, Lancashire. According to archival records, they were acquired by The University of Nottingham Library in 1955 from a descendant of the Bowdon family of Beighton Fields, Barlborough, Derbyshire, who had acquired them as an assimilated collection. The marital connection between the Mundys and the extended Willoughby family likely accounts for this volume ultimately being absorbed into and collected as one, and this, along with the current archival location, and the extensive connections and references to individuals associated with the Nottinghamshire region within the manuscript, justifies its inclusion in the wider landscape of Nottinghamshire recipe-sharing examples, despite Shipley Hall being located just outside of the

Nottinghamshire border. In the Mundy volume, all recto sides of the folios following the title page have been numbered manually by the compiler and will be referenced according to those page numbers. Where contributors to the verso sides of the folios have neglected to note a page number, these will be referenced using their recto page reference with a 'v' to denote their location on the verso side of the folio.

### **The Receipt Books of Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley, Countess of Oxford, of Welbeck Abbey (1743)**

The recipe volumes of Henrietta Harley (née Cavendish-Holles), Countess of Oxford (1694-1755), is a three-part collection dated 1743, and is housed as part of the Portland Literary Collection (Pw V). The 'Portland Literary Papers' form a portion of The University of Nottingham's wider Portland Welbeck Collection (Pw), having previously been archived at the Library of the Dukes of Portland at Welbeck Abbey from which they were deposited by the 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Portland in 1949.<sup>17</sup>

Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley, Countess of Oxford and Mortimer was a direct descendent of Bess of Hardwick, as the daughter of John Holles (1662-1711), 1st Duke of Newcastle (of the second creation) and his wife, Margaret Cavendish (1661-1716). Henrietta's mother, Margaret Cavendish, was the daughter of Henry Cavendish (1630-1691), son of William Cavendish (1593-1676), 1st Duke of Newcastle (of the first creation) and his first wife, Elizabeth Bassett; although he went on to marry secondly, Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas), the famed intellectual and writer.<sup>18</sup> As a result of three generations of female

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<sup>17</sup> Description of 'Cavendish-Bentinck family, Dukes of Portland of Welbeck, Nottinghamshire, Literary Manuscripts in the Portland (Welbeck) Collection, 16th-19th centuries, 16th century-20th century. Portland (Welbeck) Collection. University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections. GB 159 PW V', at <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb159-pw/pwv> [Accessed: 23 November 2020].

<sup>18</sup> Lucy Judd, 'The Receipt Book Manuscripts of Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley, Countess of Oxford (1694-1755)', *Transactions of the Thorothon Society: The Journal for Nottinghamshire History and Archaeology*,

inheritance along the Cavendish line in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Henrietta became an heiress to great wealth, including castles and estates in Derbyshire and Northumberland, as well as Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire.<sup>19</sup> Welbeck Abbey played a significant role in Henrietta's life, and she chose to retire to Welbeck after the death of her husband, Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford (1689-1741), setting about restoring and preserving the estate which she fondly regarded as 'the Ancient Seat of the Cavendish Family at Welbeck' from then until her own death in 1755.<sup>20</sup> A biographical account of Henrietta's life written by Richard W. Goulding, librarian to the Duke of Portland in the early twentieth century, and featured in the Transactions of the Thoroton Society in 1923, presents contradictory aspects of her character, with her being simultaneously perceived as 'dull' and 'estimable' by her contemporaries, as well as the purveyor of great recipes whilst being, at least at times, of small appetite.<sup>21</sup> Goulding recounts Henrietta's stern childhood, her marriage to Edward Harley against her mother's wishes, and her and her husband's shared love of literature and the arts, as well as their friendships and connections with some of the most notable literati of the era, including Humfrey Wanley (1672-1726), Alexander Pope

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Vol.119 (2015), pp.141-149. See also: Elizabeth Goldring, 'Talbot [née Hardwick], Elizabeth [Bess] [called Bess of Hardwick], countess of Shrewsbury (1527?-1608)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [Accessed: 08 February 2021]; P.R. Seddon, 'Holles, John, duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (1662-1711)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [Accessed: 08 February 2021]; P.R. Seddon, 'Cavendish, Henry, second duke of Newcastle upon Tyne (1630-1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [Accessed: 08 February 2021]; James Fitzmaurice, 'Cavendish [née Lucas], Margaret, duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne (1623?-1673)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2005) [Accessed: 08 February 2021].

<sup>19</sup> Lucy Worsley, 'Harley, Henrietta Cavendish, countess of Oxford and Mortimer (1694-1755)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004; online. 2008) [Accessed: 27 November 2015].

<sup>20</sup> Nottinghamshire Archives (NA), DD/5P/6/1-3, 'Book of Accounts for Repairing, Beautifying and Ornamenting the Ancient Seat of the Cavendish Family at Welbeck', 14 November 1741-25 March 1747. For more on the architectural endeavours of Henrietta Harley and her descendants at Welbeck Abbey, see: Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (Paul Mellon Centre, 1995), p.195; Lucy Worsley, 'Female Architectural Patronage in the Eighteenth Century and the Case of Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley', *Architectural History*, Vol. 48, 2005, pp.139-162; Christopher Warleigh-Lack, 'John Carr of York and Hidden Architectural Histories' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Middlesex University, 2013), pp.44-5, pp.145-149.

<sup>21</sup> Richard W. Goulding, 'Henrietta Countess of Oxford', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society: The Journal for Nottinghamshire History and Archaeology*, Vol. 27 (1923), pp.1-41.

(1688-1744), and Matthew Prior (1664-1721). Correspondence between Humfrey Wanley and his wife demonstrate Lady Oxford's engagement in practices of recipe-writing and sharing going back at least as far as the early years of her marriage. As early as 1715, Wanley requests of his wife, Ann, that she share her recipes for Pease-Pudding and New College Pudding in her response at the request of his 'good Lady' Henrietta, and he continues to make reference to a friendly relationship between the two women in correspondence, with Ann being remembered 'with much kindness many times' by Lady Harley, and her even arranging for the purchase of a tea kettle as a gift to Ann in 1719.<sup>22</sup>

Married in 1713, and with her recipe volumes written in 1743, Henrietta's compilations represent almost a lifetime of receipt and knowledge collection, with a selection of 254 recipes organised into three separately bound volumes and preserved immaculately. The collection offers an example of a 'presentation copy' style of receipt booking; a neatly presented collection with a consistent and ornately detailed style employed throughout the folios in terms of both the quality of handwriting, and the decorative title and page features. Henrietta's recipes are distinct from the other examples in the way in which the collection is divided; whilst sections and the traditional division of recipes into two halves, one dedicated to food and another to medicinal receipts, are seen elsewhere in local sources, the separation of sections into distinct volumes is unusual, and significant in suggesting a unique value placed on each area of expertise, as well as an acknowledgement of culinary, confectionary and medicinal knowledge and skill as separate arts which had been

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<sup>22</sup> Goulding, 'Henrietta Countess of Oxford', pp.1-41; P.L. Heyworth (ed.), *The Letters of Humfrey Wanley: Palaeographer, Anglo-Saxonist, Librarian, 1672-1726, With an Appendix of Documents* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1989), p.406, p.411.

‘combined... but with increasing specialisation’ since at least the seventeenth century.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the separate volumes, as a whole, Henrietta’s collection shows a balanced focus and interest between both household cookery and household medicine. Out of the total of 254 recipes, the first volume showcases 94 savoury recipes (37%), the second containing 116 health and medicine related recipes (45.7%), while the third returns to a food-based emphasis with 44 (17.3%) receipts for sweet, confectionary-based cookery.<sup>24</sup> All three volumes are presented in one hand, which appears to match that of Henrietta’s based on personal correspondence from her to family members.<sup>25</sup> The pagination of the manuscripts has also been hand-written and incorporated as part of the compilation and indexing process, and these originally intended page numbers will be adopted in referencing as far as possible. Where folios without page numbers are being referred to, a folio reference will be used instead.

Overall, the source selection which forms the basis of this thesis is made up of eight volumes forming almost 2000 recipes in bound volumes. As briefly outlined, the source collection chosen adheres to the following criteria:

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<sup>23</sup> Lynette Hunter, ‘Sweet secrets: from occasional receipt to specialised books – the growth of a genre’ in C. Anne Wilson, ed. *Banqueting Stuff: The Fare and Social Background of the Tudor and Stuart Banquet* (Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp.36-59, p.52.

<sup>24</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, ‘Henrietta, Countess of Oxford – Savouries’, 1743; Pw V 124, ‘Henrietta, Countess of Oxford – Medicinal’, 1743; Pw V 125, ‘Henrietta, Countess of Oxford – Sweets’, 1743.

<sup>25</sup> See for example, UNMASC, Pw F 4733, ‘Letter from Henrietta C. Harley, Countess of Oxford, Welbeck Abbey, Nottinghamshire, to W.H.C. Cavendish-Bentinck, Marquess of Titchfield [later 3rd Duke of Portland]’, 29 Apr. 1747. This example, along with the use of affectionate names and phrases within to indicate that she is writing herself can be viewed in comparison to UNMASC, Pw E 12 ‘Letter from Henrietta C.H. Harley, 2nd Countess of Oxford to her daughter, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck’, 12 Jan. 1754, where the formal content relating to a deed to trustees appears to have been written as a template by a scribe or secretary with Henrietta adding the addressee ‘Daughter’ and the closing line and signature ‘I have two let[te]rs from y[o]u & one from the Duke but I can not acknowle[d]ge now, I can only give my blessing to my dear grandchildren & am my dearest y[ou]r affect[tiona]t[e] mot[he]r & faithful s[e]rv[an]t’.

1. Each is a dedicated recipe book, rather than a commonplace, miscellany or book of household accounts merely containing recipes as part of the overall text. The consistency of content being limited to recipe collections offers a clearer picture of the use of and practice of collecting and compiling recipe texts as domestic documents.
2. They were each compiled by, or linked to, an individual female recipe collector as a collection. This allows for biographical and contextual information to support with analysis of their family, household, and social connections, and whilst the scope of this research was initially intended to consider primarily the implications of recipe writing culture for female authors, as explained above, it will also refer to supplementary local sources in order to further contextualise discussions. Therefore, where relevant, some supplementary sources will be considered which are thought to be co-authored or solely authored by men.
3. The collections or volumes of the main source base were all initiated during the eighteenth century. Contextual sources from earlier time periods will be used in a supplementary fashion when referring to ancestral influences, for example, but otherwise, the conclusions drawn will be focussed upon the eighteenth century.

The handling of core sources has taken the form of building a comprehensive database of each recipe across the volumes, listing their titles, sources, page numbers, and categories to form an index.<sup>26</sup> The reformatting of this information into a digital document has allowed

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<sup>26</sup> Database of sources comprised of 7 columns, with four indicating the core collection (Mundy, Harley Willoughby), manuscript (MS 86, MS 87/1-4, Pw V 123-125), date-range (of each collection), and page number. Two further columns recorded the original recipe title transcribed as original spelling with another column of key words (ingredients, techniques, or phrases) in modern English to provide a consistent search functionality. The final column listed the category of recipe, that being either 'Culinary – Food and Drink' or 'Medicinal, Household or Veterinary'. Recipes for ambiguous items that could be considered either 'food and drink' or 'medicinal' include those for wines and cordials; in these cases, cordials have been categorised (11 of 11) as

for more practical search and filter options, and the standardisation of names and key words. To support in this process, where photography is permitted by the holding archive, digitised images of each folio have been taken in each of the 'MS' volumes of the Willoughby and Mundy collections. In the case of the Harley 'Pw V' sources, where photography is not permitted, a full transcription of the volumes has been undertaken instead. This has crucially allowed for cross-referencing to take place between the index of recipe information contained within the database, and the more detailed content of the recipes themselves.

In respect of attributions, the recipe database index has also been used to compile a comprehensive list of individuals attributed within individual recipes as well as within, and across, volumes. Through standardising spellings and checking for variation, it has been possible to cross-reference names in archives in pursuit of uncovering further correspondence or documented links between recipe donors and the compiler or household wherever possible. Standardisation has occurred in instances where it is highly likely the same person being referred to despite some variation in spelling, such as where Henrietta Harley refers to a receipt by 'Dr. Boorheave', and the Willoughby collection contains another by 'Dr. Borehoave'. Such attributions have been reasonably attributed and standardised to 'Dr. Boerhaave' and listed for analysis as the same individual, Dr. Herman Boerhaave. This is supported by contextual archival evidence indicative of ongoing interest in Dr. Boerhaave and his work within both the 'MS' and Portland collections, in the form of

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'medicinal', largely due to their descriptions as being 'for gout' or 'for surfeits' as well as their wider content and description as cures, and wines have been largely categorised as 'food and drink' (80 of 90), with the remaining categorised as medicinal due to wider content of titular descriptions as 'tinctures' or as 'Hydropick wine to cure the Dropsy, Rheumatism, Scurvy and cough of the lungs', for example. The database allowed for filtering and searching across all 7 categories across the c. 2000 individual receipts.

printed portraits and engravings, further manuscript volumes containing Latin lectures given by him, as well as direct reference to him and his works made in the correspondence of John Achard, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Portland's tutor to various recipients, including a local doctor, Dr. William Burton.<sup>27</sup> The same approach to standardisation has also occurred in similar instances where the names are most likely spelling variations such as in the case of 'Mrs Whetham' and 'Mrs Whethem', who have been standardised as one, or, for example, where there are variations on 'Doctor' and 'Dr' and 'Horne' and 'Horn', where all have been standardised to simply 'Dr. Horne'. This allows for a more accurate reflection of unique recipe contributors identifiable through attributions.

## **Terminology**

### **Recipes and receipts**

The origins and of the words 'recipe' and 'receipt' are entwined. From the Anglo-Norman French 'receite' and the Latin 'recepta' or 'recipere', both meaning in essence 'the act of receiving or acknowledgement of something being received'.<sup>28</sup> As such, they were used interchangeably throughout the period and will also be so throughout this thesis.

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<sup>27</sup> UNMASC, MS 671, 'Manuscript volume containing lectures given by Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), Chemist and Physician', 1722-1733; MS 712/1, 'Printed engraving of a portrait of Hermann Boerhaave [1668-1738], engraved by Anthony Baldi; n.d. [c.1750-1850]; MS 712/2, 'Printed engraving of a portrait of Hermann Boerhaave [1668-1738], drawn and engraved by Ignatius Colombo, n.d. [c.1750-1850]; PI C 37/21, 'Letter from Dr William Burton, Yarmouth, to John Achard', 5 Jan. 1747; PI C 37/23, 'Letter from Dr William Burton, Yarmouth, to John Achard', 12 Dec. 1747; PI C 37/37, 'Letter from Dr William Burton, Yarmouth, to John Achard', 19 Nov. 1749; Pw C 26, 'Letter from Elizabeth Bentinck to John Achard', 30 Mar. 1730; Pw C 27, 'Cutting containing 'Professors Boerhaave and Osterdyke's regimen prescrib'd for the Gout', undated [c.1730]; Pw C 207, 'Letter from Professor D. De Montagny, King Street, Soho, to John Achard, Spring Gardens, Whitehall (in French)', 26 January 1744; Pw C 401, 'Letter from Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Effingham, to John Achard', 18 July [no year].

<sup>28</sup> Angus Stevenson and Maurice Waite (eds.), *Concise Oxford English Dictionary: Luxury Edition* (Oxford University Press: Oxford and New York, 2011), pp.1199-1200.



## **Manuscript and print**

As the focus of this research is on manuscript recipe culture, when referring to recipe or receipt book volumes it will, in all instances, be referring to them in manuscript form, unless made explicit that a printed collection is being drawn upon. Unfortunately, the transmission between popular printed recipe books and local manuscript recipe texts has fallen beyond the remit of this research project, which will focus on the exchange of recipes across manuscript culture alone.

## **Authors and Compilers**

The transient and iterative nature of recipe writing and collecting, plus the challenge of demonstrating origins of any single recipe, makes the concept of an 'author' understandably problematic in the discussion of recipe collections in general. This is particularly the case in the highly collaborative format of manuscript circulation where multiple ownership and multiple contributors are common. However, the term will be used in this thesis in reference to the individuals associated with the compilation of a particular volume or collection, without making any claim of a single author in terms of recipe 'ownership' or origins. Instead, those considered the 'authors' of these texts will be those identifiable individuals highlighted above, namely Margaret Willoughby, Elenor Mundy and her daughter-in-law, Hester Miller-Mundy, and Henrietta Harley. As such, the term 'author' will also be used interchangeably with 'compiler' and 'owner', in order to better mirror the fluidity of what recipe manuscript authorship looked like in practice. Where recipe contributors have been cited through attributions, they will be referred to as both contributors and donors.

## Literature Review

Discourse concerned with early modern domestic manuscripts owes much to the endeavours of historical and literary scholars who have set about mining and exploring the wealth of early modern writing in both print and manuscript form over several decades. More recently, work to digitise the early modern writing of both men and women, via Early Modern Books Online (EEBO) and Eighteenth-Century Collections online (ECCO), as well as more gender specific developments in the form of the online databases of the Perdita Project, and Brown University's Women Writers Project (now based at Northeastern). These have combined with the publication of printed anthologies, such as Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer's *Reading Early Modern Women*, all serving to make the work of accessing and interrogating these documents far more practicable.<sup>29</sup> As a result, a plethora of edited volumes, anthologies and books focussing on the recovery of works of early modern women and engaging in the questions of which women wrote, as well as where, what, how and why, have been published since around the turn of the century. With this, works such as Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle's *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England* have firmly established 'women's life writing' - consisting of a wide range of documents produced by women in the period, such as, diaries, letters, commonplace and account books, prose, poetry, and recipe books – as a genre ripe for literary and historical study. Dowd and Eckerle's edited essays cover print and manuscript sources to demonstrate

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<sup>29</sup> Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Reading Early Modern Women: An Anthology of Texts in Manuscript and Print, 1550-1700* (Routledge: New York and London, 2004); See also: Early Modern Books Online (EEBO): <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebogroup/>; Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO): <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/>; The Perdita Project: <http://www.perditamanuscripts.amdigital.co.uk/>.

the significance of all such sources 'in women's understanding of – and articulation of – female identity'.<sup>30</sup>

Scholarly attention has also been paid to manuscript culture specifically. Works such as Margaret Ezell's *Writing Women's History*, Paul Salzman's *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing*, Laura Lunger Knoppers' *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, for example, all take a predominantly literary perspective, and agree that manuscript circulation played a crucial role in the literary achievements and culture of early modern women writers. Salzman also highlights how considering the production and circulation of manuscript writing alongside that of print, significantly shifts our perspective, making the abundance of women's writing much more apparent.<sup>31</sup> Ezell agrees, and challenges the 'assumption of the supremacy and desirability of print' and the devaluing of what she calls 'coterie literature', instead asserting that manuscript circulation was both a common and legitimate literary outlet of the early modern period. She goes on to caution against ignoring this in favour of preconceived notions of the competitive, commercial literary environment of the nineteenth century and beyond, which in her view, lead us to 'silence a large number of early modern women's voices in our very efforts to preserve and celebrate [them]'.<sup>32</sup> In another essay, Ezell challenges Harold Love on his minimising of the significance of manuscript recipe volumes in his model of scribal publication, and again affirms their role as a significant part of domestic manuscript papers in particular.<sup>33</sup>

Knoppers, too, whilst expressly concerned with achieving a balance of co-existing and

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<sup>30</sup> Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle (eds.), *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England* (Ashgate: Aldershot and Burlington, 2007), p.1.

<sup>31</sup> Paul Salzman, *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2006), pp.11-36.

<sup>32</sup> Margaret J.M. Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore and London, 1996), pp.37-38.

<sup>33</sup> Margaret J.M. Ezell, 'Domestic Papers: Manuscript Culture and Early Modern Women's Life Writing' in Dowd and Eckerle (eds.), *Genre and Women's Life Writing*, pp.41-42.

intersecting print and manuscript sources in order to gain a full understanding of women's writing, acknowledges that work on manuscript culture has contributed and 'provided new information and new methodologies for scholars attending to a comprehensive range of women's writing'.<sup>34</sup>

Academic interest specifically in female manuscript writing has therefore garnered considerable interdisciplinary attention. For example, the Perdita Project successfully brought together a community of transatlantic scholars working on emerging primary sources in this area of research, with Victoria Burke and Johnathon Gibson going on to produce an edited collection of interdisciplinary essays specifically on the topic of early modern women's manuscript writing from the resulting Trinity/Trent Colloquium.<sup>35</sup> They, like Dowd and Eckerle, also established the recipe manuscript as a fundamental aspect of the life-writing genre, recognising them as a source which at that time was 'only just beginning to be recognised as important for scholars of women's manuscript writing'.<sup>36</sup> The themes of these early essays on recipe manuscripts as a form of women's life-writing remain pertinent, and are central to this thesis. Sara Pennell's essay in that volume, for example, examines the epistemic value of recipe culture, drawing comparison between the wider developments of experimental philosophy alongside the emergence of institutions like The Royal Society. She also outlines some of the significance and complexities concerning the authority, authorship and agency of recipe owners, the function of recipe manuscripts as memory tools, the importance of female relationships and kin lines, social

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<sup>34</sup> Laura Lunger Knoppers, *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009), p.6.

<sup>35</sup> Victoria Burke and Jonathan Gibson, *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium* (Taylor & Francis Group: London and New York, 2004), pp.xi-xii.

<sup>36</sup> Burke and Gibson, *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing*, p.5.

status dynamics, and notions of gendered arenas of knowledge.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, Catherine Field's essay in Dowd and Eckerle's edited volume grapples with the fluidity and instability of receipt books in their origins as medieval books of secrets, and their role as practical 'how to' tools, to offer us a view of recipe texts as 'an alternate window into the expression of the early modern self'.<sup>38</sup> In this exploration of early modern selfhood and identity, Field also considers themes of authority and authorship, of community (in practice and in sharing recipes), and the notion of recipe texts as a mechanism for constructing a 'fluid self... positive, authoritative, and capable of healing (and being healed) through the writing, practice, proving, and exchange of medicinal and culinary receipts'.<sup>39</sup> However, whilst the theoretical concepts raised within these early works, which first established recipe sources as a valuable addition to the field of women's history and to the genre of women's life-writing, their limitations lie in their chronological focus of the earlier period of 1550-1700, within the broader definition of the early modern period, which extends beyond the Renaissance and into the Enlightenment period. This is mirrored in much of the major recovery endeavours of primary source material; The Perdita Project focuses on manuscripts which originate from between 1500-1700, Ostovich and Sauer anthologise women's work during the period of 1550-1700, and Salzman draws the line of early modern writing with a starting point of 1558 (the year of the accession of Queen Elizabeth I), and an end point at the close of the seventeenth century.<sup>40</sup> Dowd and Eckerle's focus is upon Englishwomen's participation in print and manuscript culture in the sixteenth and

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<sup>37</sup> Sara Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England' in Burke and Gibson, *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing*, pp.237-255.

<sup>38</sup> Catherine Field, "'Many hands hands": Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books' in Dowd and Eckerle (eds.), *Genre and Women's Life Writing*, p.50.

<sup>39</sup> Field, "'Many hands hands'", pp.49-63, p.59.

<sup>40</sup> Salzman, *Reading Early Modern Women's Writing*, p.11.

seventeenth centuries, and even Ezell's work, an interrogation of the academic study of early modern writers itself, focusses on scholars working on sources written pre-1700.<sup>41</sup> Other significant feminist readings of early modern life, writing and culture also opt to focus on the earlier sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with Elaine Hobby, taking an even more specific chronological focus in her survey of around 200 female authored works during the Interregnum and Restoration period.<sup>42</sup> Writing in 1996, Ezell offers some explanation for this focus in identifying that period as a gap in wider literary history, pointing out that at that time it had been 'until recent years... extremely difficult to obtain materials by and about women writers before 1800', and had been largely overlooked in favour of the 'the "epic age of women writers", the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>43</sup> The response of scholars to address this gap has resulted in a whole corpus of work establishing something akin to a seventeenth century canon of English women's writing, one in which important works and writers have been showcased and interrogated extensively, such as the many works of Margaret Cavendish, the recipe books and prose of Lucy Hutchinson and the diary of Lady Margaret Hoby.<sup>44</sup> Ezell is therefore accurate in her view that researchers of female-

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<sup>41</sup> Dowd and Eckerle (eds), *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, p.1; Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, p.7, p.3 and p.19.

<sup>42</sup> Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan and Dymphna Callaghan, *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1996), p.1; Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing, 1649-1688* (Virago Press: London, 1988), pp.1-25.

<sup>43</sup> Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, p.19.

<sup>44</sup> See for example: Dorothy M. Meads (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605* (George Routledge & Sons Ltd: London, 1930); Joanna Moody, *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599-1605* (Sutton Publishing Ltd: Stroud, 1998); David Cuning (ed.), *Margaret Cavendish: Essential Writings* (Oxford University Press: New York, 2019); Katie Whittaker, *Mad Madge: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, Royalist, Writer and Romantic* (Chatto & Windus, 2002); Sylvia Bowerbank, 'Margaret Cavendish, Marchioness of Newcastle, The Worlds Olio (1665) and Philosophical and Physical Opinions (1655)' in Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Reading Early Modern Women*, pp.80-82; Rosemary Kegl, "'The World I Have Made": Margaret Cavendish, Feminism and the Blazing World', in Traub, Kaplan and Callaghan, *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture*, pp.119-141; Victoria Kahn, 'Margaret Cavendish and the Romance of Contract' in Lorna Hutson (ed.), *Feminism & Renaissance Studies* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1999); Michael Robbins (ed.), *Margaret Cavendish, NYRB Poets* (New York Review of Books, 2018); Mark Houlahan, 'Lucy (Apsley) Hutchinson, "The Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson" (c.1664)' in Helen Ostovich and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), pp.283-285; N.H. Keeble (ed.), Lucy Hutchinson (au.), *Memoirs of the life of Colonel Hutchinson: Charles I's Puritan Nemesis* (Phoenix, 2000); N.H. Keeble, "'But the Colonel's Shadow": Lucy

authored texts written before 1700 had ‘certainly been successful, especially in recent years, in producing studies of them’, and they have gone a long way towards addressing the issue raised by Ezell at that stage, that ‘outside the circle of Renaissance specialists, the response to the announcement that one works on early modern women writers [was] still likely to be surprise that there were any women writers on which to work’.<sup>45</sup> However, this has left eighteenth-century manuscript culture as a less well-trodden area of enquiry for scholars of early modern women’s writing. The research of both Katherine Allen and Sally Osborn have helpfully illuminated eighteenth-century manuscript recipe collections and their value through a lens of medicinal domestic recipes in the wider context of an increasing availability of commercial alternatives to domestic healthcare.<sup>46</sup> However, it is Sara Pennell’s ‘*Perfecting Practice?*’, which begins to take a wider scope of the early eighteenth century and to consider both culinary and medical elements of recipe collecting knowledge, suggesting that ‘the particular character of women’s culinary knowledge, and the conduits for that knowledge, emerge distinctly in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century recipe collections’.<sup>47</sup> This thesis, therefore will seek to contribute to this area of development by bringing forward previously unmined eighteenth-century recipe manuscripts from a regional archive. This will allow them to be considered firmly within the context of the long eighteenth century. For example, in her work examining women’s writing and female culture through the literary works of some of the most well-known print-

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Hutchinson, *Women’s Writing and the Civil War* in Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (eds.), *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge and New York, 1990), pp.227-247; Robert Mayer, ‘Lucy Hutchinson: A Life of Writing’, *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol. 22, Iss. 2 (2007), pp.305-335.

<sup>45</sup> Ezell, *Writing Women’s Literary History*, p.12.

<sup>46</sup> Katherine Allen, *Manuscript Recipe Collections and Elite Domestic Medicine in Eighteenth Century England* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Wolfson College, University of Oxford, 2015); Sally Osborn, *The Role of Domestic Knowledge in an Era of Professionalisation: Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Medical Recipe Collections* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Roehampton, 2016).

<sup>47</sup> Pennell, ‘*Perfecting Practice?*’, p.237.

published female authors of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries - Mary Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft and Jane Austen – Mary Poovey establishes a distinct eighteenth century context characterised by the social, political and economic developments of the French revolution, and of emerging ideologies of capitalist individualism.<sup>48</sup> The chronological emphasis of the manuscript sources examined in this thesis will therefore have important implications for the key theoretical concepts that will be addressed, namely in the dichotomy of individuality and selfhood versus community, and in examining evidence of propriety and prescribed gender roles within local recipe manuscripts.

### **Self and Community**

The highly complex and contested theoretical concepts of individuality and selfhood, as well as the implications for the understanding of authorship in early modern culture, have been considered and debated at length by scholars. Writing a century ago, Weber argued that the emergence of the individual correlated directly with the rise of Protestantism and its emphasis upon individual salvation, alongside the growth of a capitalist, consumerist, and an ultimately more individualistic culture.<sup>49</sup> Alan Macfarlane went so far as to set England apart from the rest of Europe in this sense, building his case largely on economic trends and customs to contend that ‘a central and basic feature of English social structure has long been the stress on the rights and privileges of the individual as against the wider group or the State’.<sup>50</sup> Roy Porter, in summarising the collection of essays in *Rewriting the Self*, pointed to competing theological dogmas, emerging Lockean and Cartesian philosophies of

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<sup>48</sup> Mary Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer: Ideology as Style in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Jane Austen* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1984), pp.xv-xvi.

<sup>49</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Taylor and Francis Group: London, 2001).

<sup>50</sup> Alan Macfarlane, *The Origins of English Individualism* (Basil Blackwell: Oxford, 1978), p.5.



the self as a 'product of experience and education', as well as Enlightenment economic theories of the possessive individualist, such as Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* of 1776, in creating what he defines as a 'New Enlightenment individuality'.<sup>51</sup> The latter is especially well reflected by the 'self' found in local recipe manuscript sources, and which will subsequently form some of the central themes of discussion in this thesis, as we will consider the compiler as an individual female author producing written works which are themselves a product of experience, and a platform for education, produced in the context of a rapidly commercialising England.

Scholarly attention surrounding authorship has also raised questions of our fundamental understanding and concepts of the author as an individual, or as a singular 'self'. Harold Love outlined the varied forms or phases that 'authorship' can take: collaborative (multi-authored), pre-cursory authors (an original source whom 'makes a substantial contribution to the shape and substance of [a] work'), executive authors (the deviser, orderer, or maker), declarative authors (appearing publicly as the creator, sometimes characterised by a name on a title-page, for example) and finally, the revisionary author (a subsequent writer or editor of a work).<sup>52</sup> These varied styles of authorship are mirrored in manuscript recipe sources, and as will be shown, are often layered within single recipe volumes. This interaction between notions of the self, identity, individuals, and authority, with those of family, household, ancestry, and community in the authorship approaches of early modern women, has not gone unconsidered though. In her study of the 'self' in sixteenth-century France, Natalie Zemon Davis stated that 'virtually all occasions for talking or writing about

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<sup>51</sup> Roy Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (Routledge: London and New York, 1997), pp.1-14.

<sup>52</sup> Harold Love, *Attributing Authorship: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2002), pp.32-48.

the self involved a relationship', settling her focus of the essay upon that between the individual and their family and lineage, exploring themes of patriarchal society, relationships with parents, and gender-related boundaries.<sup>53</sup> Ultimately, she concludes that ideas of the self cannot be 'universalized' but rather set within a specific cultural context with young women and men turning cultural elements to their own uses, with the concern for the self and concern for others being in balance.<sup>54</sup> Similarly, Charles H. Parker challenged what he saw as the 'overdrawn dichotomy' of the 'modern individualist spirit' versus medieval corporate life, and instead championed a greater understanding of the complexities of relationships between the individual and their communities, or what he considers 'the "layered quality" of the self'.<sup>55</sup>

Therefore this thesis and the sources it examines will lend itself to questions of writing as an individual, and in partnership, in what Bette London refers to in her study of nineteenth century literary partnerships as 'writing double', but which receipt book texts best demonstrate in their collaborative nature.<sup>56</sup> It will also consider as part of the community influence upon recipe writing, what Laura Lunger Knoppers refers to as the 'double-voicing of early modern texts', that is, the 'double voice' of both individual identity, and dominant cultural conventions such as those which shape the fluid form of recipe manuscript writing.<sup>57</sup> Stephen Greenblatt in his work on 'self-fashioning' in Renaissance literature, for

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<sup>53</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France' in Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna, and David E. Wellerby with Arnold I. Davidson, Ann Swidler, and Ian Watt (eds.), *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought* (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1986), pp.53-63.

<sup>54</sup> Zemon Davis, 'Boundaries and the Sense of Self', p.63.

<sup>55</sup> Charles H. Parker, 'Introduction: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World' in Charles H. Parker and Jerry H. Bentley (eds.), *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World* (Rowman and Littlefield: Maryland, 2006), pp.1-9.

<sup>56</sup> Bette London, *Writing Double: Women's Literary Partnerships* (Cornell University Press: New York and London, 1999).

<sup>57</sup> Knoppers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, pp.14-15.

example, considered similar literary themes around authorship and cultural influences, drawing upon Geertzian comments that ‘there is no such thing as human nature independent of culture’, ultimately asserting that if ‘interpretation limits itself to the behaviour of the author... [it] risks losing a sense of the larger networks of meaning in which both the author and his works participate’.<sup>58</sup> This connection between the individual and community for early modern women in particular has also attracted academic interest; Susan Frye and Karen Robertson have called for a much wider consideration of women’s relationships and ‘female alliances’, asserting that ‘we need to study not only exceptional or individual women, but also women in their dynamic relationships with one another’.<sup>59</sup> Amanda Herbert, in her work *Female Alliances*, also captures this in specific relation to receipt book manuscript culture which she considers as evidence of ‘female alliances’, and of communities where ‘the authors of female recipe books created a sense of gendered community by augmenting, revising, and commenting on the recipes of their friends, employees, and relatives’, and where ‘female authors took pride in the fact that they were able to collect recipes from respected friends and relations’.<sup>60</sup> To that end, this thesis will explore what Kristine Kowalchuk calls the ‘ambiguity surrounding the authorship of receipt books’, and what Ezell terms the ‘daily authorial practice in the use of the blank page’, to examine how the fluidity and ambiguity of recipe manuscripts allowed room for individual identity and authority, but also as something inherently entwined with broader networks and social interactions.<sup>61</sup> As such, it will demonstrate that there was both a strong sense of

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<sup>58</sup> Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1980), pp.3-4.

<sup>59</sup> Susan Frye and Karen Robertson (eds.), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women’s Alliances in Early Modern England* (Oxford University Press: New York and Oxford, 1999), p.13.

<sup>60</sup> Amanda E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2014), pp.102-116.

<sup>61</sup> Kristine Kowalchuk (ed.), *Preserving on Paper: Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen’s Receipt Books* (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, Buffalo and London, 2017), p.40; Ezell, ‘Domestic Papers’, p.46.

selfhood and self-fashioning involved in the construction and contribution to recipe manuscripts, but that the 'self' of recipe books was one inextricably bound with the wider family and community. This dissonance in understanding of 'self' as represented in local receipt book manuscripts as both inherently personal and communal, it will argue, can be broadly understood as a sense of 'selfhood' largely in transition, one that Dror Wahrman contends transformed in the latter part of the century; from an *ancien régime* of understanding self and identity as fluid to one of far more fixed identity with expected characteristics 'stamped indelibly on each and every person' largely based on societal categorisations such as gender, status, and race.<sup>62</sup> Thus, in the receipt book examples that are the focus of this thesis, which from conception through to final entry often span several decades of the century, we find that they project both a complex and fluid sense of 'self', and one that is fixed and recognisable within the cultural and societal constraints and expectations of the era. Kate Retford also identifies this in artistic pursuits in the context of eighteenth-century family portraiture which 'testifies to a particular moment in the lifecycle, recording the birth of an heir, a marriage, or the inheritance of a title or estate', whilst simultaneously 'reflect[ing] broader, changing behavioural norms and practices'.<sup>63</sup> Thus, in understanding recipe manuscripts we find not only that their value was inherently bound to their function as both a product of, and of utility to, the individual as well as the household and wider community, but also in their ability to construct and fashion a 'self' in flux, shaped by increasingly rigid societal and cultural trends and norms towards the end of the century.

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<sup>62</sup> Dror Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p.128.

<sup>63</sup> Kate Retford, *The Art of Domestic Life: The Family Portrait in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p.7.

## Education

A key intersection between the individual and the wider community occurs in an examination of the educational or epistemic value of recipe manuscripts. Researchers have established the relative illiteracy of early modern women in comparison to their male counterparts, although the degrees by which this is true does vary by time period, geographical area, and social status. As Sherrin Marshall points out, ‘as late as the 1690s, outside London, some 80 percent of the female population could not yet sign their names’, and in London the rate of female literacy in 1640 was around one woman in every eight men, increasing to one in every three men by the end of the century, where this would have been disproportionately higher amongst women of noble or high gentry status.<sup>64</sup> By the mid-seventeenth century, it has been estimated that still no more than 10% of English women were able to sign their name.<sup>65</sup> Whilst literacy levels were low, some explanation for the significant amount of female-authored texts and documents emerging from archives has been provided in the form of the active creation of educational spaces for developing ‘functional literacy’, particularly for those of at least a middling social status. Caroline Bowden cites receipt books precisely as such ‘evidence of practice of reading and writing’, and as a form of ‘functional literacy’, where the learning of skills can be put into practical use immediately.<sup>66</sup> Similarly, Kowalchuk, in her work on seventeenth-century receipt books, traces their use as tools for developing functional literacy through the improvement of phonetic and inconsistent spelling, and develops this further to consider the practice of the

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<sup>64</sup> Sherrin Marshall (ed.), *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Private and Public Worlds* (Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1989), pp.144-145.

<sup>65</sup> Sara Read, *Maids, Wives, Widows: Exploring Early Modern Women’s Lives 1540-1740* (Pen & Sword History: Barnsley, 2015), p.169.

<sup>66</sup> Caroline Bowden, ‘Women in educational spaces’ in Knoppers (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women’s Writing*, pp.86-87.

recipes themselves, and the individual motivation to learn and practise skills, as well as to preserve traditional knowledge that was otherwise threatened by the loss of oral transmission due to rapid cultural change.<sup>67</sup> Wendy Wall, too, examines the materiality of what she calls 'kitchen literacy' across a host of domestic arts, and drawing upon various examples, clearly demonstrates the connection between domestic and literary practice and pursuits, proffering in the case of recipe manuscripts that they 'offered one site among many in which early modern people were called upon to produce, vary, manipulate, and order letters... [and that] this training becomes especially legible in collections that open with alphabetized indices'.<sup>68</sup> Therefore it emerges that in the personal educational endeavours of early modern female recipe compilers, there are layers of motivation to be addressed in terms of enhancing literacy, developing new practical skills and knowledge, as well as preserving old knowledge. Amongst the culinary, medicinal, and household knowledge that recipe books contain, the value of recipes is after all not solely in the knowledge itself for the compiler or reader, but also in preservation of ancestral knowledge, and in the subsequent benefit to the readers, and to beneficiaries of such medical treatment or culinary enjoyment. Therefore, in the pursuit of knowledge and education which could neither be acquired nor implemented in a social vacuum, any motivation for the education of the individual, relied upon networks of knowledge to draw upon, and to test recipe validity upon.

### **Recipe Texts and Knowledge**

Comprehensive sociological and anthropological considerations of what people ate, when, and why have been undertaken by Jack Goody and Stephen Mennell. Jack Goody surveyed

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<sup>67</sup> Kowalchuk (ed.), *Preserving on Paper*, p.39, pp.86-87, pp.35-36.

<sup>68</sup> Wendy Wall, 'Literacy and Domestic Arts', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No. 3 (University of Pennsylvania Press, September 2010), pp.383-412, pp.402-403.

culinary culture across major civilisations throughout history, whereas Stephen Mennell compared eating habits and taste between England and France between the medieval era to the present.<sup>69</sup> Both of these refer to recipe and cookbooks as valuable sources in understanding culinary culture, whilst Janet Theophano took this further to establish the 'old cookbook' as a source of cultural insight into women's lives over wide temporal and geographic boundaries, ranging from seventeenth century England to twentieth century America.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, interest in the social and cultural aspects of medical experience and history, rather than the culinary, has also highlighted recipe books as significant. For example, Jennifer Evans and Sara Read examine the recipe books of twelve individuals in their exploration of early modern health and cures, and Andrew Wear discusses the role of lay recipe manuscripts in the transmission of medical knowledge.<sup>71</sup> This has given rise to a corpus of literature focussing solely on early modern recipe texts in particular, culminating in the comprehensive collection of essays on the matter, by Michelle DiMeo and Sara Pennell, for example.<sup>72</sup> DiMeo and Pennell's edited work pulls together the leading scholars working with recipe books and manuscripts to demonstrate their significance as a window into the social and cultural histories of the early modern period in their own right. Through focussing on recipe texts alone, they were able to lay the foundations of understanding that 'the story of cookery is not all that recipes can be seized upon to supply'.<sup>73</sup> Instead, essays

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<sup>69</sup> Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, New York and Melbourne, 1982); Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (University of Illinois Press: Urbana and Chicago, 1996).

<sup>70</sup> Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks they Wrote* (Palgrave: New York and Basingstoke, 2002).

<sup>71</sup> Jennifer Evans and Sara Read, *Maladies & Medicine: Exploring Health & Healing 1540-1740* (Pen & Sword History: Barnsley, 2017); Andrew Wear, *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, New York, Melbourne and Madrid, 2000), pp.50-55.

<sup>72</sup> DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*.

<sup>73</sup> DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, p.2.

contained within opened up a whole new field of enquiry into the motivations and the implications of the early modern recipe author and reader; DiMeo's essay within the collection explores the use of manuscript attributions to interrogate connections with families, peers and communities, and Alun Withey establishes domestic medical recipe collections as a form of knowledge exchange or an 'economy of knowledge' in early modern Wales, as he had previously suggested in his own book, *Physick and the Family*, by outlining how volumes of medical remedies could act as a form of 'medical authority'.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, Wendy Wall's *Recipes for Thought* built upon her previous article concerned with literacy in the domestic arts to question what cultural function recipe writing played, what intellectual worlds recipe texts provided, and what creative and social interactions underpinned their production.<sup>75</sup> Kristine Kowalchuk, with her transcription of three receipt books attributed to individual seventeenth century women, views the receipt book as an important form of women's writing with an emphasis on the preservation of knowledge and authority in relation to the work of the early modern English housewife.<sup>76</sup> Elaine Leong's *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge* further extends our understanding of recipes as evidence of medical and scientific knowledge, bringing together the developments of the domestic and the scientific worlds to demonstrate the circulation of 'household science' as part of the quotidian activities of the early modern domestic household.<sup>77</sup> Crucially, Leong has consistently invoked the notion of the 'family archive' of knowledge that she discusses in her book, as having established the 'family collective' of recipe collectors in her earlier

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<sup>74</sup> Alun Withey, 'Crossing the boundaries: domestic recipe collections in early modern Wales' in DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, pp.179-202; Alun Withey, *Physick and the Family: Health Medicine and Care in Wales, 1600-1750* (Manchester University Press: Manchester and New York, 2011), pp.86-96.

<sup>75</sup> Wendy Wall, *Recipes for Thought: Knowledge and Taste in the Early Modern English Kitchen* (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 2016), p.xii.

<sup>76</sup> Kowalchuk (ed.), *Preserving on Paper*, pp.4-5, p.17.

<sup>77</sup> Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, pp.1-18.



work.<sup>78</sup> Thus, through her academic focus upon medicinal knowledge, she has been able to build a picture of a whole household approach which included both men and women interested in collecting traditional and emerging medical knowledge of the period.<sup>79</sup> This thesis aims to add to this body of work establishing recipes as family collections, rather than distinctly female ones in the consideration of gender across both medical and culinary manuscript knowledge.

## **Gender**

Gender is a prevalent theme across disciplines in the academic study of print and as we have seen, manuscript recipes, with their role as 'domestic' instructional documents utilised extensively to shed light upon early modern women's significant literary and historical contribution. There are multiple logical explanations for this; Ezell attributes it to a limited modern concept of the literary landscape in which 'we have overlooked or excluded a literary world before 1700, one in which men and women participated together', in favour of 'a nineteenth-century competitive, commercial one'.<sup>80</sup> However, the seeds of the broader ideological concept of the separation of men and women (or, 'separate spheres') extends far beyond the literary world, and instead the notion of 'domestic womanhood' and the 'separate spheres' of men and women have been far more pervasive in defining historical understanding.

As an ideological concept, 'separate spheres' was originally applied to the early nineteenth, or late eighteenth century and proposed that men and women have historically occupied distinct spaces within society based on both biological and societal norms. In theory, this

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<sup>78</sup> Leong, 'Collecting Knowledge for the Family', pp.81-103.

<sup>79</sup> Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, pp.10-11.

<sup>80</sup> Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, p.38.

denotes an innate association between men and masculinity with the public sphere, and women and femininity with the private, domestic sphere. The nineteenth-century French diplomat and historian, Alexis de Tocqueville, is considered an early purveyor of separate spheres ideology, with his metaphor of the 'circle of domestic life', in which women were said to live in a 'distinct world' that was chiefly concerned with nurturing activities.<sup>81</sup> This concept of the domestic world as an inherently female domain, and of a womanhood built heavily upon notions of domesticity, has also been frequently linked to Victorian ideology arising as a result of the Industrial Revolution.<sup>82</sup> Shoemaker, however, argued in the 1980s that gender separation was far more pervasive than this, and that it was not industrialisation that significantly limited the social, economic and political opportunities of women to the domestic realm, but rather that it has always occurred. He does, however, acknowledge the limitations of 'separate spheres' as a concept in underestimating the overlap between the activities of men and women, and thus himself identifying that any clear distinction in roles is often an over-simplification.<sup>83</sup> Amanda Vickery also berates this over-reliance on a theory of distinctly gendered 'public' and 'private' spheres in the writing of women's history in general, as being far too simplified.<sup>84</sup> Ultimately, the implications of the homogenous insertion of 'separate spheres' into our understanding of domestic recipe books and the assumed separation of men and women's writing which comes with that,

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<sup>81</sup> Linda Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (1988), pp.9-10.

<sup>82</sup> Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (1993), p.384; Diana Cordea, 'Two Approaches on the Philosophy of Separate Spheres in Mid-Victorian England: John Ruskin and John Stuart Mill', *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 71 (2013), p.121. For more on 'the Victorian conception of sexual polarity' see Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1982) pp.xiii-xii, p.207.

<sup>83</sup> Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (Longman: London and New York, 1998), p.146.

<sup>84</sup> Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (The Folio Society: London, 2006), pp.11-13.

effectively excludes men from the domain of domestic writing, and creates an anomaly of women writing for 'public' consumption.

Undoubtedly, the concept of separate spheres has been an invaluable tool to feminist historians over the last 50 years. According to Linda Kerber and others, development and use of the metaphor has progressed considerably; used in the 1960s as a necessary way to identify 'women's historical experience', in the 1970s to explore the emergent 'liberating possibilities of "women's culture"', and by the 1980s, as an established and useful 'prism through which to view the diaries, letters and organi[s]ation records that had been freshly discovered and whose potential was freshly appreciated'.<sup>85</sup> It is therefore not the aim of this thesis to undermine any notion of agency for women within historical discourse, nor the historical progress made in exploring and recovering female voice, experience and empowerment in a domestic setting; it is not intended to distract from the study of women by bringing men and masculinity into the picture, or to imply that women's history is 'done'. Instead, it seeks to, as John Arnold puts it, 'problematise the assumed authority of gender norms', and to challenge the unquestioning application of such a paradigm, particularly in the instance of domestic manuscripts, at the expense of a much fuller understanding of the relational aspects of gender identity within early modern domesticity.<sup>86</sup> This thesis will therefore contend that the fluid nature of these texts demands a much more nuanced understanding of both men and women's participation within the tradition of collecting and collating recipes, and of how domestic manuscripts should be considered just one example of what Amanda Flather describes as a 'space where we see individual men and women, on

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<sup>85</sup> Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place', p.7; See also: Joanne Bailey, 'Is the Rise of Gender History "hiding" Women from History Once Again?', *History in Focus*, Iss. 8 (2005), at <https://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Gender/articles.html> [Accessed: 02 November 2013].

<sup>86</sup> John Arnold, 'Is the Rise of Gender History "hiding" Women from History Once Again?', *History in Focus*, Iss. 8 (2005), at <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Gender/articles2.html> [Accessed: 02 November 2013].

a daily basis, negotiating the tensions created by the complementary and competing definitions of masculinity and femininity'.<sup>87</sup> Here, Flather is making a more general reference to domestic 'space', but this thesis will demonstrate that by focussing on one particular domestic text genre within focussed geographical and temporal boundaries, the blurring of presumed gender divides become even more apparent, and that the tension between notions of masculinity and femininity can be examined more effectively.

Overall, whilst the concept of separate spheres may be, at times, a useful 'rhetorical device used by historians and sociologists for analysing men's and women's activities in the nineteenth and twentieth century Anglo-American world', we must also consider the potential limitations that its application imposes upon our understanding of domesticity in the eighteenth century, particularly if it can be argued that 'the separation of men's and women's spheres was closest to reality in the nineteenth century'.<sup>88</sup> This then brings into question whether the inherent usefulness to the agenda of feminist history has inadvertently resulted in the device being anachronistically applied to our perception of the domestic lens in the eighteenth century. More importantly, it leads us to consider whether it has unintentionally created a much wider oversight in the ongoing complexity of gender dynamics in relation to domestic manuscripts, and in our understanding of the quotidian use of physical domestic space in the early modern period as a whole. For example, recipe historians DiMeo and Pennell suggested that male involvement in recipe books and receipt sharing culture may have been previously overlooked, and that some progress had been made towards 'acknowledging male interest and participation in domestic recipe collection

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<sup>87</sup> Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (The Boydell Press: London, 2007), p.178.

<sup>88</sup> Danaya Wright, 'Theorizing History: Separate Spheres, the Public/Private Binary and a New Analytic for Family Law History', *2012 ANZLHS EJournal*, Refereed Paper 2 (2012), p.45.

and preparation...[which] enables us to move on from seeing 'domestic papers' as a long overlooked but now recuperated form of women's writing, towards reinserting men into the domestic environment'.<sup>89</sup>

However, progress in this area has had significant limitations in scope to date and this vision is yet to be fully realised. Instead, we witness a tendency for the medical and culinary aspects of recipe texts still to be more readily seen in gendered terms, men, and medical receipts, along with women and culinary receipts. For example, Lisa Smith's article on the 'Relative Duties of Man' uses medical consultation letters to explore the role of men in early modern society, and the early modern home, but is particularly concerned with the male role in domestic medical activities.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, Andrew Wear acknowledges a cross-gender interest and involvement in these texts when he describes recipe collections as 'repositories of family and community knowledge and lore', but again, is referring specifically to 'medical recipe collections' and 'medical information'.<sup>91</sup> Despite being a historian with expertise specifically in the transfer and production of medical and scientific knowledge in particular, Elaine Leong undoubtedly embraces a fully inclusive interpretation of gender roles within recipe texts with her broader exploration of the 'family collective [...] in compiling books of knowledge'. This interpretation from Leong represents not only a more inclusive understanding of who was involved in compiling books of recipes, but also a much less divided interpretation of 'knowledge' contained therein. In her paper 'Collecting Knowledge for the Family', Leong traces the seventeenth century 'family books' of the Cholmeley and Fairfax families noting that 'Mary and Henry, their children and various members of the

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<sup>89</sup> DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, p.13.

<sup>90</sup> Lisa Smith, 'The Relative Duties of Man: Domestic Medicine in England and France, ca. 1685-1740', *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (July 2006), pp.237-256.

<sup>91</sup> Alun Withey, 'Crossing the Boundaries', pp.179-202.

Fairfax and Cholmeley families continually entered new medical and culinary information into this 'treasury for health'.<sup>92</sup> Significantly though, despite a consistent acknowledgement of both culinary and medical knowledge and their relation to one another in this period throughout on Leong's part, the journal article itself is still linked to the keywords, 'early modern medicine', and 'informal science' with no explicit link made to food or drink by the publisher.<sup>93</sup> In contrast, when then turning to historiographical contributions which focus on food and cookery in this period, we instead find the focus turns overwhelmingly to women. Janet Theophano's anthropological study, *Eat My Words*, spans wide temporal and geographical boundaries, and yet, it reduces the scope and detail of its own study into domestic texts to 'Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote'. Similarly, we notice that Gilly Lehmann's work on eighteenth century cookery books, cooking and society is called *The British Housewife*, not 'The British Household' despite a frontispiece which depicts a contemporary kitchen scene very clearly involving both men and women.<sup>94</sup>

This thesis will explore evidence from local manuscript examples to demonstrate the complexities and fluidity of concepts of gender than prescribed gender norms would suggest. This more fluid view of gender roles and activity within the early modern home was picked up by both Sally Osborn and Katherine Allen in their studies, where Osborn noted the role of both men and women in domestic healthcare and medical recipes, and Allen emphasised the household as a space of experimentation and innovation by 'men and women as collectors, sources of knowledge and care, and as consumers.'<sup>95</sup> This broader view

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<sup>92</sup> Leong, 'Collecting Knowledge for the Family', pp.81-103.

<sup>93</sup> Available: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/1600-0498.12019> [Accessed: 22 February 2021].

<sup>94</sup> Gilly Lehmann, *The British Housewife: Cookery Books, Cooking and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Prospect Books: Totnes, 2003).

<sup>95</sup> Osborn, *The Role of Domestic Knowledge in an Era of Professionalisation*, pp.255-314; Allen, *Manuscript Recipe Collections and Elite Domestic Medicine*, pp.281-283.

is further articulated in the works of both Simon Werrett and Karen Harvey who consider the expanse of domestic economy discourse as a concern for both men and women equally. For Harvey, management of the household was simply ‘a joint endeavour’ in which men should not be considered as ‘hapless victims of unfathomable interlopers in the foreign land of the home’.<sup>96</sup> For Werrett, the importance of the home as an important site for scientific enquiry spans the whole household, with both the men and women of early modern science firmly situated within the context and material culture of household oeconomy through the thrifty use of everyday items as tools of experimentation.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, the analysis of this thesis will focus upon a fluid gendering of men and women in relation to domestic roles, activities, and concerns of household management and oeconomy.

This thesis will be organised into three sections. The first section, ‘Form and Function: The Value of the ‘Self’ in Domestic Recipe Texts’, comprises three chapters, each tackling key themes relating to the ‘self’ of the compiler of, or contributor to, recipe texts. It will explore the educational and intellectual benefits of receipt-writing culture to individuals, particularly in consideration of the early modern context of female education. It will analyse receipt books primarily as a platform for acquiring and demonstrating knowledge, contending that the fluid nature of the practices associated with recipe collection not only facilitated the learning of recipes for food and household medicinal techniques (traditional and/or emerging), but also represented a way of improving and enhancing literacy skills, and of claiming authority and agency within the domestic realm through the demonstration of expertise in household management. Chapter one, ‘Authority and Agency’, will explore the

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<sup>96</sup> Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012), p.17, p.15, p.9.

<sup>97</sup> Simon Werrett, *Thrifty Science: Making the Most of Materials in the History of Experiment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), pp.4-7.

value of recipe manuscripts to their female compilers as mechanisms for authority and agency. Here the thesis will grapple with concepts of the 'self' as expressed in the form of authority and agency through domestic texts and recipe expertise. It will explore variations of title pages as methods of introducing ownership or authority over the content, and it will consider the interactivity of recipe manuscripts through recipes being endorsed, amended and commented upon over time, by either the original, or a subsequent owner, and the implications for this as a source of authority over the contents. It will contend that the fluidity of recipe texts established them as a platform for demonstrating domestic authority and expertise for both the compiler and subsequent readers. Chapter two, 'Knowledge and Learning', will consider the epistemic value of recipe documents as a way of facilitating the preservation of knowledge, be that traditional or emerging, the role of recipe writing as a form of 'functional literacy'. It will also consider the organisational and structural devices that supported the use of receipt book manuscripts as a reference material, as well as how their organisation into sections and headings, often paired with extensive indexes for enabling the efficient extraction of relevant information, demonstrated the contemporary value of them as sources of knowledge and information on matters domestic. Chapter three, 'Landscapes of Medicinal Practice and Learning', will largely consider the role of these female compilers as informal medical practitioners within their households and local communities during a period where medical professionals were still scarce. It will explore the correlation between the growing culture of experimentalism in the period, and how this is reflected in recipe manuscript examples. It will therefore outline developments to be found in the common structure of recipes, and will demonstrate the enhancement of a single remedy for a 'Plague Water' over several iterations through a process of trial and error experimentation, resulting in small changes in ingredients, quantities, and the ultimate



transition into a 'recipelike' formula that would much more familiar to a modern audience, with separate sections for ingredients and techniques, in place of a prose-life format that was customary in the period.

The second section, 'Recipe Networks: The Value of Community in Domestic Recipe Texts', consisting of chapters four to six, will move beyond the individual to consider more broadly the value of community and networks in eighteenth century recipe compilations. It will offer a distinctly regional perspective on recipe sharing and knowledge dissemination, examining what recipe texts tell us about contemporary social and familial networks, and their role in knowledge sharing. It will examine those consulted for receipts through attributions and the implications for what this tells us about how compilers utilised recipe manuscripts for a range of knowledge-gathering purposes across their social networks. Chapter four 'Household & Family Networks', will focus on the household and family networks of recipe sharing. It will establish the immediate social contacts of those compiling recipe manuscripts, featuring blood relations, including parents, siblings, cousins, as well as relations through marriage, across recipe attribution examples. It will consider elements of social status evidenced between the collections, too, particularly in how the Willoughby and Mundy manuscripts take a more informal approach to citing their relations, whilst the aristocratic Henrietta Harley utilises the formal titles of even her closest relations. Overall, the broad reach of recipe networks will be shown to extend from the aristocracy and elites to the expertise of household servants. Chapter five, 'Local Recipe Networks', will showcase the connections and networks uncovered through recipe attributions in the local area. It will map shared recipes, shared social contacts, and will explore the significance of religious networks in matters of domestic knowledge sharing. Chapter six, 'Continental Influences and Beyond', will explore the European and other wider geographical and social influences

upon recipe practice in terms of ingredients, techniques, and food cultures, as well as the influence of medical practitioners with knowledge attributed to contemporary physicians being shared across the continent, and working their way into local receipt book manuscripts.

The third section, 'Separate Spheres? Gender in Domestic Recipe Texts', encompassing chapters seven and eight, will contribute to the ongoing challenge upon historiographical assumptions about gender norms. It will look beyond the compiler to consider in detail the attributions, ancestral influences, and the concept of separate spheres in early modern households to support a notion of domestic alliances and networks which transcended gender boundaries. It will draw upon the wealth of source material available in order to refocus regional analysis around male participation and masculine culture within 'female' domestic manuscripts. Chapter seven, 'Gendered Attributions', will examine the proportion of overtly male-attributed recipes that feature as part of the female-authored core sources. It will therefore demonstrate that receipt sharing culture transcended 'separate spheres', and merely 'female alliances', instead offering a more collaborative picture of men and women in early modern domesticity. It will also draw upon earlier archival evidence to demonstrate the ancestral influence of male-authored manuscript culture, and how men from earlier generations can be seen to have engaged openly with recipe collecting and preserving, serving to challenge the prevailing view of a purely matrilineal dissemination of domestic knowledge and domestic manuscript cultures in this period. Chapter eight, 'Professional Status in Male Manuscript Culture', will examine the influence of well-known male medical professionals and their participation in contributing to and compiling texts of household knowledge, thereby enhancing, building upon, and interacting with the type of self-sourced knowledge discussed in chapter one.

Overall, the thesis will conclude that domestic receipt book manuscript culture in the aristocratic and gentry households of eighteenth-century Nottinghamshire was valuable to both the individual and to the community in this period, and that as sources, recipe manuscripts are significant in shedding new light for historians upon the complexities of household collaboration across gender and status boundaries. Through examining examples at a regional level, this thesis will contribute to the wider picture of recipe culture which can be, at times, dominated by largely national or London-centric source analysis. In focussing primarily on eighteenth century sources, it will move historical consideration of recipe culture away from one largely dominated by romanticised notions of Renaissance women writing from within the social and political upheaval of the seventeenth century. It will instead consider the quotidian practicalities of domesticity in regional areas amongst a rapidly changing climate of the eighteenth century, characterised by growing commercialism and experimentalism brought about by the increasing prosperity, relative stability, and commercial expansion of Georgian Britain. By taking a whole manuscript approach combined with a limited regional focus upon Nottingham and Derbyshire families, this thesis will demonstrate the value of analysing whole communities of knowledge contained within single volumes or collections, thereby showcasing community relations and networks that are otherwise easily lost in much broader studies. With that, the emphasis placed in this thesis upon relationships within and across family networks in the region will highlight the significance and value of recipe manuscripts as records of both knowledge and networks.

## I. Form and Function:

### The Value of 'Self' in Domestic Recipe Manuscripts

The three chapters that comprise this first section explore the fluidity of receipt book features and their flexible utility as a platform for expressing knowledge and authority. Through themes of authority and authorship, learning and literacy, and sites of medical learning, the complexities of the early modern sense of 'self' will be examined; that being, the everyday tensions and practical negotiations of understanding the 'self' both as an individual, and as an entity intricately linked to the wider household and community. It will highlight the value of the individual within the authorship and utility of the receipt book genre, whilst acknowledging the interrelation between individuality and community in early modern social and domestic spheres; for some, such as Charles H. Parker, there is an argument to be made that the interrelation between the individual and community has become an 'overdrawn dichotomy'.<sup>1</sup> Within this, it will also consider the 'self' portrayed in recipe manuscripts as what Dror Wahrman describes as a 'distinctive eighteenth-century configuration' of identity, one in a state of flux from a somewhat fluid and flexible regime towards one characterised by much more rigidity by the end of the century.<sup>2</sup> It will therefore highlight the utility of recipe manuscripts as tools of formation for both personal identity, connected to the individual and their life experience, as well as to a more community-minded public self-fashioning in response to growing social, political and cultural expectations of women and of middling to elite households. Thus, it will explore elements of Sally Osborn's 'OSPI' model in which she seeks to measure the value of collecting medical recipes in particular, by assessing their mutual value to individual

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<sup>1</sup> Parker, 'Introduction: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World', pp.1-9.

<sup>2</sup> Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, esp. pp.127-128.

compilers and wider communities in supplying agency and authority, namely in the form of good household management and the economic value, the symbolic authority to commemorate individuals and to record networks, the agency to construct based on personal concerns, need, and interests, as well as to be instrumental in managing relationships.<sup>3</sup>

In *Reading and Writing Recipes*, DiMeo and Pennell introduce a variety of elements and structures of receipt books which become a subsequent theme of their work, summarising that 'both the recipes and the text they are collected in can be seen as unfixed formats that seem to defy classification as a genre'.<sup>4</sup> However, whilst they accurately contend that 'there was no prescribed format for compiling a manuscript recipe book (unlike the various guides to compiling a commonplace book)', they do acknowledge numerous common aspects in seventeenth and eighteenth century examples:

A title-page or declaration of ownership; recipes with titles separated from the main body of the text in some way; 'author' or donor names attached to some recipes; numbering (either page or entry or both); indexing or other information-retrieval apparatus. Many books also feature structuring devices to distinguish between types of recipe, from separating 'medicinal' and culinary recipes (into distinct volumes or at either ends of a single book), to chapter-like groupings of differing dishes and preparations (either by type of dish, such as pies; or by preparation/condition treated).<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, receipt book manuscripts, despite a seeming lack of prescription as to their format, have several common features, albeit utilised with varying degrees of fluidity, which serve to make them recognisable as a distinct genre within the broader landscape of early modern domestic texts.

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<sup>3</sup> Osborn, *The Role of Domestic Knowledge in an Era of Professionalisation*, pp.345-346.

<sup>4</sup> DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, p.9.

<sup>5</sup> DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, pp.9-10.

This section will interrogate a number of the common features outlined above as the markers of household receipt book manuscripts as a distinct genre, such as title pages, endorsements and comments, indices, section headings, and recipe attributions which are also prevalent in regional examples. However, it will demonstrate the great degree of fluidity that can be seen in the adoption and consistent implementation of such features across the varied recipe book structures, with methods ranging both within and between bound volumes and collections. This section ultimately contends that it is precisely this fluidity of the recognisable receipt book features which were fundamental to forming the inherent value of domestic recipe texts to their compilers and owners; that being, in asserting a sense of self, as an individual who holds authority and agency over their recipe collections, as well as their household and their wider community. With this in mind, the framework of features outlined by DiMeo and Pennell will be considered as common techniques that recipe writers (compilers and contributors) used as creative platforms for self-expression and asserting identity and/or authorship, as well as for educational and epistemic purposes such as the acquisition of a broad range of household knowledge and developing literacy.

## **Chapter One: Authority and Agency**

This chapter will consider authorship and authority by analysing features present in title pages (or declarations of ownership), marginal comments, endorsements, and edits.

Close examination of title pages (or lack thereof) will highlight the strong sense of self and individualism which, alongside accompanying comments, amendments, and endorsements, will demonstrate the strength of individual voice and authority even within such a collaborative and multi-authored genre of text.

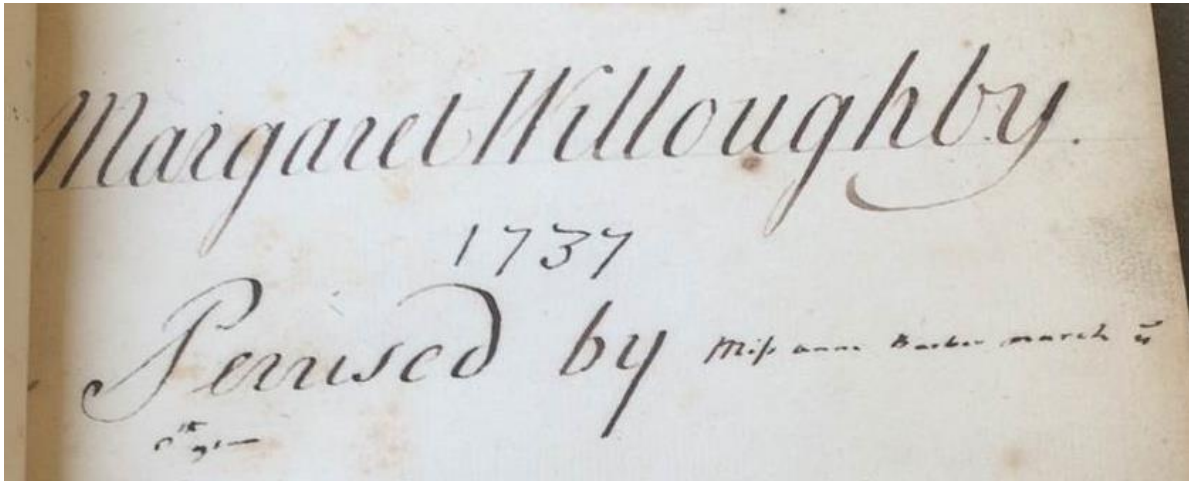
### **Title Pages**

Receipt book title pages tell us much about the ownership, authorship and intended long-term purpose of the compilation they introduce. Primarily, they outline initial authorship and/or ownership to the individuals who initiate the collection, but this varies, and sources show that title pages can reflect either a single, definitive ownership, an ownership that spans generations, or an ownership intended from the outset to be distinctly collaborative. It is therefore clear that the presence (or absence) of a title page versus an alternative, may well have a direct connection, not only to whether initial authorship was collaborative, but also whether the manuscript was intended to be circulated for use by other individuals at a later stage. In the bound examples of Nottinghamshire manuscripts, we see a range of approaches to recipe compiling which are then broadly reflected in these varied approaches to incorporating a title page.

Three of the four substantial Willoughby family volumes (MS 87/1-3) include no title page, names, or dates at all, opting instead to open their volumes with index pages in two of the examples (MS 87/1 and MS 87/3). The fourth volume (MS 87/4), however, is very clearly

attributed to Margaret Willoughby in 1737, along with a device to encourage the recording of a subsequent reader or reviewer (Fig. 2, below).

**Fig. 2 Title page for receipt book volume of Margaret Willoughby.<sup>1</sup>**



This title page, and its large formal lettering, establishes Margaret as the owner and initiator of the collection with her name, and the date of 1737 added by a later hand and/or at a later date, but also devises a platform for recording subsequent readers with ‘Perused by’ with a blank space left to be added to at a later date. In this instance, the title page records only one single subsequent user - a “Miss Anne Barber [on] March the 6<sup>th</sup> ‘91’ - seemingly in a distinct hand. This suggests that while the manuscript appears to have been circulated outside of the immediate household, that it did not travel far, with Miss Barber apparently from a neighbouring Nottingham household. Miss Barber is likely to be Anne Cheslyn (née Barber, 1769-1823), the third of six children by Thomas Barber (1738-1818), a successful local colliery owner and company co-founder, and his wife Sophia (née Hutchinson). The Barber family was closely connected to the Bilborough area of Nottingham, with Anne and all five of her siblings being baptised in the parish, including her brother John (1772-73), who was also buried there after dying in infancy; and in 1787, Anne’s father formed the

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<sup>1</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, ‘Title page’, f.3r.



limited company Barber, Walker & Co with Thomas Walker, also of Bilborough.<sup>2</sup> In 1794, Anne Barber married Richard Cheslyn Esq. of Langley Priory, Leicestershire, with her husband going on to become chairman of her father's company.<sup>3</sup>

The close proximity of the Nottingham areas of Aspley and Bilborough and the undoubted prominence of the two gentry families make it not only highly likely that the Willoughbys at Aspley and the Barbers at Bilborough were known to one another, but the recipes across the Willoughby collection volume confirm it. Firstly, the Barber family name features as contributors of a total of eight recipes across the first, second and fourth Willoughby volumes, including a recipe for 'A Treacle Beer' by 'Miss Anne Barber' herself in the second, and another 'For hide bound horses, by Mr Thos. Barber', in the fourth.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, Anne is also featured using her married name in six recipes in the first Willoughby volume as both 'Mrs Chestlyn' and 'Mrs Cheslyn', thus indicating that the exchange between the Willoughby and Barber/Cheslyn families continued following her subsequent marriage and name change, despite her taking up residence at her husband's Leicestershire Estate at Langley Priory.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, Anne's sister Ruth Eliza Barber, who married a John Bourne in 1803, also appears to feature in the first Willoughby volume, with two recipes 'by Mrs Bourne'.<sup>6</sup> Significantly, the dates of both Anne and Ruth's marriages, and the references to them by

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<sup>2</sup> Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage: New Revised Edition*, 107<sup>th</sup> Edition, Vol I (Burke's Peerage and Gentry, 2003), pp.248-249.

<sup>3</sup> Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage*, pp.248-249.

<sup>4</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'To Pickle Pork or Beef, by Mrs Barber', p.82; MS 87/2, 'For an Ague, by Mrs R Barber', p.49, 'Treacle Beer, by Miss Anne Barber', p.138; MS 87/4, 'To pickle Porke, by Mr Barber', p.260, 'To make soft Chees, by Mr Barber', p.260, 'For hide bound horses, by Mr Thos. Barber', p.264, 'Adam Hough's receipt for the Grease, by Mr Barber', p.274, 'To salt hams in pickle, by Mrs Barber', p.293.

<sup>5</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Elder Wine, by Mrs Chestlyn', p.75, 'Collar or Brawn, by Mrs Cheslyn', p.85, 'Elder Ketchup, by Mrs Cheslyn', p.88, 'Gloucester Jelly, by Mrs Cheslyn', p.90, 'Worm powders, by Mrs Cheslyn', back, p.42, 'For a Styne on the Eye, by Mrs Cheslyn', back, p.43.

<sup>6</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Tops of the bean stems, by Mrs Bourne', p.92, 'To Prevent Flies blowing, by Mrs Bourne', p.99.

their marital names indicates that the first volume of the Willoughby collection at least continued to be in use beyond 1790, and into the early nineteenth century. That almost certainly did not extend beyond 1823 though, with Anne's reported suicide in the August of that year:

It is our painful duty to record the death of Mrs. Cheslyn, wife of Richard Cheslyn, Esq. of Langley Priory, Leicestershire. From the evidence upon the Coroner's Inquest, it appears, that a suit in Chancery had been instituted four or five years ago by Mrs. Campbell (one of Mrs. Cheslyn's sisters) and her husband, against Mr. Cheslyn and Mr. Thomas Barber. Mrs. Cheslyn has, in consequence, been separated from the society of her sisters, to whom she was most affectionately attached; and ever since that time her health and spirits have been rapidly declining. Some adverse proceeding had recently been taken by Mr. Campbell, the contemplation of which produced a fever on the brain, and totally deprived her of her reason. On Sunday morning last, she was missed from the house, and discovered in the fish pond near, quite dead. The Jury found "that she drowned herself in temporary derangement" – *Derby Mercury*.<sup>7</sup>

According to the detail of this report 'that a suit in Chancery had been instituted four or five years ago by [her sister] Mrs. Campbell and her husband' the timing of the 'separat[ion] from the society of her sisters, to whom she was most affectionately attached' coincided approximately around the time of their father's death in 1818. Therefore, the inclusion of both Anne, and her sister Ruth, together in receipt book collection may well indicate that the recipes were exchanged prior to such a time when the Barber family feud began. If so, this would date the addition of those receipts as beyond Anne's wedding in 1794, and her sister's in 1803, but no later than 1818.

So, whilst the title page of Mrs Willoughby's volume (MS 87/4) is a simple one in style and detail, the biographical information of both Margaret Willoughby and Anne Barber

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<sup>7</sup> Leigh Hunt, Albany William Fonblanque and John Forster (eds.), 'Accidents, Offences, &c', *The Examiner*, Issue 812 (August 17, 1823), p.543. See also: John Nichols (ed.), 'Deaths', *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle, Jan.1736-Dec.1833* (Aug 1823), pp.187-191.

combined provides valuable insight into how texts like these were contemporarily used and understood. The recording of her name on the title page marks out this particular volume of the four as Margaret's own, and the inclusion of 'Perused by' in her own hand also suggests that it was a manuscript intended for circulation from its conception, hence the intentional use of more than half a folio as blank space which would have allowed for multiple subsequent names to be added. This could account for a need for Margaret as the original compiler to claim authority over the text, but also suggests that she was encouraging and welcoming the inclusion of others as readers - and as writers through the addition of their own name – which reinforces the intentionally collaborative nature of this example, and of the genre as a whole.

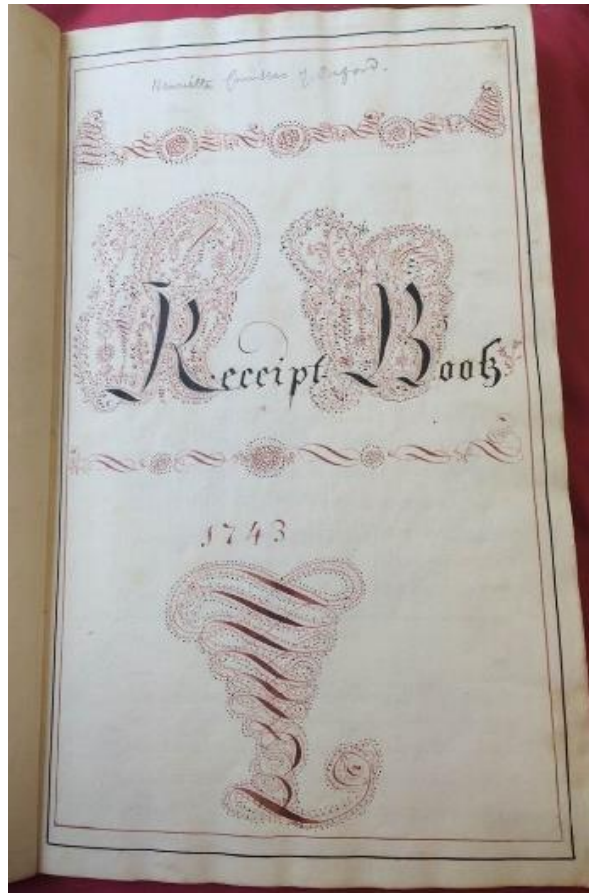
Additionally, the respective dates of the inscriptions are significant to the compilers for similar reasons. Initiating the collection in 1737, Margaret Willoughby embarks upon the project shortly after her marriage to Edward in 1736. For Anne Barber (or soon-to-be, Anne Cheslyn), her reading of the volume in 1791 predates her marriage by just a few years, supporting the widely perceived association between the commencement of receipt book 'starter collections' and embarking upon matrimonial life.<sup>8</sup> The value of recipe knowledge at this particular juncture in early modern women's lives is logical, coinciding with and related to their anticipated domestic duties and responsibilities as mistresses of their own households. By writing their names onto the title page of this collection, both Margaret and Anne can be seen to be claiming and asserting their individual identity and knowledge over the body of the text, leaving a trace of their individual association with the volume, and of the knowledge contained within. Interestingly, as the only Willoughby volume with a title

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<sup>8</sup> DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, p.10; Leong, 'Collecting Knowledge for the Family', pp.81-103.

page function used to record names, Margaret's design of the volume shows that even in asserting her individual authority, the need to do so was apparently motivated by some certainty of its subsequent circulation. Thus, the receipt book owner as an individual emerges strongly in this instance, precisely because Margaret was inviting such a collaborative approach. The recipe book in this sense is a quintessential example of how entwined the fingerprint of the individual was with the notion of the wider community, with the individual only needing to be named perhaps where they anticipated the text would not remain in their sole possession. The intended circulation of this volume as a manuscript across local coteries, if applied across all four, would account well for more iterative, multi-authored and cross-generational nature of the collection in comparison to other examples. In contrast, the title pages of Harley's volumes are far more notable in their elaborate and decorative designs but make no attempt at the time to record Henrietta's name or role as their compiler, with her name instead added in pencil at a later date. The title pages of these manuscripts make subtle references to other solitary domestic arts through embroidery-influenced, decorative flourishes, thereby representing the individual less by name, and more in the single-authored approach and conviction in gathering her own lifetime of knowledge as one authoritative collection of domestic expertise. The calligraphic style and flourishes of the Harley title pages, whilst detailed and ornate, do contain imperfections that are indicative of self production rather than that of a professional; they also match the decorative patterns and designs employed to number, title and indicate the ending of recipe entries throughout the volumes. This is in keeping with the apparent use of Henrietta's own hand throughout the entirety of the volumes and suggests she produced all elements of her recipe volumes without the use of a scribe or secretary.

**Fig. 3 Title page for receipt book volume of Henrietta Harley, Countess of Oxford [Vol. I].<sup>9</sup>**



This variance between the Willoughby and Harley examples can be accounted for when considering biographical information. Henrietta compiled her manuscripts at an entirely different juncture in her life. Rather than acting as a 'starter' collection, this manuscript project commences nearly a decade after the marriage of Harley's only daughter, and just two years after the death of her husband Edward. As a result, these volumes appear to have been compiled more for Henrietta's own pleasure, and to represent a compilation of the very best, or most favoured, recipes gathered over a lifetime of personal collection. Therefore, it seems she did not anticipate the need to mark her name on the title page, presuming instead that it would remain in her possession. By taking a less social approach to authorship and producing a collection intended for a much more personal and possibly

<sup>9</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'Title page', f.1r.

familial audience, Henrietta perhaps eliminated the perceived need to name herself as the author, or to add further preface or contextual detail beyond the ornate presentation of the words 'Receipt Book' and the date, '1743' (Fig. 3, above).

This does not make the collection any less reflective of her as individual though and the level of detail and calligraphic flourishes across all three volumes represents a significant investment of time and shows us that Harley undoubtedly intended for them to be considered as a collected whole, as is achieved by the visually distinctive style and format which all three volumes share. The value Harley places upon reflecting on, compiling, and preserving the knowledge she has acquired, and transferring them from loose receipts into bound and organised sections, nods to the self as an individual with valid experiences required to motivate such a biographical collection of work.<sup>10</sup> The process of quiet and organisational contemplation and reflection required is not at odds with what we know of her character as a reserved and philosophical bibliophile greatly concerned with the preservation of her family home and heritage.<sup>11</sup> This difference in style and approach keenly demonstrates how the sense of self and individuality can be reflected in such a fluid genre of manuscript writing.

Therefore, the collection - as a single-authored, life-long, collection of an individual's knowledge and domestic expertise - might well be considered the very embodiment of Harley's identity as an individual. However, the symbolism of solitary domestic arts of embroidery and calligraphy, which seem to represent Harley's insular nature and individual interests so aptly, also provide subtle indications of a more collective household experience.

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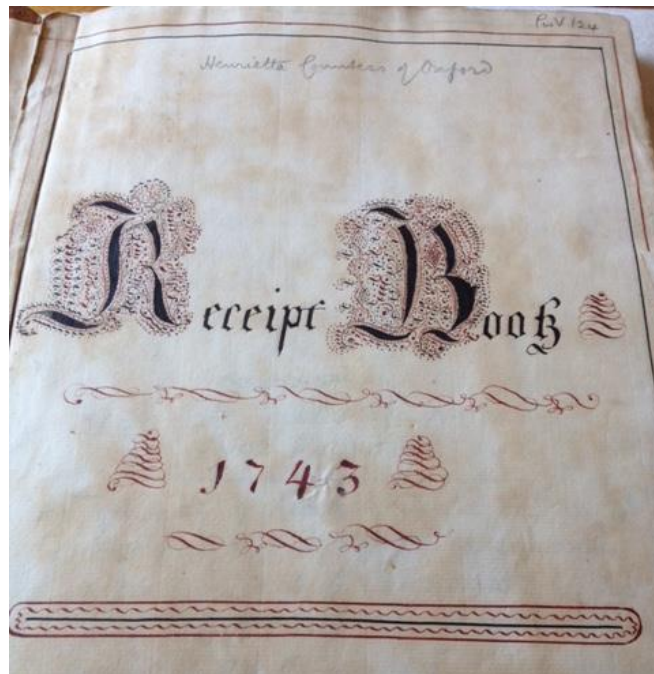
<sup>10</sup> Loose versions of some of Henrietta Harley's receipts from the private Portland Collection were exhibited as part of the 'Dinner with a Duke' exhibition at the Harley Gallery 2010-2012. See: Philippa Glanville, *The Welbeck Kitchen, 1695-1914* (The Harley Gallery, 2017).

<sup>11</sup> Richard W. Goulding, 'Henrietta Countess of Oxford', pp.1-41.

For example, calligraphic scrolls can be seen on both sides of the date, following the 'Receipt Book' title in her second volume (Fig. 4, below), and at the top left and right corners of her first (Fig. 3, above) where they have been inverted.

The precise reason for their inversion from a traditional scroll-like flourish is not entirely clear, but it is possible that, combined with the swarm-like embroidery detail resembling bees around examples of the floral depictions, the inversed scrolls to the top of the page (Fig. 3, above), are decorative features employed to play on the beehive motif as a symbol of early modern domesticity. Alongside the mimicry of embroidery patterns of floral and pastoral design, these title pages appear to elicit sentiments of other household activity generally considered to form an important part of the education of young girls and women.<sup>12</sup>

**Fig. 4** Title page for receipt book volume of Henrietta Harley, Countess of Oxford [Vol. II].<sup>13</sup>



<sup>12</sup> Liz Arthur, *Embroidery at the Burrell Collection, 1600-1700* (John Murray: London, 1995), pp.59-74; Caroline Bowden, 'Female Education in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries in England and Wales: A Study of Attitudes and Practice' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, Institute of Education, 1996), p.81, pp.188-189.

<sup>13</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'Title page', f.1r.

In Harley's title page examples, therefore, there is a layering of references and skills which establish her as a credible expert of domestic arts, and to reinforce the sense of authority and agency she holds in that domain in taking the 'opportunity to read, write and reflect' upon her amalgamated skills and experience across the domestic arena.<sup>14</sup> Through employing the beehive motif, this may also acknowledge the wider domestic picture of hive-like collaboration that recipe collecting requires in practice, as can be seen in the broad range of attributions she includes amongst her collection.

The style and symbolism of the Mundy volume (Fig. 5, below) has some similarities, and differences, to the title pages of Henrietta Harley's three slimmer volumes.

**Fig. 5 Title page for receipt book volume of Elenor Mundy.<sup>15</sup>**



<sup>14</sup> Theophano, *Eat My Words*, p.188.

<sup>15</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Title Page', f.2r.



In the example of Elenor Mundy's recipe book (c.1728-1767), the title page represents a particularly elaborate declaration of single authorship. Unlike Harley though, Mundy has explicitly recorded her name to claim ownership of the original content, which appears to have been recorded all in one hand as a complete project, with the verso folios left intentionally blank for one or more subsequent user/s. The date of 1728 recorded on the title page supports the theory posited in the archival descriptions that this book was constructed as a gift for Elenor's new daughter-in-law, Hester Miller-Mundy, upon her marriage to her third son Edward, in 1729. Elenor's name here therefore implies a similar approach to Margaret Willoughby, in that the recording of her ownership, with her name as part of a title page feature, appears to be driven precisely by its intention to leave her possession, creating a legacy in the form of her gift of knowledge to Hester. The timing of and theory of the collection as a 'starter collection' as a wedding gift again evokes an association between matrimony and recipe collecting, with the volume constructed as a wedding gift to the new bride.

The Mundy example also shares elements of the title page with the Harley instances. The beehive motif, which is inferred, but is less definitive in the Harley title pages, appears unequivocally in the Mundy text with a particularly ornate and handcrafted depiction of a beehive on a bench with the Latin words 'Crura Thymo Plena'. The phrase 'Crura Thymo Plenae' is taken directly from Virgil's *Georgics Book IV*, a poetic description of the behaviour of bees.<sup>16</sup> In English, this phrase translates into 'legs laden with thyme', but is in specific reference to honey-scented thyme mentioned in a previous line where a 'fragrant honey

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<sup>16</sup> Virgil *Georgics Book IV*, Line 181, as seen in: John Martyn F.R.S, *The Georgics of Virgil with an English Translation and Notes* (Printed for the Editor by Richard Reilly: London, 1741), p.351. This volume is dedicated by John Martyn, Professor of Botany at Cambridge, to Richard Mead M.D. 'Physician to His Majesty King George II', pp.iii-iv.

releases the scent of thyme'.<sup>17</sup> As a seventeenth century source shows, this phrase was therefore broadly understood and translated as 'legs full of honey':

But for the name, if I should say it was taken of the abundance of honey there made or found, I persuade myself you would smile; and yet that must not be altogether sans reason, in regard of the neighbourhood of the hills adjoining, on whom abundance of thyme or tyme grows, in which these pretty creatures are much delighted and feed most willingly thereon; whereof the poet speaks –

"Crura Thymo Plena."

There thighs with thyme laden were:

For thyme he means honey there.<sup>18</sup>

With a meaning of 'legs full of honey' as a dictum on the title page, it could be posited that Mundy was extending her reference to the bees and beehive as a way of drawing upon the beehive as a metaphor of the household and domestic management context, but also as a reference perhaps to some of the nervousness associated with being a newlywed about to embark upon the responsibility of becoming mistress of a household. If so, this would mean that the provision of domestic knowledge and acumen as a gift might even be aptly understood as a kind of reassuring 'cure' in its own right.

The beehive depiction itself which accompanies the phrase is a classical symbol associated with the interconnection between individuals and communities; the hive and the bee being particularly 'appropriated' by early modern women 'not only to validate the place of women within their own society, but also the connections between women themselves'.<sup>19</sup> This association dates back to Virgil's *Aeneid*, which reads:

Such is their Toyl, and such their busy pains,

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<sup>17</sup> Janet Lembke (trans.), *Virgil's Georgics* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 2005), pp.65-66. See Book IV, Line 180-181, p.66 for reference to 'legs laden with thyme' and Book IV, Line 169, p.65 for reference to 'fragrant honey releases the scent of thyme'.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Westcote, *A View of Devonshire in MDCXXX, with a Pedigree of most of its Gentry* (William Roberts: Exeter, 1845), p.226.

<sup>19</sup> Frye and Robertson (eds.), *Maids and Mistresses*, p.4.

As exercise the Bees in flow'ry Plains;  
When Winter past, and Summer scarce begun,  
Invites them forth to labour in the Sun:  
Some lead their Youth abroad, while some condense  
Their liquid Store, and some in Cells disperse.  
Some at the Gate stand ready to receive  
The Golden burthen, and their Friends relieve.  
All, with united Force, combine to drive  
The lazy Drones from the laborious Hive;  
With envy stung, they view each others Deeds;  
The fragrant Work with Diligence proceeds.<sup>20</sup>

Such a preoccupation with pastoral scenes akin to Virgil's were popular in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with Liz Arthur describing how idealised rural landscapes 'gradually superseded the Old Testament stories... and as Latin was still the language of the educated in the 17th century, works such as Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* were widely read and became the source of many embroidered designs in the early 18th century'.<sup>21</sup> Female Renaissance poets such as Amelia Lanier and Mary Sidney Wroth, for example, both make use of the bee motif to describe aspects of their writing, and bees commonly appear as motifs in other areas of 'women's work', such as embroidered textiles, much like the locally relevant Marian hanging, embroidered by Mary Queen of Scots in the sixteenth century, which also features a beehive themed panel (Fig. 6, below).<sup>22</sup> This hanging was the product of Mary's work during her time imprisoned by George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury and his household, at the behest of Elizabeth I. George Talbot was, at that time, married to Bess of Hardwick, an ancestral relation to Henrietta Harley, whose grandfather was Bess' great-grandson. Mary's use of the beehive motif, as one of twenty-eight cruciform panels used to form the outer of the hanging, would therefore have been

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<sup>20</sup> John Dryden (trans.), *Virgil's Aeneid* (Penguin Books, 1997), p.18, pp.598-609.

<sup>21</sup> Arthur, *Embroidery at the Burrell Collection*, p.106.

<sup>22</sup> Frye and Robertson (eds.), *Maids and Mistresses*, p.4.

familiar to her as a symbol of household, informed by her extensive education in both French and Latin.

**Fig. 6 Embroidered beehive panel, from ‘The Marian Hanging’ of embroidered silk velvet in silks and silver-gilt thread, by Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth Talbot, England, 1570-1585, Victoria and Albert Museum, on display at National Trust, Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk.<sup>23</sup>**



Furthermore, the Latin association between the household and the hive, if not already familiar with it through her own education, is likely to have been shared with Bess by Mary during their time needle-working together, and in which this panel was seemingly produced.<sup>24</sup> The poignancy and relevance of the beehive and the household for both of these women in the circumstances in which they found themselves is unlikely to have been lost on Mary, who in trying to maintain her support and her royal household from

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<sup>23</sup> Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth Talbot, ‘The Marian Hanging’, England, 1570-1585, Victoria and Albert Museum, on display at National Trust, Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. Source: <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O137608/the-marian-hanging-hanging-mary-queen-of/> [Accessed: 25 March 2019]

<sup>24</sup> For more on the captivity of Mary Queen of Scots in England, under the faithful guardianship of George Talbot, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, and his wife Elizabeth see: Margaret Swain, *Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots* (The Crowood Press: Shrewsbury, 2013), pp.113-135 and Caroline Bowden, ‘Women in educational spaces’, pp.188-189.

imprisonment would have related to the beehive imagery. It will also have had symbolic relevance to Bess too, not only in her rebuilding and refurnishing Chatsworth House at this time, but also in her attempts to protect her own 'hive' by orchestrating a series of strategic marriages for her children to ensure the maintenance of her wealth and their status following her recent widowhood and remarriage. In fact, Frye and Robertson equate the relevance of Mary Queen of Scots' hive symbolism to be suggestive of 'both personal economy – the needleworker in captivity who keeps busy in the face of despair – and the possibility of political cabal'.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the employment of the beehive symbol by Mundy and Harley several generations' later shares parallels with their predecessors; in Mundy's case, upon the occasion of the strategic marriage of her son to the wealthy Shipley heiress, and in Harley's as she embarked upon restoring Welbeck in her later life, just as her great-great-great-grandmother had at Chatsworth.

More significantly though, beehive symbolism was also linked more contemporarily with domesticity and recipes through printed recipe culture, with its utility in the frontispiece of Mundy's recipe book mirrored in the frontispiece of Eliza Smith's printed recipe collection, *The Compleat Housewife*.<sup>26</sup> The popularity of this cookery book saw it published in eighteen English editions between 1727 and 1739, as well as one of the first to be reprinted in colonial America.<sup>27</sup> From at least its ninth edition in 1739, which saw 'very large additions' it was embellished with a frontispiece depicting a bustling kitchen scene in which there is a picture hanging above the fire being cooked upon that also clearly shows bees bustling

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<sup>25</sup> Frye and Robertson (eds.), *Maids and Mistresses*, p.4.

<sup>26</sup> Eliza Smith, *The Compleat Housewife*, 9<sup>th</sup> Edition (J. and J. Pemberton: London, 1739) available at: <https://archive.org/details/b30509762/page/n3/mode/2up> [Accessed: 11<sup>th</sup> February 2022]

<sup>27</sup> Genevieve Yost, 'The Compleat Housewife or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion: A Bibliographical Study', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (1938), pp.420-421.

around beehives. The significance of the employment of the beehive motif by recipe compilers in both print and manuscript form is not only the association with the household which is perhaps inherent in texts concerned with domestic recipes, but also in a connection with femininity and domesticity that stemmed from an association originating in the seventeenth century with domains of wholly female governance.<sup>28</sup> Thus, through the symbolism of bees and beehives disseminating into the associated imagery and decoration of every day manuscript recipe collections, we observe the juxtaposition between our main collectors as both individuals recording their personal knowledge and histories alongside the seemingly innate association of such knowledge with family, connectivity and community, and therefore a sense of 'selfhood' that is both deeply personal, and simultaneously inherently bound with others. The adoption of beehive symbolism is therefore telling in this context, as Haarhoff highlights in *The Bees of Virgil*, that 'there is variety and irregularity in the hive work as well as unity'.<sup>29</sup> This conflict between the self as an individual and as part of a community or 'hive' exists where recipe manuscript texts are understood as a product of individual authority over the content, format, and layout of the manuscripts, as in their own marital households, but also in connectivity with others as donors, gift recipients, or subsequent readers. It is also evident in the recording of unchanging and significant biographical details that were particular and relevant to the life stages of individual compilers, be that in marriage (Willoughby), in widowhood (Harley), or in the significant betrothal of a child (Mundy), alongside the acknowledgement of family identities still being written in a format designed explicitly to encourage further additions at a later date. As demonstrated, local examples reflect this conflict in the varied approach to title pages which

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<sup>28</sup> For more on eighteenth century depictions and symbolism of bees and beehives see, Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, esp. pp.3-6.

<sup>29</sup> T. J. Haarhoff, 'The Bees of Virgil', *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1960), pp.155–170, at p.158.

can be seen at times to emphasise the role of individual, but at others, to facilitate or even to actively seek wider collaboration and input from others.

### **Recipe Endorsements**

In early modern recipe manuscripts, it was common practice for recipe collectors to endorse receipts within their own manuscripts, for example, as 'excellent', 'infallible', 'extraordina[r]y', 'approved', or 'very good' within their recipe titles. Endorsements, those being positive affirmations of a recipe either in the text, title, or margins of a recipe collection, are one of the ways that this thesis posits that compilers were able to demonstrate additional authority over their own recipe text. In this way, authors and compilers were able to exhibit particular value placed upon favoured recipes on the back of their own views and experiences, for instance, where a receipt for a plaster is described in the title as 'worth [a] King's Ransom for any bru[i]se'.<sup>30</sup>

This practice, of adding a comment or insight to a recipe, also often took place within the margins of manuscripts as can be seen in 'A Recet to Make Pastels', where there is an added marginal comment from the compiler in relation to one particular section of the recipe that 'this is a fine perfume for cakes or anything' (Fig. 7, below). A positive endorsement presented as a marginal notation is also apparent in Mundy's recipe for 'A Gallymaphrey of Veal' where she has added a note to the lower margin to add 'This is thought to exceed Scotts Collops – rightly done' (Fig. 8, below).

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<sup>30</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'A plaster worth King's Ransom for any bruse, or strengthener or where a discharge is wanted', p.288.

Fig. 7 'A recet to make pastels' with marginalia comment.<sup>31</sup>

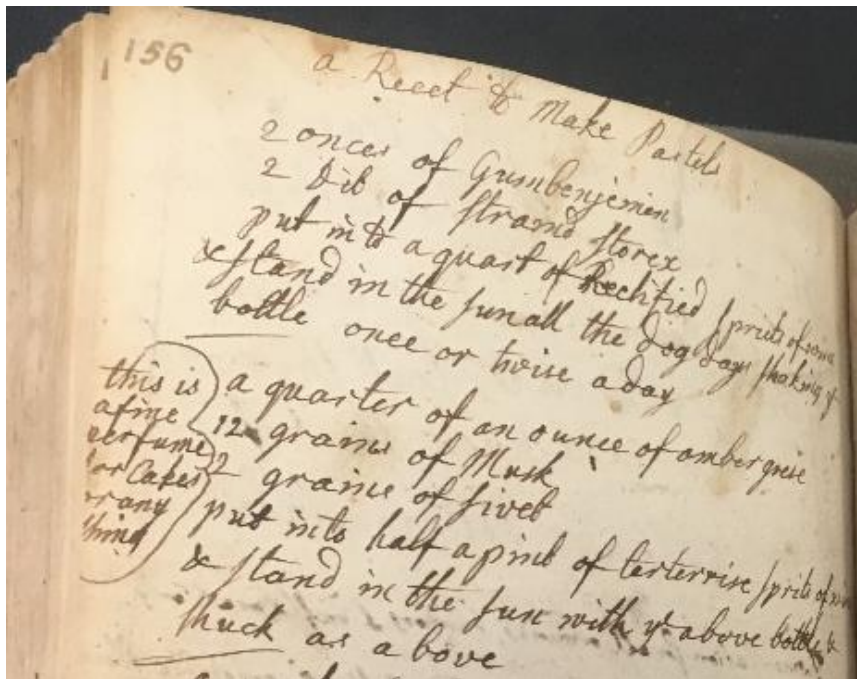
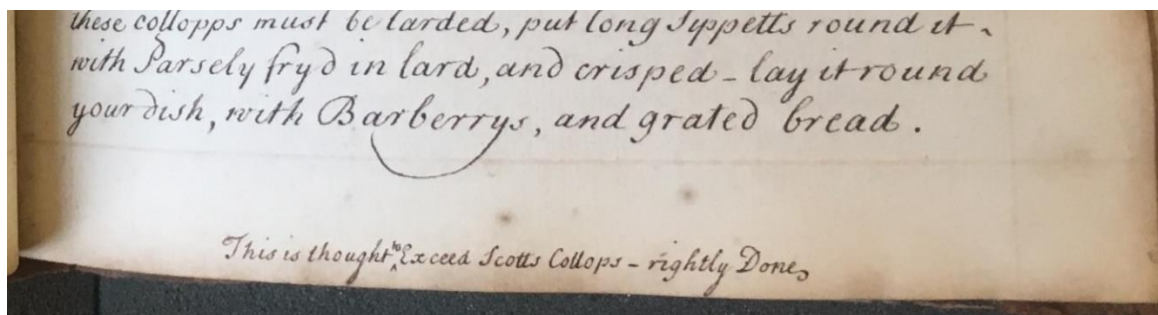


Fig. 8 Marginalia comment endorsing a recipe for 'Gallymaphrey of Veal' in the receipt book of Elenor Mundy.<sup>32</sup>



Both examples represent the way that compilers and contributors were able to express their authority and command over the content of the recipes through endorsement, suggesting a more active engagement of, and familiarity with the receipts, rather than mere repetition. Additionally, personal value statements could also be ascribed and embedded within the main structure of a recipe text, or its title. This often takes the form of notes alongside

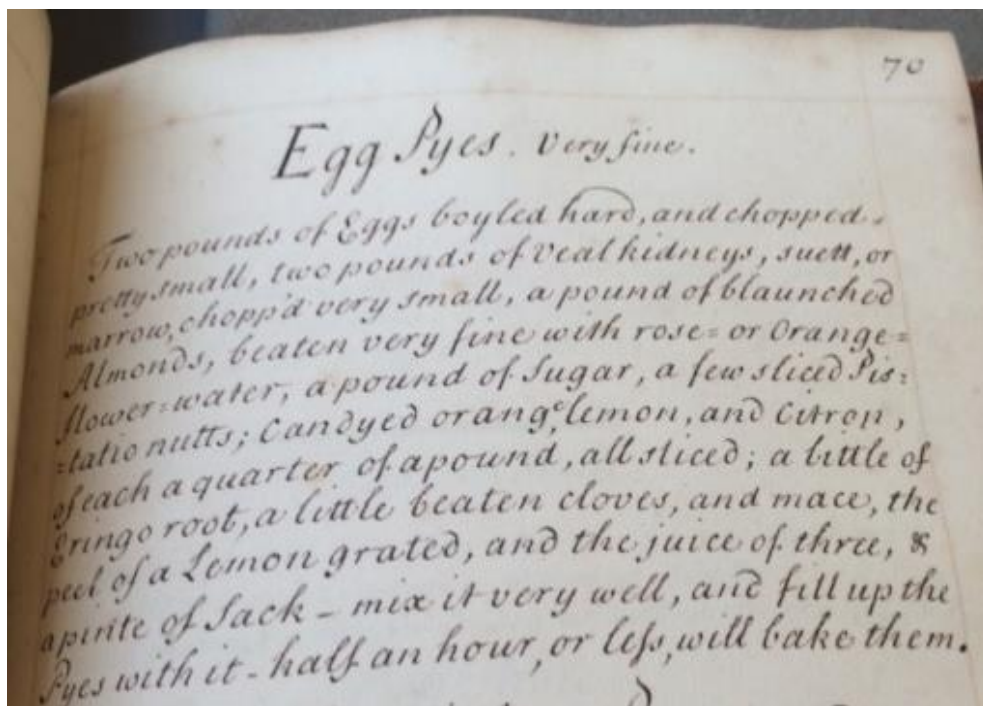
<sup>31</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'A recet to make pastels', p.156.

<sup>32</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Gallymaphrey of Veal', p.40.

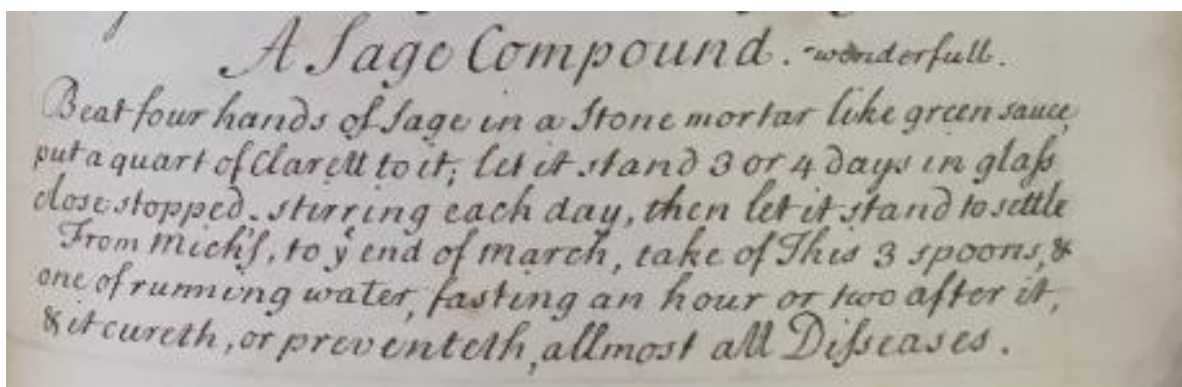


headings, or within the recipe itself to denote endorsement, such as in the instances where Mundy describes a recipe for 'Egg Pyes' as 'very fine' alongside the main heading (Fig. 9, below), another for a 'Sage Compound' as 'wonderfull' (Fig. 10, below), or where a note is added at the end of an entry in Mrs Willoughby's book that the receipt for 'Turnips the bad taste given, by Cows eating them, to prevent in the butter' is 'infaliable' (Fig. 11, below).

**Fig. 9 Recipe for a 'very fine' egg pye in the receipt book of Elenor Mundy.<sup>33</sup>**



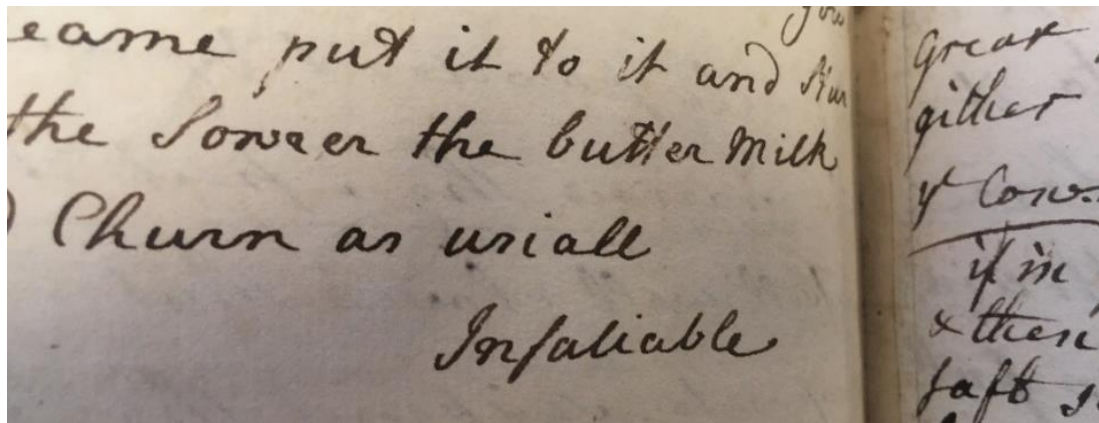
**Fig. 10 Recipe for a 'wonderfull' sage compound in the receipt book of Elenor Mundy.<sup>34</sup>**



<sup>33</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Egg Pyes, very fine', p.70.

<sup>34</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Sage compound', p.136.

Fig. 11 Recipe marked as 'infaliable' in the receipt book of Margaret Willoughby.<sup>35</sup>



The identity of the individual as a domestic authority also comes through clearly with the assertion of their own preferred methods or techniques. For example, where Mrs. Willoughby assures the reader that her technique is '[the] wright way of mending broaken china', where Elenor Mundy offers her recipe 'To Pott Beef The Best Way', Hester Miller adds hers for 'Very good minc'd pyes', or where another recipe claims to be for 'the best saus[a]ges in England'.<sup>36</sup> Endorsements were also often made by subsequent contributors who would make a 'P' alongside recipes they deemed to be effective, with 'P' denoting 'probatum est' or, 'it has been proved'.<sup>37</sup> Scholars, most notably Catherine Field and more recently, Elaine Leong, have articulated the significance of endorsing phrases employed within and alongside recipes to demonstrate practice and experience.<sup>38</sup> This can be seen, for example, in Henrietta Harley's medicinal receipt for 'The general medicine' which advises the following with a note in Latin that it has been proven, as denoted with the closing comment 'Probatum Est':

Bay Berries, Large Pepper, Grains Liquorish Nutmegs, Anniseeds, Saffron, Ginger, of Each 1 Pennyworth all beaten to a fine Powder, & Mix'd with 3 pennyworth of Ordinary Sugar.

<sup>35</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'Turnips the bad taste given, by Cows eating them, to prevent in the butter', p.292.

<sup>36</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'A wright way of mending broaken china', p.67; MS 86, 'To Pott Beef The Best Way', 'Very good Minc'd Pyes', p.61; Ch M/X/2, 'The best sausings in England', p.20.

<sup>37</sup> Field, "Many hands", pp.56-57.

<sup>38</sup> Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, pp.101-103; Field, "Many hands", pp.56-57.

You may take as much as will lye on the Point of Knife anytime of the Day  
The Virtues of it  
It is good for the Wind & the Pain at the Stomack & Heart. Dropsicall Humours & for  
most Peoples Diseases.  
Probatum Est.<sup>39</sup>

Firmer assertions also sometimes sit alongside invitations for the reader to exercise personal taste and preference in how those recipes should be served or finished. For example, in Harley's recipe 'To Butter Chicken's' we find a degree of ambiguity in inviting the reader to use lemons 'if [they] please', but also stressing that if they fail to use enough 'they will never like it':

... & so Serve em up & if you Please you may cut some Lemon very Small, & Strow it upon 'em, if you don't Order a good deal of Lemon you will never Like it.<sup>40</sup>

These authoritative assertions and individual preferences are common and demonstrate the level of agency that recipe collectors assumed. They also invited subsequent readers to own and adapt recipe knowledge, according to their own tastes, as far as how to serve a dish, as in the example of Mrs Cross' recipe 'To Dress a Pike' which closes with the statement that 'you may Garnish your Dish as you like, to have Shrimps, Cockles of Crawfish over your Pike, or none which some persons like as well'.<sup>41</sup> This ability to hand over the authority to the reader of a recipe to determine their own preference is reliant on three elements evident in the process of recipe attribution and selection in medicinal remedies too. Firstly, whilst attribution could provide credibility for efficacy, this did not inherently exclude readers from testing and determining ways to build upon that authority. Secondly, this assumes a form of 'tacit' culinary or medicinal knowledge, experience or competence amongst those reading and consulting manuscript recipes in transferring that authority to them, and finally, that the

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<sup>39</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'The Generall Medicine [plus, 'The Virtues of it', p.29], p.28.

<sup>40</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Butter Chickens', p.55.

<sup>41</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Dress a Pike By Mrs Cross', p.16.

principles of compilers selecting and copying recipes could be both an endorsement of credibility and ease of use, or an indication of their status as ripe for experimentation and observation in the practical aspects of testing for safety and effectiveness in their own household context. As Stobart posits, offering the flexibility to apply tacit knowledge implies that there is an assumption that readers would be able to interpret, make sense of, and take authority over a recipe, whereas more explicit instructions could suggest the compiler feels they are imparting knowledge in which the reader is less likely to be expert.<sup>42</sup> Therefore significantly, in the practice of endorsing and testing receipts, compilers and users were able to utilise recipe manuscripts as a platform for developing a sense of self, an identity that reflected cultural and intellectual developments of the time through critical engagement, testing, and articulating of individual tastes and opinions relevant to them as individuals, or to their wider families, households and communities.

The question of 'taste' is also raised in instances where the reader is invited to add ingredients 'to taste', an invitation which appears to be most commonly associated with the use of sugar or salt. Across Harley's 258 recipes encouragement to finish 'to taste', 'as you like' or 'if you please' occurs across all recipe types and all three volumes, including savoury, sweet, and medicinal. Mrs Ann Walton's savoury recipe for 'A Beef Pye' particularly exemplifies the freedom of the reader or user to exercise influence over the finished result of a recipe:

Take the Small end of a Rump of Beef which must be very fat, cut as much as it Proper for the Bigness of your Pye, then Bone it, & to make the point end Lay Square in the Dish, cut some of the thick end to Lay to it, then put it in an Earthen Pan, Cover it with Strong Broth, or Gravy, put ½ a Pint of Red wine, four spoonfulls of Vinager, if this is not Enough to Cover it you must add more, & Let it Stand two Nights and a day, when your crust is ready, Season it with Pepper & Salt to your Tast, Cover it in the Pye with fresh Broth, or Gravy, & it will take 3 hours to bake it.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Anne Stobart, *Household Medicine in Seventeenth Century England* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp.31-44, esp. p.30, p.31, p.39.

<sup>43</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'A Beef Pye Mrs Ann Walton', p.60.

In this recipe, the reader is tasked with using their own experience, knowledge, and preference to determine whether enough beef ‘proper for the Bigness of [their] Pye’ has been cut, enough vinegar has been used ‘to cover’, when exactly the crust is ‘ready’ and finally, to ‘season it with Pepper & salt to your tast[e]’. This example demonstrates the multiple layers of authority that receipt book texts offered, through expressing the knowledge of the compiler, and in inviting the knowledge and expertise of the wider collective as subsequent readers and users of the recipes contained within.

As Lauren Klein discusses in the context of the early United States, the metaphor of taste also acted as a conceptual model for an increasingly individualistic society; offering a way of evaluating and passing judgement and discerning personal ‘taste’ based on various factors including political ideology, contemporary trends or fashion, as well as household financial means.<sup>44</sup> For Nottinghamshire examples, this consideration opens up an alternative way of reading recipes instructing readers to act according ‘to taste’, where compilers can be seen providing space perhaps for individual economic circumstances or culinary/political ideology, particularly regarding the use of expensive or potentially frivolous ingredients. For example, we see the opportunity to follow a recipe according to personal taste occur repeatedly in the use of sugar. In one of Harley’s sweet recipes, attributed to Mrs Gore to make ‘Right Dutch Wafers’, we see that ingredients can be added directly to the sauce to suit the taste of the user, or, it can be ‘strow’d over’ with cinnamon and sugar, if preferred, with instructions that “For the Sauce take grated Cinnamon, Sack, & Melted butter, Sweetned to your tast, or only Cinnamon & Sugar strow’d over em’, thus accounting for

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<sup>44</sup> Lauren Klein, *An Archive of Taste: Race and Eating in the Early United States* (University of Minnesota Press, 2020), pp.3-4, 12-13, 22-23.

variation in the availability of sugar as a potentially costly ingredient.<sup>45</sup> This authority of adjusting recipes written in accordance with the readers own taste, knowledge, or means is not unique to culinary preference either, but rather we see that the still prevalent blurring of culinary and medicinal ingredients and processes lends itself freedom even in the production of medicinal remedies. For example, in a recipe 'To Make Lady hewits Water [a variety of plague water] by Mrs Abigail Harley', authority is handed over to the recipe reader to determine their own preference for the sweetening of the water, at the same time as authority over the best technique is reinforced by the writer for themselves. In this recipe, it is dictated that half a pound of sugar candy should be added to each quart bottle of water, but notes added at the end contradict this, stating instead that 'It is best to Sweeten the Water to your Tast, Half a Pound of White Sugar Candy is a Great Deal to[o] much'. This additional commentary upon the recipe goes on to further assert authority that:

June is the Properest time to make this Water, the Herbs being then best, Fresh Cowslips being then gone it is Best to put them (When Fresh Gather'd) & the Rosemerry Flowers in a Bottle with Brandy Enough to cover them, & Keep it till you Distill the Water, then Mix it with the Rest.<sup>46</sup>

It is evident in this example, along with others, that individual recipe writers exercised the power to make personal assertions in the writing and compiling of receipt volumes, but that this value was also understood to be two-fold, with the writer sharing ownership of the recipe with the subsequent reader. Hence we find in the evidence outlined above that while compilers exercise their own influence and authority over the outcome of a recipe through their instructions, shared preferences and value judgements, as a result of their own experience and experimentation with the receipt, that this is well-balanced, with authority frequently handed over from the recipe writer to recipe users in asserting that ingredients

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<sup>45</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'Right Dutch Wafers Mrs Gore', p.12.

<sup>46</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'To Make Lady Hewits Water By Mrs Abigaill Harley, p.16.

might be added 'to taste' or 'if you please'. Therefore, we see that ultimately, authority and agency over recipes is contemporarily understood to be entwined and embedded within both the process of writing receipts as a compiler or contributor, as well as in reading or acting on recipes where the reader is assumed to have a level of domestic knowledge which enables them to be offered such freedom over aspects of a written recipe based on personal taste or circumstances.

### **Comments and Amendments**

Next, we shall consider comments and amendments made by subsequent users of receipt book manuscripts more closely, and as a mechanism for providing a sense of authority over the recipes contained within. Through commenting, editing, and amending receipt book content, the fluidity of the recipe manuscript offered agency not only to the original owners through the initial construction of recipe texts as discussed above, but also to subsequent owners and users who were then able to assert their own sense of agency over not only the final recipe produced but over the individual textual entries and the wider collection, through the editing, or exclusion of existing recipes. For some, this amounted to simply putting a cross alongside, or marking a large cross through receipts they deemed ineffective or without value. This left the recipe legible in both cases, whilst also leaving a mark of their opinion and experience of using the receipt as it was documented. It is apparent in analysis of sources that the editing and amending of recipe manuscripts was commonplace, and took varying forms such as pasting or inserting page leaves over original recipes, crossing out, or conversely, marking a 'P' or a tick where a recipe is considered 'proven', or 'approved'.<sup>47</sup> Such

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<sup>47</sup> See, for example: UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'The Index' [tick marks], ff.1r-2v; MS 87/2, 'How to Cure the Rickits, by Ann Cutler' [marked as 'aproved'], p.254, 'A Choice Medicine for a sore throat' [marked as 'a very good one'], p.358; MS 87/3, 'Index', ff. 1r-12v [tick marks]; MS 87/4, 'For the cholick, by Mrs Wooly', 'Plum Puding' [both marked with 'P'], p.7, 'For a burn, Mrs Crow' [crossed out], p.26, 'To make vinegar, by Cos. Willoughby' [crossed

practices are broadly recognised too outside of local examples, such as in the example of Lettice Pudsey's failed receipt 'to pickle cucumbers', first cited and discussed by Pennell, and later by Field, for its particularly descriptive marginalia comment where the distaste of a subsequent recipe maker is made clear by it being crossed out with a firm line throughout the recipe and a note that 'this receipt is good for nothing'.<sup>48</sup>

In cases where a recipe has been placed entirely over the top of another, the original receipt is usually still retrievable, with the new leaves being only tacked in along one side. This can be seen to mark a level of respect for, and value placed in, the original content as a contribution to knowledge, as well as the overall authority and view of the original compiler, whilst still engaging with and contributing to the fluidity and adaptable nature of recipe manuscript culture. This can be seen in multiple examples across the local collection, demonstrating that it was indeed commonplace, as we can see in the example of a 'good easy resete for washing small clothes, by Lady Fraquire' fixed into the book to replace Cos. Willoughby's 'To make Vinegar' recipe (Fig. 12, below) in Mrs Willoughby's volume, where a recipe is added on a fresh page and bound into the volume over a crossed out original entry.

This similarly occurs with a receipt in her volume to 'To make Cheescakes' which replaces two recipes which have been crossed through, one for 'Steel pills', and another 'For the green sickness'.<sup>49</sup> Significantly though, in this instance the crossed-out recipes refer the reader to alternative pages where the same recipes can be found. The alternate recipe for 'Steel pills' is like for like with the crossed-out entry, including the attribution to Mrs

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out]' and 'A good easy resete for washing small clothes, by Lady Fraquire [pasted into the book to replace Cos. Willoughby's vinegar recipe]', p.88.

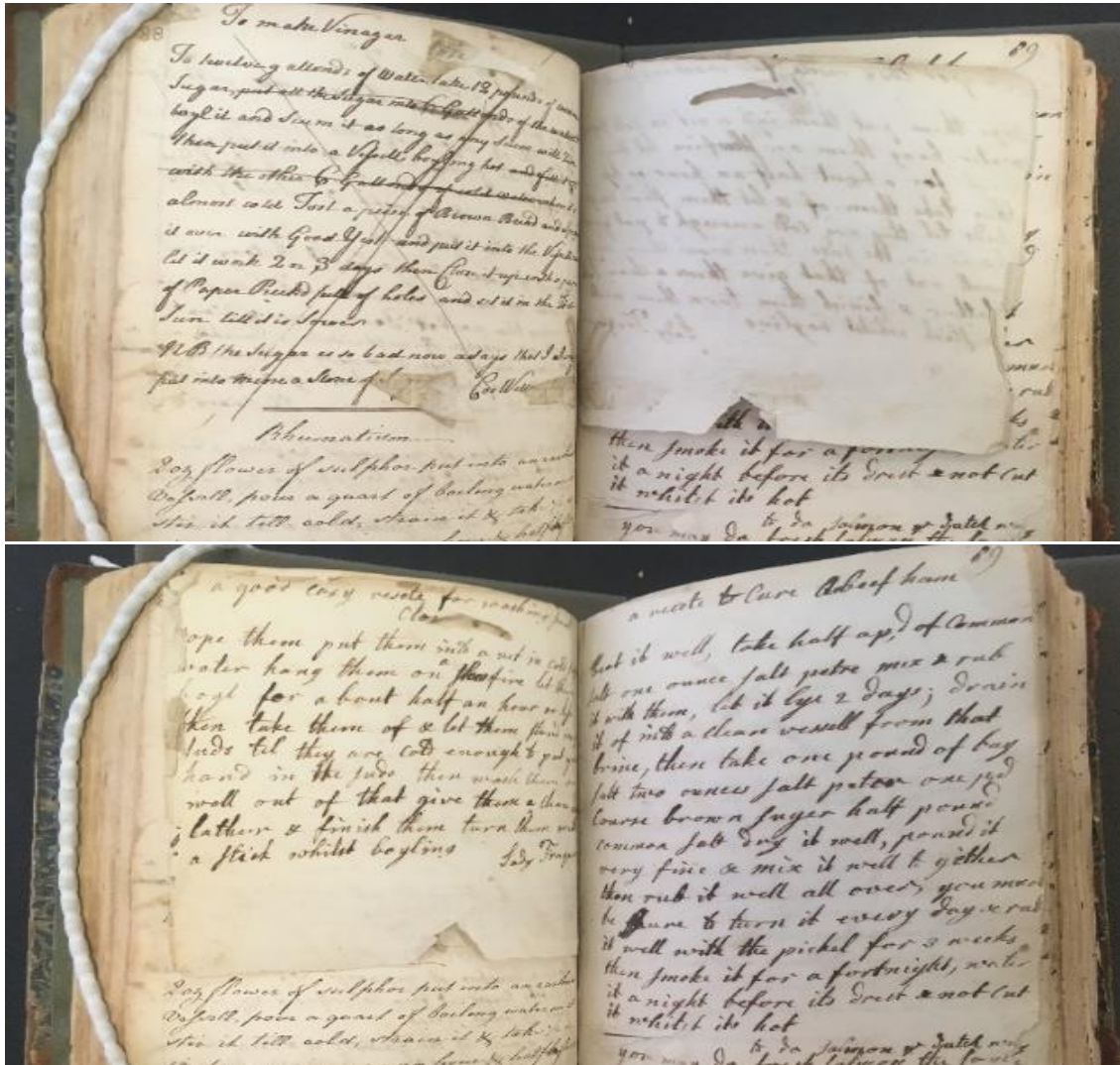
<sup>48</sup> Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice?', pp.237-255; Field, "'Many hands'", p.57

<sup>49</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To make Cheescakes [pasted into the book to replace 'Steel pills' and 'For the green sickness']', p.137.



Willoughby herself, but the other recipe for Green Sickness neglects to include the attribution to 'Cos. Willoughby', nor does it note the optional nature of the last instructions shown in the comment that 'it is better but will do without approv'd Cos. Willoughby'.<sup>50</sup>

**Fig. 12 Example of a recipe crossed out (top) and replaced with a new entry (bottom).<sup>51</sup>**



Here, the tensions between the individual and the collective play out most clearly, where the individual amending or adding content has the authority to denounce or devalue a previously recorded receipt by amending or replacing it with their own, choosing to

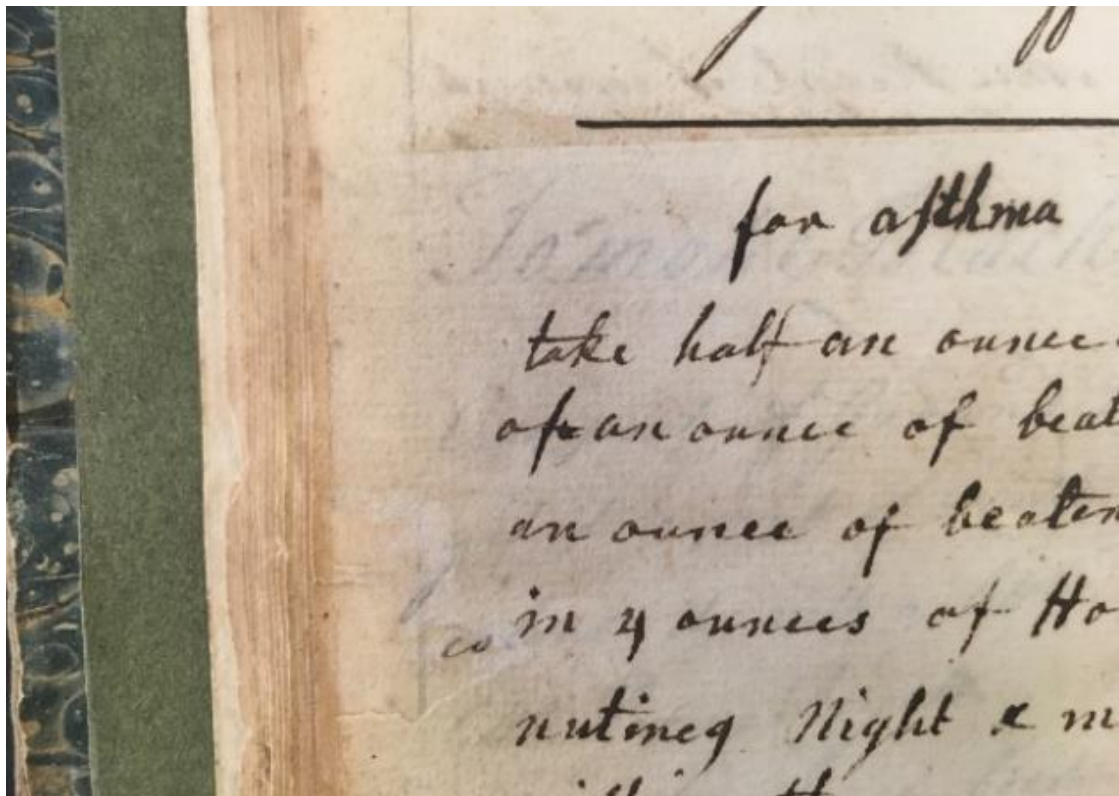
<sup>50</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'For the Green Sickness', p.137.

<sup>51</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To make vinegar, by Cos. Willoughby [crossed out]' and 'A good easy resete for washing small clothes, by Lady Fraquire [pasted into the book to replace Cos. Willoughby's vinegar recipe]', p.88.

maintain the details of the original recipe source, or not. However, the knowledge is still understood as a collective endeavour, as reflected by the fact that even those crossed out or replaced are most often marked in such a way that the original receipt remains retrievable, and where possible, the source traceable.

More intrusive examples of recipe volume content being amended do occur though, where we find recipes stuck or pasted onto the page leaf over another, or even crossed through entirely, thereby obscuring the original content. For example, beneath a recipe for 'A Plaister for the Gout' in Mrs Willoughby's volume, we find a recipe described as 'approved' pasted onto the page in a different hand 'For asthma or shortness of breath' (below, Fig. 13), where the original recipe below can still be seen on closer inspection but is now illegible.

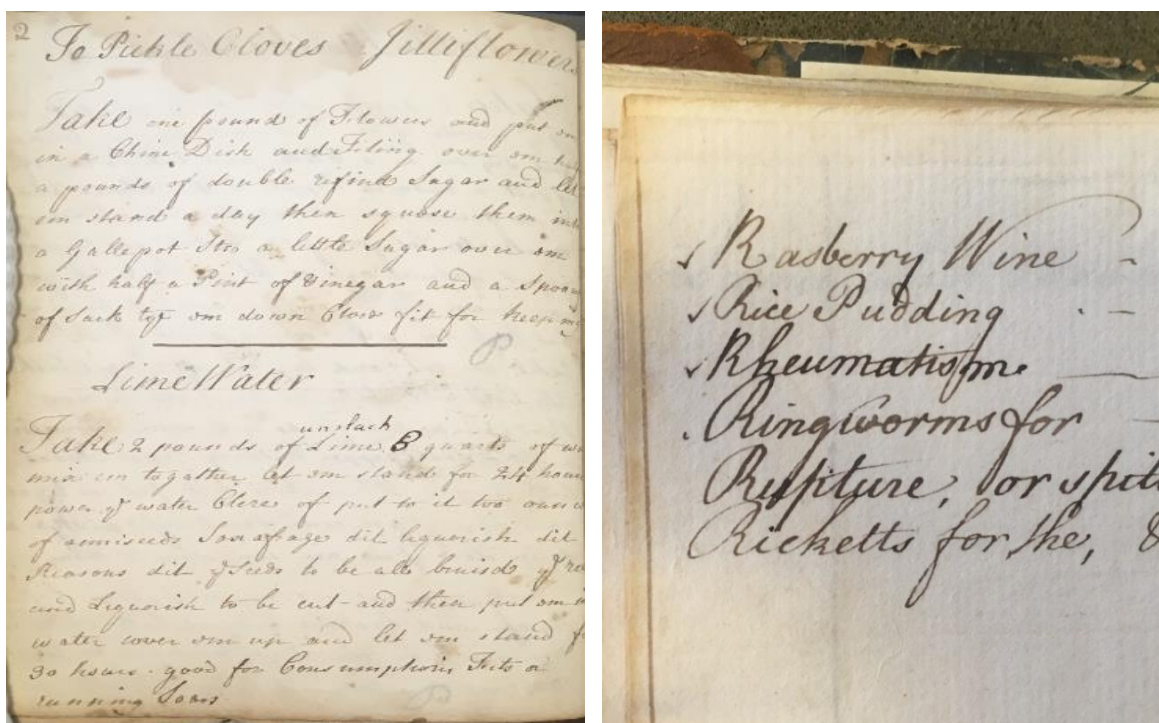
**Fig. 13** Close up of recipe pasted over another in Margaret Willoughby's book.<sup>52</sup>



<sup>52</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'For asthma or shortness of breath', p.24.

The adoption of marks to denote approval is also prevalent, either as 'P's, meaning 'proven', approved' - or as discussed as a contemporary term of endorsement above, 'probatum est' - and are frequently found alongside recipe entries.<sup>53</sup> Marking of approval in this way can be seen consistently throughout Mrs Willoughby's volume (Fig. 14 below, left), or alternatively as tick notations alongside as can be seen in the index of Willoughby volumes MS 87/1 and MS 87/3 (Fig. 14 below, right). Whether passively marking these recipes as approved for future readers of the same volume or indicating to themselves a recipe to be actively copied, these marks act as a form of approval or validation in the value of that particular recipe either way.

**Fig. 14 'To pickle cloves, jilliflowers' and to make a 'Lime water' with accompanying 'P' in each instance (left), and a close up of an index to highlight use of tick symbols (right).<sup>54</sup>**



<sup>53</sup> Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, pp.101-103.

<sup>54</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To pickle cloves, jilliflower' and 'Lime water', p.2; MS 87/3, 'The Index', f.9v.

This examination of receipt book features has considered the common practices associated with receipt book writing in this period and has demonstrated that the revision and amendment of recipes was an expected and inherent part of the genre. Through the endorsement of individual recipes, and the editing of existing manuscript contents, both the original and subsequent individual emerges, not just as a passive reader or compiler of recipes, but as someone actively engaged in the practical trial and experimentation of culinary and medicinal receipts within their households, and local communities, as will be discussed further in Section 3 of this thesis.

This chapter therefore concludes that the process of recipe manuscript production served as a useful platform for establishing the individual authority of both the recipe writer, and their anticipated reader, as an expert in domestic matters and that the receipt book emerges as an object through which selfhood and identity, as fluid concepts, were accounted for in the consideration of contributors in amending recipes, and through readers in instructions to apply individual knowledge, experience or simply taste to recipes over time. Through close analysis of sources, it can be seen in the way recipe volumes are constructed, that authorship and authority over these kinds of domestic texts was largely considered to be collaborative. This is most pronounced in the instances of the Mundy and Willoughby volumes, where original compilers clearly anticipated the input of later reader, but also in the Harley example, where the collective nature of the household knowledge contained within is represented in the use of beehive symbolism throughout to denote community and communal value. Overall, source analysis has established that there was a large degree of autonomy and agency to be gleaned from the way that receipt book compilers constructed their personal manuscripts. Through the varied adoption of common features such as title pages, endorsements and amendments, fluidity in the genre allowed recipe texts to suit the

ever-changing purpose of the individual/s responsible for it over a given period. Thus, we begin to see the manner in which recipe manuscripts were adopted as a platform not only for transmitting a traditionally oral source of authority and agency into the written word, but also as a mechanism for expanding knowledge, understanding, and learning in the domestic sphere. This will become pertinent in the second chapter, which will in part look at the value of receipt book manuscripts as a site for developing literacy and knowledge, particularly amongst early modern women's circles.

## **Chapter Two: Epistemic Value**

As discussed at the end of Chapter One, in the process of transferring what had previously been considered a largely oral and practical tradition of recipe sharing into the written word, we begin to see the popular expansion of the practice of writing recipes into collections emerging, along with a series of very practical benefits pertaining to epistemic value. Through preserving knowledge, enhancing literacy, and facilitating the acquisition of knowledge, we are able to identify the value of recipe-writing culture as an educational tool. Therefore, this chapter will argue that the recipe book genre served as a valuable platform for the recording, sharing and acquisition of knowledge. It will outline the value of recipe manuscripts as a mechanism for recording both new and old knowledge, as an 'aide-memoire', before recipes became lost in what was otherwise a largely oral tradition. By transferring them into written word as a means to acquiring functional literacy, and then establishing practices for organising and presenting recipe knowledge, this chapter contends that recipe manuscripts served to facilitate the acquisition and extraction of knowledge for users as efficiently and effectively as possible. It will therefore seek to encapsulate some of the utility and value of recipe manuscripts as an educational tool, both to compilers, and to subsequent recipe users. Through indexing and other structural information-retrieval apparatus, the chapter shall outline how compilers were able to enhance the functionality and utility of recipe manuscripts as compendia of knowledge to the benefit of both the compiler, and ultimately, to their wider community.

### **Aide-Memoires: Preserving Knowledge**

The utility of recipe manuscripts as aide-memoires presents itself in local examples in two forms: firstly, the preservation of recipe knowledge that is new to the contributor before it

is forgotten, and secondly, the urge to preserve the knowledge and experience of a previous generation. These two purposes present a conflict that is apparent in local examples, between the conservation of 'traditional' knowledge with more archaic practices that has been inherited, versus the urge to seek out and engage with more contemporary, modernising influences of new and emerging knowledge. The value of recipe volumes as aide-memoires can therefore be observed in local examples both in the form of traditional knowledge handed down from and preserved on behalf of a previous generation, as well as in the form of the more ad-hoc and less polished recipe entries - which although spanning both old and new recipes - have seemingly been written in haste with the distinctly practical purpose of preventing its loss through forgetfulness.

Henrietta Harley's recipes demonstrate a value placed upon traditional knowledge of this kind through references to her mother-in-law's book of receipts, including one claimed to date back to the final year of King James II's reign, in 1688:

Cut an Ash, one, two, or three years growth at the very hour & Minute of the Suns Ent[e]ring into Taurus, a Chip of this will Stop it, if it is a Shoot it must be cut from the Ground, the Stick must not be bound or Holden, but Dipp[e]d or Wetted in the Blood.

When King James 2d: was at Salisbury in 1688 his nose bled near 2 days & after many Essays in Vain was stop[pe]d by this Simpathetick Ash appl[ie]d by W[ilia]m: Nash Surgeon in Salisbury.<sup>1</sup>

Political overtones of James' ailment in the year of his deposition aside, in such examples, it is clear that these represent more traditional ideas still circulating within the realm of household recipe books in the eighteenth century. For example, in the instance of recommended practices for the treatment of nosebleeds cited above as being used by King

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<sup>1</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'To Stanch Bleeding', p.5.



James II himself as well as in the inference of continued adherence to astrological concepts of lunar and solar influence on the efficacy of ingredients and techniques.

In another seemingly more traditional as well as archaic receipt 'To Sta[u]nch Bleeding [of the nose]' sourced from the receipt book of Henrietta's mother-in-law Elizabeth (née Foley), the reader is advised that:

There is Green Moss grows on the top of the Head of a Corps that has been hang[e]d in Chains for some time, that is an Infallible Remedy for the Person Agriev[e]d, but if Such a thing can be got, they must Observe 1<sup>st</sup>: to thrust it up their Nostrills which will in a very little time Stop the Bleeding. 2d:ly when they take it out of their Nostrills, they must throw it into a Pail of Water, & wash the Blood of & let it Dry, it will Serve many years, & many People, & always Look Green.<sup>2</sup>

Elenor Mundy also harks back to an earlier tradition in culinary recipe for a pie, 'A Neots Tongue baked':

#### **A Neots Tongue baked**

Take a large ox tongue - cutt off the root, and seeth it 'till it is tender then cutt it in fair thinn slices, slice also some marrow thin, and lay a rowe of it at the bottome of a coffin, and then a rowe of your sliced tongue - and thus doe by turns untill all your tongue be in - then scatter some salt upon all, a close the pye leaving the usuall hole in the middle of the Lidd. -

Sett it in the Oven for half an hour, in that while, cutt a white manchett [a white bread loaf] into slices and toast it well, then put them into red wine with a little vinegar - let it stand ye while - and then bruseing the bread with a Spooone, strain out the liquor hard, & put to it cinamon, cloves, mace, all beaten small - sugar as you like it - boyle these boyle gently 'till it becomes thick.

When you draw ye Pye, pour in this Liquor, and then sett it in ye oven again for a quarter of an hour - draw it and send it to the Table presently. -

Queen Elisabeth loved this Pye- & it was much in Vogue with ye Qualety - few will know what it is.<sup>3</sup>

In this recipe Mundy not only notes that 'Queen Elisabeth loved this pye & [that] it was much in Vogue with ye Qualety', but also crucially it seems, for its inclusion in the collection, that 'few will know what it is', thus reinforcing the value placed upon unique and traditional

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<sup>2</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'An Extr[aordina]ry Cure for Bleeding at the Nose from Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts', p.33.

<sup>3</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'A Neots Tongue baked', p.50.



knowledge. Thus, we find that for some ailments our eighteenth-century compilers were still susceptible to the more traditional or possibly, superstitious, approaches to medicine, which had characterised the previous century. There could therefore be two primary reasons for the preservation of this kind of knowledge, one being the desire to protect traditional knowledge and methods, and the other to honour and preserve the contribution and knowledge of relatives and previous generations. In this way, preserving inherited recipes ensured that, as Kowalchuk describes, 'receipt books served as an extension of [the domestic sphere's] oral, collective, and traditional nature, rather than a break away from it'.<sup>4</sup>

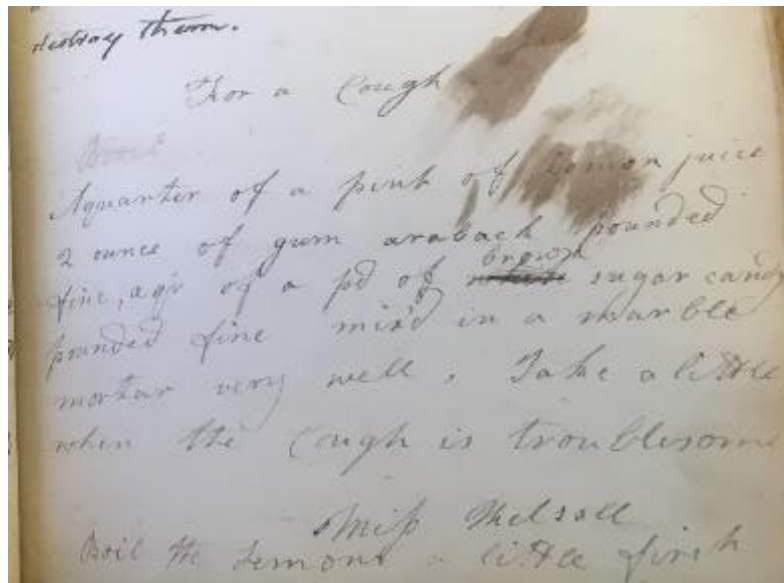
The other way that recipe books functioned as a practical tool and a memory aid for the preservation of knowledge was in the less polished and more ad-hoc entries or recipes as and when they would have been obtained by the contributor, perhaps even in the recording of an oral recipe into written word as it was shared with them. These examples are more prominent in the Willoughby volumes, where recipe volumes appear to have been used as working collections that developed over time, rather than as a more definitive collection, such as in the cases of the Harley and Mundy volumes.

Here the layout and features of the manuscripts are more sporadic, less formulaic, and ultimately, less formally and carefully written, suggesting that the compilers appear to have added to the volume on a recipe-by-recipe basis, as and when the household acquired them, thus, as an aide-memoire. These, we therefore tend to find, are characterised much more frequently with errors, crossing out of text and ink smudges, as in Fig. 15, below.

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<sup>4</sup> Kowalchuk (ed.), *Preserving on Paper*, p.35.

Fig. 15 Recipe 'For a cough' showing examples of errors and corrections.<sup>5</sup>



However, this function as a way of remembering new information does not account entirely for the recording of all receipt book knowledge, as the inclusion of everyday recipes suggests that despite evidence of many rational and progressive practices permeating recipe manuscript culture, that the underlying purpose of preserving widely known and used, traditional knowledge is still prominent. As such, we find multiple variations of recipes as everyday as 'Pease Soup', for which all of our compilers include at least one recipe. There are recipes for 'Pease Soup', 'Green Pease Soup' and others 'To Stew Pease' even across each of the four Willoughby compilations, Mundy includes five variations of pea soup recipes in her single volume ('Peas soop, by Sis Willoughby', 'Soop of green Peas', a Soop of green Peas 'another way', 'Peas Soop with Meat' and 'Peas Soop without Meat') and Harley includes a variation on her receipt 'To Make a Grean Peas Soop', also recording how 'To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting day [by] Mrs Eyre'.<sup>6</sup> Mrs Par even includes a recipe

<sup>5</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'For a Cough, by Miss Kelsall', p.141.

<sup>6</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Pease Soup', p.48, 'Green Pease Soup, by Mr Stott', p.50; MS 87/2, 'Peas Soup', p.13, 'Pease soop', p.17; MS 87/4, 'To make Pease Soop', p.248; MS 86, 'Peas soop, by Sis Willoughby', p.1, 'Peas Soop with Meat' and 'Peas Soop without meat', p.3; Pw V 123, 'To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting day [by] Mrs Eyre', p.5.

'To make a Pease Soop' in her volume of tenant's dinners. We can logically conclude based on these examples that there was an urge to preserve recipe knowledge as an aides-memoire not only for contemporary users of the book, but for subsequent users also, and that the value of the functional and practical utility of a recipe volume as way to ensure preservation of a useful recipe or piece of everyday or folk knowledge also, cannot be ignored. As Theophano points out 'the knowledge contained in cookbooks transcends generations', which made the receipt book a crucial method of preserving knowledge for both individual, and collective memory.<sup>7</sup> Or, in the words of Kowalchuk, 'like jellies and pickles, [recipe books] served as another form of women's work in preserving', thus accounting for the apparent utilisation of recipe manuscripts to record inherited recipes, and the even seemingly the most quotidian of domestic knowledge in a bid to preserve rather than learn them.<sup>8</sup>

### **Functional Literacy**

The limitations of female education in early modern England have been well documented. Bowden, for example, comments 'that much, possibly most, of girls' education... took place outside formal educational spaces with the result that many women were largely self-taught'.<sup>9</sup> Hunt similarly argues that in this period 'girls tended to receive a narrower education, less capital, and less encouragement than boys', but continues that 'this regime was not universally followed, and even when it was some girls rebelled against its strictures'.<sup>10</sup> Whilst the motivations for recipe writing were indeed complex, this thesis contends that that as a cornerstone of household management in the early modern home,

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<sup>7</sup> Theophano, *Eat My Words*, p.49.

<sup>8</sup> Kowalchuk (ed.), *Preserving on Paper*, p.29.

<sup>9</sup> Caroline Bowden, 'Women in Educational Spaces', p.94.

<sup>10</sup> Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780* (University of California Press: London, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1996), p.11.

receipt book manuscripts represented a convenient platform for female learning, as a highly functional, albeit informal, educational tool. Conversely, Kowalchuk minimises the value of literacy when discussing the rationale behind writing down knowledge that had always previously been held as an oral tradition, describing literacy and writing as only a 'partial answer' on the grounds that it fails to explain incentive.<sup>11</sup> Through compiling and writing recipes, this chapter posits that women were able to consolidate the fundamentals of literacy through frequent and functional recipe reading and writing, simultaneously reinforcing literacy skills and providing a legitimate outlet for individual authorship and authority over domestic matters within the household and community. It therefore argues that receipt book manuscripts represented an accessible and practical outlet for such rebellious urges against the epistemic and educational constraints experienced by increasingly progressive eighteenth-century women, using recipe books as a more acceptable outlet for literacy and educational pursuits with the very practical form and purpose of supporting good housewifery and domestic duties.

Locally, the cultural influence and growing prominence of women's writing culture for at least the previous century demonstrates an increasing association between women of status and literacy, which could account for it as a growing trend, and a primary motivator for writing practice within domestic texts like receipt books. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a manner of education was bestowed upon at least a few prominent local women. Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas) was educated alongside her brother Francis at Wollaton, and Lucy Hutchinson who came from a gentry family with royal court connections, had parents who took particular care of her education in the seventeenth

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<sup>11</sup> Kowalchuk (ed.), *Preserving on Paper*, p.21.

English as well as classical languages.<sup>12</sup> This trend continues locally into the eighteenth century too, where a prominent local contemporary to the recipe compilers of the main source collections was also known to have been able to defy the considered convention of female exclusion from learning. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (née Mary Pierrepont) of Thoresby Hall, Nottinghamshire for example, was said to have ‘educated herself, since no one else would do it for her’.<sup>13</sup> This extended to producing her own written imitations of the works of Virgil and extensive self-tutelage of between five and eight hours a day for two years. It is clear that there was some perceived need for a degree of manipulation and deception to achieve this, though, as the tutor she consulted was, after all, intended to be her brother’s, and was known to have intentionally led people to believe that she was reading ‘nothing but novels and romances’ whilst she studied.<sup>14</sup> Imagery of female writers was certainly not unknown to Lady Mary, nor to her distant cousin, the Lady Oxford, Henrietta Cavendish Holles-Harley, who both descended from Bess of Hardwick, and therefore also from the acclaimed contemporary writer Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas) through marriage.<sup>15</sup> Although Mary was a more distant relation to Cavendish than Henrietta, the local and familial connection to this prominent contemporary female writer is upheld through the presence of texts by Margaret Cavendish, amongst those of other female writers, in the library at Thoresby Hall.<sup>16</sup> Cavendish’s reputation as a writer was well established, having published more than a dozen extensive books, including *A Blazing World*

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<sup>12</sup> Caroline Bowden, ‘The Notebooks of Rachel Fane: Education for Authorship?’ in Victoria Burke (ed.), *Early Modern Women’s Writing* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2004), p.162.

<sup>13</sup> Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: Comet of the Enlightenment* (Oxford University Press: Oxford and New York, 1999), p.xvii.

<sup>14</sup> Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, pp.15-17.

<sup>15</sup> See Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, p.5 for more on Mary’s relation to Bess of Hardwick as her great-great-great-great grandmother, making Harley and Montagu distant cousins (see p.21) as well as childhood friends and then later neighbours, upon Montagu moving to Cavendish Square in 1731 (see p.354).

<sup>16</sup> Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, p.18

(1666), *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* (1666) and *Plays, Never before Printed* (1668). This was also reflected in contemporary imagery through portraiture, as we see in the portrait depicting her clearly with both quill and paper to hand (Fig. 16, below) as well as in the accompanying inscription:

Studious She is x all Alone,  
Most visitants, when She has none,  
Her Library on which She looks  
It is her Head her Thoughts her Books.  
Scorning dead Ashes without fire  
For her owne Flames doe her Inspire.<sup>17</sup>

**Fig. 16 'Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas), Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne' by Pieter Louis van Schuppen, after Abraham Diepenbeek, line engraving, late 17th century.<sup>18</sup>**



<sup>17</sup> National Portrait Gallery (NPG), D30185, 'Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas), Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne' a line engraving by Pieter Louis van Schuppen, after Abraham Diepenbeek, late 17th century.

<sup>18</sup> NPG, D30185, 'Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas), Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne' a line engraving by Pieter Louis van Schuppen, after Abraham Diepenbeek, late 17th century.

This engraving of Cavendish is referred to by Stevenson as the 'Scholar Marchioness', where she notes that 'she [Cavendish] sits by her writing table, wearing a plain dark dress, a feminine equivalent of scholar's black', and thus emphasises through this image her literary and intellectual persona.<sup>19</sup> Stevenson also notes that works printed and published that were written by the Duchess, (including '*Plays, Never before Printed*') frequently alternated between the 'Scholar Marchioness' (above) and the 'Minerva and Apollo' portraits.<sup>20</sup> The 'Minerva and Apollo' engraving (Fig. 17, below) presents the Duchess in a classical goddess or heroine-like context, with the inscription still emphasising her identity as a writer and scholar with the passage:

Here on this Figure Cast a Glance,  
But so as if it were by Chance,  
Your eyes not fixt, they must not stay,  
Since this like Shadowes to the Day  
It only represent's; for Still,  
Her Beuty's found beyond the Skill  
Of the best Paynter, to Imbrace,  
Those lovely Lines within her face,  
View her Soul's Picture, Judgment, witt,  
Then read those Lines which Shee hath writt,  
By Phancy's Pencill drawne alone  
Which Peece but Shee, Can justly owne.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Jane Stevenson, 'Women and the Cultural Politics of Printing', *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol. 24, Iss. 2 (01 September 2009), p.212.

<sup>20</sup> Stevenson, 'Women and the Cultural Politics of Printing', p.212.

<sup>21</sup> NPG, D11111, 'Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas), Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne', a line engraving by Pieter Louis van Schuppen, after Abraham Diepenbeeck, c.1655-1658.

Fig. 17 'Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas), Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne' by Pieter Louis van Schuppen, after Abraham Diepenbeeck line engraving, c.1655-1658.<sup>22</sup>



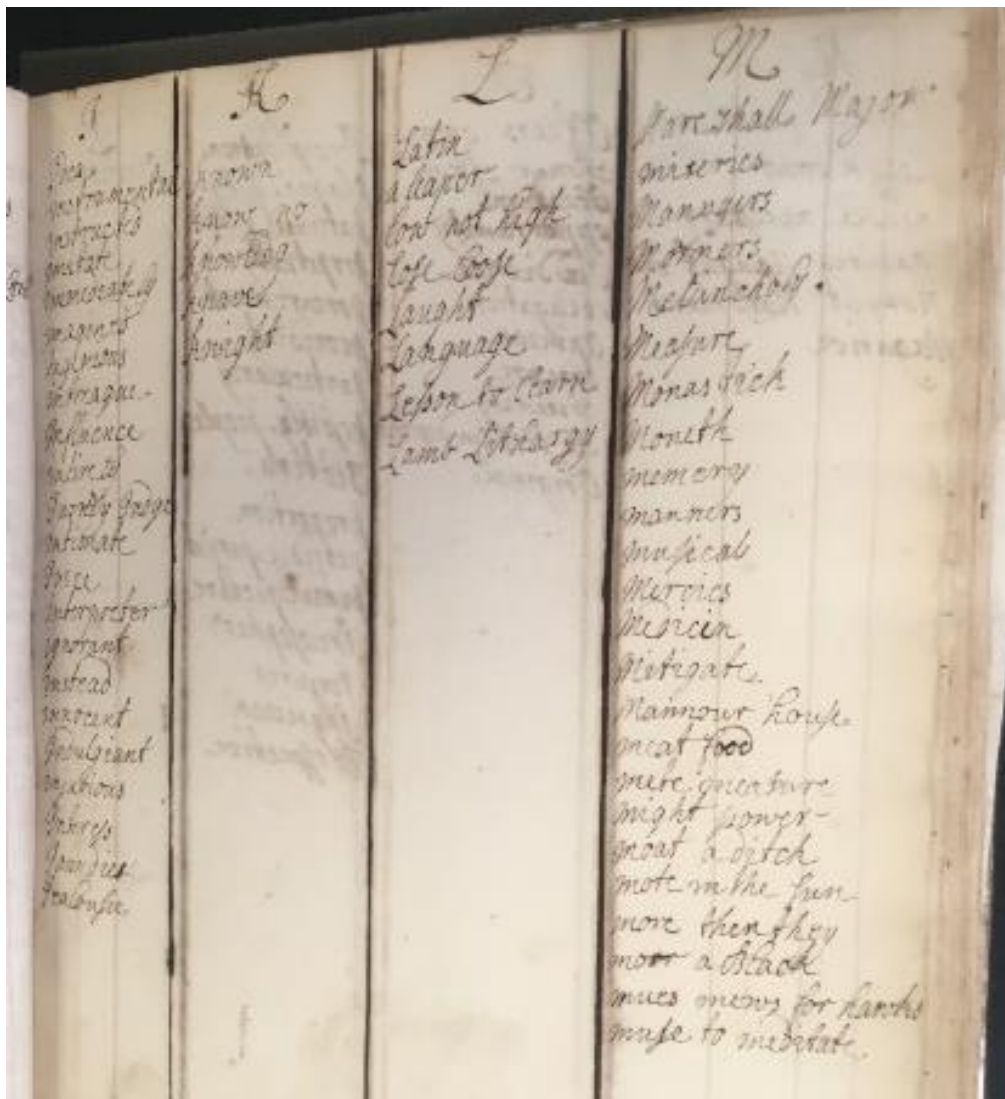
Therefore her work and legacy demonstrate that there was some established tradition and veneration of female authorship associated with prominent women within the local context. This was likely to have made literacy and writing something to aspire to for some, but without the social and economic freedom to do so frivolously, found purpose and value in the more practical receipt book genre. We see therefore that there are various examples within local recipe texts that indicate value and purpose placed upon domestic texts as spaces for enhancing literacy. In the household account and recipe book of Dorothy Gore, for example, there are five pages dedicated to alphabetised columns listing new words and their spellings, grappling with what might be seen as more difficult words such as 'precipitation', 'perpetually', 'particularly', 'physician' and 'perspective', as well as words

<sup>22</sup> NPG, D11111, 'Margaret Cavendish (née Lucas), Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne', a line engraving by Pieter Louis van Schuppen, after Abraham Diepenbeeck, c.1655-1658.



where the spelling requires distinction to denote a meaning. This applies in instances such as those shown in Fig. 18 below, where Dorothy distinguishes between ‘moat a ditch’ and ‘mote in the sun’, ‘more then they’ and ‘moor a Black’, and ‘mues mewes for hawks’ versus ‘muse to meditate’, for example, under the ‘M’ category.

**Fig. 18 Alphabetised columns listing new words and their spellings in the account and recipe book of Dorothy Gore [1683-1738], wife of Joseph Mellish.<sup>23</sup>**



<sup>23</sup> UNMASC, Me 2 E 1, ‘Account and recipe book of Dorothy Gore [1683-1738], wife of Joseph Mellish. Includes menus of dinners for tenants’, 1705-1719, pp.51-54.

Despite being catalogued as an 'account and recipe book', this volume is inscribed on the cover with a heading of 'Old acc[oun]ts & dinners to 1706' and has been discounted from the main source examples on account of it listing menus rather than recording recipes. Instead it is a miscellaneous volume reporting on dinner menus from 'at Mrs Huetts' on 'Sep:25', 'The Din[n]er for the tenants in Xmas 1700', to costs associated with household purchases, such as those 'Laid out for my Sister Mellish' between 'Jan[uar]y 30 to Feb:12', which included five shillings for 'a quarter of a pound of green Tea', accompanied by a note that 'Ended all accounts with my Sister Mellish at Blith ye 18: of August 1709'.<sup>24</sup> It is this kind of informal domestic text that demonstrates the practical and functional necessity for female literacy within the wider genre of domestic manuscripts, as supported by Kowalchuk who argues that 'once manuscripts are considered, it is clear that the number of women writing in Renaissance and early modern England is much greater than previously believed'.<sup>25</sup>

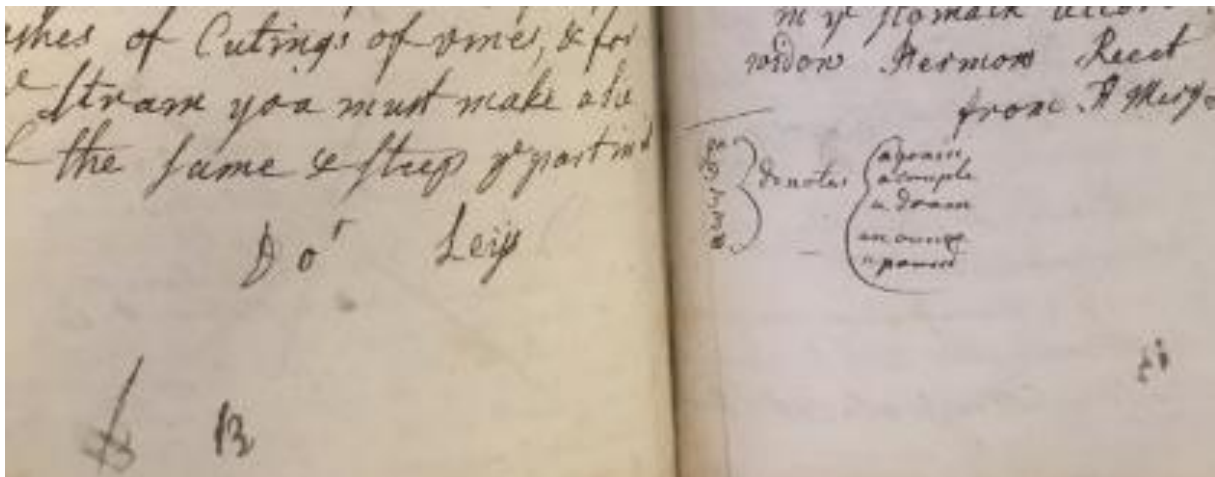
Within recipe manuscripts themselves, we also find space for the development of literacy in the guises of exploring shorthand symbols and meanings, practicing and correcting words or phrases, as well as in the copying of recipes verbatim in order to improve handwriting and literacy. In Fig. 19 (below), it is possible to note the key to symbols denoting measurements to the right, as well as two rough attempts at practicing the symbol for 'a pound (weight measurement)' as 'lb' to the left.

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<sup>24</sup> UNMASC, Me 2 E 1, '[dinner] at Mrs Huetts [on] Sep:25', f.1v, 'The Diner for the tenants in Xmas 1700', f.15v, and '[Costs] Laid out for my Sister Mellish', f.44v.

<sup>25</sup> Kowalchuk (ed.), *Preserving on Paper*, p.32.

Fig. 19 Practising symbols of measurement in the recipe book of Margaret Willoughby.<sup>26</sup>



We also note other examples of spelling being practised or advancing over the course of a recipe, such as the transition from 'picled' to 'pickled' in the instance of the Mundy volume. Here, the first use of the word in the collection as a heading occurs in the recipe for 'A Goose Picled, the French way', which is then corrected to 'pickle' or 'pickled' in all 22 subsequent occurrences as recipe headings, such as 'To Pickle Oysters', 'Mackarell Pickled to keep all the year', and 'Wallnutts pickled white'.<sup>27</sup> The notion of standardised spelling was becoming popularised in precisely this period, as a result of the increasing number, and comprehensiveness of, published dictionaries throughout the seventeenth century and into the mid eighteenth century, when Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) embarked upon what is often considered the first 'standard' dictionary in 1746, which was subsequently published in 1755.<sup>28</sup> He expresses a growing concern with accuracy in spelling at this time, observing in his plan for the dictionary that 'the present usage of spelling... [could be] in itself inaccurate and tolerated rather than chosen', and in his preface that a 'diversity of spelling' had arisen

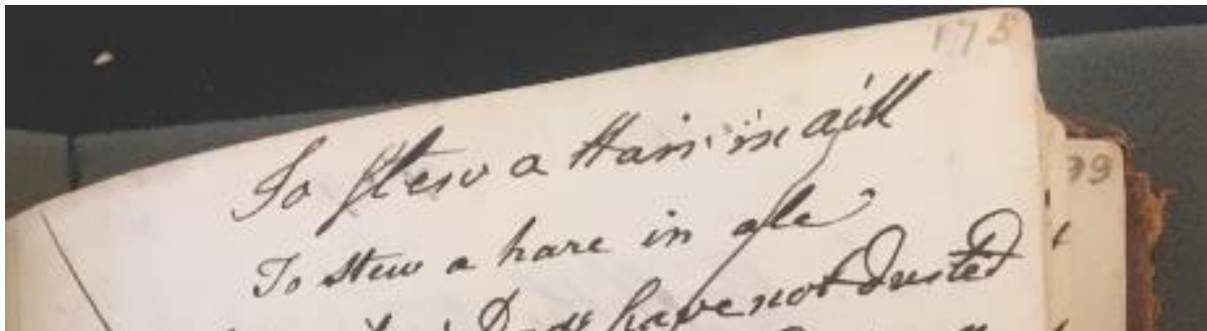
<sup>26</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To strengthen a strain or sto a fluding, by Doctor Leijs', pp.150-151.

<sup>27</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'A Goose Picled, the French way', p.55, 'To Pickle Oysters', p.63, 'Mackarell Pickled to keep all the year', p.85, 'Wallnutts pickled white', p.113.

<sup>28</sup> E.L. McAdam Jr. and George Milne, *Samuel Johnson's Dictionary: A Modern Selection* (Pantheon Books: New York, 1964), pp.vii-viii.

from the 'uncertain pronunciation' of a 'language [which] was at its beginning merely oral', going on to set out his intention to achieve uniformity based on the derivation where words have 'been altered by accident, or depraved by ignorance... and [where] some still continue to be variously written, as authors differ in their care or skill'.<sup>29</sup> Recipe books offered a site for immediate self-correction and improvement of spelling and literacy in a way which reflects these development, as in the case pictured in Fig. 20 below, where the correction of the recipe heading 'To Stew a Hair in aill' is corrected below to 'To stew a hare in ale', therefore demonstrating the proactive use of a contributor in practising and seeking to improve their writing.

**Fig. 20 Example of spelling correction in the recipe title 'To stew a hare in ale' in the recipe book of Margaret Willoughby.<sup>30</sup>**



This is not unique to our local receipt book examples, but rather, is a common feature across the genre in this period. As such, other scholars also note this frequent tendency for recipe manuscripts to become sites for practicing spelling and writing in this way, with Theophano offering multiple examples of receipt books as a site for practising reading and

<sup>29</sup> Samuel Johnson, 'Preface to the English Dictionary' in John Hawkins (ed.), *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.: Together with his Life, and Notes on his Lives of the Poets, Volume 9* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2011), pp.193-229, esp. pp.194-199; Samuel Johnson, 'The Plan of an English Dictionary: To the Right Honourable Philip Dormer, Earl of Chesterfield, one of his Majesty's Principle Secretaries of State' in John Hawkins (ed.), *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.: Together with his Life, and Notes on his Lives of the Poets, Volume 9* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2011), pp.165-192, esp. pp.173-174.

<sup>30</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To stew a hare in ale, by Mother Willoughby', p.175.

writing, including a daughter practising the letter 'M', the copying of recipes verbatim from printed texts, and one instance of a half-finished sentence in a cure 'for a dropsy' that abruptly ends with 'Take a peck of sliced' and then an italicised note 'I cannot write it' where there is otherwise a missing ingredient.<sup>31</sup> Kowalchuk also highlights the literary benefits of functional literacy rooted in kitchen activity, noting that 'while working in the kitchen with children underfoot, mothers may have used recipes to teach their children – primarily daughters – how to read and write. They allowed, even encouraged, their children to practice their letters in these books'.<sup>32</sup>

As discussed in the previous chapter, there are examples of the same recipes being copied more or less verbatim both across and within recipe volumes. In the instance discussed previously, we saw that two recipes in Mrs Willoughby's volumes were duplicated elsewhere within the collection.<sup>33</sup> In these instances, as the accompanying Fig. 11 demonstrates, they note the page number of the alternate location within the volume and have a new recipe 'To make cheescakes' bound over them. There are two possible explanations for this, one being that the amendment is structural and that the signposting to an earlier example of the same recipe allows for space to be repurposed for the addition of the cheesecake recipe. An alternative explanation, given that these recipes which are together on the page are like for like copies which also appear separately earlier in the volume, is that the later contributor sought to benefit from copying the receipts through improvement to their writing practice or literacy. This later contributor has an apparently different hand to the other versions of the recipes, indicating that the earlier recipes were

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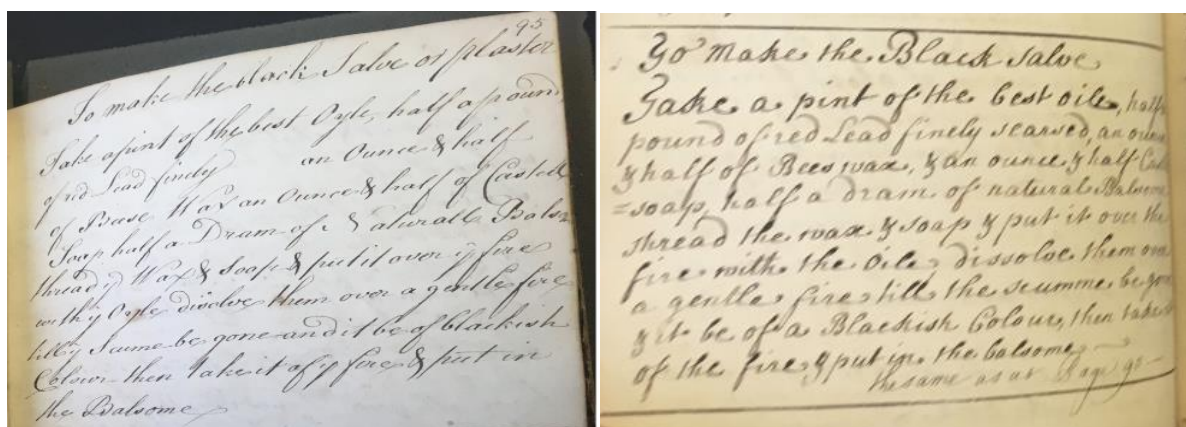
<sup>31</sup> Theophano, *Eat My Words*, p.157, p.181, p.163; Kowalchuk (ed.), *Preserving on Paper*, p.31.

<sup>32</sup> Theophano, *Eat My Words*, pp.156-157.

<sup>33</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, Recipe for 'Steel Pills' and 'For the green sickness', p.137, also duplicated as 'Steel Pills [by] Mrs Willoughby, p.51 and 'For the Green Sickness', p.100.

written by Mrs. Willoughby and Cos. Willoughby respectively. Furthermore, within the third Willoughby volume we find the same receipt under a heading 'For the Green Sickness', suggesting that this is perhaps the original source of Cos Willoughby's receipt, as copied into the fourth volume.<sup>34</sup> We also find a similar practice within this volume of repetition of recipes for the likely purpose of practicing and crafting literacy skills in the instance of a duplication of a recipe 'To make the black Salve or plaster' repeated verbatim just five pages later under the heading 'To make the Black Salve'.<sup>35</sup> As can be seen in Fig. 21 below, the later edition of this recipe copy (right) although a like-a-like for like copy in all words, the format of those words has developed and modernised from the use of 'ye' to 'the', 'oyle' to 'oile', 'Beese Wax' to 'Bees wax', 'Naturall' to 'natural', 'scume' to 'scumme', and that a more standardised approach to capitalisation with measurements such as a 'dram' now appearing in lowercase. The author even notes that this receipt is 'the same as at Page 95'. This example clearly demonstrates the way that receipts could be duplicated with improvements in order to advance and master the craft of all aspects of the spelling and literacy of writing recipes.

**Fig. 21 Duplicate recipes 'To make the black Salve or Plaster' (left) and 'To make the Black Salve' in Willoughby recipe book [Vol. III].<sup>36</sup>**



<sup>34</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'For the Green Sickness', p.100.

<sup>35</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'To make the black Salve or plaster', p.95, 'To make the Black Salve', p.100.

<sup>36</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'To make the black Salve or plaster' (left), p.95, 'To make the Black Salve' (right), p.100.

This repetition, especially so closely within volumes undoubtedly indicates a motivation to craft and perfect the writing and literacy in repeating a recipe in the same collection, whilst we also note that the sharing and recording of duplicate recipes and knowledge across volumes makes the ability to extract that information all the more important and valuable to the compilers and users of recipe manuscripts.

Therefore, the use of recipe books as a site for literacy and learning in local examples is clearly demonstrated and indicates a perceived contemporary value in recipe books as a site for contributors and compilers to improve their literacy. As Theophano notes, the recipe collections themselves are just one part of this, and that through engaging with recipe texts, 'women wrote letters to request recipes, compiled cookbooks for publication, and submitted their own creations to newspapers and magazines. Likewise, they read and wrote in the margins of published works that they used for cooking. In this way, they practised literacy, even when they were denied it by formal institutions of learning'.<sup>37</sup> Through this kind of 'functional literacy' we are able to see that, as Bowden notes, despite a lack of school, early modern women and girls were still deeply invested in learning.<sup>38</sup>

### **Organisational and Retrieval Devices**

This section will look at the use of indices, pages numbers and structural devices such as sections and headings by recipe type in order to support information retrieval. It will contend that the recording of recipes as a form of practical aide memoire was not enough, but rather that techniques for navigating through the content of recipe manuscripts were essential in order for them to fulfil their epistemic potential. The value and importance placed upon being able to retrieve information is demonstrated by the investment of time

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<sup>37</sup> Theophano, *Eat My Words*, p.156.

<sup>38</sup> Bowden, 'Women in Educational Spaces', pp.85-96.

and effort into the detail and exactness of indexing, sectional organisation, and accurate page numbers. As Joan Thirsk points out, 'recipe books were becoming/did become more familiar in the 1550-1600 period, but they were not yet 'orderly or comprehensive', however, it is in this later period that we begin to see a shift in this respect, as we can see reflected in local examples which begin to make use of structure devices, albeit to varying degrees.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, we find that by the eighteenth century, there are several common tools and features used in receipt books that seek to simplify the process of retrieving information, including the utilisation of categories to enable users to easily distinguish between types of recipe, and the creation and maintenance of complex indexes and other information retrieval apparatus and page and/or entry numbering, both of which would have allowed for easier retrieval, consideration and comparison of receipts for culinary recipes, or to treat a particular ailment.

### **Sections and Headings**

Structuring devices used to distinguish between recipe types range from the very basic practice of separating medicinal and culinary recipes into the front or reverse sections of a manuscript, through to distinct groupings or chapter-like headings for types of dish or preparations. The range of practices reflected in local examples will be discussed to explore the implications for their functional value as written materials, and as an educational tool intended to facilitate practical learning in the household. As a result, we are able to see this change reflected in recipe manuscripts, as over time the form and function of receipt books moves from the disorganised, uncategorised versions where physic and cookery were not seen as distinguishable categories, to a system where structuring devices became more

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<sup>39</sup> Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England* (Hambledon Continuum: London and New York, 2007), p.55.



pronounced to reflect a divergence in thought around food and physic. This became crucial to the functionality of larger recipe volumes and the effective acquisition of knowledge.

A commonly adopted approach to separating medical and culinary recipes in receipt book manuscripts was simply to have one section at the front (most commonly culinary recipes), and another, in reverse, starting from the back of the volume (most commonly medicinal recipes). MS 87/1 uses precisely this approach, reversing the volume to begin the medical section and resulting in a sense of two separate volumes with one reading front to back and another back to front, with a list of content either side preceding the relevant section in place of a title page, and headed as 'The Index' by the compiler (Fig. 22, below).

Fig. 22 'The Index' as title page in Willoughby recipe book [Vol. I].<sup>40</sup>



The heading of this list of contents as an index demonstrates the legacy of blurred origins of these two distinct parts of a book structure which Dennis Duncan notes to have a shared

<sup>40</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Index', f.2r.

history in terms of both names and initial appearance, but that can ultimately be defined as a contents page (as in the Willoughby example above) which follows the order and structure of the text to follow, in comparison to an index, characterised as a mechanism for randomising and ‘severing the relationship between the structure of the work and the structure of the table’ using page numbers as locators, usually at the end of a text.<sup>41</sup>

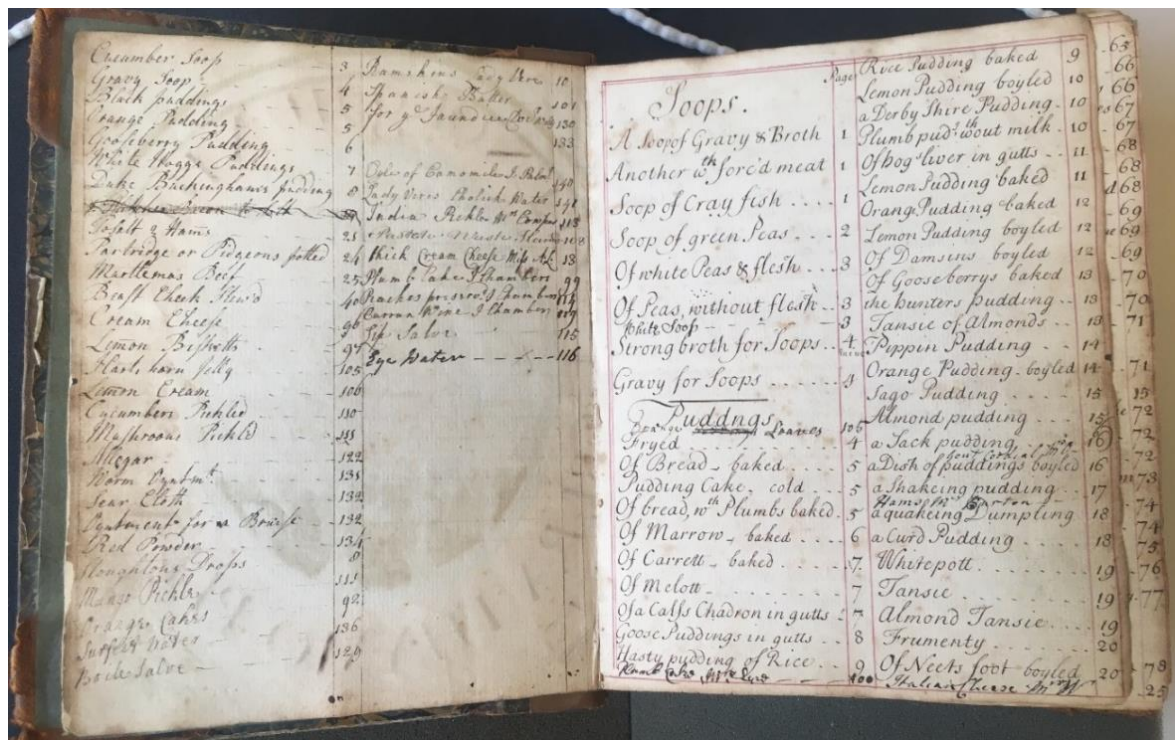
Ultimately, however it is described by the compiler in the example above, the listing of recipes and their corresponding page numbers in order as a form of contents page and in place of a title page, places the user rather than the compiler at the heart of the purpose of such a recipe manuscript, thus indicating that it is the user’s ability to locate and extract useful recipes which takes greatest importance in the organisation of information. The adherence to ensuring that users could quickly deduce how recipes had been organised is indicative of the centrality of the value of knowledge acquisition to recipe book compilers and users alike.

MS 86 is almost entirely devoted to culinary recipes with the arguable exception of waters, and the later addition of Hester Miller’s recipes on the verso folios. As such, the need for distinct food and remedy sections is obsolete in Mundy’s original iteration of the volume. Instead, what we see here is more detailed categorisation of the food recipes, which is indicated clearly in the index, now with section headings for ‘Soops’, ‘Puddings’, ‘Flesh’, ‘Pyes’, ‘Cakes’, ‘Preserves’, ‘Pic[k]les’, ‘Wine’ and ‘Cordiall Waters’, as shown in the page example (Fig. 23, below, right).

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<sup>41</sup> Dennis Duncan, ‘Indexes’ in Dennis Duncan and Adam Smyth (eds.), *Book Parts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p.265

Fig. 23 Section headings for 'Soops' and 'Puddings' in Mundy's recipe volume.<sup>42</sup>



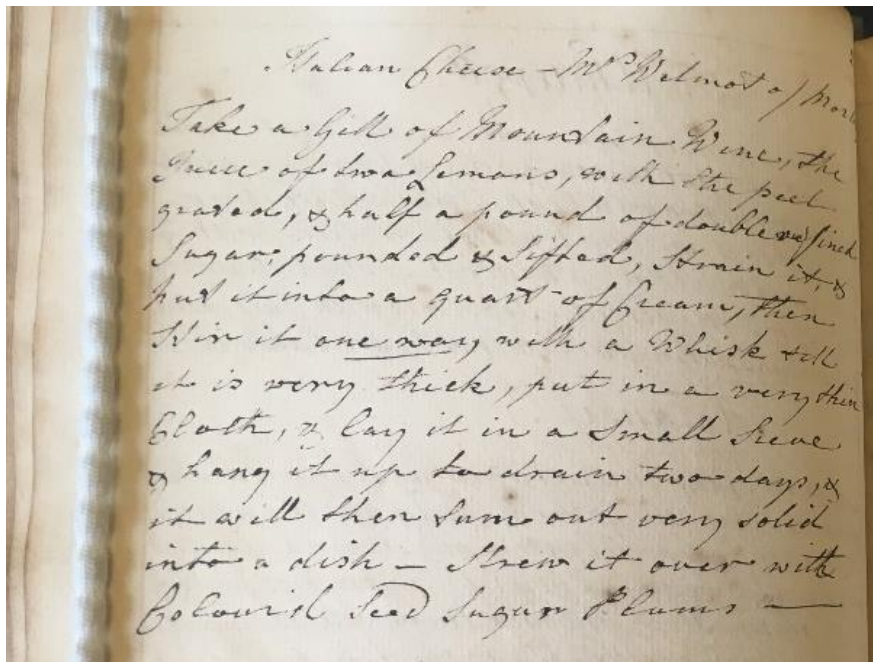
As can be seen above in a darker lettering to the bottom of the page, a later hand, most likely that of Hester Miller, has added her own recipes to these sections and has then crafted a similar addition to the contents from the spare reverse side of the title page (Fig. 23, above, left), suggesting there was a perceived value in upholding the practice of recording contents to support with knowledge retrieval. Miller Mundy has been able to add recipes here as she goes along, and has a tendency to note who she received the recipe from, as can be seen in Fig. 23 (above) with the example of a recipe for 'Plumb Cake [by] Mrs Eyre' which has been added to the very bottom left hand column of the page, as well as than within the title or main structure of the receipt itself.<sup>43</sup> In Fig. 23 (above), we can also see that Hester has added entries such as those in the 'Puddings' section with varying

<sup>42</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Index', f.1.

<sup>43</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Plumb Cake [by] Mrs Eyre', p.99v. See also for an example of this, the index entry for Mrs Radford's recipe for 'Elderflower Wine' which has been later added to the 'flesh' section of the index.

degrees of adherence to the section heading. Along with that for a 'Plumb Cake' by Mrs Eyre, she also adds a recipe 'To make Hams [by] Mrs Barton' and for 'Italian Cheese' by a Mrs W, who is identified in full in the main recipe as Mrs Wilmot of Morley (Fig. 24 below).<sup>44</sup>

**Fig. 24 Recipe for 'Italian Cheese' by Mrs Wilmot of Morley in Elenor Mundy's book.**<sup>45</sup>



In the receipt book collection of Henrietta Harley, the categorisation of receipts extends to dedicating a volume to three distinct and particular categories; one for food, one for medicine, and another for confectionery. Each volume opens immediately after the title page with the first recipe entry, without a contents page, in a fashion much more in keeping with contemporary printed examples, albeit without the writers preface that the printed examples adopt.<sup>46</sup> As an example initiated slightly later in the period though, Harley's multi-volume format appears to reflect the emerging distinction between food and medicine that

<sup>44</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'To make Hams [by] Mrs Barton', p.16v, 'Italian Cheese [by] Mrs Wilmot of Morley', p.19v.

<sup>45</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Italian Cheese [by] Mrs Wilmot of Morley', p.19v.

<sup>46</sup> See for example, Elizabeth Moxon, *English Housewifery* (Leeds: Griffith Wright, 1749); Mary Kettlby, *A Collection of Receipts in Cookery, Physick and Surgery, Part II* (London: Richard Wilkin, 1719).

arose as a result of the shift in medical thinking that began to separate the two as more chemical, scientific, empirical and experimental approaches came to the forefront of medical progress.<sup>47</sup> Through Harley's manuscripts, we can see clearly how this separation of food and physic seemingly began to disseminate into, and influence, household practice and thinking.

MS 87/3 shows a level of organisation with a midway division of cookery and medicinal entries, all recorded front to back, with a double blank page left between the two sections. This approach is less common than other techniques to divide two sections, and this mid-section divide results in an overall impression of a lack of planning as to the intended content of the volume, as despite the first section having a 'Cookery' title, the medicinal remedies have no equivalent title or heading. This might be because some culinary recipes go on to make it into the later section but could also indicate that there was limited forethought in the expected content as the inaccurate division of space results in the cookery section being filled, with subsequent overspill into the second half of the volume. In some instances, this amalgamation of recipe types may be indicative of a continued blurring of food and medicine for the compiler as a result of common practice at the time, particularly in examples of recipes for which it is hard to divide the two, such as in the instance of 'hartshorn jelly' which could be considered as a food stuff, but was used in the treatment of diarrhoea.<sup>48</sup> The growing distinction between food and medicine was undoubtedly a transitional process, one where recipes for waters and bitters were far more readily considered medicinal remedies than they would be today, for example, and that

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<sup>47</sup> For more on the connection between the rise of experimental science and testing and authenticating practices of the recipe genre, see: Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, pp.209-250.

<sup>48</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Hartshorn jelly', p.148.

traditional uses of wines, waters and preserves could still be considered as medicinal, such as in the cases of recipes in the latter section for 'A very good surfeit water', another for a 'Gooseberry Wine', and perhaps to a certain extent also, 'To pickle red cabbage' or even for 'English red port, by Mr Temple'.<sup>49</sup> However, it may also be understood in terms of a compilers' lack of experience or planning in organising the structural devices, and that they simply ran out of room in the pre-designated space for food-based recipes resulting in what are more obviously culinary recipes such as 'Good cake, by Mrs Camings', 'To Dress carp', and even for '[walnut] ketchup' and more exotic condiments such as this recipe for 'India pickle' in the medicinal recipe section.<sup>50</sup>

Take a pound of Ginger & let it lie in Salt & Water one day then scrape it and cut it into thin Slices & put it into a Mug with dry salt till the other Ingredients are ready (Viz) one pound of Garlick peel it & cut it into piecs lay it in Salt and water three days wash it & let it be in dry salt three days longer then Wash it again & put it in the Sun or near the fire to dry. one quarter of a pound of long pepper one quarter of a lb: of white mustard seed, one ounce of Turmerick bruze the two latter in a Morter together, put all these Ingredients into such a quantity of Vinegare as you think proper & give them a boil two – take Cabbage Colliflower, Radishes & Sallery they must be scalded till they are tender then salted with dry salt for three days then dried by the Sun or fire, French Beans or Asparagus must only lie in salt two days – Cucumbers, Mellons, Peaches, Apples Carrots &o: are to lie in salt three days all these must be put in the same pickle together & will keep for years only adding fresh vinegar & salting & drying whatever you put in – in the above manner.<sup>51</sup>

## Indexes

Andrew Wear, in his influential work on English Medicine 1550-1680, highlighted the significance of indexes as a tool for data extraction:

The prominence given to indexes and tables of information in some early modern medical books makes it clear that they were deliberately designed as tools for the

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<sup>49</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'A very good surfeit water', p.143, 'Gooseberry wine', p.144, 'To pickle red cabbage', p.115, 'English red port, by Mr Temple', p.108.

<sup>50</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Mrs Camings Receipt for a Good Cake', 'To Dress Carp' and 'To make Raspberry Wine', pp.141-142, 'To Make India Pickle', pp.159-160, 'To Make Ketchup', pp.163-164.

<sup>51</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'To Make India Pickle', pp.159-160.

extraction of data from what could be a confusing mass of material, and were considered important parts of the book.<sup>52</sup>

However, evidence suggests that this feature did not apply to medical texts alone, and that indexes played an important role in the format and the practical use of recipe texts more generally. The differences in the implementation of indexes as features within these manuscripts can help support emerging indications of the intended purpose of each example and in particular, page or recipe entry numbering, when corroborated alongside the manuscript index system can be revealing in terms of the function of the text.

For the Harley manuscripts, which have both page numbers and recipe numbers, these are indicative of, and consistent with, the same level of detail witnessed with its other features and supports the theory that these volumes were designed with the intention of creating a coherent whole. The system of numbering each entry in the index allows no room for creating additional entries between existing recipes, and ensures that the index reinforces the intended structure, whilst also serving to demonstrate that the original layout remains. In contrast, the Willoughby and Mundy indexes and summaries of content all have page numbers, but not recipe numbers, which allowed greater flexibility for adding to, editing, amending, and discreetly pasting over entries, over a period of time. Therefore, it can be argued that the format of a receipt book' structuring devised can be highly indicative of the structural fluidity that was anticipated or accounted for by the compiler. For example, Harley left little room for change in her more individualistic, declarative approach to recipe book authorship, whilst the Willoughby volumes take a much more flexible approach to allow for their apparently more collaborative style of authorship.

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<sup>52</sup> Wear, *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine*, p.82.

Despite the similarity in numbering pages, the Mundy and Willoughby volumes offer some differing approaches to indexing and summarising the contents their receipt collection. In one example, the index acts as a 'contents' page, listing the entries in page order.<sup>53</sup> There is one such 'index' at the front of the manuscript for the culinary recipes that follow, and another in the same style on the reverse side for medicinal and household receipts. Another has only one index at the front which dedicates a page per letter of the alphabet so that it can be added to as recipes are contributed over time, with recipes then added front to back throughout.<sup>54</sup> The other anonymous volume places the index at the back of the text with a half page (portrait) given over to each letter, and unlike MS 87/3, medical and culinary recipes are noted together, suggesting that recipes were simply added in the order they were acquired rather than an effort being made to distinguish between the two disciplines of cookery and medicine.<sup>55</sup> In Margaret Willoughby's book (MS 87/4), evidence suggests that the structure was put in place for a fully organised index towards the end of the volume. This example vertically divides each page and initially dedicates half to each letter of the alphabet as denoted by the letter-headings and the proceeding corresponding index entries. What we find over time however is that as recipes are added later (front to back, throughout), the number of recipes relating to some letters exceeds the space made available and they begin to 'bleed' into other sections ('P' bleeds into 'Q', for example), indicating either a lack of forward planning or experience, or at least, a much more ad hoc approach to the compilation of these volumes. In general, this index example represents a much less organised structure with no obvious groupings of categories at all, perhaps due to the many hands involved in writing the recipes. Instead, the purpose and value of the index

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<sup>53</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Willoughby Household Book, Vol. I', 1737-c.1790.

<sup>54</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Willoughby Household Book, Vol. III', 1737-c.1790.

<sup>55</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Willoughby Household Book, Vol. II', 1737-c.1790.



in helping subsequent users to locating a recipe for a relevant need is even more important. All index entries are in the same hand, but not all recipes are indexed, suggesting that despite one contributor's attempts to index content, others failed to, demonstrating that the Margaret Willoughby volume was developed on a much more ad-hoc basis, and that recipes were much more likely to have been added as and when they were obtained, rather than in any kind of planned or coherent order. It also indicates that despite the frontispiece, which is suggestive of a single ownership, that any inferred overview of the content cannot be relied upon, and that collaboration resulted in different approaches to organisation too.

Over the course of this chapter, the recipe book has been examined as a site which facilitated female domestic learning, as associated with the authority and agency of household management. As seen, the recipe book provided a platform for improving and demonstrating a level of functional literacy, and this was put into use to further epistemic pursuits in the careful organisation and structure of manuscripts to support the retrieval of information contained within them. Thus, as educational tools, the receipt book and recipe-sharing culture of early modern England can be seen to have added value to the informal educational pursuits of women and their communities, as was particularly the case in their compiling of medical knowledge, to the benefit their households.

### Chapter Three: Landscapes of Medicinal Practice and Learning

Historical understanding of the ‘professional’ aspects of early modern health provision has traditionally been centred on the essential tripartite of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries.<sup>1</sup> More recently however, a broader picture of everyday medical activity has also been developed to incorporate the diverse networks of unlicensed lay practitioners, characterised by the notion of a more complex ‘medical marketplace’.<sup>2</sup> The reach of professional physicians in the eighteenth century was undoubtedly limited; with ‘the membership of the College of Physicians amounting to only 114 men, 80 of whom lived in London’. As such, the pursuit of unlicensed medical men and women has been described as an ‘absurdity’, particularly given that ‘without the help of their rivals, the College could not have hoped to treat all sick members of the population’.<sup>3</sup> Where this was the case in the capital, it was especially so outside of urban regions and in rural and provincial towns, such as Nottingham.<sup>4</sup> Women therefore came to play a much needed role in early modern health provision, and Andrew Wear discusses the significance of lay medicine and the inadequacies of the historical concept of an economically-driven ‘medical marketplace’, where he instead describes the social rather than economic nature of healthcare transactions within communities. By locating lay remedies in a female culture of medicine which Wear contends ‘was a major component of medical care and treatment of early modern England’, he is able to reposition the role of everyday word-of-mouth and literary transmission of knowledge that receipt books represent as a significant part of what characterised the eighteenth

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<sup>1</sup> Mary E. Fissell, ‘Introduction: Women, Health, and Healing in Early Modern Europe’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 82, No. 1, Special Issue: Women, Health, and Healing in Early Modern Europe (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Spring 2008), pp.1-17.

<sup>2</sup> Evans and Read, *Maladies and Medicine*, 2017), p.xix.

<sup>3</sup> Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity*, p.177.

<sup>4</sup> Wear, *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine*, pp.23-24.

century medical landscape.<sup>5</sup> Whilst women often acted as a front line for treating illness in their household and local communities in practice, recipe books provided a functional platform for education and the circulation of medicinal knowledge in local and domestic settings, and even acted as a conduit for the exchange of everyday practice and experience with the professional knowledge of the College of Physicians through well-connected sources.<sup>6</sup> This is reflected in local recipe collections, where the inclusion of 857 medical recipes within a total of 1943 (44%) highlights that knowledge relating to health and ailments was highly valued and sought after by recipe book compilers, and that medical knowledge circulated between compilers and their manuscripts locally. As a result, through the continuous development and circulation of medical knowledge in regional examples, we find that receipt books held a very specific value in the facilitation of curiosity in and around both old and new domestic medical knowledge. Jennifer Stine demonstrated this in the context seventeenth-century medical recipe culture, and its contribution to wider scientific debate and empirical method through which she argues rapid accelerated as a result of domestic enquiry by women.<sup>7</sup> This point has been developed further by Katherine Allen in the context of the eighteenth-century, where she contends that household recipe collecting and domestic healthcare played so significant a role as a site for creativity, experimentation, and innovation that she regards it worthy of consideration for 'greater significance in the histories of science and medicine'.<sup>8</sup> It is the contention of this chapter that part of the value of recipe books in this period to the individual and the wider community lies in the utility of

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<sup>5</sup> Wear, *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine*, pp.28-29.

<sup>6</sup> Wear, *Knowledge & Practice in English Medicine*, pp.46-55.

<sup>7</sup> Jennifer Stine, *Opening Closets: The Discovery of Household Medicine in Early Modern England* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Stanford University, 1996), p.217.

<sup>8</sup> Allen, *Manuscript Recipe Collections and Elite Domestic Medicine in Eighteenth Century England*, pp.281-283.

the receipt book text as a site for gathering and sharing medicinal know-how. In regional examples we see that recipe knowledge and curiosity extended both backward and forward in time, acting as a mechanism for exploring and negotiating the tensions between traditional, 'wise-woman' medical remedies and an emerging culture of 'domesticising' science.<sup>9</sup> More broadly, the popularity and appetite for medicinal knowledge was capitalised upon by early modern booksellers and printers who Elizabeth Lane Furdell describes as undermining 'the legal monopoly of the traditional medical establishment' and forming a competitive 'medical marketplace' of printed medical knowledge, as demonstrated by her mapping of over 200 printers and sellers involved in the handling of medical books in early modern London alone.<sup>10</sup> This was a market doggedly supported by women who found in the printed publications a way to gain medical and scientific knowledge (as well as income) that they were barred from accessing by virtually all other avenues of enquiry and instruction.<sup>11</sup> Thus, alongside a genuine interest in preserving the health of themselves, their kin, and community, there were undoubtedly merits to recipe collectors in being perceived as a local holder of medical knowledge, education and experience which may well have been an additional motivating factor in gathering this kind of recipe. There are, therefore, two means by which the engagement with medical knowledge in receipt book culture interacted with the compiler's sense of self. Firstly, in the self-promotion of the individual as a purveyor of the most fashionable cures, distillations,

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<sup>9</sup> For more on curiosity and 'domesticising' science, see Deborah Harkness, 'Nosce Teipsum: Curiosity, the Humoural Body and Therapeutics', in R.J.W Evans and Alexander Marr (eds.) *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2006), p.173; William Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature: Books of Secrets in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 1994), esp. pp.58-66; Peter Harrison, 'Curiosity, Forbidden Knowledge, and the Reformation of Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England', *Isis*, Vol. 92 (2001), pp.265-290.

<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002), p.49.

<sup>11</sup> For more on the role of women in the 'medical marketplace' of published texts on science and medicine, see Elizabeth Lane Furdell, *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England*, esp. pp.93-112

plasters, and waters, which feature heavily in local examples.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, in education and development of knowledge and interaction with emerging intellectual trends of scientific knowledge. This presents itself in recipe manuscript examples locally through the following an emerging standardisation of format in how receipts are recorded, and in the evidence of trial-and-error experimentation in particular. Evidence of how local recipe collection examples reflect emerging scientific trends through standardisation and experimentation will therefore be the focus of the following chapter.

### **Receipts to Recipes: Standardisation**

As discussed in Chapter 2, the organisation of receipts within manuscripts is presented in the structuring of sections and categories, as well as in the increasing organisation of the format of the recipe itself in this period. Within texts we become familiar with the prominent and common format of 'receipts' written largely as a form of continuous prose, as well as a less common but emerging use of a standardised 'recipe' format, with ingredients separated from the method. The result of the latter is a format much more familiar to a modern recipe reader, with specific measurements, which Spiller identifies as the distinguishing feature between a 'recipe' and a 'receipt' in modern understanding of the word 'recipe'.<sup>13</sup> As noted by Sara Pennell, the medical historian William Eamon links the emergence of a 'recipelike' formulae with the influence and development of seventeenth-century natural philosophy formulae.<sup>14</sup> This arguably more 'formulaic' characterised by separate title, method, and ingredients (with measurement) sections could have been an influence of the format of written medical prescriptions being copied into collections as can

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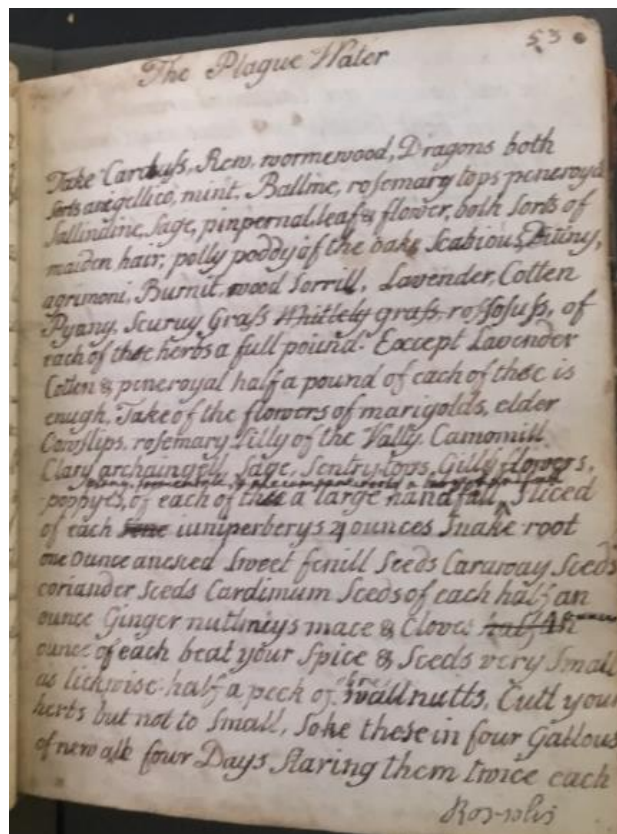
<sup>12</sup> Eamon, 'Pharmaceutical Self-Fashioning', pp.123-129.

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Spiller, 'Recipes for Knowledge: Maker's Knowledge and Traditions, Paracelsian Recipes, and the Invention of the Cookbook, 1600-1800', in Joan Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare* (Routledge: London and New York, 2009), p.55.

<sup>14</sup> Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice?', p.246.

be seen in the example of Harley's record for 'Countess of Kinnouls Proscription for the Piles', which also separates ingredients and quantities from a method which follows separately.<sup>15</sup> For the vast majority of the receipts in local collections, ingredients and methods are still treated as one body of text following a title (see Fig. 25, below, for example), with these elements only emerging as distinct sections in a very limited number of instances.

**Fig. 25 Prose format medicinal 'receipt' for 'The Plague Water' in Margaret Willoughby's book.**<sup>16</sup>



In total, out of 1297 entries across the Willoughby volumes, 25 have the distinct 'recipe' format. Of those, two are duplicate versions of the same culinary recipe for 'A Comfortable Mess for 6 people', available in two volumes, with the first attributed in MS 87/1 to Mrs

<sup>15</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'Countess of Kinnouls Proscription for the Piles', p.73.

<sup>16</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'The Plague Water', p.53.

Willoughby.<sup>17</sup> Four are household recipes for everyday items such as ‘Shoe blacking’, ‘Inck’, ‘Teeth Powder’ and ‘For the Good Wax’ and two are related to husbandry with a recipe for ‘Artificial asses milk, by Brother Hasert’, and ‘For the Murrain [an infectious disease effecting cattle], by the Ratcatcher’.<sup>18</sup> The rest (19) are medicinal.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the emerging ‘recipe’ format appears to be largely used in association with medical remedies, where precision is arguably more necessary, and therefore support the format of written medical prescriptions in the period as a likely influence. This layout - characterised by the separation of recipe constituents, namely into sections for ingredients followed by method (Fig. 26, below) - held at least two potential advantages to the compilers and users of recipe texts. Firstly, it allowed for the different elements of the process to be amended much more easily following the trial and error of any given recipe, and secondly, it lent itself to the growing commerciality of the early modern household and society, by allowing ingredients to be easily identified for purchase through clearly outlining the numerous dry and wet ingredients and their measurements.<sup>20</sup>

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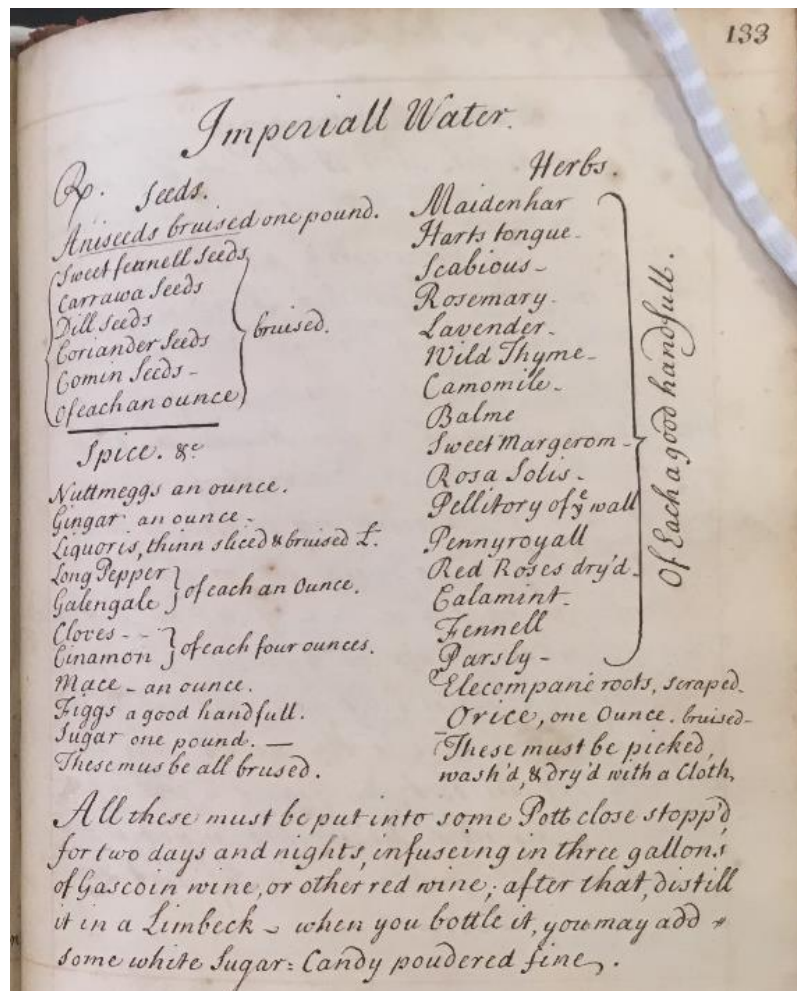
<sup>17</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, ‘A Comfortable Mess for 6 People, by Mrs Willoughby, Aspley’, p.80; MS 87/2, ‘A comfortable mess for 6 people’, p.104.

<sup>18</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, ‘Shoe blacking’, p.110; MS 87/4, ‘Inck’, p.3, ‘Teeth powder’, p.67, ‘For the good wax’, p.204, ‘Artificial asses milk, by Brother Hasert’, p.69, ‘For the Murrain, by the Ratcatcher’, p.280.

<sup>19</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, ‘Worm powders, by Mrs Cheslyn’, back p.42, ‘For a Bad Scorbutic complaint’, back p.17, ‘Cordial tincture of Rhubarb’, back p.15, ‘Green paint or wash for a wall’, back p.10, ‘White ointment’, back p.6; UNMASC, MS 87/2, ‘For the gravel stone’, p.70, ‘For a cough, by Sister Bird’, p.74, ‘Balsam of Life, by Mrs Towel’, p.77, ‘Like Daffeys Elixer’, p.77, ‘Like Daffeys Elixer’, p.82/83, ‘For a Consumption, very efficacious’, p.84, ‘Balsam of Life’, p.89, ‘Tincture for the Gout’, p.92, ‘For an Ague’, p.94, ‘For the Murrain’, p.297; MS 87/4 ‘To make Stoughtons drops’, p.146, ‘Purple powder’, p.161 and ‘For the Murrain, by the Ratcatcher’, p.280.

<sup>20</sup> For more on the theory that recipe books were used as a mechanisms for creating markets for new commodities, see for example: Kim F. Hall, ‘Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century’ in Traub, Kaplan and Callaghan, *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture*, pp.168-190.

Fig. 26 'Imperiall Water' in a recipe-like format in Elenor Mundy's recipe book.<sup>21</sup>

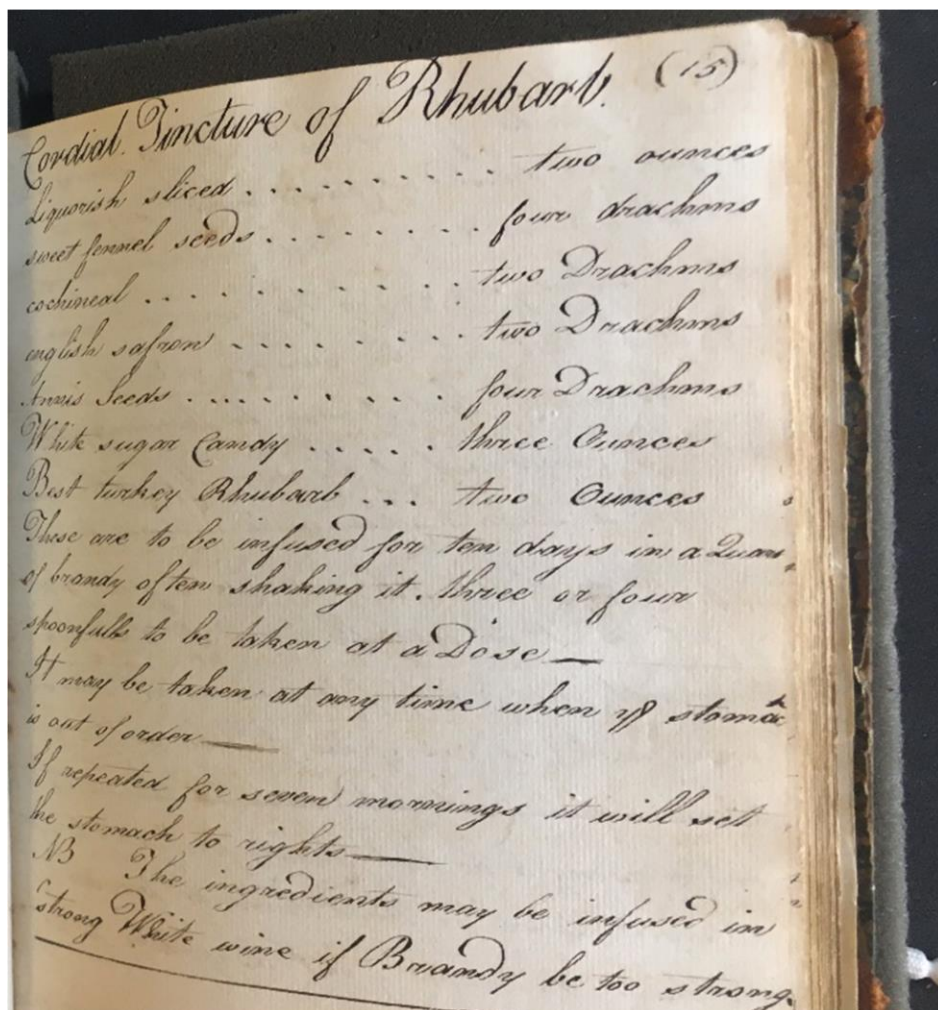


In the neat example above (Fig. 26), we see that ingredients have been categorised as 'seeds', 'spices &c.' and 'herbs' as well as grouped by quantities, with additional instructions to follow. Other examples, such as one for 'Cordial Tincture of Rhubarb', exemplify the format of the vast majority of this style of recipe, with the ingredients, followed by a method, and then instructions for dosage. As in this example (Fig. 27, below), a note of personal taste or adjustment is sometimes added to conclude, a mechanism for continuing the sentiment of trial, error and experimentation as a recipe circulated.

<sup>21</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Imperiall water', p.133.



Fig. 27 'Cordial Tincture of Rhubarb' in Willoughby recipe book [Vol. I].<sup>22</sup>



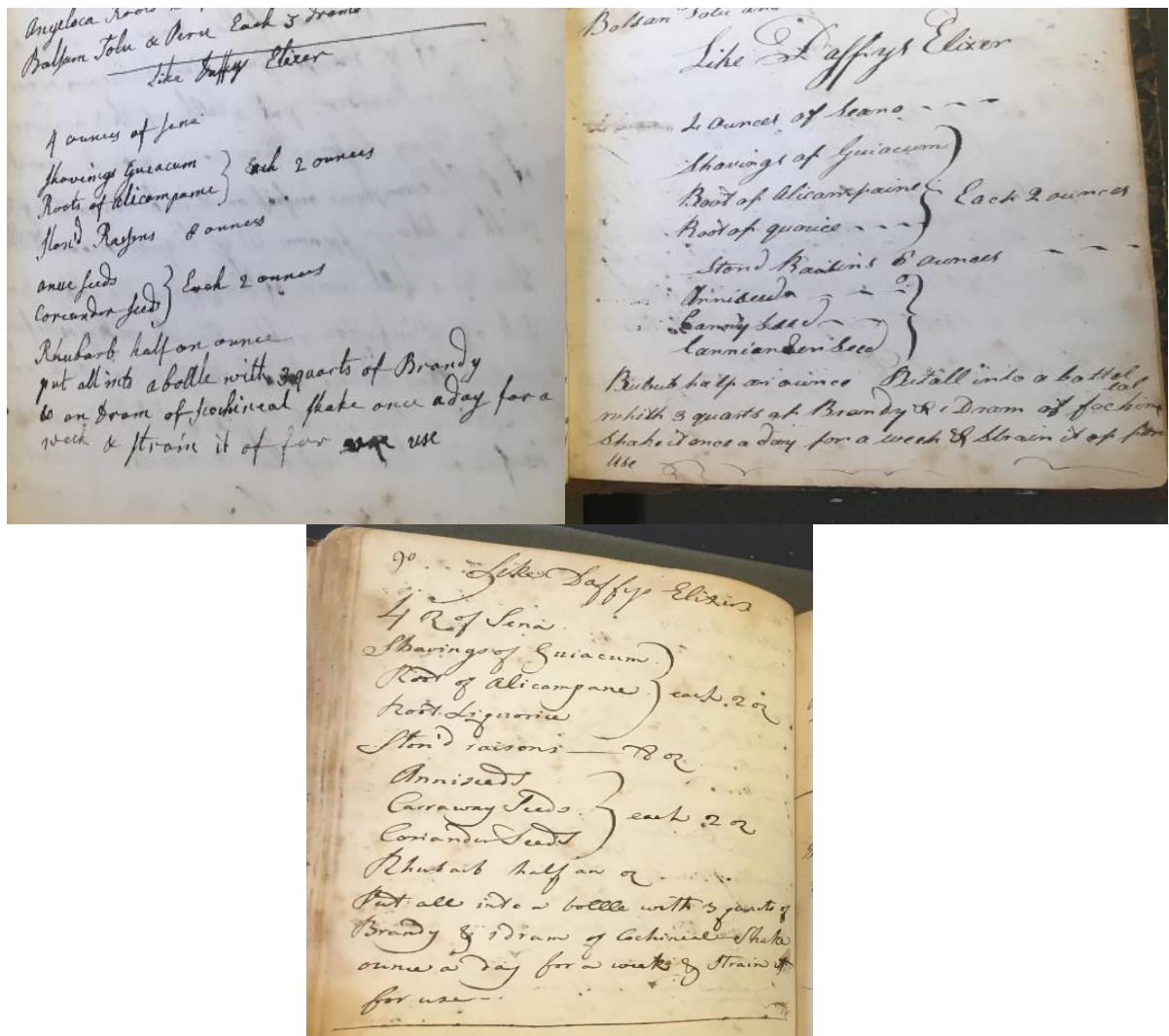
This layout, with ingredients listed separately allows the compiler to easily adjust measurements and quantities as in the case of the three for 'Like Daffy Elixer/Like Daffy's Elixer/Like Daffys Elixir [or Elixir Salutis]', which are all copied into MS 87/2 just a few pages apart from one another.<sup>23</sup> A first hand (Fig. 28 below, left) records the initial recipe fully, but in the second instance (Fig. 28 below, right), two folio sides later, a neater hand records it again, seemingly with a missing quantity of 'two ounces' for the (now) three spices towards the end of the ingredient list, having added both 'Root of Quorice [liquorice]' and 'Carway

<sup>22</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Cordial tincture of Rhubarb', back p.15.

<sup>23</sup> For more on Daffy's Elixir, see David Boyd Haycock and Patrick Wallis, 'Quackery and commerce in seventeenth-century London: the proprietary medicine business of Anthony Daffy', *Medical History Supplement*, Vol. 25, Iss. 25 (2005), pp.1-36.

Seeds' to the overall recipe. The third entry, just seven folios overleaf (Fig. 28 below, bottom) outlines exactly the same method and ingredients as the other two, retaining the addition of caraway seeds and liquorice root added in the second version, but has adjusted the quantities to match the first entry complete with the omitted measurement of two ounces for the spices, the amount of 'sena' from two ounces to four, and the 'ston'd raisons' from six ounces back to eight, as in the first entry.

**Fig. 28 Receipts for 'Like Daffy Elixer' (left) 'Like Daffys Elixer' (right) and 'Like Daffys Elixir' (bottom) in Willoughby recipe book [Vol. II].<sup>24</sup>**



<sup>24</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Like Daffy Elixer', p.77, 'Like Daffys Elixer', p.82/83, and 'Like Daffys Elixir', p.90.

The benefit of this exercise of repeating the same recipe could be one of literacy, as discussed in chapter two, a notion which would be in no small part supported by the variation in spelling to ingredients such as ‘coreander seeds’, which in turn, becomes ‘corriander seed’, and then ‘coriander seeds’.<sup>25</sup> The second recipe also amends ‘ounces’ to present in the short-hand ‘oz.’ throughout.<sup>26</sup> However, the adjustment to the measurements is also indicative of an element of trial and error experimentation to prompt such a development in the recommended quantities. This, taken within the context of this section of chapters overall, posits that duplicate entries such as these in recipe volumes often held a dual value: as a space for experimentation with, and enhancement of a recipe through a process of trial-and-error observation and experience, as well as the opportunity to articulate it through constantly improving literacy skills which befitted and supported the growing culture of domestic curiosity and experimentation.

The outlined evidence that the adoption of standardised recipe-writing format was beginning to permeate everyday recipe-collecting practices, as well as the more formulaic process required by the user as a result, can be seen as a reflection of wider developments in scientific thinking and approaches, and the engagement of local recipe compilers with those advancements through the recipes they wrote, and then re-wrote. We therefore see that as recipe content and ingredient lists became more complex, there began to be a shift beyond mere ‘recipes with titles separated from the main body of the text in some way’ that DiMeo and Pennell highlight in their time period, towards a more structured recipe and medicinal and household recipes beginning to take on a style that was distinct from that of

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<sup>25</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, ‘Like Daffy Elixer’, p.77, ‘Like Daffys Elixer’, p.82-83 and ‘Like Daffys Elixir’, p.90.

<sup>26</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, ‘Like Daffys Elixer’, p.82/83.

the culinary ‘receipt’.<sup>27</sup> This would have enabled users of recipes to engage with the kind of domestic ‘experimentation’ that allowed them to adjust quantities and processes, and to update recipes accordingly. It is no wonder, therefore that this style of recipe is on occasion accompanied with other previously discussed symbols of authority such attributions and endorsements (see Chapter One). For example, a Mundy recipe for ‘A most Sovereign Water’ is prefaced with the illustrious account that:

Wherewith Dr. Chambers, an eminent Physitian, preserved his Life, as he was used to say, until he was an hundred years old. And only therewith did many Cures he kept it a secret to his day of Death, & the Arch Bishop of Canterbury got it of him in writeing.<sup>28</sup>

The recipe then goes on to outline seven spices for which ‘each a dracm [dram]’ must be used, and 9 herbs for which ‘each a handfull’ is needed, followed by the instructions or method:

Break your Spice small. Bruise your herbs in a Mortar. Put all in a gallon of Gascoin wine or strong Mountain [red wine]. Let it stand 12 hours, stirring it often. Then distill it in a Limbeck. Keep ye first water as the best, the rest is good.<sup>29</sup>

Some recipes, such as one for cowslip water even specify when ingredients can be found at their most effective with statements dictating that ‘It should be made in May’.<sup>30</sup> Others are accompanied with very precise and explicit instruction for dosage and frequency, as well as observations of the effect:

Take of This threespoons, at once, three days in a week, fasting – or when you are ill. It driveth away all Hippochondirack fumes, mightily Comforteth ye heart and reviveth the almost Dyeing &c.<sup>31</sup>

Here we therefore find not only a greater specification of quantities, processes, techniques, and methods, but also a sense of observation in the recommended dosage and use. Another

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<sup>27</sup> DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, p.9.

<sup>28</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, ‘A most sovereign water’, p.138.

<sup>29</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, ‘A most sovereign water’, p.138.

<sup>30</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, ‘Cowslipp Water’, p.134.

<sup>31</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, ‘A Cordiall Water’, p.137.

example that includes an element of observation is, 'A Receipt for the Cows', which is concerned with the treatment of animals, but also demonstrates a practice of observation over a period of seven days following the administering of the receipt.<sup>32</sup> The ongoing observations noted over the seven-day period above also indicates an element of observation of effect following the administering of a remedy had started to be adopted within domestic practice, and supports the analysis of Elaine Leong that recipe collections ultimately as a record of 'trials on paper', a form of multistep process 'not just of collecting, but of trying, testing, assessing and making'.<sup>33</sup>

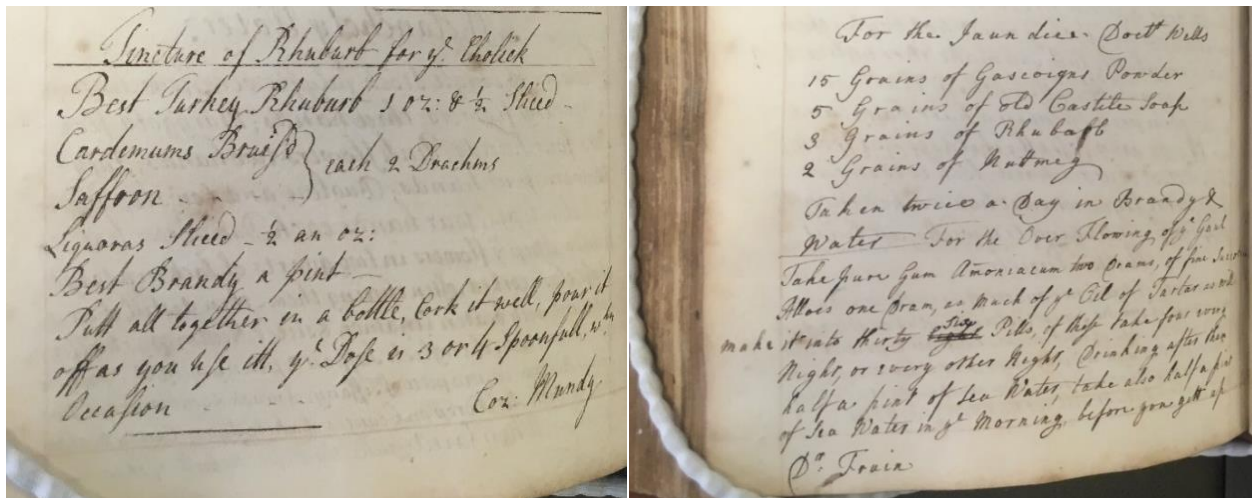
The 'recipe' format of ingredients listed distinctly from the main body or method was not reserved just for the more considered and well-presented recipes either, as the examples for 'Tincture of Rhubarb for ye Cholick', and 'For the Jaundice – Doctr Wells' show. Both written on the verso folios of the Mundy manuscript by a subsequent contributor (Fig. 29, below), where the recipes appear to have been noted in a more ad-hoc way than in the other example (Fig. 27, above), both with attributions to another person suggesting they may have been written very shortly after being told or received in writing from the individuals cited. The style of recipe appears to have been sourced from both familial and professional recipe contributors too; the first instance, a 'Coz. Mundy', and in the second a 'Dr. Fruin', suggesting the format permeated professional and lay recipe writing.

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<sup>32</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'A Receipt for the Cows – Vizt', pp.103-4.

<sup>33</sup> For more on recipe books as a way of codifying knowledge across stages of testing see Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, pp.71-98.

Fig. 29 Receipts for 'Tincture of Rhubarb for ye Cholick' (left) and 'For the Jaundice – Doctr Wells' (right) in Elenor Mundy's recipe book.<sup>34</sup>



This kind of standardisation created a benchmark by which we can measure much more easily the changes in a recipe over time as a result of a growing culture of trial-and-error experimentation, as outlined in the case study which follows.

### A Case of the Plague: Trial and Error Experimentalism in Domestic Remedies

Through the study of specific medicinal remedies it is possible to identify examples of the same recipe being copied across various manuscript volumes, potentially challenging Michelle DiMeo's assessment that 'it is quite rare to find two recipes that offer exactly the same quantities and ingredients', with her citing an example of as many as 23 versions of a recipe for 'Oil of Swallows' in both manuscript and print with no two being exactly the same.<sup>35</sup> Contrastingly, in local manuscripts, the close connection between the Willoughby and Mundy families appears to be reflected in the prevalence of a single distinct recipe for

<sup>34</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Tincture of Rhubarb for ye Cholick', p.135v, 'For the Jaundice – Doctr Wells', p.129v.

<sup>35</sup> Michelle DiMeo, 'Authorship and medical networks: reading attributions in early modern manuscript recipe books' in DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, pp.25-46, at p.37; Michelle DiMeo and Rebecca Laroche, 'On Elizabeth Isham's "Oil of Swallows": Animal Slaughter and Early Modern Women's Medical Recipes' in Jennifer Munroe and Rebecca Laroche (eds.), *Ecofeminist Approaches to Early Modernity* (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2011), pp.87-104.

plague water - a medicinal water believed to be effective against the plague - across the collection, where at least four of the six recipes are evidently copied directly from one another, with three of those offering the same quantities and ingredients.<sup>36</sup> This opportunity to examine multiple copies of a single recipe offers a rare chance to discern the development and transmission of that recipe, and the influence of wider intellectual, social and commercial developments, such as trial-and-error experimentation and observation, the informal spread of domestic medical knowledge, and the growth in the commercial 'medical marketplace' that characterised the period.<sup>37</sup>

In total, there are six plague water recipes found across four of the five Willoughby and Mundy collections.<sup>38</sup> All of the five examples found in the Willoughby volumes are recorded in a traditional, prose-like, receipt format, with four of them being copies of the same receipt, and the fifth being entirely different. The sixth example is present in the Mundy manuscript but appears to represent a streamlined version of a very similar, if not the same, receipt. Given that the transmission of recipes can rarely be identified as a linear process, and acknowledging the danger of what Catherine Field refers to as 'get[ting] lost in a Geertzian quest for origins', it can certainly be difficult to definitively identify recipe progression between even such closely connected volumes.<sup>39</sup> However, in this instance we are able to gain some sense of the development of this single recipe as it is transmitted into

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<sup>36</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Plague Water, by Mrs Willoughby', back, p.29; MS 87/3, 'Plague water', p.102, 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird Senior', p.155; MS 87/4, 'The plague water', p.53.

<sup>37</sup> David Harley, 'Spiritual Physic, Providence and English Medicine, 1560-1640' in O.P. Grell and A. Cunningham (eds.), *Medicine and the Reformation* (Routledge: London, 1993), p.102; Elaine Leong, 'Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 82, No.1 (John Hopkins University Press, Spring 2008), pp.145-168; Evans and Read, *Maladies and Medicine*, pp.xvii-xviii; Withey, *Physick and the Family*, pp.29-96.

<sup>38</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Plague Water, by Mrs Willoughby', back, p.29; MS 87/3, 'Plague water', p.102, 'Plague water', p.130, 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird Senior', p.155; MS 87/4, 'The plague water', p.53; MS 86, 'A Rec[eip]t to make Plague Water', p.134v.

<sup>39</sup> Field, "Many hands", p.55.



numerous local and personal collections within an interrelated network. In the plague water remedies shared between Willoughby volumes that are otherwise identical, we find various minor differentiations in spelling and terminology, where 'Cardus Benedictus' (a variety of thistle) in MS 87/1 becomes simply 'Cardus' in both the MS 87/3 and the MS 87/4 versions, for example. We also find that 'Rue' (a plant with medicinal properties) in MS 87/1 and the second MS 87/3 variation, is written as 'Rew' in the first MS 87/3 and only MS 87/4 examples. These variations in spelling are rife throughout the plague water recipe selection, but as discussed in chapter 2, most of these disparities can be ascribed to the developing literacy skills of the period, as well as a side effect of a long legacy of oral transmission of domestic knowledge.<sup>40</sup>

In the four most similar Willoughby examples, the layout and content show very little variation in the types of ingredients or the method.<sup>41</sup> Where there are minor variations, these appear to indicate an element of experimentation through a process of trial-and-error, as discussed above. This is particularly the case where two of these appear in the same volume - with the same basis of ingredients and technique - but with the occasional omission, addition or adjustment of an ingredient.<sup>42</sup> For example, an increase in the quantity of juniper berries to four ounces in 'Plague Water, by Mrs Willoughby' in MS 87/1, and another unattributed recipe for 'The plague water' which also specifies four ounces as the correct quantity of juniper berries, whilst 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird Senior', and another for 'Plague water' also in MS 87/3, specify a quantity of only half as much. In the examples with four ounces of juniper, there are no comparative increases in the other

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<sup>40</sup> Eamon, *Science and the Secrets of Nature*, p.131.

<sup>41</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Plague Water, by Mrs Willoughby', back, p.29; MS 87/3, 'Plague water', p.102, 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird Senior', p.155; MS 87/4, 'The plague water', p.53.

<sup>42</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Plague water', p.102, 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird Senior', p.155.



components.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, the strikethrough of 'half an' replaced with '4 ounces' of the spice ingredients where they are listed as half an ounce in quantity in all of the other examples, implies that the quantity has been reviewed by the compiler from the original measure of half an ounce, to the significantly larger quantity of four ounces.<sup>44</sup> Amendments over time such as these, offer us a glimpse of the process of experimentation, which aimed either to obtain an improved result for the treatment of illness, or simply intended to adjust the overall quantity of the remedy produced to suit the needs of the individual or household.

The striking similarity between the four Willoughby plague water receipts and their possible development and progression into the Mundy version (Fig. 30, below), albeit into a different format, can be demonstrated in the transcriptions of each as follows:

#### **Plague Water. Mrs Willoughby**

Take Cardus benedictus, rue, wormwood, dragons both sorts, angelica, mint, balm, rosemary, pennyroyal, salendine, sage, pimpernel leaf & flower, both sorts of maiden hair, polly pody of the oak, scabius, dittany, agrimony, burnet, wood sorrel, piony leaves, scurvy grass, rosa solis, of each a full pound weighed when green. of pennyroyal & Lavinder cotton only half a pound turn over [page end] take of the flowers of Mary golds, elder, cowslip, rosemary, lilly of the valley, chamomile, Clary, archangel, sage, centaury tops, gilly flower, poppies, piony, tormentil, & elicamphane roots sliced, of each a large handful, Juniper berries four ounces, sneke root one ounce, aniseed, sweet fennel seeds, carraway seeds, coriander seeds, cardimum seeds, of each half an ounce, ginger, mace, nutmegs, & cloves of each half an ounce, Beat your spice & seeds very small, half a peck of green walnuts a little bruised, Cut your herbs but not too small, soak these in four gallons of new ale four days stirring them twice a day then distill them in 6 Gallons of Brandy, add three ounces of calamus aromaticus & if you have any cherries left from your last years brandy put them into the still.<sup>45</sup>

The MS 87/1 example by 'Mrs Willoughby' above lists a total of 49 dry ingredients before the addition of green walnuts, where the recipe begins to specify the preparation of those

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<sup>43</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Plague Water, by Mrs Willoughby', back, p.29; MS 87/4, 'The plague water', p.53; MS 87/3, 'Plague water', p.102, 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird Senior', p.155.

<sup>44</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'The plague water', p.53.

<sup>45</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Plague Water, by Mrs Willoughby', back, p.29.

required prior to them being soaked in a still. Whereas the following, whilst clearly the same basis of a recipe lists 50 up to the same point, through the addition of 'whitly grass [whitlow grass]' and of 'cochineal' in place of 'sneke root'. The method to follow is mirrored in both instances, although the quantities of ale and brandy in which to soak the ingredients vary between the two:

### **Plague Water**

Take Cardus, rew, wormwood, Dragons both sorts, anjellicus, mint, balme, rosemary tops, peneroyal, sallindine, sage, pimpernil, leaf & flower; both sorts of maiden hair, pollypodie of the oak, scebius, diddony, Burnit, wood sorrill, acrimonie, lavender cotton, pyanies, scurvygrass, whitly grass, rosas solas, of each of these Herbs a full pound, except Lavender cotton & penny royal for half a pound of sack of these in enough; take of ye flowers of marigol's elder, cowslips, Rosemary, & lilies of the valley, Camamil, Clerie, archangel sage, centry tops, Gillyflowers, poppies, of each of these a large handfull; piany & tormentine & Elicampaine roots a large handfull of each slis'd; Juniper berry's two ounces, cochineal one ounce, aniseeds, sweet fennel seeds, caraway seeds, coriander seeds, cardimum seeds, of each half an ounce; Ginger Nutmegs mace, & cloves half an ounce each; beat your spice & seeds very small, as likewise half a peck of wallnuts beaten, cut your herbs but not to small soak these in six Gallons of new strong ale 4 days stirring them twice a day, then distille em in six Gallons of brandy, the best you can get, in you have any cherries left of your last years brandy put 'em into the still, put of Carrimus arriaticus two ounces.<sup>46</sup>

This unattributed recipe from MS 87/3 (above) makes some minor adjustments in ingredients and quantities but maintains the same overall method. However, it does develop by subtly adding to the categorisation of the ingredient types with the phrase 'of each of these herbs a full pound' as an addition to the 'take of the/ye flowers' phrase which is evident in both. This development in more overtly categorising the ingredients would aid the reader in better organising the components and therefore in following the instructions towards the end of the recipe to 'beat your spice & seeds very small... [and] cut your herbs but not to small'. Another recipe which follows in the same volume for, 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird senior', consists of 50 dry ingredients before adding walnuts, as it adopts the

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<sup>46</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Plague water', p.102.

addition of 'willygrass [whitlow grass]' from the unattributed example above, but also reverts back to the use of 'snakeroot' preferred in the Mrs Willoughby recipe from MS 87/1, over the use of the 'cochineal' suggested in the second. It also continues the more overt categorisation of the first set of ingredients with the inclusion of the phrase 'of each of these herbs a full pound':

### **Pleague Water**

Take Cardus, Rue, Wormwood, Dragons both sorts Angelico, Mint Balme, Rosmary tops, Penroyal, Salandine, sage, pimparnell leaf & flower, both sorts of Maidenhair, Polypody of the Oak, Skebius Ditteny, Burnetwood, Sorrel, Egremony, Lavander cotten, Pyony, scurvygrass, Willygrass, Rosasalis, of each of these Herbs a full pound except Lavander cotten and Pennyroyal, half a pound of each of them is enough then take of the flower of Marygolds elder, Cowslips, Rosemary & lilles of the valy Camomile Clary Archangel Sage, Centry tops, Jillyflowers, Poppes, of each of these a large handful, Pyony, Turmintum & Alocompain roots a large handful slit of each Juniper berres, two Ounces, Snakeroot one Ounce, Anniseeds, sweet fennelseeds, Carroway seeds Coriander seeds Cardimum seeds of each half an Ounce, Ginger Nittmegs mess & cloves of each half an ounce, beat your spice and seeds very small as likewise half a peck of green Walnuts beaten, cut your herbs but not too small. soak these in six gallons of new strong ale four days stirring them twice each day then destile them in six gallons of Brandy the best you can get if you have any cherris left of last years brandy put them into the destille put of Corianus Ariaticus two ounces.

Mrs Bird Senior's receipt for plague Waters.<sup>47</sup>

The final unattributed, prose-like recipe for 'The Plague water' is found in Mrs Willoughby's book and adopts the 50-ingredient format of Mrs Bird's receipt and the other unattributed remedy of the same volume. The only notable difference with this example is the intentional amendment to the quantity of spices by crossing out 'half an' and changing to '4 ounces' in a recipe that is otherwise identical to the former. Significantly too, the writer in Mrs Willoughby's book appears to struggle with the spelling of 'rosa solis' in the main body of the recipe so has attempted it again in the lower margin, indicating again the utility of

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<sup>47</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird senior' [44 dry ingredients], p.155.

recipe books to grapple with more accurate literacy and spelling by moving from ‘rossosuss’ in the recipe, to another attempt of ‘rossalis’ in the margin:

### **The Plague Water**

Take Carduss, Rew, wormewood, Dragons both sorts anigellico, mint, Ballme, rosemary tops peneroyal Sallindine, Sage, pinpernal, leaf & flower, both sorts of maiden hair, polly poddy of the oake, Scabious, Ditiny, agrimoni, Burnit, wood Sorrill, Lavender, Cotten Pyany, Scurvy Grass, Whitlely grass, rossosuss, of each of these herbs a full pound. Except Lavender Cotten & peneroyal half a pound of each of these is enough, Take of the flowers of marigolds, elder Cowslips, rosemary Lilly of the Vally, Camomill Clary archaingell, Sage, Sentry, tops, Gillyflowers, poppyes, of each of these a large handfull peany, tormentale, & alecampane roots a large handfull sliced of each iuniperberys 4 ounces Snake root one ounce aneseed sweet fenill seeds Caraway Seeds coriander seeds Cardimum Seeds of each half an ounce Ginger nuttmeyes mace & cloves ~~half an~~ 4 ounces of each beat your Spice & Seeds very Small as lickwise: half a peck of Greyn wallnutts, Cutt your herbs but not to Small, soke these in four Gallons of new ale four Days Staring them twice each (‘Rossalis’ noted in lower margin] day, then distill them in six gallons of brandy the best you can get Callamus aromaticus 3 ounces beat small, if you have any Cheries left of you last years Brandy put them into the Still.<sup>48</sup>

Whilst the four examples discussed above indicate the similarities between recipes transferred between the Willoughby volumes, with only very minor amendments made in some ingredients and quantities, the overall method, largely identical ingredients, order of listing, and the shared prosaic format of the receipt indicate this was the same. A much starker transformation is evident though in the complete restructuring of the layout of a similar receipt as it is found in the Mundy volume (Fig. 30, below). In this version, the total number of dry ingredients has been reduced significantly from 49 and 50 in the four almost identical examples to just 24 ingredients, but 18 of which are shared with all Willoughby examples, suggesting along with its addition on a verso folio by a later contributor than Elenor’s initial selection, that it is likely to be a version of the same recipe.

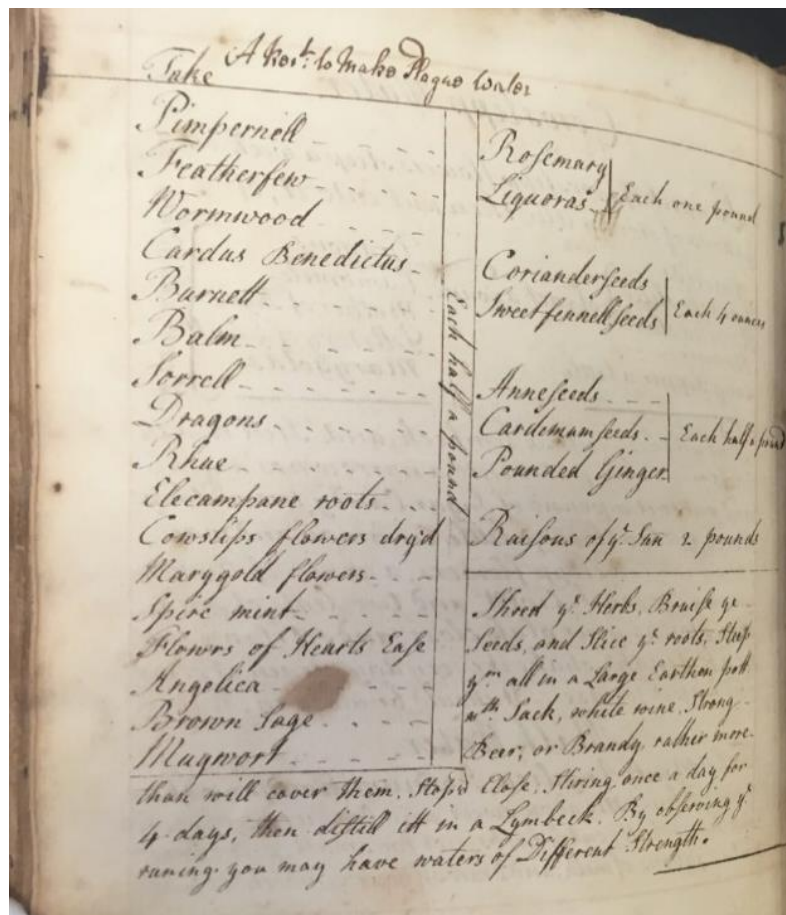
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<sup>48</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, ‘The plague water’ [50 dry ingredients], p.53.

As can be seen in this example (Fig. 30, below), the organisation of ingredients into herbs and flowers, then spices (and ‘raisons of ye sun’), as well as by quantity, broadly mirrors the structure of the prose examples, but simplifies them significantly, thereby enabling the method to be outlined in a single succinct passage.<sup>49</sup>

Shred ye Herbs, Bruise ye Seeds, and Slice ye roots, Steep ym all in a Large Earthen pott w[i]th Sack, White wine, Strong Beer, or Brandy rather more than will cover them, Stop’d Close, Stiring once a day for 4 days, then distill itt in a Lymbeck, By observing ye runing you may have waters of Different Strength.<sup>50</sup>

Fig. 30 ‘A Rec[eip]t to make Plague Water’ in Elenor Mundy’s recipe book.<sup>51</sup>



<sup>49</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, ‘Plague Water, by Mrs Willoughby’ [48 dry ingredients], back, p.29; MS 87/3, ‘Plague water’ [49 dry ingredients], p.102, ‘Pleague water, by Mrs Bird senior’ [44 dry ingredients], p.155; MS 87/4 ‘The plague water’ [47 dry ingredients], p.53.

<sup>50</sup> UNMASC, MS 86 ‘A Rec[eip]t to make Plague Water’, p.134v.

<sup>51</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, ‘A Rec[eip]t to make Plague Water’, p.134v.

The separation of ingredients and method may well reflect a use related to an increasingly commercial context for household medical practice in allowing the reader to quickly identify ingredients that needed to be bought in order to make the remedy.<sup>52</sup> This more organised recipe format also hints that other developments, such as observation and experimentation, are creeping into domestic practice with instructions such as ‘By observing ye raring you may have waters of different strength’.<sup>53</sup> This additional attention to detail relating to the preparation of the dry ingredients, specifying to ‘shred ye herbs, bruise ye seeds, and slice ye roots’ is indicative of some development in understanding of how the treatment of certain ingredients can impact the overall effectiveness of the plague water remedy produced. Such apparent development and fine-tuning supports the position of Elaine Leong that the utility of recipe books can be likened to that of research notebooks and that what we observe in the annotations, crossings out, amending and endorsing of this recipe over several versions and volumes is a local example of what she describes as evidence of ‘the nitty-gritty of everyday experimentation’ in the form of multistep process of trial and testing by the householders.<sup>54</sup>

Therefore, we find that in the case of remedies for plague water found in local examples, there are three points of development: firstly, in the reduction and refinement of ingredients (the consistency and repetition of the vast majority of these ingredients across the sample indicates that they were considered to be effective), secondly, in the addition of more specific techniques and treatment of ingredients, and finally, through the evolving structure and layout of written receipts in order to either present them in a more efficient

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<sup>52</sup> For more on commerciality and domestic medicine, see Leong, ‘Making Medicines in the Early Modern Household’, pp.145-168.

<sup>53</sup> UNMASC, MS 86 ‘A Rec[eip]t to make Plague Water’, p.134v.

<sup>54</sup> Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, pp.13-14, pp.71-98.

and effective manner, or to uncover the detail of the recipe in practice depending on the order of origin. Whilst we cannot be sure of the timeline of their production, the layout of the Mundy recipe so that ingredients and their quantities are listed distinctly from the following technique, perhaps reflects a recipe style that we might more readily recognise as a modern 'recipe'. It therefore seems likely that either the Mundy format is a developed and condensed version of those which are otherwise so similar in their format in the Willoughby examples, or that the Mundy example forms the basis of the Willoughby records which take a more common approach to describing the recipe-making process in practice. Either way, the benefits and motivation for adopting a more structured recipe layout are likely to have been related to a growing culture of commerciality, or to the adoption of a more scientific approach to testing and experimenting in domestic medical practices.

Overall, this third chapter has documented the prevalence and significance of medical knowledge within regional receipt sharing culture, emphasising their value and utility as a platform for engaging with emerging scientific concepts of standardisation of recipe structure and trial and error experimentation as a form of domestic science. So, whilst there were still instances of traditional knowledge and practices being included in manuscript recipe collections in this period, there were, ultimately, key shifts in domestic medicine towards a culture of experimentation and the subsequent progression of household medicinal practices which are reflected in the emerging examples of standardised recipes in terms of format, methods, and ingredients.

## II. Recipe Networks:

### The Value of Community in Domestic Recipe Manuscripts

Recipe attribution was a common practice in receipt book compilations, and early modern compilers adopted the technique in varying ways and degrees. Explanations for this have included: the need to return to recipe donors to ask questions, the need to impress the trustworthiness of donors to users over multiple generations, and a desire to acknowledge recipes donated as a form of gift, or a favour owed.<sup>1</sup> In the Harley volumes, 118 of the total 254 recipes have attributions noted, highlighting 92 unique, locally relevant individuals featured immediately within the Harley knowledge-sharing circle. In her second volume, dedicated to medicinal recipes, Henrietta attributes as many as 68.1% of the total number of receipts to other individuals, compared with 34% of recipes in her first volume, and only 15% in her third.<sup>2</sup> This suggests that Harley leaned more heavily on her social network for advice in medicinal and culinary recipes than in her collection of confectionary receipts, an insight we gain more easily as a result of her distinct volume structure. Elenor Mundy, on the other hand, only attributes 70 (17.3%) of all of her 399-recipe collection, however this still lends useful insight into the approximately 47 unique individuals who formed at least part of the Miller-Mundy family's social and knowledge-sharing networks. Finally, amongst the 1290 receipts of the four Willoughby volumes, 486 (38%) feature an attribution, identifying more than 300 unique individuals or sources in total associated with the household, the compilers, and the local area. Whilst the average attribution rate across the Willoughby volumes equates to over a third, the range varies from as much as 54.3% (MS

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<sup>1</sup> Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, p.132.

<sup>2</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'MS recipe book of Henrietta Harley, Countess of Oxford [Medicinal]', 1743.



87/4), to as little as 7.7% (MS 87/3) of total recipes between volumes.<sup>3</sup> It can be difficult to account for this range, largely due to the multi-authored and multi-purpose nature of these volumes in particular, as well as the varied approaches to organising content. Despite this, it is the premise of this section of chapters that the networks of individuals that are uncovered through exploration of recipe attributions offer a valuable source to enrich our understanding of regional recipe sharing networks. Whilst scholars have begun to consider the common practice of attributing recipes within manuscript culture, such a regional perspective is yet to be examined fully, and scholarship in this field has therefore not yet adequately explored the issue of recipe fluidity amongst a regional community, or what can be determined about how the local networks of recipe collectors contributed to, or influenced, household and family receipt book examples in this period. Using evidence of recipe attributions at a local scale has uncovered nearly 500 individuals in total who can be linked to local households through a culture of social and intellectual recipe exchange. Therefore, through close examination of recipe attributions and the subsequent mapping of the network uncovered in this regional sample of recipe sources, this section will explore the receipt sharing networks of local households across the region, and beyond. Therefore, recipe attributions will show that receipt book compilers should not be viewed as the sole custodians of knowledge contained within, but rather that the recipe manuscript, as a genre, is best considered as a lens for observing a whole community of knowledge. In order to do this, we will identify and discuss key receipt contributors within the regional collection and reveal some of the local and wider connections between them. Through close examination of the little-known and notable contemporaries uncovered, this section will

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<sup>3</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'Mrs Margaret Willoughby's Recipe Book [Vol. IV]', 1737-1790, 265 out of 488 recipes feature an attribution, whereas in MS 87/3, 'Recipe book associated with the Willoughby family [Vol. III]', 1737-1790, 18 of 234 receipts feature an attribution.

outline and explore the emerging network of people consulted in the process of acquiring the latest knowledge of food and medicine, as well as those whose advice was highly valued. To do so, chapter four, will examine recipe attributions related to family members and members of respective households. Chapter five will explore the local network of recipe sharing, examining links between the households producing manuscripts, the significance of religious communities in recipe-sharing, and the crucial role of individuals who shared and contributed recipes between recipe-collecting households. Whilst scholars such as Leong and Pennell have paved the way for discussions relating to the influence of recipe culture within the early modern medical marketplace, chapter six, will utilise the local focus of this study to consider this as part of a network of recipe exchange that includes culinary as well as medical, and is influenced more by social interactions than economic transaction.<sup>4</sup> Chapter six will also explore the wider geographical influences of recipe sharing networks, examining those of continental and global origins, and patterns of their dissemination into local collections via key individuals. By exploring recipe manuscripts at a local level, this section of chapters will ultimately seek to demonstrate that receipt sharing networks transcended a wide range of social and community connections, as well as a breadth of geographical areas. It will make the case that by taking a regional approach to the analysis of recipe attributions, titles, and methods, we are able to glean fresh insight into the local, collaborative recipe network which the individual and collective compilers formed. As a result, we gain a more nuanced understanding of the complex network of family members, servants, friends, acquaintances, and broader cultural influences dedicated to the exchange

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<sup>4</sup> Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, 'Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge in the Early Modern "Medical Marketplace"', in Jenner and Wallis (eds), *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies*, pp.133-52. See also, Sara Pennell, 'Consumption and Consumerism in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (1999), pp.549–564.

and preservation of highly valued domestic knowledge across the Harley, Mundy, Willoughby, and other locally connected households.

## Chapter Four: Household and Family Networks

Familial attributions are a common occurrence in receipt book manuscripts and often make up a significant proportion of attributed recipes, with known, direct family members making up at least 69 of the 265 attributed receipts (26%) in Mrs Willoughby's book, and 22 of 69 attributed receipts (32%) in the Mundy book.<sup>1</sup> Whilst this indicates that recipe sharing amongst immediate and extended family members was a fundamental aspect of a local recipe network, for some compilers the connections are made more explicitly than others. In the more haphazard working examples of the Willoughby families, references to family members are made in terms of their familial relationship to the recipe writer, for example, to 'my Mother Alexander', 'my mother Bird', 'My Father F.W', 'Cos. Mundy' and 'Brother Willoughby'.<sup>2</sup> This suggests that the writers anticipated an audience familiar with these connections, as well as the hands that make reference to them, by employing an attribution style which assumes that the reader will have a degree of contextual knowledge relating to the identity of the compilers, their family connections, and their wider recipe network. Henrietta Harley also cites her immediate family as recipe contributors but does so using their formal titles rather than their relationship to her. For example, her husband is referred to as 'Edward, Earl of Oxford', her mother as the 'Duchess of Newcastle', her mother-in-law as 'Lady Oxford', her son-in-law as the 'Duke of Portland', and her sister-in-law as 'Countess Kinnoull' throughout; thereby making their individual identity more explicit to the reader, at

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<sup>1</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'Mrs Margaret Willoughby's Recipe Book [Vol. IV]', 1737-1790: Calculations based on all receipts featuring a known familial relation, such as 'Mr Alexander', or a familial term, such as 'Cos.', 'Sister' or 'Brother', 'Aunt', 'Mother' or 'Father'; UNMASC, MS 86, 'Elenor Mundy's recipe book', 1728-c.1767: As above, calculations based on all receipts featuring a known familial relation, such as 'Mrs Willoughby' or 'Mrs Mundy', or a familial term, such as 'Aunt', 'Uncle', 'Cos.' Or 'Sis'r'.

<sup>2</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Dr Borehoave's receipt for rheumatic pains, by my mother Alexander', p.248; MS 87/4, 'To salve for the coff, by my Mother Bird', p.55, 'For Costiveness, by My Father F.W.', p.318, 'To make a thick cream cheese, by Cos. Mundy', p.193, 'Admiral Harpur's Mango Pickle, by Brother Willoughby', p.74.

the expense of their familial relationship remaining clear.<sup>3</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, there are multiple explanations for this distinction but it most likely reveals something to us of the anticipated audience of the manuscript, perhaps directly related to the social standing of their respective families. Many of the attributed individuals can be assumed to be of notable social standing as kin or companion to the gentry family or aristocratic compilers, as in the case of familial connections, indicated through attributions such as 'Coz. Willoughby', 'Cos. Mundy', 'my Father F.W.', and 'my mother Bird', as well other, non-familial attributions where titles are used, such as in the instances of 'Lady Lucy Stuart', 'Lord Chesterfield', 'Countess of Westmoreland' and 'Duke of Queensberry'.

### **Mundy and Willoughby Familial Connections**

Through attributions, it is possible to identify that where the Mundy and Willoughby families were related to one another through marriage, thus accounting for the volumes coming to be bound and archived together. The exchange of recipes between the two families is evident, with six Willoughby attributions referring to the Mundy family, and nine Mundy book attributions referring to the Willoughbys, including seven denoting a family relation to both an 'Aunt Willoughby', as well as a 'Sis. Willoughby' and/or a 'Sis[te]r Willoughby'. This suggests that the contributors 'Mrs. Willoughby of Nottingham' and 'Mrs. Willoughby', if a different person at all, were also likely to be relations of the Mundy family.<sup>4</sup>

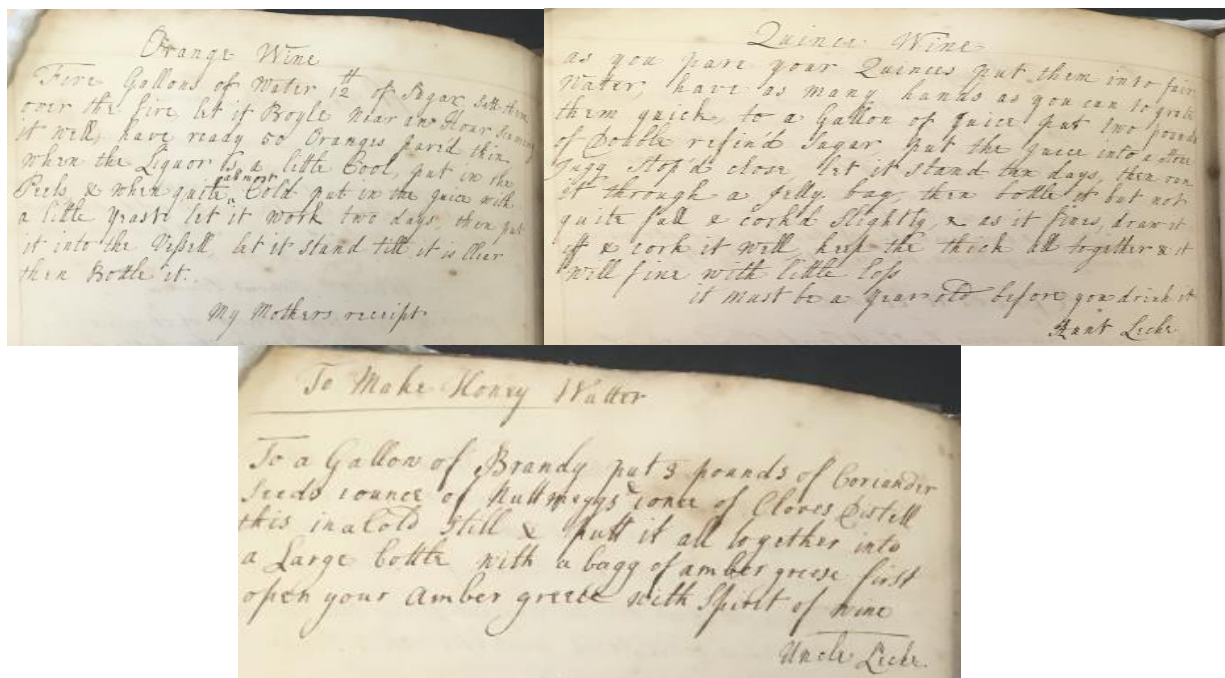
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<sup>3</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make a Ham of a Leg of Mutton Edw[ar]d E[arl] of Oxford', p.14; Pw V 124, 'To Make Her Grace the Duchess of Newcastles Cordial Water', p.51, 'To Make Palsey Water From Lady Oxford's Receipt By Mrs Millington [plus, 'The Virtues of the Palsy Water', p.11]', p.8; Pw V 123, 'To Make a Ham Pye Duke of Portlands Cook Mr Rogerson, p.22; Pw V 124, 'Countess of Kinnouls Proscription for the Piles', p.73.

<sup>4</sup> Willoughby attributions featuring the Mundy family name: UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Extract of malt for a cough, by Mrs Mundy', back p.13; MS 87/2 'Ramakins, by Mrs Mundy', p.162, 'Eye water, by Mr Munday', p.282; MS 87/4, 'Surfeit water, by Cos. Mundy', p.162, 'To ripen a boile or any swelling, by Mrs Mundy', p.167, 'To make a thick cream cheese, by Cos. Mundy', p.193. Mundy attributions featuring Willoughby family name: MS 86, 'Peas soop, by Sis Willoughby', p.1v, 'To Stew Pidgeons, by Sis. Willougby', p.21v, 'To Stew Pidgeons, by Mrs. Willoughby of Nottingham', p.38v, 'To Stew a Beast Cheek, by Aunt Willoughby', p.39v, 'To make Gingerbread, by Sis. Willoughby', p.94v, 'To Pickle Cucumbers, by Sist'r Willoughby', p.109v, 'To Pickle Mushrooms, by Sis. Willoughby', p.110v, 'Alegar, by Sis. Willoughby', p.121v, 'Small mead, by Mrs Willoughby', p.126v.

The Miller-Mundys were the 'younger branch of the Mundys at Markeaton', and the Shipley Estates were inherited by them via the marriage of Elenor Mundy's son, Edward, to the Shipley heiress, Hester Miller. Hester Miller inherited the Shipley Estate via her mother Hester Leche, whose family had held the estate for many generations.<sup>5</sup> This Leche family connection through Hester's maternal line is also reflected in the Mundy collection via recipes for 'Quince wine, by Aunt Leche' and 'To Make Honey Watter, by Uncle Leche', demonstrating that this, along with a recipe for 'Orange Wine' acknowledged as 'my mother's receipt' are all recorded in the hand of Hester Miller-Mundy, and therefore confirming that the verso pages written in this hand were indeed recipes added by Hester as a subsequent owner (Fig. 31, below).

**Fig. 31** Familial attributions to 'My Mothers receipt' (left), 'Aunt Leche' (right), 'Uncle Leche' (bottom) in the hand of Hester Miller, wife of Edward Mundy and daughter of Lieutenant Colonel Miller and his wife, Hester (née Leche).<sup>6</sup>



<sup>5</sup> Edwin Trueman, *The History of Ilkeston: together with Shipley, Kirk Hallam, West Hallam, Dale Abbey, and Cossall* (John F. Walker: Ilkeston, 1880), p.86.

<sup>6</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Orange wine, 'my mothers receipt'', p.126v, 'Quince wine, by Aunt Leche', p.127v, 'To Make Honey Watter, by Uncle Leche', p.139.

Family connections and recipe-sharing between the Willoughby and Mundy households continued into subsequent generations as far as Elenor's grandchildren, and Hester and Edward's children, compounded by a marriage connecting the two families. In 1783, Hester and Edward's son (also, Edward) took as his second wife, the widow of Thomas Willoughby, 4<sup>th</sup> Baron Middleton, Lady Georgiana Middleton (née Chadwick). Lady Middleton's Willoughby name from her previous marriage, and her subsequent marriage into the Mundy family therefore likely accounts for some of the fifteen references and interconnections between, the Willoughby and Mundy collections.<sup>7</sup> Her role as a contributor to both the Willoughby and Mundy repertoire of recipes is clear. Her maiden name (as the youngest daughter of Evelyn Chadwick of West Leake, Nottinghamshire) is referred to for a recipe 'To Pickle Cucumbers like India Mangoes, by Mrs Chadwicke', with 'Mrs Chadwicke' likely referring to either Georgiana's mother, or perhaps, her sister-in-law through marriage to Georgiana's brother 'James Chadwick Esq.'.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, a total of five recipes attributed to 'Mrs Whetham' across the first and second Willoughby volumes almost certainly refer to Georgiana's sister, whose estate, along with their brother James', came to be inherited by Georgiana's daughter.<sup>9</sup> The recording of these recipes in the same hand suggests that

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<sup>7</sup> Willoughby attributions featuring Mundy family name: UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Extract of malt for a cough, by Mrs Mundy', back p.13; MS 87/2 'Ramakins, by Mrs Mundy', p.162, 'Eye water, by Mr Munday', p.282; MS 87/4, 'Surfeit water, by Cos. Mundy', p.162, 'To ripen a boile or any swelling, by Mrs Mundy', p.167, 'To make a thick cream cheese, by Cos. Mundy', p.193. Mundy attributions featuring Willoughby family name: MS 86, 'Peas soop, by Sis Willoughby', p.1v, 'To Stew Pidgeons, by Sis. Willoughby', p.21v, 'To Stew Pidgeons, by Mrs. Willoughby of Nottingham', p.38v, 'To Stew a Beast Cheek, by Aunt Willoughby', p.39v, 'To make Gingerbread, by Sis. Willoughby', p.94v, 'To Pickle Cucumbers, by Sist'r Willoughby', p.109v, 'To Pickle Mushrooms, by Sis. Willoughby', p.110v, 'Alegar, by Sis. Willoughby', p.121v, 'Small mead, by Mrs Willoughby', p.126v.

<sup>8</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'To Pickle Cucumbers like India Mangoes, by Mrs Chadwicke', p.10.

<sup>9</sup> Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle, From June to December 1822*, Vol. 132 (John Nichols: London, 1822), p.472: 'Lady Middleton had a very large property left her by her first husband Lord Middleton (who died in 1781), which, with the Chadwick property, her sister Mrs. Whetham's, and their brother Mr. Chadwick's, altogether was immense, and centred in Lady Middleton's only daughter, the lamented Duchess of Newcastle'; UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Wafers, by Mrs Whetham', p.22, 'Green Oil, a sovereign remedy for bruises or fresh wounds, by Mrs Whetham', back, p.5; 87/2, 'To take off a speck or pearl in the eye, by Mrs Whetham', p.6, 'To fatten calves, by Mrs Whetham', p.28, 'Cream cheese, by Mrs Whetham', p.43.

Georgiana herself may have added them to the Willoughby collections. We can also see over multiple attributions that Lady Middleton actively participated in the Willoughby recipe-sharing network both during her first marriage and in the two years between her widowhood and remarriage into the Miller-Mundy family. This is evidenced by apparent references to her as both 'Lady Middleton' and 'Lady Dowager Middleton' in the Willoughby manuscripts, with the 'Dowager' title indicating her widow status.<sup>10</sup> Less clear, though, is any potential recipe contribution to the Mundy collection, although her prominent role in the Willoughby recipe collections suggests that she could have been one of the vaguely attributed Willoughby contacts cited in the Mundy volume, such as Aunt Willoughby or Mrs Willoughby.<sup>11</sup> Either way, this may indicate that Hester Mundy's social connection, through the exchange of recipes with the Willoughby households (and arguably with Lady Middleton herself), could well have predated the marriage of her son to Thomas Willoughby's widow.

The continued contribution of Edward and Hester's descendants over subsequent generations is also reflected not only on their son's, but also on their daughter's side of the family. The marriage of their daughter (also Hester) to Roger Newdigate in 1776 accounts for a gooseberry pudding recipe referred to as by a 'Cos. Newdigate' in the Mundy volume, as well as two others in the first and second Willoughby volumes for 'Peas Soup', 'Blamange', and 'For the Jaundice' all 'by Mrs Newdigate'.<sup>12</sup> References to Mrs Newdigate

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N.B. For a brief overview of the life of Georgiana Elizabeth, the daughter of Lady Middleton and Edward Miller Mundy, who 'as sole representative of the Chadwick family', came to inherit the total sum of the Chadwick estates, see Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 132, p.370 for her 1822 obituary.

<sup>10</sup> UNMASC, 87/2, 'Rusks, by Lady Middleton', p.7, 'Rusks, by Lady Middleton', p.23, 'To Stew Peas, by Lady Dowager Middleton', p.31, 'To make a green ointment in May commonly called a green Oil, by Lady Middleton', p.222, 'Tincture of Rhubarb, by Lady Middleton', p.311.

<sup>11</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'To Stew a Beast Cheek, by Aunt Willoughby', p.39v, 'Small mead, by Mrs Willoughby', p.126v.

<sup>12</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Pea Soup, by Mrs Newdigate', p.72; MS 87/2, 'Blamange, by Mrs Newdigate', p.23, 'For the Jaundice, by Mrs Newdigate', p.52.



are likely being made by a Willoughby household member to either Hester Newdigate (née Miller-Mundy) herself, or to her mother-in-law, Roger's mother.<sup>13</sup> Further crossover between the Mundy and Willoughby families is demonstrated by the presence of individuals attributed as part of the Willoughby recipe network who were relations of the Mundy extended family. Firstly, the recipe for 'Tooth Powder given Mrs Meynell by Mr S. Knightley' in the first Willoughby volume is likely to be a reference to the treatment of Edward Miller-Mundy's first wife, Frances Maynell. Secondly, a recipe 'To Stew Peas by Duke of Grafton's Cook' in the same collection indicates it came from the household of Edward and Frances' daughter (although they also had five sons), who married Lord Charles Fitzroy, second son of the late Duke of Grafton.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the Mundy and Willoughby networks did interweave at times, seemingly over multiple generations, demonstrating the ongoing relationship that existed between their respective households. Marital connections between the two families no doubt supported the sharing of recipes between them and created familial links which are alluded to in manuscripts as 'cousins'.

### **Cousins**

Large families, multiple marriages, and inter-generational use of given names often combine to make identifying indirect early modern kinship of lesser-known families and households notoriously difficult to determine. This can be considered especially true in relation to defining cousins, as Charles T. Lipp has noted, that 'the use of the term "cousin" was a literary commonplace in the early modern period', thus rendering it to his mind, an

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<sup>13</sup> Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 132, p.472; UNMASC, MS 86, 'Goosberry Pudding, by Cos. Newdigate', p.5v; MS 87/1, 'Pea Soup, by Mrs Newdigate', p.72; UNMASC, 87/2, 'Blamange, by Mrs Newdigate', p.23, 'For the Jaundice, by Mrs Newdigate', p.52.

<sup>14</sup> Urban, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 132, p.472; UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Tooth Powder given Mrs Meynell by Mr S. Knightley, back p.27, 'To Stew Peas by Duke of Grafton's Cook', p.69.

‘unsatisfactory proof of kinship’.<sup>15</sup> David Cressy agrees, explaining that it was used loosely ‘with little regard to whether people were first or second cousins or at one or two removes,’ or even as merely ‘a term of address or a term of reference, usually among people of the same generation, that was often interchangeable with the all-purpose word “kinsman”’.<sup>16</sup> Contrary to such assertions, the functional use of the terms ‘Cos.’, ‘Coz.’, ‘Cousen’ or ‘Cousin’ in the Willoughby and Mundy attributions is indeed commonplace, but also directly correlative to the familial kinship outlined previously. In total, the Mundy and Willoughby recipes boast of 37 recipes attributed to one of the aforementioned terms apparently denoting a cousinly relation, of which, their reflection of genuine familial kinship is strongly indicated by the regularity of the term ‘Cos. Willoughby’. There are 26 ‘Cos. Willoughby’ attributions in Mrs Willoughby’s fourth volume alone, an additional receipt for “How to Pot Beefe to Eat Like Neates Tongue, by Cos. Willoughby’ in the second volume, and another in the fourth book for ‘How to stew pidgins, by Cousen Willoughby’, using in this instance a fuller reference to ‘Cousen’ rather than the shorthand ‘Cos’ version of the term.<sup>17</sup> These recipes are a combination of both culinary and medicinal in nature, with the vast majority

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<sup>15</sup> Charles T. Lipp, *Noble Strategies in an Early Modern Small State: The Mahuet of Lorraine* (University of Rochester Press: New York and Woodbridge, 2011), p.192.

<sup>16</sup> David Cressy, ‘Kinship and Kin Interaction in Early Modern England’, *Past and Present*, No. 113 (Oxford University Press, Nov.1986), p.66.

<sup>17</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, ‘How to Pot Beefe to Eat Like Neates Tongue, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.1; MS 87/4, ‘Cowslip wine, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.8, ‘The Worm Plaster, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.56, ‘To stew mushrooms, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.58, ‘To pickle cowcubmers like mango, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.60, ‘To prevent miscaring, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.72, ‘For the piles, by Cos. Cas. W[illoughb]y’, p.72, ‘For the Canker in ye mouth of man or beast, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.73, ‘For the Canker in ye mouth of man or beast, by Cos. Willoughby’, ‘Pickle for sturjohn, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.75, ‘To make Worm Powder, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.80, ‘The Ricket drink, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.81, ‘Eye water, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.86, ‘A good easy resete for washing small clothes, by Lady Fraquire [pasted into the book to replace Cos. Willoughby’s vinegar recipe]’, p.88, ‘To make milk water, by Cos. Willoughby’. p.91, ‘A good healing salve for a burn, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.104, ‘A good healing salve for a burn, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.105, ‘To pott Beefe to eatte like neate-tongue, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.120, ‘Fish sauce to keep a year, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.123, ‘To make Oyl of charity good for all bruses, by Cos. W[illoughb]y’, p.128, ‘How to make a black salve for any ulcer or sore breast, by Cos. W[illoughb]y’, p.131, ‘For the green sickness, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.137, ‘Fish sauce to keep a year, by Cos. Willoughby [crossed out]’, p.158, ‘Lady Allins water, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.169, ‘Mince pyes, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.170, ‘Lady Allins water, by Cos. W[illoughb]y [crossed out]’, p.190, ‘Mince Pyes, by Cos. W[illoughb]y [crossed out]’, p.191, ‘How to stew pidgins, by Cousen Willoughby’, p.113.

interspersed throughout the lengthier fourth volume, denoting that there was an ongoing recipe-sharing relationship between the Willoughby 'cousins' over a number of years. This relationship was not one of blind deference, though, as Mrs Willoughby or a subsequent user has gone on to cross out or paste over several of these over time. Cos. Willoughby's vinegar recipe is pasted over with 'a good easy recete for washing small clothes, by Lady Fraquire', for example, whilst another for a 'Fish sauce to keep a year, by Cos. Willoughby' is also crossed out, and seemingly goes un-replaced. Recipes by a Cos. Willoughby for 'Mince Pyes' and for 'Lady Allin's water' are also crossed out, but these appear to be duplicate copies of earlier receipts, which are maintained elsewhere within the volume. The sole recipe in volume two linked with a 'Cos. Willoughby' features as the opening receipt, and appears in the same hand as it also appears within volume four, suggesting the same person, perhaps Margaret Willoughby herself, copied it into both volumes, using it as the basis to start a new collection. This hand is one of at least eleven distinct hands recording recipes from the Willoughby 'cousins', so that the particular 'Cos.' would have been relative to the many compilers recording them. The only distinguishing name in amongst this field of Willoughby cousins is 'Cas' with a recipe 'For the piles, by Cos. Cas. W[illoughb]y' attributed presumably to a Cassandra Willoughby. As this recipe sits between two others in the same hand associated with 'Cos. Willoughby' without the distinction made, it appears that the three recipes were added at the same time, with Cassandra's recipe being distinct from another cousin.<sup>18</sup> This reference could be to Margaret Bird's daughter, Cassandra, however the need to distinguish 'Cos. Cas' from the other cousin Willoughby reference may also be explicable in terms of the move away from the more immediate household, and into the

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<sup>18</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To prevent miscaring, by Cos. Willoughby', p.72, 'For the piles, by Cos. Cas. W[illoughb]y', p.72, 'For the Canker in ye mouth of man or beast, by Cos. Willoughby', p.73.

older branch of Willoughbys at Willoughby Hall, instead. Cassandra Brydges (née Willoughby) has a particularly complicated genealogy to trace owing to the fact that she became the second wife to her recently widowed first cousin James Brydges relatively late in life, at the age of 43.<sup>19</sup> The contemporary cousinly connection between the Wollaton and Aspley branches of the family is indicated though within correspondence between Cassandra Brydges (née Willoughby) and Lady Middleton in 1734, who at that time, would have been Mary (née Edwards), wife of Cassandra's nephew Francis Willoughby, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baron of Middleton.<sup>20</sup> In correspondence between them Cassandra writes, 'The account you give me of my cousin Willoughbys is very agreeable. He of Aspley must altogether have a fine estate for a younger branch of the family & am glad to hear that he who has it is a man of merit'.<sup>21</sup> This exchange of recipes between the older and younger branch of Wollaton and Aspley Willoughbys is further consolidated via a receipt attributed to a Mrs Rothwell, as this is the maiden name of Cassandra's sister-in-law, Elizabeth, through marriage to her brother, Thomas Willoughby (2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet/1<sup>st</sup> Baron of Middleton, (1672-1729)).<sup>22</sup>

Although extensively cited, the Willoughbys with their more obvious connection by name, and almost certainly direct familial relations, are not the only attributions referenced as cousins. Unsurprisingly, the Mundy volume also references a selection of recipes by a 'Cos.', 'Coz', and 'Cousin' Mundy, and the fourth Willoughby volume also reinforces this cousinly kinship between the Willoughbys and Mundys with two recipes, 'Surfeit water, by Cos.

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<sup>19</sup> Rosemary O'Day (ed.), *Cassandra Brydges, Duchess of Chandos, 1670-1735: Life and Letters* (The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2007), pp.4-7.

<sup>20</sup> Mary's daughter-in-law (through marriage to her second son, Francis, 4<sup>th</sup> Baron of Middleton) who goes on to marry Edward Miller-Mundy as her second marriage.

<sup>21</sup> O'Day (ed.), *Cassandra Brydges, Duchess of Chandos, 1670-1735*, p.301.

<sup>22</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'Mushroom powder, Mrs Rothwell', p.47.

Mundy', and 'To make a thick cream cheese, by Cos. Mundy'.<sup>23</sup> As previously discussed, this is likely to be the result of generational relations resulting from the marriage of Thomas Willoughby's widow Georgiana, to Edward Miller-Mundy, Elenor's grandson. Other relations include a 'Cos. Thourld', probably a Thorold relation of the Willoughbys, with the Thorold and Willoughby local connections dating back to at least the 1630s, where one William Thorold writes to Sir Gervase Clifton that he and his cousin, Robert Thorold cannot attend him to meet Lord Newcastle, owing to arrangements to be with Lord Willoughby on Twelfth Day.<sup>24</sup>

A reference to a 'Cos. Newdigate' in the Mundy volume is also explicable through the marriage of Elenor's grand-daughter Hester Miller-Mundy, to Roger Newdigate. Roger's father, Sir Richard (3<sup>rd</sup> Baronet), was one of fifteen siblings, eleven of whom survived to adulthood.<sup>25</sup> As the Newdigate cousins were plentiful on Roger's side of the family, and since his marriage to Hester was childless, the references to Newdigate cousins almost certainly relate to this generation, or previous.<sup>26</sup> It therefore seems that the Mundy recipes for 'Goosberry Pudding, by Cos. Newdigate', amongst the other 'Cos. Newdigate' recipes also cited above, were either written into the collection by Roger himself, or that Hester added did, also adopting the terminology of a cousinly relation through marriage rather than a blood connection.<sup>27</sup> The Mundy link to a 'Cos. Pool' referred to twice in the Mundy volume with recipes 'To Preserve Oranges whole' and for 'Rasin vinagar', has two possible

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<sup>23</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'To Salt Too Fitches of Bacon, by Cos. Mundy', p.14v, 'Queen Anne's wash balls, by Cousin Mundy', p.139, 'Tincture of rhubarb for a cholick, by Coz. Mundy', p.135v; MS 87/4, 'Surfeit water, by Cos. Mundy', p.162, 'To make a thick cream cheese, by Cos. Mundy', p.193.

<sup>24</sup> UNMASC, CL C 466, 'Letter from William Thorold, Denton, to Sir Gervase Clifton; 29 Dec. 1632'.

<sup>25</sup> Eileen Gooder, *Squire of Arbury: Sir Richard Newdigate, Second Baronet and His Family, 1644-1710* (Coventry Historical Association: Coventry, 1990), p.21.

<sup>26</sup> Gooder, *Squire of Arbury*, p.111.

<sup>27</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Goosberry Pudding, by Cos. Newdigate', p.5v.

explanations.<sup>28</sup> 'Pool' is a likely variation in this case on the name 'Pole', and a reference to either a relation of Roger's paternal great Aunt, 'Aunt Pole', or alternatively, through association with Roger's paternal uncle who married Millicent Pole, a cousin of Aunt Pole's husband, German Pole.<sup>29</sup> Roger's paternal great Aunt is the most likely given her close relationship with the children of the family, and in particular the daughters, who, as noted by Lisa Smith, provided respite and protection amidst periods of alleged mental illness, emotional and financial upheaval and even possible sexual abuse within the family.<sup>30</sup>

The source of the connection between the Willoughbys and one 'Cos. Pilkington', with their recipe 'For an Ague', is not clear.<sup>31</sup> The genealogy of these families is so complex that all cousins are impossible to trace exhaustively within the confines of this study.

Thus, contrary to the wider view that terminology of cousinship is an unsatisfactory proof of kinship, it is clear that whilst terms relating to a cousin may not have always been a precise meaning of the child of an aunt or uncle, where the term was employed in the Mundy and Willoughby collections, it was at the very least reflective of genuine familial connections through either blood or marriage. Karen Robertson supports this interpretation of the term, crediting it with slightly more rigidity in its use, although still as a flexible category of blood and marital relations 'linked through shared grandparents'.<sup>32</sup> Ultimately, the frequent use of cousinly terminology in recipe attribution examples therefore demonstrates a strong network of interest and participating in recipe exchange amongst the immediate and

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<sup>28</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'To Preserve Oranges whole, by Cos. Pool', p.103v, 'Rasin vinagar, by Cos. Pool', p.120v.

<sup>29</sup> Gooder, *Squire of Arbury*, p.16, pp.152-152a.

<sup>30</sup> Lisa Smith, 'Resisting Silences: Gender and Family Trauma in Eighteenth Century England', *Gender & History* 32, 1 (2020): 30-53, pp. 40, 44).

<sup>31</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'For the Ague, by Cos. Pilkington', p.56.

<sup>32</sup> Karen Robertson, 'Tracing Women's Connections from a Letter by Elizabeth Ralegh', in Frye and Robertson (eds.), *Maids and Mistresses*, p.157.

extended family members of local volume compilers. This suggests that recipe collecting networks frequently relied upon existing and readily available connections and family ties.

### **Willoughby Familial Connections**

Seven recipes by 'Mother Bird', or 'My mother bird', in the fourth Willoughby volume are likely to be referring to Margaret Willoughby (née Bird)'s mother, Hester, supporting the view that this book was initiated and owned by Margaret for some time. Receipts referring to a maternal 'Bird' figure are all recorded in a single hand, which also resembles the handwriting of a recipe in the second Willoughby volume 'For a cough, by Sister Bird'; this is therefore likely to be Margaret referring to one of her three sisters (Clare, Hester or Anne), reinforcing the notion that Margaret was a contributor across more than just her own volume.<sup>33</sup> In her own collection, Margaret also cites her sister, Clare, by her married name instead, with receipts including 'To pickle oysters, by Mrs Dickinson' and 'To make Ratifia cakes, by Sister Dickinson'.<sup>34</sup> A different hand in the third volume adds a receipt for 'Pleague Water, by Mrs Bird senior', contributed by someone else, it seems, from the extended Willoughby family, and perhaps refers to Margaret's paternal grandmother who, like Margaret's mother, would have also been 'Mrs Bird'.<sup>35</sup> Margaret's brother Edward Chapman Bird (1715-1792), also seemingly acted as an intermediary for recipe sharing. His receipt 'To

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<sup>33</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'For a cough, by Sister Bird', p.74.

<sup>34</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To pickle oysters, by Mrs Dickinson', p.112, 'To make Ratifia cakes, by Sister Dickinson', p.145, 'A receipt for make Pastels, by Mrs Dickinson', p.156, 'To clean plate, by Mrs Dickinson', p.157.

<sup>35</sup> UNMASC, 87/3, 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird senior', p.155; MS 87/4, 'To salve for the coff, by my Mother Bird', p.55, 'For the gravel and stone, by my Mother Bird', p.62, 'Soap salve, by my Mother Bird', p.63, 'For any swelling whatever, by my Mother Bird', p.64, 'The sope salve, by Mother Bird', p.89, 'Syrup of Rhubarb, by Mo[ther] Bird', p.139, 'To make Hydropick Wine to cure the dropsy, rheumatism, and cough of the lungs, by Mother Bird', p.141.

prevent fits' was seemingly sourced indirectly resulting in a recipe recorded in its attribution as 'from' him, but 'by' 'Mrs Chilchester'.<sup>36</sup>

As with the Mundy volume, Margaret's ancestral and peer connections feature references to contributions from subsequent generations, offering us a picture of cross-generational recipe networks. Across three of the four Willoughby volumes, there are 17 attributions related to the Alexander family, as well as 10 in Margaret's own book.<sup>37</sup> The Alexander family was affiliated with Margaret via marriage of her daughter Mary to George Alexander in 1763, hence 'For Histericks, by Daughter Alexander' in Margaret's own volume.<sup>38</sup> Mary's husband (Margaret's son-in-law), George, is also cited as a recipe contributor in the first family book, contributing a receipt for 'Quin's Fish Sauce, by Geo. Alexander', which also features in Margaret's volume referred to as simply 'Quin Sauce, by Mr Alexander'.<sup>39</sup> This shows the interchangeability of how individuals were referred to in family collections, and makes it highly likely that references to Mr and Mrs Alexander in Margaret's book apply to her daughter, Mary, and son-in-law, George, despite there also being one more explicit reference to Mary as 'Daughter Alexander'. George too, not only contributed to the collection by gifting his own receipt for 'Quin Sauce', but also appears to contribute to the

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<sup>36</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To prevent fits, by Mrs Chilchester, from Mr Chapman', p.71; See Matthew Craske, 'Bird, Francis (1667-1731), sculptor', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [Accessed: 18 October 2020] for information on the children of Francis Bird, the siblings of Margaret Willoughby (née Bird).

<sup>37</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Quin's Fish Sauce, by Geo. Alexander', p.27; MS 87/2, 'An excellent fish sauce, by Mrs Alexander', p.8, 'Carrot Pudding, by Mrs Alexander', p.8, 'Savoury Jelly for a pye, by Mrs Alexander', p.16, 'Chalotte, by Miss Helena Alexander', p.51, 'Infusion for swelled leg, by Mrs Alexander', p.233, Dr Borehoave's receipt for rheumatic pains, by my mother Alexander; MS 87/4, 'Walnut wine, by Mrs Alexander', p.13, 'For the Wormes, by Mrs Alexander', p.14, 'To pot neats tongues whole, by Mrs Alexander', p.16, 'To make a new Chees, by Mrs Alexander', p.85, 'Usquebaugh, by Mrs Allexandar', p.124, 'To make a Beef pye that will eat like a Venison Pasty, by Mrs Alexander', p.184, 'For Histericks, by Daughter Alexander', p.209, 'Quin Sauce, by Mr Alexander', p.232, 'For sore gums and toothack, by Mrs Alexander', p.304, 'True French Apple Jelly, by Mrs Alexander', p.309.

<sup>38</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'For Histericks, by Daughter Alexander', p.209.

<sup>39</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Quin's Fish Sauce, by Geo. Alexander', p.27; MS 87/4, 'Quin Sauce, by Mr Alexander', p.232.



Willoughby recipe network through sharing his mother's recipes with the entry of 'Dr Borehoave's receipt for rheumatic pains, by my mother Alexander'. It is less plausible that Helena (daughter of Mary and George Alexander) added this at a later date, in reference to her mother, Mary, in light of the earlier reference to her explicitly as 'Miss Helena Alexander' in the same hand.<sup>40</sup> References to the Alexander family connection are interspersed throughout the volumes, indicating an ongoing relationship and association with the Willoughby family and their recipe collection. It is therefore most likely that the 11 recipes attributed to a 'Mrs Alexander' refer to Margaret's daughter Mary, with those such as 'Carrot Pudding, by Mrs Alexander', a 'Infusion for swelled legs, by Mrs Alexander', another 'For the Wormes, by Mrs Alexander', as well as 'For sore gums and toothack', or a 'True French Apple Jelly, by Mrs Alexander'.<sup>41</sup>

A recipe for 'Treacle Beer, by Mrs Edge' in the second Willoughby volume also reflects a Willoughby and Edge marital family connection via Mary's brother, Robert Willoughby, whose first marriage was to Catherine Edge of Strelley. Although, with only one Edge recipe attribution, the Willoughby/Edge recipe connection does not appear to be as extensive or apparently multi-generational as the ongoing participation of the Alexander family.<sup>42</sup> The active receipt-sharing practices of Mary and George Alexander feed into the subsequent generation who also contribute actively to the family book, as is evident with their daughter Helena Alexander, who features in the second volume with a recipe attributed to her for 'Chalotte by Miss Helena Alexander'.<sup>43</sup> Reference to 'Miss Ferrers' with a recipe for 'Potatoe

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<sup>40</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Dr Borehoave's receipt for rheumatic pains, by my mother Alexander', p.248; MS 87/2, 'Chalotte, by Miss Helena Alexander', p.51.

<sup>41</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Carrot Pudding, by Mrs Alexander', p.8, 'Infusion for swelled legs, by Mrs Alexander', p.233; MS 87/4, 'For the Wormes, by Mrs Alexander', p.14, 'For sore gums and toothack, by Mrs Alexander, p.304, 'True French Apple Jelly, by Mrs Alexander', p.309.

<sup>42</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Treacle Beer, by Mrs Edge', p.138.

<sup>43</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Chalotte, by Miss Helena Alexander', p.51.

Cheesecakes' could also either be via the marriage of Margaret and Edward's grand-daughter Helena, to Edward Ferrers of Baddesley in Yorkshire, or their son Robert's third marriage to Lucy-Mary Ferrers.<sup>44</sup> Thus, multigenerational and marital connections are clearly discernible in the Willoughby recipe sharing culture and practices.

### **Titled Attributions: Harley Family Connections**

For the aristocrat Henrietta Harley, her social connections were more likely to be of aristocratic standing and therefore to observe and adhere to a social norm of deference by using formal titles as a manner of address. This is reflected in the writing of Harley's own recipe attributions, where we find reference to a number of titled individuals including ten countesses, a duke and a duchess, an earl, one lord, and eight ladies.<sup>45</sup> Only one of these features outside of the savoury and medicinal volumes with sweet recipes offered also only by the Countess of Kinnoull, Abigail Harley.<sup>46</sup> In contrast, the Willoughbys, as a middling

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<sup>44</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Potatoe Cheesecakes, by Miss Ferrers', back p.47; For more information on the Ferrers/Bird/Willoughby/Alexander family relations, see: Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, DR 495/191, 'Small paper book containing details of issue of Edward Ferrers and Hester Bird; Edward Ferrers and Helena Alexander; George Thomas Ferrers and Mary Gillow; Edward Willoughby and Margaret Bird; Robert Willoughby and Catherine Edge; Edward Willoughby and Sarah Dester; George Alexander and Mary Willoughby; The Bird Family', (1709-1840).

<sup>45</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'A Cream Sloop Countess of Ferrers', p.2, 'To Make Sauce for Boyl'd Fowls By Count[es]s of Ferrers', p.4, 'To Make Sausages Count[es]s of Westmorland', p.59, 'To Dress Carp With the Marlborough Sauce Countess Dowager of Stafford', p.57, 'To Make a Lobster Pye Countess of Berkshire', p.51, 'To Make Curry Lord Dupplin', p.52, 'To Butter Lobsters Countess of Portland', p.7, 'To Make a Ham of a Leg of Mutton Edw[ar]d E[ar]l of Oxford', p.14, 'Fine Broth By Lady Tipping', p.15; Pw V 124, 'A Medicine for the Piles Count[es]s of Arran', p.79, 'A Wash for the face By Finch Countess Dowr of Ferrers', p.59, 'For an Ague By the Countess of Paulet', p.60, 'Countess of Kinnoulls Proscription for the Piles', p.73, 'To Make Snuff for Colds and all Sorts of Humours that Proceed from the Head or Brain, Cures Deafness & fortify's the Sight Countess of Pitburghs Recpt', p.80, 'To Make Her Grace the Duchess of Newcastles Cordial Water', p.51, 'For an Ague Duke of Queensberry', p.56, 'To Make Palsey Water From Lady Oxford's Receipt By Mrs Millington', p.8, 'An Extraordinary Cure for Bleeding at the Nose from Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts', p.33, 'Another from Ditto [for Bleeding at the Nose] from Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts', p.34, 'Gascoines Powder By Mrs Gore From Lady Oxfords Book', p.43, 'A Syrup for a Sore Throat By Lady Bernard Daughter of Morgan Randall Esqr', p.14, 'Lady Isabella Leighs Receipt to Prevent the Return of the Eriscpelus or St Anthonys fire', p.60, 'For the Inward Piles By Lady Robert Russell', p.7, 'To Make Eye Water By Lady K. Jones', p.15, Lucatellus Ballsam By Lady K. Jones [plus, 'The Virtues of the Ballsam', p.41], p.40, 'The Swallow Water By Lady K. Jones [plus, 'The Virtues of it', p.47]', p.46, 'Daffys Elixir By Lady Kinnoull', p.6, 'For The Dropsy By Lady Morpeth', p.63.

<sup>46</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 125, 'To Make A Damson Cake[, by] Countess of Kinnoull', p.17, 'To Make Orange Loaves, or Butterd Oranges[, by] Countess of Kinnoull', p.20, 'To Make a White Pot[, by] Count[es]s of Kinnoull', p.21.

gentry household of the Cossal and Aspley lines, rather than the title-inheriting Willoughby of Wollaton lines, have a recipe network which appears to include a similar number of titled connections, but with all eighteen (or nineteen, in the unlikely event that that 'Lady Lucy' and 'Lady Lucy Stuart' were different people) of them titled as lords and ladies. In contrast to the Harley volumes, there are no references to dukes, duchesses, countesses or earls, with only one exception, a recipe for 'The Duke of Norfolk's Punch', which given its prevailing popularity as a recipe as far as the nineteenth-century, makes it just as likely to reflect that this was a well-known receipt rather than a direct social connection to the then Duke of Norfolk (although this is a possibility which will also be explored later).<sup>47</sup> Similarly, the only titled attributions cited in the Mundy recipe collection are credited to six women referred to as 'Lady', plus one Countess.<sup>48</sup> Examination of attributions in local texts, therefore, indicates that the networks uncovered in domestic recipe collections are a

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<sup>47</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Orange pudding without oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.59, 'A Blister Salve to draw easy, by Lady Haughton', back p.3, 'Rusks, by Lady Middleton', p.7 and p.23, 'To Distill milk for a person much reduced, by Lady Middulph', back p.40, 'Shrewsbury cakes, by Lady Monsut', p.22, 'The Balloon Bread, by Lady Vernon', p.10; MS 87/2 'To Stew Peas, by Lady Dowager Middleton', p.31, 'To make a green ointment in May commonly called a green Oil, by Lady Middleton', p.222, 'Tincture of Rhubarb, by Lady Middleton', p.311, 'To cure and prevent the Scurvy, by Lord Chesterfield', p.35, 'Syrup of Capilaire, by Lord Linton', p.303; MS 87/3 'The Duke of Norfolk's punch', p.60, 'Lady Allins water', p.161, 'Lady Wards cake', p.78, 'Lord Lincoln's receipt to keep a cancer from increasing', p.117; MS 87/4 'Lady Allins water, by Cos. Willoughby', p.169, 'Lady Allins water, by Cos. W[illoughby] [crossed out]', p.190, 'To make Angelica Brandy, by Lady Clifton', p.135, 'A fine strengthner, by Lady Clifton', p.147, 'Orange Pudding without Oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.310, 'A good easy resete for washing small clothes, by Lady Fraquire [pasted into the book to replace Cos. Willoughby's vinegar recipe]', p.88, 'A cure for a Dropsey, by Lady Fraquire', p.195, 'To cure a polsey in ye jounts, by Lady Fraquire', p.195, 'To make yest, from Lady Fraquire', p.226, 'Lady Lucy Stuart recet for the tooth ach', p.225, 'To clean grates, by Lady Lucy', p.267, 'To make White Soop, by Lady Ludlow', p.27, 'An ointment for the worms, by Lady Mary Stuart', p.276, 'To Cure & Prevent the Scurvy, by Lord Chesterfield', p.238, 'A recet to dry the Rhubarb by Lord Linton', p.304, 'Rosoli a Ratife [brandy infusion], by Lord Traquair', p.253, 'Take out all sorts of Spotts as Grease, Tar and Paint etc., by Lord Traquair', p.254, 'To make a white water [to remove stains and restore scarlet], by Lord Traquair', p.256. For later recipe examples of Duke of Norfolk's Punch in print see, for example: Mrs Dalgairns, *The Practice of Cookery, Adapted to the Business of Everyday Life*, (Cadell & Company: Edinburgh; Simpkin and Marshall: London, 1829), p.417.

<sup>48</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'To Make Martlemass Beef, by Lady Gell', p.24v, 'Cucumber Soop, by Lady Gray', p.1v, 'For an intermitting Fever, by Dr Hulser and Old Lady Gray', p.11v, 'Sack Pudding, by Lady Statham', 5v, 'Ramekins, by Lady Vere', p.9v, 'To Stew Eels, by Lady Vere Bertie', p.89v, 'Spanish Butter, by Lady Vere Bertie', p.100v, 'Cholick water, Lady Vere Bertie's', p.141v, 'Fine Goose Pudding in Gutts, by the Countess of Westmoreland', p.8. N.B. Another for 'Lady Manchester's cakes, by Mrs. Eyre', p.97v is included but is assumed to be indirectly received via Mrs Eyre, and Lady Vere and Lady Vere Bertie have been assumed to be the same person.

reflection of the genuine social connections of the compilers rather than as merely aspirational texts, or as staged mechanisms for social and political advances as proffered by Vickery when noting that the early modern woman ‘wielded considerable practical power from the head of her dining table’.<sup>49</sup> Instead, the heavy inclusion of titled connections and attributions referring to them as such, is reflective of a titled range of familial and social influences in the immediate circles of those compiling the collections. For example, direct relations to Henrietta, with recipes attributed to them by their titled names include her husband, Edward Harley, ‘Earl of Oxford’, her sister-in-law Abigail (née Harley), the ‘Countess of Kinnoul’, her brother-in-law ‘Lord Dupplin’, husband to Abigail, as well as her daughter, Margaret, referred to as ‘Countess Portland’. Her mother, the ‘Duchess Newcastle’ and the receipt book of her late mother-in-law, Lady Oxford are also cited, whilst the ‘Countess of Westmorland’ is also credited with two recipes by Henrietta; one culinary receipt ‘To Make Sausages’, and another medicinal remedy for ‘The Elder Ointment for the Piles’.<sup>50</sup> The Countess of Westmorland was an indirect relation and contemporary, Mary Fane (née Cavendish, 1700-1778), a descendent of the Devonshire line of Cavendish’s, who married John Fane, Earl of Westmorland in 1716. The authenticity of these aristocratic social connections are apparent and verifiable; in the instance of Henrietta Harley’s relationship with her sister-in-law, Lady Dupplin, for example, records show that there was an instant fondness and admiration of Henrietta from her first encounter when ‘in 1713, Lady Dupplin admired her brother Lord Harley’s new bride at her first appearance at court: “there was a vast Court every body wished her joy & great staring at her you may be sure but she went through that fatigue with all the ease that could be & none could make a finer figure, her

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<sup>49</sup> Vickery, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, p.10.

<sup>50</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, ‘To Make Sausages Count[es]s of Westmorland’, p.59; Pw V 124, ‘The Elder Ointment for the Piles Countess of Westmorland’, p.75.

Clothes & lace extreamly fine & well Chose””.<sup>51</sup> This fondness and an ongoing close relationship appears to be reflected in the sharing of recipes, resulting in five receipts across all three volumes being credited to Abigail in Henrietta’s final collection; one savoury, one medicinal and three sweet recipes.<sup>52</sup>

It has long been a prevalent assertion that the legacy of recipe knowledge was something that passed along the matrilineal line, from mother to daughter, or at least along female kin lines, thereby making this the most anticipated form of familial recipe network. There is evidence to support this in local sources, with multiple references to the mothers, aunts, and mothers-in-law. In Harley’s collection, one such example is a receipt ‘To Make her Grace the Dutchess of Newcastles Cordial Water’ thereby ascribed to Henrietta’s own mother, and another ‘female kin’ contributor is her husband’s mother, the preceding Lady Oxford.<sup>53</sup> Her mother-in-law, Elizabeth Foley, had died in November 1691, more than two decades before her son Edward’s marriage to Henrietta in 1713 which implies that the former Lady Oxford’s recipe contributions are indicative of substantial reference to, and study of, the legacy left in her own book of receipts by her future daughter in law.<sup>54</sup> This inheritance of recipe knowledge and collections passing from maternal or matrilineal lines no doubt played a valuable role in recipe networks of early modern households, as exemplified by Harley’s

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<sup>51</sup> Lady Dupplin to [Abigail Harley], London, 19 September 1713, BL Add. MS 70147, quoted in Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690–1760* (Boydell & Brewer: Woodbridge and New York, 2002), p.14.

<sup>52</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, ‘Daffys Elixir By Lady Kinnoul’, p.6, ‘Countess of Kinnouls Proscription for the Piles’, p.73; Pw V 125, ‘To Make A Damson Cake [by] Countess of Kinnoul’, p.17, ‘To Make Orange Loaves, or Butterd Oranges[, by] Countess of Kinnoul’, p.20, ‘To Make a White Pot[, by] Count[es]s of Kinnoul’, p.21.

<sup>53</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, ‘To Make her Grace the Dutchess of Newcastles Cordial Water’, p.51.

<sup>54</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, ‘To Make Palsey Water From Lady Oxford’s Receipt By Mrs: Millington’, p.8, ‘An Extraordinary Cure for Bleeding at the Nose from Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts’, p.33 followed by ‘Another from Ditto’, p.34, ‘Gascoines Powder By Mrs: Gore From Lady Oxfords Book’, p.43. N.B. Another ‘Perfum’d Pomatum for the Hands face or Nose By Mrs: Putnam’, p.38 is not linked to Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts in the title, but where the use of certain roots is described within the recipe itself, there is a footnote stating ‘The names of the Roots are not mention’d in Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts’ suggesting that it was probably the original source.

inclination to study and refer to her mother-in-law's book, resulting in at least 5 of her receipts being adopted into her own. However, this thesis proposes that matrilineal recipe sharing plays just one part of that much more complex picture of family and recipe networks and that, as Elaine Leong highlights, the 'tend[ency] to highlight women's medical practices and privilege discussions of women's manuscript writings' in English recipe book research has somewhat limited our understanding of the full extent of variation in the directions that receipts and recipe collections disseminated within family circles.<sup>55</sup> Instead, it will demonstrate that familial connections of both immediate and extended family members are significantly represented in these regional examples. Familial recipe sharing clearly transcends generations in this period of mass recipe collecting culture, and extends to the households of siblings, parents, and children (as well as their in-law equivalents), and thus, the ability of recipe books to assimilate knowledge from previous generations, as well as make space for knowledge from subsequent generations (as in the case of Elenor Mundy with her blank folios, and Margaret Willoughby with her title page encouraging the recording of subsequent users), was undoubtedly an important aspect of recipe collecting practice for compilers in constructing an archive of family knowledge that travelled both backwards and forwards in time from their instigation. To that end, the value of familial recipe contributions resonates with the compiler in both the sound knowledge that the provider is a trustworthy source, having likely sampled the results of the recipe directly, as well as the significance of family knowledge, legacy and commemoration in building what could be considered a highly valued recipe network.<sup>56</sup> Therefore by showing that the receipt

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<sup>55</sup> Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, p.10.

<sup>56</sup> For more on commemoration and legacy through recipe compilations see: 'Chapter 3: Lineage and Legacies' in Theophano, *Eat My Words*, pp.85-117; Wendy Wall, 'Temporalities: Preservation, Seasoning, and Memorialization' in Wall, *Recipes for Thought*, pp.167-208, esp. pp.189-208.

book was an established site for expressing extensive familial involvement in recipe sharing and that such a strong link existed between generations of recipe writers and collectors, we witness the establishment of such a 'profound and unending relationship between past and present in their recipe books [which] compelled women to construct their own genealogies'.<sup>57</sup> The prevalence of familial contributors as part of the regional recipe networks is logical in this sense of trust and personal experience of a recipe's efficacy, because as William Eamon points out, '[w]e trust recipes because we know that behind them stands someone who does not use them'.<sup>58</sup> The significant prevalence of recipes credited to extended family and household members in the local recipe volumes seems to uphold this point, demonstrating that the emphasis in ascribing quality and trust could reside just as much in knowing the person behind a recipe, as it was to knowing the recipe itself.

Exploring familial attributions in Harley's collection has demonstrated the complexity of familial relations and networks, in line with the manuscripts of the other households. The distinction in the social status of those attributed by Harley as recipe contributors is in line with the noble status of the Harley household and would therefore strongly suggest that recipe attributions offer modern readers a valuable picture of authentic social connections and relationships rather than aspirational ones. Through tracing the identity of titled recipe contributors, and their relationship to Harley evidence of attributions it has uncovered the multigenerational and complex nature of familial recipe networks resulting from a combination of marriage, legacy, and commemoration. However, we also find through attributions that this kind familial trust was also extended to other members of the

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<sup>57</sup> Theophano, *Eat My Words*, p.115.

<sup>58</sup> Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice?', p.238.

household, such as servants, showing that recipe knowledge and expertise was circulated both across boundaries of social status and thus we find that recipe collections were useful, as Leong asserts, as a way to construct and cultivate social and family networks as a form of family archive or 'paperwork of kinship'.<sup>59</sup>

### **Servants**

Receipt books, in their very nature as a form of writing, tend to reflect a society of largely noble or high-ranking individuals, and all of the households associated with this regional sample of receipt books were indeed themselves gentry or aristocratic households, as reflected in the networks of titled recipe contributors outlined in the previous section. However, not only did the rapid expansion of printed recipes and domestic guidance ensure that this culture and knowledge was 'ever-increasing[ly] spread...down the social scale', but manuscript copies hold clues to the role and participation of lower-status men and women in the creation of recorded recipes, and knowledge-sharing cultures of their region and period also.<sup>60</sup> In local examples, servants and stewards played a significant role, as domestic employees in recipe collaborations and, as such, they occupy a unique space between the realms of the household and the professional. In understanding the value of early modern domestic knowledge, the value of experience that servants offered recipe compilers through informed domestic knowledge, and what that tells us about the relationship household servants enjoyed with their mistresses and masters, should not be overlooked. Amanda Herbert looks in detail at the influence of cooperation and collaboration in domestic labour between elite women and their lower-status servants in 'shap[ing] women's alliances', for example, and convincingly argues that gentlewomen spent time which was both 'social and

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<sup>59</sup> Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, pp.125-126.

<sup>60</sup> Lehmann, *The British Housewife*, p.13.



pleasurable' with servants, even 'exchanging secrets and gossip'.<sup>61</sup> This suggests that there was opportunity for household servants to make a significant contribution of knowledge to a household recipe manuscript and Sara Pennell agrees that, for gentry-women, servants 'were a valuable source of recipes', which we see reflected in the local manuscripts.<sup>62</sup> So, whilst a large proportion of attributed recipes cite titled individuals of significant status, this section argues that it is not just status but also experience that held weight in recipe value and trust.

Within the volumes studied here, there are numerous references to household servants and cooks offering experience in culinary recipes, such as the 'Duke of Grafton's Cook', 'Old Betty Cook', 'Nurse Byland', as well as three from the 'Duke of Portland's Cook Mr Rogerson', and another 'To make curds in hast, by Mr Waterton's maid'.<sup>63</sup> Household accounts also reveal that 'James Brown' and 'George Admigall', who are both referred to as contributors to the Harley culinary collection, were servants in Henrietta's mother's household.<sup>64</sup> James Brown is referred to as '2<sup>nd</sup> Cook', and is one of four members of the household listed with the name Brown in July 1712, including 'Mrs Ursulah Brown', 'Mrs Judith Browne', 'John Brown' and 'James Brown 2<sup>nd</sup> Cook', indicating multiple members of the same family were likely working as servants in the Harley household.<sup>65</sup> Recipes for 'Pull'd Chickens', 'To Roast Mackarell' and 'To Make a Farcing for a Hare' are all recorded by

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<sup>61</sup> Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.78, pp.82-83.

<sup>62</sup> Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice?', p.243.

<sup>63</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'To Stew Peas by Duke of Grafton's Cook', p.69 and 'To Dress a Calves head, by Old Betty Cook', p.77; MS 87/4, 'To bake fresh herrings, by Nurse Byland', p.110; Pw V 123, 'To Make a Ham Pye Duke of Portlands Cook Mr Rogerson', p.22, 'To Dress Wild Ducks with Horse Radish By Ditto [Duke of Portland's Cook Mr Rogerson]', p.22, 'To Fry Turnips By Ditto [Duke of Portlands Cook Mr Rogerson]', p.23, 'To make curds in hast, by Mr Waterton's maid', p.106.

<sup>64</sup> UNMASC, Pw 2 608, 'List of the servants of Margaret Holles, Duchess of Newcastle and Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles [later Countess of Oxford] at Newcastle House, London', Oct. 1713.

<sup>65</sup> UNMASC, Pw 2 608, 'List of the servants of Margaret Holles, Duchess of Newcastle and Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles [later Countess of Oxford] at Newcastle House, London', Oct. 1713.

Harley as 'by James Brown' the cook in her mother's London household being then the likely source.<sup>66</sup> The placement of these recipes within five pages of one another, and towards the front of the collection, infers that these receipts may have formed some of the earliest of Henrietta's collected recipes, or that they were collected at a similar point during time spent with her parents at Newcastle House, and were valued highly enough to feature so prominently within her fine culinary collection. Connected too, perhaps, is the recipe in the first Willoughby volume 'To Stew a Loin of Mutton so as to resemble Venison, by Mrs Brown', implying that part of the servant's expertise could be in treating ingredients like mutton in such a way as to improve their quality and perceived value. However, whilst a connection between this Mrs Brown and the Browns listed as Newcastle House servants is likely, it would be difficult to prove definitively.<sup>67</sup> 'George Admigall', also listed as a servant in the same household, is joined by a presumably younger relative, his son perhaps, John Admigall, who entered as a 'Kitchin boy' after July 16<sup>th</sup> 1712, according to accounts.<sup>68</sup> The addition of a younger relation to the household kitchen, alongside George's contribution of a recipe 'To Fry Pears' indicates that as another servant in Henrietta's parental household he was probably also a cook.<sup>69</sup> In particular then, the recipes of Henrietta Harley are an excellent example of how receipt book culture aided in bringing together knowledge from domestic servants into manuscript, thus crossing societal boundaries. From her own husband, the Earl of Oxford, to servants from the household of Henrietta's mother, Margaret Duchess of Newcastle, through these recipes we can see that men and women

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<sup>66</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'Pull'd Chickens By Ja[me]s Brown', p.17, 'To Roast Mackarell By Ja[me]s Brown', p.18, 'To Make a Farcing for a Hare By James Brown', p.21.

<sup>67</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'To Stew a Loin of Mutton so as to resemble Venison, by Mrs Brown', p.30.

<sup>68</sup> UNMASC, Pw 2 608, 'List of the servants of Margaret Holles, Duchess of Newcastle and Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles [later Countess of Oxford] at Newcastle House, London', Oct. 1713.

<sup>69</sup> UNMASC, Pw 2 608, 'List of the servants of Margaret Holles, Duchess of Newcastle and Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles [later Countess of Oxford] at Newcastle House, London', Oct. 1713; Pw V 123, 'To Fry Pears G Admagall', p.12.

from across varied social standings were able to participate in recipe sharing and were united by the commonality of food. Hence, we find a recipe from Edward, Earl of Oxford for how 'To Make a Leg of Mutton' appearing alongside and between those of servants such as James Brown and George Admagall.<sup>70</sup>

There is also evidence of an even longer-standing tradition of servant input into recipe collecting on behalf of their employers, for instance, in the example of William Cavendish's (1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Newcastle) receipt book which features both his own handwriting and that of his steward, Thomas Farr.<sup>71</sup> A steward's role had 'one fundamental objective: the prosperity of the estate and thereby of his master, his family and his posterity', and thus, Thomas Farr's role in contributing to the Duke of Newcastle's recipe compilation would suggest a contemporary understanding that recipe knowledge benefitted and contributed to the overall value and wealth of a household estate.<sup>72</sup> The broader contemporary contributions of household servants is therefore unsurprising, and regional examples simultaneously evidence the role of servants as a valued source of recipes, the blurring of social status in matters of domestic expertise, and the value of recipe knowledge as an equaliser of status and experience within the early modern household. This view is supported by Pennell who describes the presence of these recipes as indicative of authorisation and validation by women of 'social standing [which] might indicate a blurring of deferential formalities in matters domestic'.<sup>73</sup> Thus, even in the finest of presentation copies, we find that there is not

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<sup>70</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Fry Pears G Admagall', p.12, 'To Make a Ham of a Leg of Mutton Edw[ar]d E[arl] of Oxford', p.14, 'Pull'd Chickens By Ja[me]s Brown', p.17, 'To Roast Mackarell By Ja[me]s Brown', p.18, 'To Make a Farcing for a Hare By James Brown', p.21.

<sup>71</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 90, 'MS volume containing medicinal recipes [associated with William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle]; n.d. [1643-1665]'.  
<sup>72</sup> D.R. Hainsworth, *Stewards, Lords and People: The Estate Steward and his World in Later Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge and New York, 1992), p.48.

<sup>73</sup> Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice?', p.243.

only the inclusion of recipes of household servants, but that their favoured receipts, in areas where they were perhaps most experienced, were regarded highly enough to sit alongside those of the very highest of social superiors and in the forefront of the Harley households 'fine' collection.

In summary of this chapter, analysis of recipe attributions has shown that the tangible connections of the Willoughby and Mundy families, including marital and cousinly links, were also reflected by an ongoing recipe exchange between family members over generations. Through looking at these related households and the interactions between them documented in manuscript recipe books, in which the use of a range of cousinly terms is common, it has been possible to conclude that these terms were used to denote genuine familial relationships, even if not necessarily in the specific modern sense of the word. Finally, through examining the patterns of familial attributions, in both the formal sense, employed by Harley, and the informal sense more common in the Willoughby and Mundy attributions, it has been found that despite variations in the style of attribution, what is shared is that familial recipe exchange took place across multiple generations, and extended far beyond maternal or matrilineal knowledge. Thus, familial recipe exchanges in manuscript paint a complex picture of multigenerational blood and marital relations and household and domestic networks which transcended status boundaries to include the domestic servants of a recipe compilers own household, as well as the households of their extended family members.

## Chapter Five: Local Recipe Networks

As can be seen in the frequent use of recipe attributions explored in Chapter Four, the art of recipe collection was heavily reliant on collaboration across knowledge-sharing networks. Compilers cited individual relations who had shared treasured recipes, and through observation at a local level, we are also able to see that local households shared and duplicated recipes amongst themselves too. Through tracing recipe attributions at this in this way, we uncover a local recipe network of each of the Willoughby, Mundy, and Harley households along with each of their own local contacts, networks, and influences, coming together to inform the content of regional recipe manuscripts. Recipe examples below have been transcribed in their entirety to support direct comparison of similarities and differences in order to demonstrate degrees of duplication as recipe examples came to be transferred between local collections.

### Shared and Duplicate Recipes

Since scholars such as Lucinda Beier, Roy Porter and Harold J. Cook first popularised the notion of a 'medical marketplace' in the 1980s, recent work on early modern medicine specifically, by historians such as Elaine Leong and Sara Pennell, Lisa Smith and Andrew Wear, have reinstated this term, with a more prominent acknowledgement of the role of recipe manuscripts as documents of domestic medicine and medical recipes associated with that understanding.<sup>1</sup> Deborah Harkness notes the importance of recipe books within the medical marketplace explicitly, pointing out that 'England was less taken with anatomical advances in knowledge and was instead characterised by a "culture of therapeutics" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', to which the medical receipt book she considers a

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<sup>1</sup> Leong and Pennell, 'Recipe Collections and the Currency of Medical Knowledge', pp.133-152.

central feature.<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of exploring the equally complex and diverse networks and elements of both culinary and medical recipe sharing in local receipt book culture, it seems appropriate to adapt this term to reflect a broader regional picture of such recipe sharing at a local level, which combined both the medicinal and culinary elements of compilation.

Whilst exploring recipe circulation on a regional scale, we have seen that local networks of recipe-sharing existed with six related receipts for 'Plague Water' appearing across five volumes, as discussed in chapter three, on 'medical practice and learning'.<sup>3</sup> These shared recipes showed demonstrated the degree of recipe exchange between these connected households, and that the 'origin' or attribution associated with a shared recipe could be changed or even lost. It is not only medicinal recipes, however, where we witness such fluidity of sharing recipes on a local scale, recipes for food were also duplicated. To use a culinary example, there are twelve recipes for variations of mince pies across the 5 volumes of the Willoughby and Mundy households. These include three in the Mundy volume, as well as five in the first, one in the second, and three in the fourth, of the Willoughby volumes, including a Mundy collection recipe for 'Very good Minc'd Pyes':

#### **Very good Minc'd Pyes**

Take one pound & a quarter of the in side of a Surloin of Beef two pound of Beef Suet a pd of sugar, three pd of Currance one ounce of spice (viz.) of cloves, mace, nutmeg & Cinnomon a qr: of each Sixteen Golden Runnets [a type of apple] grated the juice of three Lemmons & ye Peels grated three quarters of a pint of sack & as much salt as you think fit.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Harkness, 'Nosce Teipsum', pp.171-192.

<sup>3</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Plague Water, by Mrs Willoughby', back p.29; MS 87/3, 'Plague water', p.102, 'Plague water', p.130, 'Pleague water, by Mrs Bird Senior', p.155; MS 87/4, 'The plague water', p.53; MS 86, 'A Rec[eip]t to make Plague Water', p.134v.

<sup>4</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Very good Minc'd Pyes', p.61v.

This same recipe appears as simply “To Make Mince Pyes’ in MS 87/1, without the added value judgement of being ‘very good’ in the title, but shares the same ingredients, method and phrasing throughout:

### **To Make Mince Pyes**

Take one pound & a Quarter of the inside of a sirloin of Beef two pound of Beef suit three pounds of currance one ounce of spice (viz.) of Cloves mace nutmeg & cinnamon a Quarter of Each sixteen golden rennets grated the juice of three lemons & ye Peels grated three quarters of a pint of sack & as much salt as you think.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, we see that receipts were shared locally across collections taking on new titles with added value judgements. In another example, we see how the same recipe came to be re-entered further along into a collection, with the same basic principles of recipe and ingredients, and only minor development as in the case of the twice featured recipe described in both instances for ‘Mince Pyes’. In the first Willoughby volume, the user is directed as follows:

### **Mince Pyes**

1 pd of Currans 1 pd of Raisins 1 pd of Noopercells [nonpareils, a type of apple] 1 pd of Beef suit the peel of two lemons & the Quarter of one 1 pd of lump sugar and sitoron & orange Peel as you like a little Brandy.<sup>6</sup>

In a subsequent entry, eighteen pages later, the receipt has the same core ingredients and quantities, with the same method, but the addition of lemon juice has been included as well as the peel, and we find the subsequent version has taken the liberty of increasing ‘as you like a little Brandy’ above, to ‘as you like half a pint Brandy’ below:

### **Mince Pyes**

1 lb of Currants 1 lb nonparcels [nonpareils, a type of apple] 1 lb of beef suit the peel of 2 lemons the juice of ½ a lemon 1lb of lump sugar, add Citteron, 2 orange peel as you like half a pint Brandy.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, ‘To Make Mince Pyes’, p.17.

<sup>6</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, ‘Mince Pyes’, p.1.

<sup>7</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, ‘Mince Pyes’, p.25.

The examples above serve to demonstrate that when examining on a local scale, it is possible to find the same receipt twice and that this occurs both within volumes and between them, and in instances where there is no attributed individual to trace the recipe back to as a source. There are also examples of mince pie receipts which are attributed to a person, that re-emerge slightly amended in other volumes, as is the case with Mrs Willoughby's receipt 'To Make Minched pyes':

### **To Make Minched pyes**

Take one pound and half of neate toungue 2 pound and 3 quartrens of sueite on pound and half of reasons 3 pounds of Corrons half a pound of Shuger one Large nutmeg and the Whight of the nutmeg in Mase and Cloves 2 pound of aples 2 canded oranges one Lemon one quarter of sittern Pill half a flask of White wine and half a flask of Florance Wine the juse of one Lemon and the pill shread sucoull[?]

M[r]s Willoughby.<sup>8</sup>

Here we find this recipe to be duplicated in the Mundy collection without attribution and taking on the title of 'Mince Pye Meat with Tongue':

### **Mince Pye Meat with Tongue**

A pound of Neat's tongue boyl'd and chopp'd small, three pounds of beef suet, so chopp'd, eight ounces of candyed Orange and Citron, but in bitts, three pounds of Corance, one pound of Raisins of the sun stoned, and chopp'd, a pound of sugar, 4 ounces of sliced Dates, an ounce of cloves, mace, and Cinamon, a little salt, six apples chopp'd small, the juice of three lemons, & a pinte of sack.<sup>9</sup>

These recipes consist of the same fundamental ingredients, with Neat's Tongue (tongue of a cow or ox), suet, currants, sugar, cloves, mace, candied orange, lemon, citron peel, apples, and sack or white wine forming the basis. The only distinctions are in the Mundy collection including additional ingredients of pitted and sun-dried raisin, sliced dates, 'a little salt', and the removal of nutmeg in favour of cinnamon. The order that the ingredients are listed in suggest that the recipes are directly related to one another, and that there is a common

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<sup>8</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To make Minched Pyes, by Mrs Willoughby', p.124.

<sup>9</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Mince Pye Meat with tongue', p.69.



basic practice across households, although individual preferences and methods developed over multiple iterations. For example, with only additional specifics on the method being added in the Mundy recipe through specifying the treatment of individual ingredients that the tongue should be 'boyl'd and chopp'd', apples 'chopp'd small' or that the candied citrus should be 'in bitts'.

Other variations on mince pie recipes with clear attributions also feature, with the shared basis of a minced meat recipe, but with enough distinction to warrant the association with unique individual as in the cases of the following attributed to a Mrs Wilson:

### **Minced Pye Meat**

Take 2lb of boild neats tongue 4 lb [blank] of the sharpest apples you can get  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an orange 1 lemon peel let all Ingredients be minced very fine season it with Cloves mace nutmegs all pound very fine, half a pint of the best brandy Do orange flower water 2 lemon juiced 3lb of fine powder, 6lb of currants mix all well together put it in an earthen pot to be kept close for use.

Mrs Wilson's Receipt.<sup>10</sup>

Another receipt by a Mrs Kalsett in Nottingham is notably the only minced pie recipe in the second Willoughby volume and leads with a core ingredient of lemons, which is very much distinct from the other meat-based recipes:

### **Mince Pies**

2 pound of Lemons tied up in thin rags & boiled till very tender care taken not to break them when taken out Squeeze all the juice into a bason beat the rine with pipins in a 1  $\frac{3}{4}$  pound of sugar till quite fine & add the juice to it mix this with one  $\frac{1}{2}$  of suet &  $\frac{1}{2}$  a pound of Raisons stoned & cut fine some with 2 pound of currants

Mrs Kalsett Nottingham.<sup>11</sup>

Another shared recipe occurs in each of the four Willoughby volumes, where almost identical common recipes variety of thin cream pancake or 'Quire of Paper' which according to Margaret Willoughby's volumes, may have been originally sourced from a Mrs Sellwood:

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<sup>10</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Minced Pye Meat, by Mrs Wilson', p.25.

<sup>11</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Mince Pies', p.12.

### **Thin Cream Pancakes call'd a quire of Paper**

A pint of cream 8 eggs leave out 2 whites three spoonfuls of fine flower three spoonfulls of Sack or Brandy a little sugar a grated nutmeg a quarter of a pound of butter melted in ye Cram mingle all well together mixing ye flower with a little butter at first that it may be smooth butter ye pan for ye first time you fry ye first pan cake. Let 'em run as thin as possible to be whole when one side is enough take em with care out of ye Pan and sift some fine sugar between each layer then quit em till 20.

Mrs Sellwood.<sup>12</sup>

In the following three receipts for the same, one taken from each Willoughby volume, we find the same recipe containing the same ingredients, in equal quantities with the same suggested method copied verbatim, with only the exception of some minor variations on spelling or phrasing or how the recipe is entitled. In the first of the four volumes, in another hand to that recording the recipe in Mrs Willoughby's book, we find the same described as a recipe for 'Thin cream pancakes called a squire of paper':

### **Thin cream pancakes called a quire of paper**

A pint of cream 8 eggs: leave out 2 whites three spoonfuls of fine flour, three spoonfuls of sack or brandy, a little sugar, grated nutmeg, a quarter of a pound of butter, melted in the cream mingled well together, mixing the flour with a little a first that it may be smooth: butter the pan for the first time you fry the first pancake: let them run as thin as possible to be whole: when one side is enough take them with care out of the pan sift some fine sugar between each later then quit till 20.<sup>13</sup>

In the second volume, in a third distinct hand, we find the same again, headed simply as 'How to Make a quire of paper':

### **How to Make a quire of paper**

Take to a pint of Creame 8 Egges Leve out 2 Whits three spoonful of flower, three spoonful of sack and one spoonful of Oringing flower Water Suger and Nuttmegs to your tast and a qr: of a pound of butter melted in the Cream Mingle all well to gether Mixing the flower with a little of the cream first to make it smooth butter your pan for the first and let it rune as thin as you can when one side is coulerd it is enough strew fine sugar betwixt each pan cake this quantity will make twenty.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'Thin cream pancakes call'd a quire of paper, by Mrs Sellwood, p.38.

<sup>13</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Thin cream pancakes called a squire of paper', p.91.

<sup>14</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'How to Make a quire of paper', p.234.

Finally, in the third volume we find a receipt for 'Thin Cream Pancakes calld a Quire of Paper' which appears this time in the same hand as the version in the fourth volume:

#### **Thin Cream Pancakes calld a Quire of Paper**

Take a pint of Cream 8 Eggs leave out 2 of ye whites 3 Spook full of fine flower 3 spoonfull of Sack or Brandy a Grated Nuttmeg & a little Sugar, ¼ lb of Buttr melted in ye Cream mingled all well together, mix'g ye flowr with a Little Cream at first that it maybe smooth, Butter ye Pann for ye first Cake let them run as thin as possible to be whole when one side is cover'd tis enough take them with care out of ye pan & sift sum fine Sugar over them lay them even till theres twenty.<sup>15</sup>

With the exact same ingredients and quantities throughout, and the same method down to the serving suggestion of sifting sugar between each layer and serving twenty pancakes with this quantity, it is undoubtedly the same recipe shared between the Willoughby family households and their books. This consistent recipe would appear to have featured first, as a recipe attributed to Mrs Sellwood in Margaret Willoughby's (fourth) volume, before being disseminated to other Willoughby compilers and manuscripts. The difference between this shared receipt, and another version for pancakes can be found in a version of a recipe for 'Wafer Pan Cakes' by a Mrs Jane Cotton which the Harley household appeared to favour:

#### **Wafer Pan Cakes**

Take a Pint of Thick Cream, 3 Spoonfulls of Sack 1/2 a Pint of Flower, 6 Eggs, but 3 Whites, one Grate Nutmeg, a Quarter of a lb: of Melted Butter, a very Little Salt, & Some Sugar, fry these in a Dry Pan.<sup>16</sup>

Whilst the same basic premise and ingredients are apparent in the Harley recipe, the specifics of the method and quantities of ingredients are varied, down to frying the pancake in a dry, rather than a buttered pan. The significance of a favoured pancake recipe in a household is likely to have roots in the origins of the dish as one traditionally eaten on Shrove Tuesday, an important date in the Christian calendar as a pre-Lenten feast. Whilst

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<sup>15</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Thin Cream Pancakes calld a Quire of Paper', p.75.

<sup>16</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 125, 'Wafer Pan Cakes - Mrs: Jane Cotton', p.23.

the Willoughbys of Aspley Hall were a known Catholic household, the relevance of a Shrovetide pancake recipe being shared across Willoughby collections, and another being present in the Harley collection reminds us of how religious food, festivals and fasting were still often areas of commonality between Anglican and Catholic households of this period.

### **Religious Networks**

As noted in the introductory chapter, the Willoughby of Aspley and Cossall line of descendants were ‘a younger branch of the family of Willoughby of Wollaton’, connected by blood, and through their shared family crest.<sup>17</sup> This younger branch were strongly associated with recusancy, and the family were reported to have met secretly for worship in a property they owned in Broad Marsh, Nottingham, and that when Catholic ‘persecution became less rigorous’ the more public place of worship for the Willoughbys came to be a large room at Aspley Hall, the home of Margaret Willoughby and her husband, Edward. In 1715, the *Nottingham Mercurie* reported that the local Catholic congregation included other families who also appear to feature in the Willoughby and, to a lesser extent, Harley manuscripts, namely ‘Sir Gervas Clifton and his son... [and] Eyre, Esq.,’.<sup>18</sup> These local social connections through Catholic worship, although not a focus of this thesis, are reflected in the recipe networks of the Willoughby recipe collections. Lady Clifton has four recipes attributed to her over the three Willoughby volumes (or five recipes over all four volumes if ‘Mrs Clifton’ is assumed to refer to the same person), with ‘Orange Pudding without Oranges, by Lady Clifton’ appearing as duplicate copies in both the first and fourth volumes.

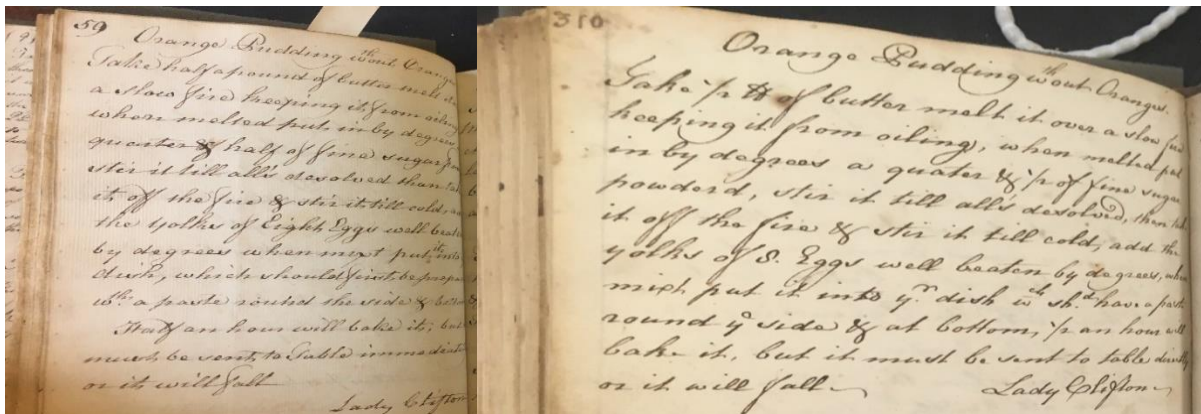
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<sup>17</sup> John Mitford (ed.), ‘Obituary: REAR-ADM Sir. N.J. Willoughby’ in *The Gentleman’s Magazine: and historical review, July 1856-May 1868* (London: Dec 1849), pp.648-649; A.E Lawson Lowe (Captain), ‘A Nottinghamshire Armory’, *The Relinquary: Quarterly Archaeological Journal and Review, July 1863-Oct. 1894*, Vol. 20 (July 1879), p.49.

<sup>18</sup> James Orange, *History and Antiquities of Nottingham: In which are Exhibited the Various Institutions, Manners, Customs, Arts, and Manufactures of the People*, Vol. II (Hamilton, Adams & Company: Nottingham, 1840), p.812.

This duplicate receipt (see Fig. 32, below) appears in the same hand in both volumes, whilst others which cite Lady Clifton as the source appear in other hands, such as her receipt for 'A fine strengthner' and another 'To make Angelica Brandy'. A Mr Clifton is also cited as the contributor of a receipt to make 'Elder Wine'.<sup>19</sup>

**Fig. 32 Receipt to make 'Orange Pudding without Oranges' by Lady Clifton (left), duplicated in Margaret Willoughby' book (right).<sup>20</sup>**



Mrs Eyre, however, does not feature in the Willoughby collection, despite appearing to be an active contributor to the Mundy and Harley receipt books, with no less than seven recipes attributed to her in the Mundy book, as well as five across Harley's savoury and confectionary collections.<sup>21</sup> This is less surprising given the existing connections between the Willoughby and Mundy households, as well as the Mundy connection to the Eyre family through marriage, but Harley's lack of known direct connection between these families

<sup>19</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Orange pudding without oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.59; MS 87/2, 'Elder Wine, by Mr Clifton', p.285; MS 87/3, 'To cure deafness, by Mrs Clifton', p.104; MS 87/4, 'To make Angelica Brandy, by Lady Clifton', p.135, 'A fine strengthner, by Lady Clifton', p.147, 'Orange Pudding without Oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.310.

<sup>20</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Orange pudding without oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.59; MS 87/4, 'Orange Pudding without Oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.310.

<sup>21</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'With Soop, by Mrs. Eyre', p.2v, 'To make a Slipcote Cheese, by Mrs. Eyre', p.96v, 'Lady Manchester's cakes, by Mrs. Eyre', p.97v, 'A Plumb Cake, Mrs. Eyre's', p.99v, 'Desert Wafers by Mrs Eyre', p.101v, 'To Candy Orang Pills, by Mrs Eyre', p.105v, 'Syrup of Lemons, by Mrs Eyre', p.106v; Pw V 123, 'To Make Dutch Beef Mrs Eyre', p.1, 'To Make an Apple Pudding Mrs Eyre', p.2, 'To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting Day Mrs Eyre', p.5, 'A White Soop Mrs Eyre', p.58; Pw V 125, 'To Make Comfit Cream[, by] Mrs Eyre', p.22.

aside from receipt sharing networks, makes the prominence of Mrs Eyre's receipts notable. Specifically, the prominence of Eyre's recipes in number (being five) and in positioning within the volume (with three Eyre-attributed recipes in the first 5 pages), and also the addition of a receipt 'To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting Day [by] Mrs Eyre', seeming to reflect Eyre's observations of Catholic practices of worship. As the Harley family were not known recusants, the inclusion of recipes from those known members of the local Catholic congregation suggests that recipe sharing crossed the boundaries of religious communities. The receipt books of recusant households like the Willoughbys of Aspley also demonstrate this by their notable lack of prominence of other Catholic households. In 1722, it appears there were a total of 29 known Catholic property owners in the County of Nottinghamshire, and no more than two in Nottingham Town, of which, the households of Francis Willoughby of Aspley and his brother, Robert Willoughby of Cossall account for two.<sup>22</sup> Mary, the only daughter of Robert Willoughby by his wife Ursula (née Cholmondesley) was presumed to have had a private Catholic baptism based on this branch of the family's known faith.<sup>23</sup> Aside from these, the only known property-owning Catholics in Nottinghamshire cited as part of the Willoughby network are the Clifton family, and potentially the then Duke of Norfolk. The Duke of Norfolk at this time, Thomas Graham, named in records as holding 'lands and tenements in the county of Nottingham, of the annual value of £1084 6s 6d', could possibly be the source of, or inspiration for, a Willoughby recipe for 'The Duke of Norfolk's punch'.<sup>24</sup> The seeming lack of explicit reference to local Catholic networks in the Willoughby attributions, indicates that recipe networks extended beyond such limitations or

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<sup>22</sup> Thomas Bailey, *Annals of Nottinghamshire: History of the County of Nottingham, Including the Borough, Volume 2* (Simpkin, Marshall and Co: London, 1852), pp.1135-1138.

<sup>23</sup> George W. Marshall (ed.), *The Genealogist, Vol III* (George Bell and Sons: London, 1879), p.156.

<sup>24</sup> Bailey, *Annals of Nottinghamshire*, pp.1135-1138; UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'The Duke of Norfolk's punch', p.60.

perhaps that the inclusivity of their hosting and recipe exchanges took on a more subversive motive of bringing non-Catholic guests into contact with a 'sub rosâ [secret, or clandestine]' Roman Catholic mission. For example, where the Willoughbys played a prominent role as the hosts, thereby gaining a reputation for hospitality and 'goodwill to their humbler neighbours', on significant days of the Christian calendar where it was observed:

In the last [eighteenth] century, it was the custom at Aspley Hall for the whole country round to resort there at Shrovetide to fry pancakes. The squire found the fat and the pans and the firing, and the poor neighbours brought their own batter, and there in the great hall was a huge fire at which a dozen pans would be going at once, with great competition and laughter in the way of tossing the pancakes; the squire and his lady always presiding in their old oak chairs, and entering heartily into the general fun. And with the squire would be noticed a grave and dignified figure well known by sight, and yet rarely spoken of by the villagers. This was the Roman Catholic priest, whose ministrations were then illegal, but who carried on his mission sub rosâ, without interference.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, whilst this retelling of events may have been subject to romanticism for the purposes of producing a serial production a century or so later, still we are able to bring together a picture of the Catholic Willoughby of Aspley household's Shrove Tuesday festivities, with the recipe for pancakes outlined in the previous section, which came to be shared across all four volumes for dissemination. The repetition of the pancake recipe, over four distinct family collections alongside the inclusion of additional fasting recipes such as, 'to make Popes posset which may be eat on any fasting night' in Margaret Willoughby's own volume, and 'plumb lent loaf' in the family's wider collection, indicates a some importance placed by the family upon fasting as an element of their lived experience and observation of Christian faith.<sup>26</sup> Christopher Kissane discusses this relationship between food and religion, acknowledging food and cooking choices as a combination of religious, political and moral,

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<sup>25</sup> Charles Dickens (ed.), 'Chronicles of English Counties: Nottinghamshire Part III', *All the Year Round*, Vol.33, No. 88 (January 1884), pp.150-156, at p.153.

<sup>26</sup> UNMASC MS 87/2, 'Plumb Lent Loaf', p.15; MS 87/4, 'To make Popes Posset which may be eat on any fasting night', p.281

and eventually national and racial, considerations in the affirmation and communication of identity in early modern Europe.<sup>27</sup> We also see that although members of the Catholic community feature in the recipe books of the known recusant Willoughby of Aspley household, and the manuscripts collections of their extended family, that they are not particularly prominent contributors. Thus, despite an indication of religious observation of lent and fasting evident in local recipe manuscripts, networks of contributors were largely comprised of individuals more in line with social status than religious denomination, and that Lenten and fasting recipes feature in collections of Protestant households such as the Harleys also, thus supporting the notion that social status has a stronger influence on local recipe-sharing networks than religion, and that 'in European history, religion has been a relatively weak influence on food' with status being a more influential factor.<sup>28</sup>

### **Beyond Family**

There are also other common contributors suggesting that compilers were operating in the same local networks of people. As demonstrated above, related households were certainly sharing recipes, but the local recipe network also reveals the crucial role of shared contacts who acted as intermediaries, contributing to the recipe repertoires of both the Mundy and Willoughby households, and playing an active role in recipe sharing in the local area.

Common contributors between the Willoughby volumes are unsurprisingly frequent, with individuals such as Lady Clifton forming a shared recipe contact across the four volumes of the extended family collection.<sup>29</sup> Others feature as contributors in both the Mundy and the

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<sup>27</sup> Christopher Kissane, *Food, Religion and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), p.157-159.

<sup>28</sup> Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p.17.

<sup>29</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Orange pudding without oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.59; MS 87/3 'To cure deafness, by Mrs Clifton', p.104; MS 87/4 'To make Angelica Brandy, by Lady Clifton', p.135, 'A fine strengthner, by Lady Clifton', p.147, 'Orange Pudding without Oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.310; MS 86, 'Desert Wafers by Mrs Eyre', p.101v, 'To Candy Orang Pills, by Mrs Eyre', p.105v, 'Syrup of Lemons, by Mrs Eyre', p.106v; Pw V 123, 'To



Harley collections, such as Mrs Eyre who is cited as a recipe donor seven times by Mundy and five by Harley.<sup>30</sup> For others, the role played as intermediaries in sharing recipes across the local area are gleaned through other domestic sources, as is the case with Dorothy (Dorothea) Gore who contributed to both the savoury and medicinal Harley volumes, alongside keeping her own collection of menus for dinners and tenant suppers.<sup>31</sup>

Dorothy Gore (1683-1738), daughter of Sir William Gore, Lord Mayor of London, married Joseph Mellish of Doncaster and Blyth in 1704. Her book of household accounts and dinners commences circa 1705/6 and is largely concerned with the recording of dinner menus both for, and at, the homes of those they are socially connected with, centring around life and hospitality at Blyth Hall, the estate her husband inherited from his father's cousin, Edward Mellish, upon his death in 1703.<sup>32</sup> The book demonstrates the pattern of exchange in hosting dinners, with dinners 'at' the homes of others largely recorded on the verso folios of the volume, often mirrored by menus 'for' the same individuals on the corresponding recto folios. This is the case in the opening pages, where menus for 'At Mrs Huetts Sep 25' and 'At Mr Levens Nov 12' are recorded alongside equivalent dinner menus 'For Mrs Huett Oct 2' and '[For] Mr Leven Dec 3], for example.<sup>33</sup> This pattern continues throughout, offering insight into the transactional nature of hosting dinners amongst local households. Thus, we

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Make Dutch Beef Mrs Eyre', p.1, 'To Make an Apple Pudding Mrs Eyre', p.2, To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting Day Mrs Eyre, p.5, 'A White Soop Mrs Eyre', p.58; Pw V 125, 'To Make Comfit Cream[, by] Mrs Eyre', p.22

<sup>30</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'With Soop, by Mrs. Eyre', p.2v, 'To make a Slipcote Cheese, by Mrs. Eyre', p.96v, Lady Manchester's cakes, by Mrs. Eyre', p.97v, 'A Plumb Cake, Mrs. Eyre's', p.99v.

<sup>31</sup> UNMASC, Me 2 E 1, 'Account and recipe book of Dorothy Gore [1683-1738], wife of Joseph Mellish. Includes menus of dinners for tenants', (1705-1719); Pw V 123, 'Right Dutch Wafers Mrs Gore', p.12; Pw V 124, 'A Salve to be taken Taken Inwardly for the Piles made up into fine Moderate Pills for three Nights Following By Mrs Gore', p.12, 'Gascoines Powder By Mrs Gore From Lady Oxfords Book', p.43, 'Cholick Water By Mrs Gore', p.58, 'Eye Water By Ditto [Mrs Gore]', p.58.

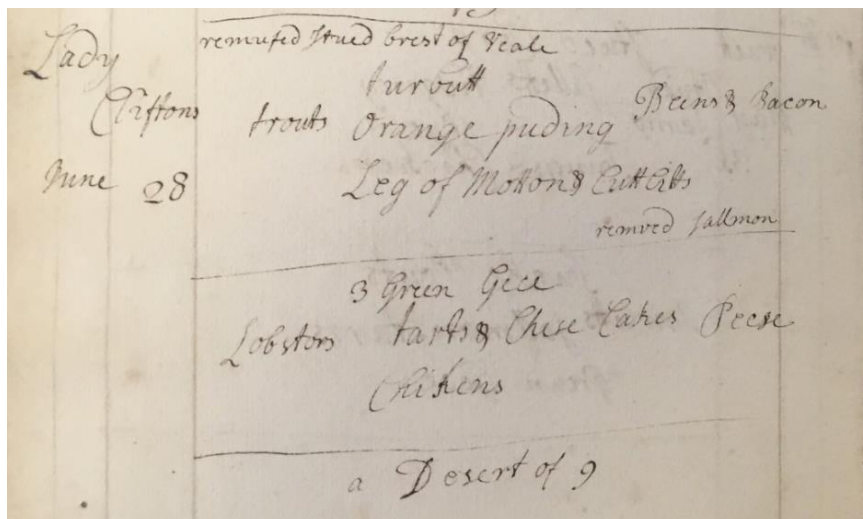
<sup>32</sup> UNMASC, Me E 16/10, 'Copy of Edward Mellish's Will' (1<sup>st</sup> September 1703).

<sup>33</sup> UNMASC, Me 2 E 1, 'Account and recipe book of Dorothy Gore [1683-1738], wife of Joseph Mellish. Includes menus of dinners for tenants' (1705-1719), f.1v-2r.

find that Dorothy's book also reflects local patterns of sociability amongst upper gentry and aristocratic households, where we find, for example, dinners with Lady Clifton, the Duke of Leeds and the Duke of Newcastle during this period, and how such social engagements fed into the local recipe-sharing culture. This connection between Dorothy's dinners and recipe sharing is highlighted by the inclusion of a loose receipt for 'Pickell Samon' which describes the process for pickling a whole salmon, and for 'stop[ing] it up Close' but only 'if it is be kep long'.<sup>34</sup> The presence of this tucked into the cover of the volume in her handwriting affirms a connection between hosting dinners and the sharing and recording of loose receipts.

There is further indication of interweaving between the receipts of the recipe books and the dinners eaten by the Gore/Mellish household, as in a dinner at Lady Clifton's on June 28 c.1705, a menu of, amongst other things, 'turbutt', 'trout', 'chickens', 'tarts & chese cakes', 'pease' and 'a desert of 9', there was also an 'orange pudding' served (Fig. 33, below).

**Fig. 33 '[Dinner at] Lady Cliftons, June 28 [c.1705]' in Account and recipe book of Dorothy Gore [1683-1738], wife of Joseph Mellish. Includes menus of dinners for tenants'.<sup>35</sup>**



<sup>34</sup> UNMASC, Me 2 E 1, 'Account and recipe book of Dorothy Gore [1683-1738], wife of Joseph Mellish. Includes menus of dinners for tenants' (1705-1719), loose folio.

<sup>35</sup> UNMASC, Me 2 E 1, 'Account and recipe book of Dorothy Gore [1683-1738], wife of Joseph Mellish. Includes menus of dinners for tenants' (1705-1719), f.6v.

It seems that Dorothy was not alone in sampling Lady Clifton's orange pudding recipe on this or at some other occasion, as it also appears to have been adopted into the Willoughby repertoire, with a receipt for 'Orange pudding without oranges, by Lady Clifton' featured which is identical across Margaret's own book and the first Willoughby volume.<sup>36</sup> Thus between the Gore account of dinners and the Willoughby receipt books, we gain a picture of the exchange of a recipe for an orange pudding, that is likely based on what Lady Clifton served at dinners she hosted, and as would have been sampled by Mrs Gore as a dinner guest on that date:

#### **Orange Pudding w[i]thout Oranges**

Take ½ lb of butter melt it over a slow fire keeping it from oiling, when melted put in by degrees a quarter & ½ of fine sugar powderd, stir it till all's dissolved, then take it off the fire & stir it till cold, add the yolks of 8 eggs well beaten by degree, when mixt put it into yr dish wch shd have a paste round ye sides & at bottom, ½ an hour will bake it, but it must be sent to table directly or it will fall.

Lady Clifton.<sup>37</sup>

The nature of this recipe as a showpiece for hosted dinners is hinted at with the direction that it 'must be sent to table directly or it will fall'. The connection between the dinners of Dorothy Mellish (née Gore) and the receipt book records available to us is furthermore apparent in the piecing together of Dorothy's account of dinners at the Duke of Newcastle's and 'at Lady Cavendishes', with her attribution to recipes featured in the Harley receipt book collections which correspond with a selection of four medicinal remedies, and one culinary receipt for 'Right Dutch Wafers [by] Mrs Gore'.<sup>38</sup> Dorothy records dining with the Newcastles on three separate occasions 'att the Duke of Nwecasells [on] August 29 1706',

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<sup>36</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Orange pudding without oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.59; MS 87/2, 'Orange Pudding without Oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.310.

<sup>37</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Orange Pudding without Oranges, by Lady Clifton', p.310.

<sup>38</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'Right Dutch Wafers Mrs Gore', p.12; Pw V 124, 'A Salve to be taken Taken Inwardly for the Piles made up into fine Moderate Pills for three Nights Following By Mrs Gore', p.12, 'Gascoines Powder By Mrs Gore From Lady Oxfords Book', p.43, 'Cholick Water By Mrs Gore', p.58, 'Eye Water By Ditto [Mrs Gore]', p.58.

'att Lady Cavendishes' in October 1709, and hosting a dinner 'for Lady Cavendish aprill ye 23: 1716'. In this period, references to the Duke of Newcastle, and subsequently to his wife 'Lady Cavendish' would relate to the parents of Henrietta Harley, John Holles, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Newcastle, and his wife, Lady Margaret (née Cavendish). According to Gore's records, Lady Cavendish attended Blythe Hall for a dinner of 'sallitt [salad]', 'lambs head', 'chine [shin] of lamb', 'asparagus', 'tongue', 'tansy', 'sweetmeats' and 'butt of beef', in April 1716. This dinner took place following the death of her husband, which in part accounts for Dorothy recording this dinner as for Lady Cavendish, rather than for her husband the Duke, but it should be noted that the previous dinner at Cavendish's in 1709 is also described with no reference to the Duke, despite it preceding his death by two years. The Duke and Duchess of Newcastle do not feature again as either hosts or guests in Dorothy's menus, as Lady Cavendish died Christmas day in 1716, later in the year of the dinner she was recorded to have attended at Blythe Hall. This legacy of a relationship between the Gore and Harley/Cavendish households shows in Harley's collection of recipes through the five recipes attributed to a Mrs Gore and suggests the exchange of recipes perhaps took place in connection with such shared dinners as hosted and attended by her mother at Blythe Hall. This serves to establish Gore as an active participant of the local recipe network and crucially as a contributor to both the Harley and Willoughby/Mundy households, who do not otherwise seem to directly exchange recipes. Dorothy Gore was not only concerned, though, with the reciprocal or transactional nature of dining and hosting across a network or contributing and sharing knowledge with other well-to-do local households, but also with the hospitality associated with being the mistress of Blythe Hall. As such, she also welcomed other locals to celebrate significant dates of the Christian calendar in much the same way as the Willoughbys of Aspley Hall were seen to on Shrove Tuesday (above). Hence, Blythe Hall

hosted a 'diner for the Tenants in Xmas' and another 'for the Freeholders of Blithe on twelve day' both in celebration of the Christmas calendar in 1706, as well as a 'Xmas Bill of Fair for ye tennants [in] 1718', with seasonal dishes such as 'mince pyes' and 'plum porage', and another for the 'Tenants & Washers &c [in the] Low Hall [at some point in] 1718'.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, from the examination of the records of dinners hosted for and by Mrs Gore, a significant piece of the local recipe sharing network is brought to life. From Mrs Gore's accounts, we are able to glean important aspects of where and when recipes were likely to be shared within the local landscape, gaining insight into the social interactions that resulted in recipe exchanges, and the importance of individuals like Mrs Gore in connecting a wider community of knowledge.

In summary, chapter five has demonstrated how frequently identical and duplicated recipes occur when examining at a local scale, and therefore established, the importance and value of understanding a local network of recipe sharing in attempting to determine the immediate origins of various iterations of a recipe across households with varied social standing, and therefore, different day-to-day requirements and financial needs. Thus, despite attributed recipes being adopted into subsequent collections without necessarily citing the same source, a regional scale more readily allows for comparison as knowledge continues to be disseminated throughout a local community. The value and importance of little-known, but key individuals within such a local network was also demonstrated, with the household accounts and dinners of Dorothy Gore offering insight into the lived experience of such recipes as we see in compilations. Here the role of key individuals in

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<sup>39</sup> UNMASC, Me 2 E 1, 'The Diner for the Tenants in Xmas 1706', f.15v, 'The diner for the Freeholders of Blithe on twelve day 1706', f.16r, 'Xmas Bill of Fair for ye tennants 1718', f.30v and 'Tenants & Washers &c Low Hall 1718', f.30r.

disseminating information between social circles, such as between her connections with the Harleys and with the Cliftons, also manifests in a recipe for a pudding which was served by Lady Clifton at a dinner Gore attended, which also featured twice across the Willoughby volumes. The emerging prominence of individual recipe contributors at a local level also allowed us to establish that known Protestant and Roman Catholic households shared recipes and food experiences with others from both inside and outside of their own religious communities, with the Willoughby at Aspley household's collection far exceeding the limited number of known local recusants, although some also featured, and that the Harley family also conferred with Catholic households on matters of recipe-sharing.

## Chapter Six: Continental Influences and Beyond

There are a range of continental and wider geographical influences evident in the attributions of recipes of these receipt books, for example, 'To Make Dutch Beef' and 'To Make Comfit Cream' both by Mrs Eyre, as well as another to 'To Pickle Peaches The French way [by] Mrs Cotton'.<sup>1</sup> Influences from both the continent and beyond were a combination of social, cultural and commercial in their nature, with demand for techniques and dishes influenced heavily by the growing availability of non-native consumer goods - such as the increasingly prevalent commodities of sugar, spices and citrus fruits - which feature across the local recipe books of households even in provincial locations like Nottinghamshire. Stephen Mennell points to the mutual exchange of French and English cookery 'particularly through English cooks having worked in France and French cooks working for the very wealthiest English families'.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile Simon Varey contends that there was a competitive element to Anglo and Franco exchange of cookery techniques during their 'cooking wars', regarded they say, as 'the least well known of all the eighteenth century's wars', and yet, which they credit with the emergence of French technique and dishes as an increasingly fashionable feature in English cookery.<sup>3</sup> Gilly Lehmann notes the more general influence of not just French but 'foreign' recipes permeating recipe culture through print, and suggests that, in many ways, it is the presence of 'continental' cuisine in cookery books which demonstrates the growing perception that English and continental cookery were different from one another.<sup>4</sup> More broadly, James Walvin notes the growing level of exoticism and

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<sup>1</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make Dutch Beef Mrs Eyre', p.1, 'To Make Comfit Cream [by] Mrs Eyre, p.22, 'To Pickle Peaches The French way Mrs Cotton', p.53.

<sup>2</sup> Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p.102.

<sup>3</sup> Simon Varey, 'The Pleasures of the Table' in Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts (eds.), *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century* (Macmillan Press Ltd: Basingstoke and London, 1996), p.43.

<sup>4</sup> Lehmann, *The British Housewife*, p.36.

demand for the 'attractions of the East'.<sup>5</sup> This chapter will therefore analyse some of the recipes featuring such wider geographical influences of taste, techniques and produce from the Continent, and to a lesser extent, from trade and travel resulting from the exploits of the growing British Empire.

## French

There are numerous references to techniques and dishes of French inspiration and origin across the Willoughby, Mundy, and Harley collections. From savoury recipes for a 'French Soup, by Mrs Davidson', a meat, root vegetable, vermicelli based soup, flavoured with tarragon, chervil and 'french sorrell', to a side dish of 'Des Oeuf et L'Asperge' [Eggs and asparagus] fried in butter and flavoured with spices of 'grated Nuttmegg, Mace, all spice and a little salt', as well as elaborate dessert recipes for 'French puffs', for example:

### To Make French Puffs

Take a lb: of Double Refin'd Sugar, Beat & Searce it, Gum Dragon Steep't in Rose water, the Whites of 2 Eggs, Mix 'em in both with Sugar, with the Back of a Spoon, upon a Sheet of paper, Rub a Lemon with a Linnen Cloth, & Grate the Yellow of it, Mix it with a Little White but no Yolk, Mould it to Past with the Back of a Spoon, take a Piece rub em Like a Little Loaf, & Lay 'em on a Sheet of White paper a Distance of, they will Swell, Set 'em into an Oven when Pyes are Drawn, a Little thing will Bake 'em.<sup>6</sup>

In this recipe, a pound of 'Double Refin'd Sugar' is combined with rose water, egg whites and lemon zest, zested using a linen cloth, to form a paste into shapes 'Like a Little Loaf' and then allowed to rise before baking in an oven. In the Willoughby volumes, French-inspired recipes for the Willoughbys tend - with only one exception, for a 'French Curd', which has no accompanying attribution - to be attributed to a member of the household's social circle.

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<sup>5</sup> James Walvin, *Fruits of the Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800* (Macmillan Press Ltd: Basingstoke and London, 1997), pp.1-8.

<sup>6</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'French Soup, by Mrs Davison', p.46; MS 86, 'Des Oeuf et L'Asperge, side dish', p.51r; Pw V 125, 'To Make French Puffs', p.8.



Mrs Davidson in the case of a French Soup recipe (above), Mrs Alexander in the case of a recipe for a 'True French Apple Jelly', and significantly, a Mrs Sellwood is a consistent source of French inspired recipes for Margaret Willoughby's collection, firstly for a 'French Butter' and then, several pages later in a different hand, for 'French Bread' too.<sup>7</sup> The same recipe for French Butter appears again, although this time unattributed, in the third Willoughby volume in a similar hand, and the ingredient that appears to make this butter distinctly French is a stick of cinnamon added to the cream as it is boiled, before setting aside for 6 or 7 hours, skimming the cream from it, and then whisking it to what was considered a French butter. It is not clear who Mrs Sellwood might have been, but with her seemingly trusted receipts for both French bread and French butter, demonstrated through the adoption of it through repetition of the latter receipt into another of the Willoughby collections too, we might gather that she has some connection or authority on how such French commodities might be ably produced. It is worth noting that the adoption of French recipes and styles was not without contention in the eighteenth-century, as demonstrated in printed recipe books of the time such as Eliza Smith's *The Compleat Housewife* which emphasises Englishness with recipes 'suitable to English constitutions and English palates' confined to 'within the limits of practicalness and usefulness' despite the art of cookery having 'indeed diversify'd, according to the diversity of nations or countries'.<sup>8</sup> Hannah Glasse helps to contextualise what may have been felt as some disdain in popular printed collections for the 'French tricks' employed by French cooks in favour of a more nationalistic outlook, expressing that 'a Frenchman, in his own country would dress a fine dinner of twenty

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<sup>7</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'French Curd', p.12, 'French Soup, by Mrs Davison', p.46; MS 87/4, ' True French Apple Jelly, by Mrs Alexander', p.309, 'French butter, by Mrs Sellwood', p.40, 'French bread, by Mrs Selwood', p.58.

<sup>8</sup> Eliza Smith, *The Compleat Housewife: or, Accomplish'd gentlewoman's compantion* (London: J. and J. Pemberton, 1739), pp. i-x.

dishes, and all genteel and pretty, for the expen[s]e he would put an English Lord to for dressing one dish... so much is the blind folly of this age, that they would rather be imposed on by a French booby than give encouragement to a good English cook'.<sup>9</sup> Despite this, Glasse does include recipes with French influences, albeit downplaying this in her preface that she has 'indeed given some of [her] dishes French names to distinguish them, because they are known by those names... and it matters not whether they be called by French, Dutch or English names, so they are good, and done with as little expen[s]e as the dish will allow of'.<sup>10</sup> Thus, we find in printed examples the conflict of balancing between motives of affirming an identity of the superior social status by acknowledging global influences and experiences befitting of the gentlewomanly status of her intended audience, whilst simultaneously expressing moral and political concern for spending money on extravagant food.<sup>11</sup> Local examples appear less concerned with political considerations of using foreign, and especially French recipes, instead employing their use, perhaps to emphasise social status for new marriages in the case of Mundy, and breadth of experience in the case of Harley. French recipes in Elenor Mundy's collection for Hester are largely grouped together and contained within the section of the collection for recipes of 'Flesh'. Collectively, between pages 51-56 we find a contained selection of recipes that suggest French influence. This is illustrated in the index (Fig. 34, below), and/or in the headings of this variety of culinary dishes.

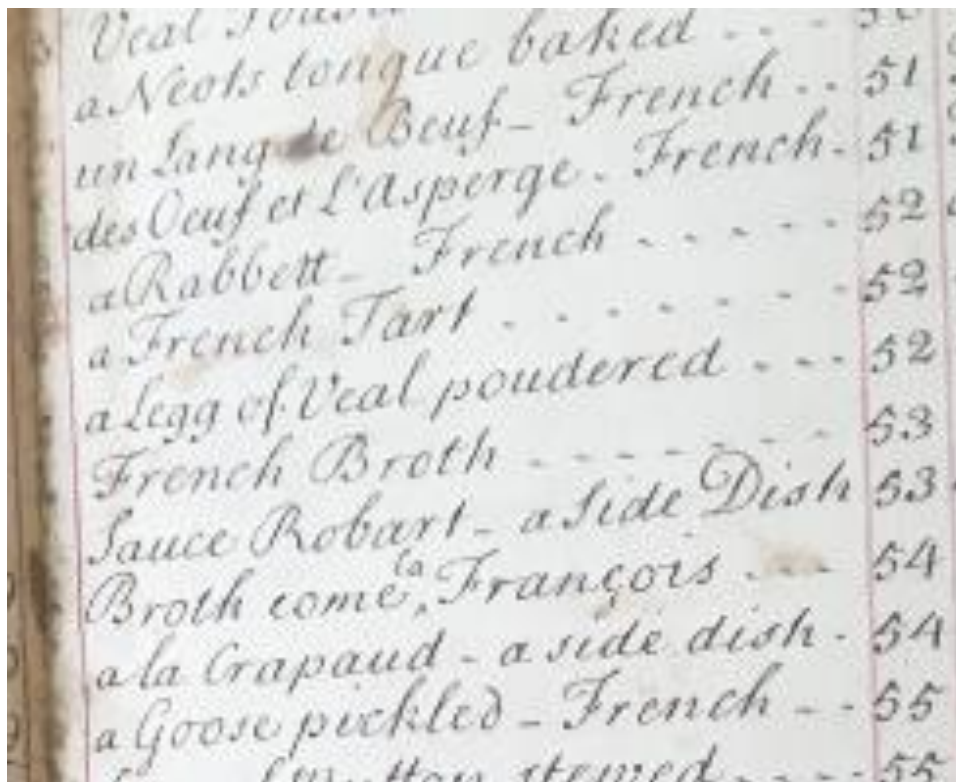
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<sup>9</sup> Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*, 3rd Edition (Dublin: E. and J. Exshaw, 1748), p. iii.

<sup>10</sup> Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*, p. iv.

<sup>11</sup> For more on food morality as a way of communicating political and religious concerns, see Christopher Kissane, *Food, Religion and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, esp. p.65, p.157-159.

Fig. 34 French dish selections in Elenor Mundy's recipe book.<sup>12</sup>



Mundy's 'French' recipes include main courses that are headed in French, or partial French, such as the main dishes 'Une Langue de Beuf come la Francois' [Ox Tongue like the French], 'Broth come la Francois' [Broth like the French], and 'side' dishes, 'Sauce Robart' [a classic French mustard sauce], 'a la Crapaud' [literally meaning 'to the Toad'] which is seemingly a play on words for a recipe which serves pigeons served cut open and laid on their backs, resembling toads, and 'Des Ouefs et l'Asperge', a dish of eggs and asparagus, mentioned above.<sup>13</sup> Others are described as being done the 'French way', as in the case of 'A Rabbett Dress'd ye French Way' and 'A Goose Picled The French Way', or titled in English in a way which denotes their perceived French origins as with recipes for 'A French Tart' and a

<sup>12</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Index', f.7r.

<sup>13</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Une Langue de beuf come la Francois', p.51, 'Broth come la Francois', p.54, 'Sauce Robart, side dish', p.53, 'A la Crapaud, side dish', p.54, 'Des Oeuf et L'Asperge, side dish', p.51.

'French Broth'.<sup>14</sup> The motivation for including recipes from a wider network of continental influences are indicated here by the slightly earlier inclusion of a duo of French beef recipes for 'Le Beuf A'la'mode' [Fashionable Beef] and 'Le Beuf Royall from Paris' [Royal Beef].<sup>15</sup> These are significant, as the way in which Mundy has opted to entitle the recipes is indicative of their value as mechanisms for emulation, and the influence and statement of fashion and trends, of association with the French court in Paris, and the culture of adopting 'à la mode' recipes appears across the Willoughby, Mundy and Harley collections.<sup>16</sup> This Francophile emulation of 'the French way' is reinforced within the receipt of 'Le Beuf Royall' itself, which advises the reader that they 'may use butter instead of lard, but lard is the true French Way', and despite instructing recipe users to place the main ingredients 'in an earthen pan with clarett', goes on to note 'N.B. Gravy is oftener used among the French to stew it in than claret, or about a pint of wine, ye rest gravy'. These additional instructions indicate that the aspiration was to achieve an outcome as close to the authentic French version of a dish as was possible. Henrietta Harley also engaged with the fashionableness of French cuisine, employing French language and ingredients to denote her continental influences throughout her three volumes with a savoury recipe for 'Pain, & Jambon [by] Countess of Ferrers', a sweet recipe 'To Preserve Wallnuts' which specifies the use of only 'Large French Wallnuts', as well as medicinal receipts for 'A Drink for Consumption By Dr Wellwood' requiring '2 Handfulls of French Barly', and 'To Make Lady Hewits Water By Mrs Abigail Harley' which advocates that the reader 'put to the Herbs a Third part of the best

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<sup>14</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'A Rabbett Dress'd the French Way', p.52, 'A Goose Picled, the French way', p.55, 'French Tart', p.52, 'French Broth', p.53.

<sup>15</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Le Beuf A'la'mode', p.24, 'Le Beuf Royall from Paris', p.31.

<sup>16</sup> See also: UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Beef a La Mode', p.36; MS 87/3, 'Beef a'le mode' and 'Veal a'le mode', p.24; MS 87/4, 'Beefe Alamode', p.111, 'Stakes allamode', p.287; Pw V 123, 'To Make Beef Ala Mode', p.37.

French Brandy, & Let them Steep together 48 Hours at Least, your Water will be better & you may Draw Double the Quantity Mention'd'.<sup>17</sup>

Recipes for sweet dishes overtly described as French are less prominent, though with only the receipt for 'French Puffs' (as above) featured in the Harley dessert volume and another for 'French Bisketts' in the Mundy collection, having an explicit French reference in the recipe title.<sup>18</sup> However, there are arguably further French-influenced recipes in the form of 'To Comfit Cream', 'To Make Mackaroons', or 'To Make Blamange' in the Harley recipe collection too, although their origins in the English culinary lexicon predate the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup> In fact, the popularity of blancmange, and the prevalence of recipes to make this continental dish with a French name, is evident through the six different blancmange recipes recorded across three of the four Willoughby volumes including four in the opening thirteen pages of the first volume alone. These include 'Blaunch Mange', 'Blomange', and two side-by-side recipes for what the compiler has called a 'Dutch Blamange'. The second and fourth Willoughby volumes also feature their own receipts for 'Blomange' and for 'Blamange by Mrs. Newdigate', and in Harley's dessert collection we find another simply 'To Make Blamange':

#### **To Make Blamange**

Take an Oz of Isingglass to a Pint of Water, or a Little more, Boyl it in a Quart of Cream, a Little Peel & Orange Flower Water.

Harley's receipt takes the simplest form of them all. Taking the essence of the dish to combine isinglass [a kind of gelatine derived from fish] as a setting agent, and combining

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<sup>17</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'Pain, & Jambon Countess of Ferrers', p.53; Pw V 125, 'To Preserve Wallnuts', p.3; Pw V 124, 'A Drink for Consumption By Dr Wellwood', p.65; Pw V 124 'To Make Lady Hewits Water By Mrs Abigail Harley', p.16.

<sup>18</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'French Bisketts', p.101.

<sup>19</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 125, 'To Make Comfit Cream[, by] Mrs Eyre', p.22, 'To Make Mackaroons', p.9, 'To Make Blamange', p.6.

with water, cream, orange peel, and orange flower water. This receipt makes certain assumptions that the reader will already be familiar with the process and technique of making a blancmange and focuses on ingredients and quantities only. The others are distinctly more detailed and elaborate, incorporating other ingredients including herbs and spices like bay leaf and cinnamon, fruit wines, almonds, and lemon instead of orange, and they also offer more detailed directions, usually by way of straining the mixture 'through a hair sieve' or a cloth, and shaping or setting the mixture into cups or moulds, to then 'set it over the fire just for one hour then strain it into cups or what you please'.<sup>20</sup>

There are other French dishes, either headed in French language or overtly described as 'French', where such influences take on a subtler form in our local collections, whether it is via the inclusion of a French ingredient, or the adoption of French-inspired techniques and accompaniments that denote the recipe's 'frenchness'. In a Harley recipe for a 'French Pottage' for example, a modern reader can conclude that what makes this pottage French, is the use of French bread as a key ingredient:

#### **To Make a French Pottage**

Take a Leg of Beef, Some Pieces of Mutton, or Veal, put em in a Large pot with a great deal of water, Let 'em Boyl fast 5 hours, put in Some Mace & Cloves an hour before the meat is Enough, when Boyl'd to Mash, Strain the Broth from the Meat, Take ½ a Peck of Spinnage, & Lettice, cut Small, put some of the Broth into a Stew pot, with the herbs, Let it Boyl together till it be near tender, take 2 or 3 french Loaves, Chip 'em Dry the Crust before the fire or in an oven, till very Dry but not Burnt, break 'em in Little Pieces put em in another Stew pat with the rest of your Broth, Cover em Close 'till they be tender, pour the Boyl'd Bread into the Dish you Serve it in, if you have Boyl'd Capons Lay em in the Middle, if Ducks half Roast 'em, Lay 'em in the Dish, pour on your herbs, & Broth, Dish it upon hot Coals, when ready to send up pour on a Pint of Gravy, Garnish with Sippets Parley & Salt.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> For examples given, see: UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Blomange', p.13, and the second of 'Dutch Blamange [2 different recipes]', p.9.

<sup>21</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make A French Pottage', p.50.

Incorporation of French bread was not unique to French pottage recipes either, and in fact, seven out of Harley's 94 savoury receipts instruct either that the dish should incorporate the breadcrumbs or crusts of a specifically French loaf, or that they should be served accompanied by a 'French role', indicative of the extent to which French bakery had infiltrated the everyday homes of aristocratic household like the Harleys at Welbeck. For example, in the case of her recipe 'To Make Pease Pottage' it advises finally to 'serve it up hot with French bread', or in the case of Mrs Eyre's 'To Make Peas Soop for lent or any fasting Day' which makes the inclusion of a French roll a central feature by instructing that to serve the reader should 'put in a French Role Crisp'd and Dip'd in the Middle of the Dish'.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, pickling and preserving ingredients 'the French Way' also features in recipes; Mundy's 'Oranges preserved the French Way' as well as Harley's 'To Pickle Peaches The French way [by] Mrs Cotton' together indicate that what made these a distinctly French technique of pickling, is that they use a largely salt or brine-based pickle or preserve rather than a sugar or vinegar one. For Mundy, the recipe technique directs the reader to 'pare off the outmost rine [of the oranges] very thin, rubb them with salt, core them takeing out ye meat and seeds, and rubb them with a drye cloth', whilst Harley's receipt from Mrs Cotton directs the reader to take peaches and 'Lay 'em in Salt & water 24 hours, then pour on 'em a Strong Boyling Brine, cover 'em & Let em Stand in it 24 hours more' before any other ingredients are added.<sup>23</sup> This 'French' way, also seemingly emulated for recipes to pickle and

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<sup>22</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make a Soop Mr Jepson', p.1, 'To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting Day Mrs Eyre', p.5, 'To Butter Lobsters Countess of Portland', p.7, 'To Make a Green Peas Soop', p.11, 'To Make Pease Pottage', p.40, 'To Stew a Calves Head', p.41, 'To Make a Haricoe of Venison', p.55.

<sup>23</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Oranges preserved the French Way', p.105; Pw V 123, 'To Pickle Peaches The French way Mrs Cotton', p.53.

preserve French beans (presumably related to their names association to France) appear in recipes both in the Mundy collection for 'French beans to keep to dress in winter' and in a Harley receipt 'To Pickle French Beans':

#### **French Beans to keep to dress in winter**

Gather them very young, string them presently, strew a handful of salt on the bottom of an earthen Pan or Pott Lay your Beans on it one by one; so a row of Salt, and a Layer of Beans, 'till your Pott be full then press them down very close, with your hands, and tye over them first a Bladder, and upon that a Leather, strongly to keep out all air; put no more in one Pott than you dress att at a time; Steep, and wash them when in cold water before you dress them; they will look as green and fresh, and have their Naturall Taste, as at first.

N.B. They must be gathered Drye.<sup>24</sup>

#### **To Pickle French Beans**

Wash your Beans, then take Whey water & Salt, boyl 'em together, & put Scalding hot to the Beans & Let 'em Stand 40 hours, then Drain 'em, & Boyle 'em in fair Water, then put em into the Best Vinager with a little Jamaica Pepper whole, & if you see Occasion Boyl the Pickle, & put hot to 'em which will keep your Beans Green.<sup>25</sup>

As can be seen above, both of these recipes lead with salt-based elements, particularly when compared to other non-French associated pickling receipts such as Harley's for pickling mushrooms which instead advised a vinegar-based approach using only 'a Little Salt, & as much Vinager as will make 'em Indifferent Sharp'.<sup>26</sup>

#### **Dutch**

There are ten overtly Dutch-influenced recipe entries adopted into local collections, their importance perhaps indicated also by their prominence, with three out of six volumes including at least one Dutch recipe in the first ten pages, where the exceptions are Harley's two non-savoury volumes where there are none, and in Mundy's, who instead opted to intentionally organise her foreign-inspired receipts in a section mid-way through the

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<sup>24</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'French beans to keep to dress in winter', p.118.

<sup>25</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Pickle French Beans', p.32.

<sup>26</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Pickle Mushrooms', p.127.



collection instead. As mentioned above, there are two 'Dutch Blamange' recipes which are unique to the first Willoughby collection, although quite what makes them distinctly 'Dutch' is unclear when comparing to other receipts for a blancmange.<sup>27</sup> Others unique in subject material to the volume they exist in are those for a 'Dutch pudding' (a kind of bread and butter pudding with marrow, flour, sugar and spices, almonds and oranges) in the third Willoughby volume, and another which appears in a previously drawn up index of the fourth volume available in the archives for how 'To do salmon the Dutch way', which had been pasted in the book to replace recipes for 'sope salve, and 'to make a searchcloth' but now, sadly appears to be missing.<sup>28</sup> The remaining seven Dutch recipes are for two dishes which appear to be common, and frequently associated with as Dutch by compilers, Dutch Beef and Dutch Waffles. 'Dutch Beef' recipes appear three times in total, in the Mundy, Harley and third Willoughby collection, with three varied recipes for preserving beef through salting, boiling and/or smoking the beef in a manner that one recipe itself likens to a how might be done with ham, 'Salt how much you please of a Buttock of Beef as you doe your Hamms, hang it up even so too, until it be very drye'.<sup>29</sup>

Four others recipes for 'Dutch Wefeles' or 'Dutch wafers' each appear in the Mundy and Harley collections, as well as in the third and fourth Willoughby manuscript, in a way that shows two pairs of the same two receipts; one more elaborate, and one more economical, take on the same Dutch dish.<sup>30</sup> From these, we ascertain that 'Wefeles' and 'Wafers' are in

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<sup>27</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Dutch Blamange [2 different recipes]', p.9.

<sup>28</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Dutch pudding', p.15; MS 87/4, 'To do salmon the Dutch way [pasted in the book to replace recipes for the 'sope salve' and 'to make a searchcloth']', p.89.

<sup>29</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Dutch beef', p.5; MS 86, 'Dutch Beef', p.72; Pw V 123, 'To Make Dutch Beef Mrs Eyre', p.1.

<sup>30</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Dutch beef', p.5; MS 86, 'Dutch Beef', p.72; Pw V 123, 'To Make Dutch Beef Mrs Eyre', p.1; MS 87/3, 'Dutch Wefeles', p.68; MS 87/4, 'Dutch Wafers, by Mrs Selwood', p.28; MS 86, 'The Dutch Wafers', p.101; Pw V 123, 'Right Dutch Wafers Mrs Gore', p.12.

fact the same, because the recipe for 'Dutch Wefeles' in the third volume is identical to that listed for Dutch Wafers by Mrs Willoughby in her recipe which she attributes to Mrs Selwood:

**To make Dutch Wafers**

To a pint of milk take a pound of Flower 6 Egg whites and all a little salt a spoonful of yest mix these well together then put three quarters of a pound of melted butter mix it well let it stand all night you may put in a little nutmeg

Mrs Selwood.<sup>31</sup>

This receipt represents another instance of a recipe which is listed with a source by Mrs Willoughby then disseminated into the wider Willoughby collection without the accompanying attribution to support it. Whilst the duplicate version of this in the third volume is almost identical, it does choose to slightly invert the order of the first ingredients of flour and milk and omit the use of the yolks of the eggs, but is after that, almost a word-for-word copy in all other ways:

**Dutch Wefeles**

To a pound of flower putt a pint of milk 6 Eggs wth ye white's a little salt & spoonfull of yeast mix these well together the putt 3 qrts of a pound of melted butter mix it well & lett it stand all night you may putt in a little nuttmeg.<sup>32</sup>

This pair of recipes outline a basic batter-like recipe, with added yeast to give a waffle, rather than a pancake effect, but it is the other pair of remaining wafer recipes that give us clearer insight into the nature of the final dish, with additional accompaniments and equipment specified, as in the Harley example, attributed to Mrs Gore:

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<sup>31</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'Dutch Wafers, by Mrs Selwood', p.28.

<sup>32</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Dutch Wefeles', p.68.

### **Right Dutch Wafers – Mrs Gore**

Take 4 Eggs & beat 'em very well then take a Good Spoonfull of fine Sugar, 1 Nutmeg grated, a Pint of Cream & a lb: of flower a lb: of Butter Melted, 2 or 3 Spoonfulls of Rose Water, & 2 Good Spoonfulls of yeast, Mixt all well together & Bake 'em in your wafer tongs on the fire.

For the Sauce take grated Cinnamon, Sack, & Melted butter, Sweetned to your tast, or only Cinnamon & Sugar strow'd over em.<sup>33</sup>

This receipt then reappears, unattributed, in the Mundy collection:

### **The Dutch Wafer**

Beat four eggs very well, a good spoonful of sugar a Nutmegg grated, a pinte of Cream, with a pound of Butter melted in it, a pound of sugar, three spoons full of rose=water, and two of yest, mix it well, and bake them in your wafer tongs on the fire, For sauce, cinnamon, sugar, sack & melted butter.<sup>34</sup>

Thus, in both of the Harley and Mundy instances more elaborate ingredients are used to flavour and serve in comparison to the previous pair from the Willoughby collections. They include rosewater, and a more generous quantity of nutmeg in the batter, as well as a sauce or dusting of sugar and cinnamon. The use of 'wafer [waffle] tongs' is also instructed in these, undoubtedly making the recipe in the Willoughby volumes a far more economical version of a recipe that is perhaps otherwise reflective of the wealth and resource of the respective households as a whole. Mrs Gore's more elaborate receipt was seemingly adopted as a 'fine' example for both the finely presented collections of Harley and Mundy, but was perhaps converted into a more economical version by Mrs Selwood, and subsumed by the extended Willoughby family into their much more everyday collection. Conversely, a case could be made that the more economical version might have been expanded upon by the wealthier households with greater access and resource to additional expensive ingredients. However, the inclusion of the added instruction and equipment of the waffle

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<sup>33</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'Right Dutch Wafers Mrs Gore', p.12.

<sup>34</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'The Dutch Wafers', p.101.

iron in the Gore version, which best explains and contextualises how the dish should be made, implies that this fuller and more robust receipt was likely to be the original source for the local network, as without the added contextualising knowledge, the more concise versions would make little sense, with the Willoughby receipts assuming some of this previous knowledge on technique and equipment. Mrs Gore's role here as the source of a receipt that circulated through both the Harley and Mundy households is also significant as it again indicates that her role in recipe transmission as a result of her hosting and attending dinners as per her accounts at Blythe did transcend into the wider network of local recipe sharing from a receipt, in which she is overtly attributed, and into a direct copy of that receipt, compiled by another local household.

### **Other European**

German recipes are featured across the collection in the form of a unique receipt for 'German puffs' [a kind of donut, fried in lard and served with a sauce of melted butter, wine, and sugar] and four recipes for Westphalia Ham. Two Willoughby examples for a Westphalia ham are identical, and as in the case with the Dutch Wafers recipes above, seem to be sourced from a Mrs Selwood, who emerges as somewhat of a local authority on continental culinary recipes. They both start with making a 'brine of Spanish Salt' indicating the interchangeability of ingredients, techniques, and recipes between continental nations even in the eighteenth century. Mundy's recipe differs slightly in that the technique is applied to a leg of mutton instead of pork, and Harley emphasises the economy and utility of her Westphalia recipe with a note that 'N.B: The Pickle will keep 4 or 5 Months or more for the Same use', whilst at the same time, discloses the advantage and comparative wealth of the Harley household (in comparison to the gentry households of the Willoughby family, for

example) through assuming that there will be multiple 'hams' available to be preserved in the Westphalia fashion.<sup>35</sup>

A trio of Portuguese recipes are also featured in the two of the Willoughby manuscripts, whereas there are no other obvious Portuguese-inspired dishes in the Mundy or Harley collections. A recipe for 'Portugal Cakes, by Mrs Sellwood' in the Mrs Willoughby collection is duplicated, unattributed, in the third volume, but there is also an additional unique receipt for 'Potingall Beef [a kind of stew made with 'strong broth gravey]'.<sup>36</sup> This implies that the relevance and interest in Portugal might be unique to the Willoughby household, but the duplication of the receipt for Portugal cakes [cakes flavoured with mace, and currants or carroway seeds] also indicates the central role that Mrs Sellwood played as a contributor from the Willoughby recipe network, having contributed numerous Dutch, Portuguese and French recipes to Mrs Margaret Willoughby's repertoire that went on to be featured across the household's other recipe manuscripts.

The fact that Portuguese recipes are unique to the Willoughby household is mirrored in the further range of nations and influences featured, which appear in the Mundy collection only including Spain, Italy, Poland, and India. This is significant in highlighting the breadth of influences drawn upon from the Mundy network to compile their recipe collection and is reflective of what appears to be a very intentional decision to feature a specific section within the 'Flesh' category to feature these foreign-sourced or inspired receipts and dishes. The precise need and purpose for collecting so many of these concurrently into one section

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<sup>35</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'German Puffs', p.4; MS 87/3, 'Westphalia Ham', p.69; MS 87/4, ' Westphalia Ham, by Mrs Sellwood'; MS 86, 'Westphalia-Hamms of Leggs of Mutton', p.73; Pw V 123, 'To Make Westphalia Hams', p.33.

<sup>36</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Potingall beef', p.25, 'Portangal cakes', p.72; MS 87/4, 'Portugal Cakes, by Mrs Sellwood', p.31.

of the volume is unclear, owing largely to Elenor's choice to neglect the practice of attributing her original recto folio side recipes. This means that in her case it cannot be assumed that the sources were either local or personal connections rather than from say a printed source aimed at gentry and aristocratic households. However, we can see that Hester goes on to contribute to this section with further recipes which are attributed, suggesting that she, at least, had or built upon this existing network by drawing upon her own continental connections. At the very least, then, Elenor was well-considered in her decision to include a plethora of non-native influences as it clearly appealed to her new daughter-in-law's own taste and was perhaps in fact intended as a nod to the cultural and social influences that Elenor had expected from her son's marital match, as such a wealthy heiress, with an inclination towards such continental trends and influences. Hence, we find that a recipe for 'Spanish Bisketts' recorded in Elenor's original hand, goes on to be mirrored by Hester with one for 'Spanish Butter, by Lady Vere Bertie'.<sup>37</sup>

There are also three original recipes within the Flesh section of Mundy's collection which are meat-based dishes described as either an 'Italian Dish' or 'after the Italian Manner'. This Italian interest and connection is reinforced in a later entry made by Hester for 'Italian Cheese, by Mrs Wilmot of Morley' on a verso page of what was originally a section of the volume specialising in soups and puddings, although Hester's adherence to the original sectioning and organisation of the book is questionable throughout due to her additional collection of medical recipes that were not factored into the structure of the original repertoire.<sup>38</sup> Finally, a recipe for 'Polonian Sauceages' in the Mundy manuscript refers to

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<sup>37</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Spanish Bisketts', p.100, 'Spanish Butter, by Lady Vere Bertie', p.100v.

<sup>38</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Italian Cheese, by Mrs Wilmot of Morley', p.19v, 'A Hogg's Head, Italian Dish', p.31v, 'An Italian Dish', p.35, 'A Fillett of Beef after the Italian Manner', p.42.

‘polony’, a kind of sausage with origins in either Bologna or Poland.<sup>39</sup> The use of parmesan, the hard cheese which originates also in the Bologna region of Italy, would support the notion that this was an Italian-sourced recipe. It is a long and detailed receipt, outlining the full process over two manuscript pages:

### **Polonian Sauceages**

Take the shoulders and leggs of a very fatt Porker, or very young bacon Hogg and clean ye flesh well from all manner of skins, or sinews cleanse it from all fatt; then beat it well, and to every twenty five pounds of this flesh, you must have eight pounds of the fatt that is taken from under the throat of the hogg; Cutt that like dice, To each 25 of the said Lean, you must have a pound of white salt finely beat, and mingled very well with it and to each pound of fatt, an ounce of salt, mingled with one ounce and half of cinamon, as much Nuttmegg finely beaten, two ounces of whole pepper, a quarter of a grain of Musk, finely grated, three ounces of parmasant Chees, grated small, to be mingled with the spices, and fatt, then mingle them with the lean meat so wll that the fatt may be equally dispersed; then add to it a glass of Malmsey, and well work it in

This mixture you must put into very large Gutts, and each sauceage about a quarter of a yard long, and as thick as a man’s arme, wch for fail you must take the gutt of an Ox, very well cleansed, and dried wth a cloath, that no moisture remain in the inside. Then fill them well, and tye them fast at both ends, and hang them up not touching one another, in a place where they may have the heat of the fire moderately, as on the topp of a kitchen; if they be drye, remove them from the fire, to another drye room,.

When you will eat one, boyle it four hours in water, not watering it before; when it is boyled, let it lye in it broth ‘till cold, serve them up whole, or in slices. they will keep seaven years, in sweet oyle, renewed upon occasion.<sup>40</sup>

The level of detail may well reflect the complexity of the dish, but also based on the way that other more familiar recipes and processes could be condensed, perhaps also the unfamiliar nature of this kind of recipe.

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<sup>39</sup> Jeff Aronson, ‘When I use a word...: Sausages’, *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 315, Iss. 7108 (BMJ, 1997).

<sup>40</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, ‘Polonian Sauceages’, p.57.

## Colonial Influences

James Walvin in *Fruits of Empire*, characterises the period between 1660-1800 as one where ‘certain commodities from the far reaches of empire and the most distant points of trade entered everyday British life and changed the domestic face of Britain itself’, and posits that as a result ‘key areas of British social experience and the development of British imperial and commercial history’ became linked.<sup>41</sup> We see European demand for the commodities that Walvin calls ‘fruits of empire’ including spices, sugar, fruit, and other ‘exotic’ ingredients reflected in local eighteenth-century recipe collections in the form of ingredients, recipes, and dishes that simply would not have been present in the homes of British upper-gentry and aristocratic households without the influence of the British Empire. Bouchard and Herbert go so far as to consider manuscript recipe books as ‘tools of empire, use to appropriate, translate and transmit the global foodways that permeated Britain’s earliest colonial schemes’, citing the presence of recipes for Indian pickle, mutton ‘cabobs’, and sago pudding as example of dishes adopted into British tastes and thus, British recipe collections.<sup>42</sup> We find the influence of colonial tastes and imports reflected in local recipe manuscripts. Mundy manuscript features in its initial collections of starter recipes overt references to dishes originating from, or influenced by, colonial India such as a ‘Coree’ [curry], a ‘Pilloe’ [pilau], and a ‘Cabob’ [kebab], all of which are all unique to the Mundy collection in the local sample, as well two different types of curry in the Harley savoury volume.

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<sup>41</sup> Walvin, *Fruits of the Empire*, pp.ix-x.

<sup>42</sup> Jack B. Bouchard and Amanda E. Herbert, ‘One British Thing: A Manuscript Recipe Book ca. 1690-1730’, *Journal of British Studies*, 59 (April 2020), p.396.



The Mundy recipes for 'Cabob' and 'Pilloe' are recognisable versions of a kebab and a pilau rice that we might see today. 'Cabob, an Indian Dish' is a recipe which outlines basic combination of spiced, 'forc'd' and 'skuer[ed]' meat where the reader is advise to stuff the spiced meat 'into skinn again' and then to 'skuer it up neatly, and broyle it, turning it watchfully 'till enough'.<sup>43</sup> 'Pilloe, an Indian Dish' is a rice based dish spiced with cloves and pepper, constructed with layers of 'broth jelly', onions, and rice, baked by hanging high, 'about three quarters of a yard off the fire for about four or five hours to stew' and served turned out into a dish with 'a Fowle boyled tender' laid in the middle.<sup>44</sup>

Despite having the similarities of a mixture of meat, water, onion, spices, and butter, serving suggestions for curry dishes and accompaniments could vary considerably as can be seen in the following trio of recipes, with serving suggestions ranging from a squeeze of lemon juice, and/or topping with hard [boiled] eggs, to serving alongside rice, pancakes, and pickles:

### **Coree An Indian Dish**

Take of Lamb, Mutton, or any Fowle, cut in pieces, set it over the fire with as much water as will cover it in your stewpan, let it boyle until it be allmost tender, then take the meat out of the broth, scome the broth, and let it settle, then cut one onion, or more, then beat with a little drye Rice, Cloves, Mace, Nuttmegg, Gingar, and pepper with a bit of Turmerick. Strew the spices on the meat, put in a piece of Butter to your pipkin, and let it be well melted then put in your onions, with come cucumers cut in bitts, and let them boyle with your butter. 'till they are brown, then put in you Meat, just covering it with your Liquor, add french beans that have been very well boyled together. When your met is tender, mingle wth a little of you Liquor the yolks of two eggs, and ye Juice of a lemon, Mix that with the Liquor and Meat,

Then put all into your Disk with hard Eggs upon it.<sup>45</sup>

### **To Make Curry Lord Dupplin**

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<sup>43</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Cabob, Another Indian Dish, p.33.

<sup>44</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Pilloe, an Indian Dish', p.33.

<sup>45</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Coree, an Indian Dish', p.32.

Cut Three Large Chickens in Pieces, Stew them a Little time in water with Some Salt, & 2 Large Onions Stuck with Cloves, then take 'em from the Liquor, & Season 'em with Cloves, Mace, & Cinamon, Turmerick, Sweet fennel Seeds, Coriander Seeds, of Each halfe a Quarter an Ounce near a quarter of an Ounce of White Pepper, & one Large Nutmeg; beat all these very fine, & Strow 'em over the fowls, then take half a lb: of Butter let it Just melt, then put in the Fowls, & Shake 'em a Little over the fire in the Butter, then Cover 'em in the Liquor they were Boyl'd in, & as it wasts, put in more till they are Stew'd enough: when it taken of the fire Squeese 2 Lemons into it.<sup>46</sup>

### **To Make a Pepper Curry**

Take a Fowle Flea it, put it in a Stewpan with as much water as will cover it, put to it 14 Corns of whole Pepper, an Onion, & 2 Cloves of Garlick, Let it Boyl 'till the fowle is tender, Strain it through a hair Sieve, put the Broth into the Stewpan again, put to it a Quarter of a lb: of Butter rub'd in a Little Flower, Let it Just Boyle 'till it looks Brown, then put the fowle to it, & Mix it all well together, Set it on the fire till 'tis the Thickness of Cream, & Serve it up with a Plate of Boyl'd Rice, & one with a Pancake made only with 2 Eggs, & a Sauce of Different Pickles,.

N.B: You may make your Curry of Pidgeons, Ducks, Rabbits, or what meat you Please, or fish.<sup>47</sup>

Troy Bickham notes that scholars tend to place the consumption of certain dishes, such as curries, as originating as late as the nineteenth century whilst in reality the cooking and eating of curry-based recipes and the emergence of an abundance of non-British dishes in British cookery books in general, he posits, can be more accurately evidenced as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. He cites Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery* in the 1740s as featuring a very basic curry recipe calling merely for pepper and coriander in comparison to a version of the recipe in the 1760s and 1770s which has expanded significantly to include a wider array of herbs and spices, including coriander, as well as bay leaf, cayenne and turmeric, and more

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<sup>46</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make Curry Lord Dupplin', p.52.

<sup>47</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make a Pepper Curry', p.45.

generally asserts that in printed recipe books ‘virtually no recipes, with the exception of instructions for tea and coffee, were widely associated with regions outside Europe’ before this time.<sup>48</sup> This it might seem that the Mundy and Harley collections, originating in 1728 and 1743 respectively and particularly with the range and complexity of spices instructed to be used, appear to have captured in manuscript a broader colonial influence of curries and rice dishes on the British dining table sooner than popular printed cookery books did, with the fashion permeating printed publications later than this also reflected in the addition of a recipe ‘to dress a turtle the West India way’ in later publications of Hannah Glasse’s *The Art of Cookery* (1791) that is not present in earlier editions (1748).<sup>49</sup>

Between the squeezes of lemon recommended in the Mundy and in Harley’s recipe by Lord Dupplin, and the recommended serving of ‘a sauce of differing pickles’ in Harley’s Pepper Curry, these curry recipes appear to fairly widely concur that that a curry was best served with a sharpness to the finish, which could well account for the popularity of such a pickles described in local examples as ‘India Pickle’, or variations of ‘True Mango Pickle, as a broad’, and others which sought to replicate the mango pickle using cucumbers or apples.<sup>50</sup> Unlike curry, kebab and other meat based spiced dish recipes that tend to appear in printed recipe books in the mid to late century, some precedent for Indian inspired pickles can be found in

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<sup>48</sup> Troy Bickham, ‘Eating the Empire: Intersections of Food, Cookery and Imperialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain’, *Past and Present*, Vol. 198, Iss. 1 (February 2008), pp.99-106.

<sup>49</sup> See for example, Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*, 20<sup>th</sup> Edition (Edinburgh: James Donaldson, 1791) in comparison to earlier edition, Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy* (1748).

<sup>50</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, ‘To make India Pickle, by Mrs Cooper’, p.256; MS 86, ‘To Make India Pickle, Mrs Cowpers’, p.112v; MS 87/3, ‘India pickle’, p.159; MS 87/2, ‘To Pickle Cucumbers like India Mangoes, by Mrs Chadwicke’, p.10, ‘True Mango Pickle as a broad’, p.237; MS 87/4, ‘To pickle codlins like mangoe’, p.17, ‘To make cucumber mangoe’, p.20, ‘To make the true Mango Pickle as in the East Indies by Admiral Harpur’, p.59, ‘To pickle cowcumbers like mango, by Cos. Willoughby’, p.60, ‘Admiral Harpur’s Mango Pickle, by Brother Willoughby’, p.74; MS 86, ‘True Mango Pickle, as a broad’, p.111v, ‘Codlings Mango’d’, p.112.

printed recipe texts earlier than this, thus demonstrating that the permeation of non-European dishes and tastes was not a linear process. Rather the strong presence of pickle recipes across the Mundy and Willoughby recipe selections, for 'India Pickle', and those which either use or attempt to emulate the use of the Indian-origin fruit, mango, can be found in a limited sense in popular printed cookery books some years earlier. For example, Mary Kettlby's early collection of over 300 recipes (1714) includes a recipe 'to pickle codlins, like Mango', to which another is added another for 'an admirable pickle, in imitation of India bamboo, exactly as that is done' in the Part II addition (1719).<sup>51</sup> As with others across local manuscript collections, we find there are shared as well as distinct receipts for variations of these recipes across the local collection. In the case of a trio of India Pickle recipes, the recipe by 'Mrs Cooper' in Margaret Willoughby's book is apparently duplicated into the Mundy manuscript in the later hand of Hester Miller-Mundy, with a slight variation on the spelling of the individual source to 'Mrs Cowper', in what is otherwise a word for word description of the same pickle: combining 4 quarts of vinegar, a selection of fruits and vegetable such as cauliflower, melons, sliced cucumbers, peaches, apples, plums and cabbage, with large quantities of exotic spices, including turmeric (three ounces), saffron (one ounce), ginger (one pound), garlick (one pound), mustard seed (eight ounces, bruised), and all undergoing a complex process of salting and pickling which totals at least 21 days. By comparison, the version of the recipe for India Pickle which goes unattributed in the third Willoughby book appears to be a version of a very similar process, without the use of the more expensive saffron, but will the addition of different vegetables such as radishes, French beans, and asparagus. This illustrates the versatility of pickling recipes, and the

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<sup>51</sup> Mary Kettlby, *A Collection of Receipts in Cookery, Physick and Surgery, Part II* (London: Richard Wilkin, 1719); Also see, Mary Kettlby, *A Collection of Above Three Hundred Receipts in Cookery, Physick and Surgery* (London: Richard Wilkin, 1714).

tendency for recipe users to adapt receipts, in this case perhaps, to offer a more economical option to Mrs Coopers' original. Additional receipts for a pickle using mangoes specifically also appears to have been in circulation amongst the local network, and implied to be especially authentic or 'true' versions with four of the same receipt for a 'True Mango Pickle' appearing across three local volumes.<sup>52</sup> The attribution to an Admiral Harpur and the direct reference to the East Indies in two of these recipes, strongly indicates a connection with the cultural and culinary import of recipes and ingredients from the exploits of the British East India Company, as does the apparent access to and use of mango fruit, an Indian import. These receipts were seemingly transmitted into local collections via a Willoughby brother, as per the attributed second appearance of the receipt in Mrs Willoughby's book, and then disseminated amongst the other collections. The two citing Admiral Harpur directly only do so in Mrs Willoughby's book, with the additional attribution to 'B[rothe]r Willoughby' as the likely conduit of the recipe in the second entry. However, in the Mundy and second Willoughby volume this connection has been diluted somewhat with the recipe description reduced to 'as a broad' as we find with one for 'True Mango Pickle as a broad' and in 'True Mango Pickle, as a broad'. All four are undoubtedly the same receipt despite this shift in description or title, demonstrating again that the origins of a recipe could be so easily diluted even over a local network. In this instance, even whilst the ingredients, quantities and techniques remained identical down to the final, closing statement of each which specifies with only minor variations of spelling across the sample that 'ye quantity of vinegar must be in proportion to ye number of mangos'.<sup>53</sup> Finally, such was the influence

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<sup>52</sup> UNMASC, 87/2, 'True Mango Pickle as a broad', p.237; MS 87/4 'To make the true Mango Pickle as in the East Indies by Admiral Harpur', p.59, 'Admiral Harpur's Mango Pickle, by Brother Willoughby', p.74, MS 86, 'True Mango Pickle, as a broad', p.111v.

<sup>53</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'Admiral Harpur's Mango Pickle, by Brother Willoughby', p.74.

and desirability of these exotic techniques and ingredients, that where mangoes could not be obtained, the local recipe network stepped in to emulate the popular receipts with much more easily obtained ingredients with alternative recipes for example, 'To Pickle Cucumbers like India Mangoes, by Mrs Chadwicke', and 'To pickle codlins like mangoe'. In fact, in each collection where there is an original receipt for a 'True Mango Pickle', there is also at least one alternative, and three in Mrs Willoughby's book. Over a total of five which make use of mango 'alternatives', three use cucumber to pickle 'like mangoe', and two use codlins [apples].<sup>54</sup> The three cucumber-based alternatives are all unique, suggesting that there were multiple alternatives and that these were far more flexible than the 'true' receipt that was being attempted, as is also demonstrated in the two recipes using apples as a substitute for mango. Instead, this latter pair follow the same pattern as the India Pickle in being duplicated between Mrs Willoughby's book, and again in the Mundy collection, but this time, instead of being duplicated in the hand of Hester, this duplicate receipt with the Willoughby version was written in the hand of the original compiler, Elenor Mundy, and with almost an entirely identical copy, there has been some flexibility in changing the final instructions. After combining all of the same ingredients and processes throughout, the Mundy example advises that the user should then 'pour it boyling hot on them [codlins] every other day for a fortnight, to 3 weeks, put them in stone jars, and keep them covered close from air', whilst Mrs Willoughby's simply states the same time frame of two to three weeks or simply 'till they be given enough'. In this instance the duplication of the recipe with less detail in regard to the storage in stone jars and given that the Mundy recipe is in the hand of Elenor, rather than Hester, might suggest that the Mundy collection was an

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<sup>54</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'To Pickle Cucumbers like India Mangoes, by Mrs Chadwicke', p.10; MS 87/4, 'To pickle codlins like mangoe', p.17, 'To make cucumber mangoe', p.20, 'To pickle cowcumbers like mango, by Cos. Willoughby', p.60; MS 86, 'Codlings Mango'd', p.112.

earlier version, written in a slightly more short-hand version into Mrs Willoughby's collection later, taking with it the assumed knowledge of storage. This would appear, in combination with the opposite example where the Mundy and Mrs Willoughby exchange featured Hester Miller-Mundy's hand, suggesting that the exchange of recipes between Mrs Willoughby's book and the Mundys continued over the use of both of those generations. Overall, the presence of some form of Indian-inspired recipes recorded widely across the household receipt books of the local area demonstrates a cultural and culinary exchange of recipe knowledge that brought together the commodities and commerciality of trade across the growing British Empire. The presence of these recipes alone serves that purpose, but the adoption of alternative recipes to be used where costly and exotic mangoes (for example) were not accessible, using cucumbers and apples instead, strongly supports the notion of a popular will to emulate the fashionable tastes of other nations in this period which had infiltrated local recipes, tastes, and consumer demand. This raises useful questions about the commercial context of the eighteenth century urban and provincial landscapes as well as the motivation for including such 'exotic' recipes, particularly those such as curries and kebabs that appear here in manuscript before popular publication. Jon Stobart's work goes some way to account for this in framing the attraction and utility of imported goods and foods from across the globe as more than just a material consequence of a growing grocery trade, and more about a behavioural response to urges to carve out and bolster social standing and respectability. It must be considered therefore that the recording of such 'exotic' recipes in local examples might be considered as a form of identity construction through displays of consumption to assert status through taste, and as Bickham suggests, as

a 'means to provide distinctions in quality as signals of status when quantity alone was insufficient'.<sup>55</sup>

In summary, this chapter has outlined the geographical reach of the respective households as reflected in the culinary culture through adoption of dishes, ingredients and techniques from France, Holland, Portugal, Italy, and India. It has identified the abundance and prominence of receipts from a wide range of countries, as well as the role of key individuals. Whilst relatively little may be known about their lives and characters, they emerge through local recipe book attributions as key figures in the distribution of foreign-sourced recipes. Through figures like these, and the medium of recipe books and recipe collection, historians gain insight into the adoption of different styles of cuisine, through attributed receipts instructing new and highly commodified ways of making, serving and imitating dishes from overseas. Although this chapter did not seek to examine international influences on medicinal practices also, there is evidence that ingredients sourced internationally were used in medical remedies, with exotic components such as saffron, Oriental Bezoar, Indian Snake Root, and 'gallingal [galangal, a form of oriental ginger]' featured in Harley's medicinal volume alone. It did, however, demonstrate through the examination of overt references to international influences in recipe titles, techniques, and ingredients, that the geographical reach of each volume, family or household was varied, with the Mundy collection representing the most diverse range of overseas influences, with recipes sourced from, or at least inspired by, the greatest number of countries.

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<sup>55</sup> For more on consumption as a means to form and communicate personal identity see, Jon Stobart, *Sugar and Spice: Grocers and Groceries in Provincial England, 1650-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), esp. pp.6-9 and p.269; Troy Bickham, *Eating the Empire: Food and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2020), p.17.



### III. Separate Spheres: Gender and Domesticity in Recipe Manuscripts

The value of recipe manuscripts and the receipt book genre as a form of ‘women’s life writing’ has garnered considerable attention over the last twenty years, and continues to gain the interest of historical, literary, and anthropological scholars alike.<sup>1</sup> Within historiography relating specifically to domestic manuscripts, the application of ‘separate spheres’ is frequently drawn upon to distinguish our understanding of early modern domestic manuscripts. For example, Amanda Herbert describes domestic texts as platforms for ‘defending female knowledge, space, and education from influences they perceived as threatening, such as that coming from male physicians and authors’, and thus, marks them out as distinctly ‘female’ spaces.<sup>2</sup> Yet, this jars with evidence uncovered in local archives, where female compilers can be seen to be actively providing space for male contributors, ranging from family members, peers, servants, social superiors, and physicians alike. Therefore, this section will explore these arguments further and seek to interrogate the overlap between male and female recipe collecting activity more closely.

The two chapters contained within this section will focus on male participation in the genre within regional sources, as well as the extent to which female receipt book compilers’ actively provided space for male influence and contributions in domestic recipe texts.

Through the close interrogation of recipes attributed to men, and the frequency with which they occur, it seeks to build upon the work of scholars such as Elaine Leong and Simon Werrett who consider the early modern home more broadly as a site of domestic medical science and experimentation; through Leong’s consideration of the ‘invisible technicians’ of

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example: Theophano, *Eat My Words*; Lehmann, *The British Housewife*; Kowalchuk (ed.), *Preserving on Paper*.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.103.

household trials and testing to present a fuller picture of men and women sharing the household as a space concerned with science and knowledge-making, and Werrett's repositioning of prominent figures of scientific enquiry such as Bacon, Boyle and Newton to situate them within the wider material culture of the households in which they lived.<sup>3</sup> Karen Harvey also notes the presence of recipes in male authored documents and interprets them as a wider symbol of male engagement in the material culture of the household.<sup>4</sup> Therefore the two chapters comprising of this section of the thesis aims to apply local recipe sources to this framework of understanding in order to diversify our understanding of male participation in early modern domestic recipe sharing culture further, and to do so on the basis that 'to continue to use the language of separate spheres is to deny the reciprocity between gender and society, and to impose a static model on dynamic relationships'.<sup>5</sup> Instead, it will demonstrate that domestic knowledge transcended gender boundaries, that there was a recognised role for male participation within early modern domestic texts, and subsequently, within and throughout the early modern domestic household. Through broader consideration of male contributors illuminated by our local receipt book collections it will highlight the prevalence of both culinary and medical knowledge attributed to men across social strata, including male servants, kin, and other influential, well-known men, and male medical professionals. In order to do so, chapter seven will explore gendered attributions, extending the analysis to consider patrilineal recipe sharing examples. It will then consider 'm-ancestral legacies', that being the engagement of male relations of previous generations, in order to showcase the role of male ancestral participation in recipe sharing culture. Chapter eight will examine the role of male medical professionals within

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<sup>3</sup> Werrett, *Thrifty Science*, pp.4-5; Leong, *Recipes and Everyday Knowledge*, pp.7-9.

<sup>4</sup> Harvey, *The Little Republic*, pp.119-121.

<sup>5</sup> Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Women's Place', p.38.

local receipt collection examples. It will demonstrate that their experience and expertise made their medical receipts invaluable to the early modern household. It will also showcase in the study of the receipt collection of Thomas Gell, the case of a local physician who is concerned not only with medical knowledge relevant to his profession, but also culinary and domestic recipe knowledge more widely and thus building upon the argument of Werrett that men of professional science and medicine also engaged more widely with domestic knowledge, and benefit from being situated more firmly within their domestic settings in order to gain a fuller understanding of the breadth of their knowledge-gathering activities.

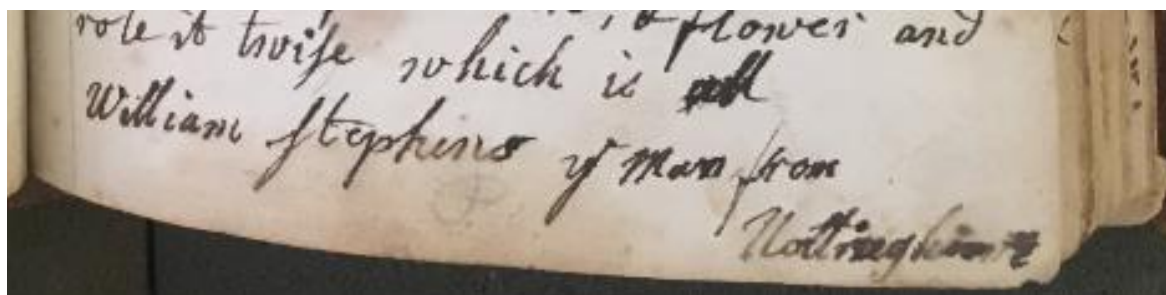
## Chapter Seven: Gendered Attributions

As shown throughout section two, recipe attributions are a common receipt-book practice which involved recording the name of a recipe source alongside the entry within a manuscript collection. In local sources which are the focus of this study, the rate at which recipes are overtly attributed to an individual or source averages at around 1/3 (33.6%), totalling 673 recipes. Contrary to some scholarly work which frames the receipt book genre as primarily the domain of women, such as those by Kowalchuk, Theophano and Lehmann, attributions of recipes demonstrate a significant amount of male participation in receipt sharing activity through the common practice of simply ascribing the name of a male recipe source alongside the entry within a manuscript collection. In regional examples, we find a significant number of instances where female compilers have provided space for male contributors from family members, peers, servants, social superiors, and physicians. For example, attributions to male contributors, just as to their female counterparts, could take the form of a name within the recipe title, 'To fat pigs, by Mr Goodwin', 'For a Gentle Purge by Dr. Woodward', or 'Mr Baseley's receipt for the Blend water', for example.<sup>1</sup> Alternatively, compilers might note the name of the contributor at the close of a copy of a receipt, or as the writer of a letter containing a recipe, as in the example shown in Fig. 35 (below), where the recipe 'To Make Puff Paste', is closed with an attribution to 'William Stephens y[ou]r man from Nottingham'.

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<sup>1</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'To fat pigs, by Mr Goodwin', p.55; Pw V 124, 'For a Gentle Purge by Dr. Woodward', p.27; MS 87/4, 'Mr Baseley's receipt for the Blend water', p.210.

**Fig. 35 Recipe attribution example 'To make a Puff Paste, by William Stephens, y[ou]r man at Nottingham'.<sup>2</sup>**

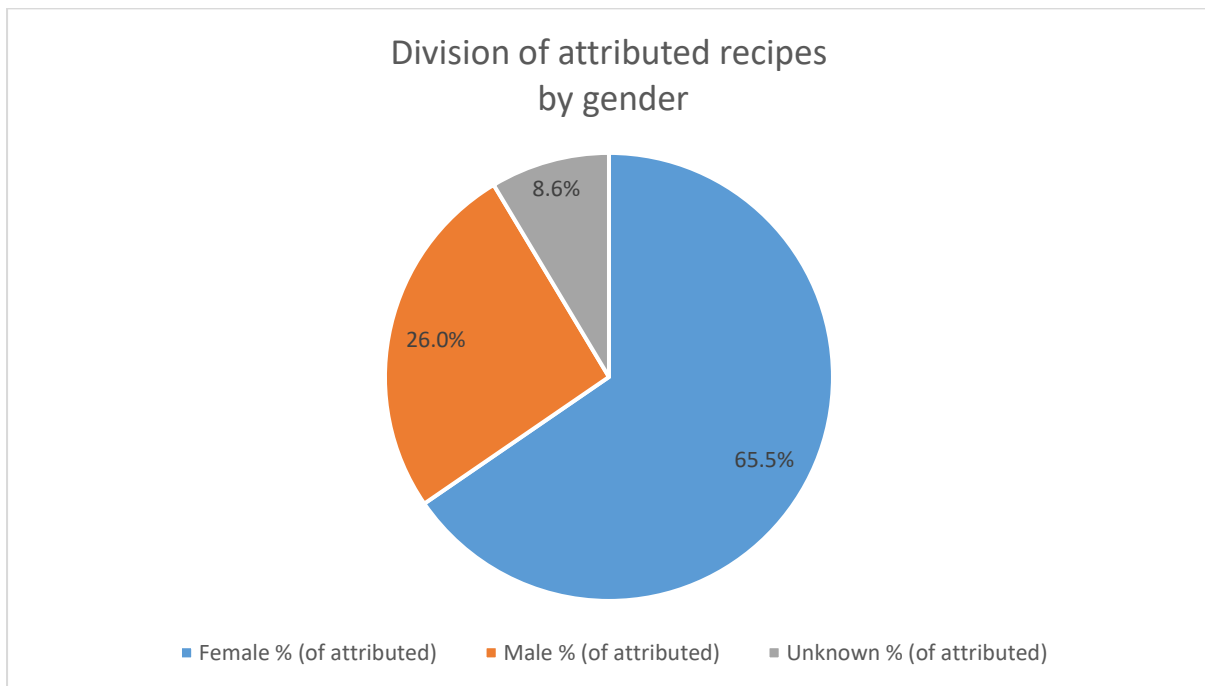


Over the range of eight volumes from the Willoughby, Mundy, and Harley households, the division of attributed recipes by gender shows (Fig. 36, below) that although on average attributions to female contributors are in the majority (66.5%), the representation of male contributors is still significant overall. With a definitive range of at least 26%, to as much as 34% if unknown attributions were in all cases male, this indicates a reasonable assumption of roughly 30%. As shall be explored below, the proportion of recipes across the collections of the different families varied, as did the representation of men amongst attributed recipes in each volume, and as such, the gender variation and participation of men will be analysed by volume, as well as by collection. Overall, the gender of a contributor remains ambiguous in 8.6% of attributions, where variations on ungendered familial terms such as 'Cos.', the use of initials only such as 'L.A.B', 'F. Cartwright' or 'E. Lyons', or, where what are presumably just surnames such as 'Allen, 'Bramble, 'Swimmer' or 'Pontax' have been used.<sup>3</sup> In these instances, gender has not been assumed in the analysis. Where the term 'Dr' or any variation on the term has been used, this has been assumed to be a male contributor.

<sup>2</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To make a Puff Paste, by William Stephens, y[ou]r man at Nottingham', p.93.

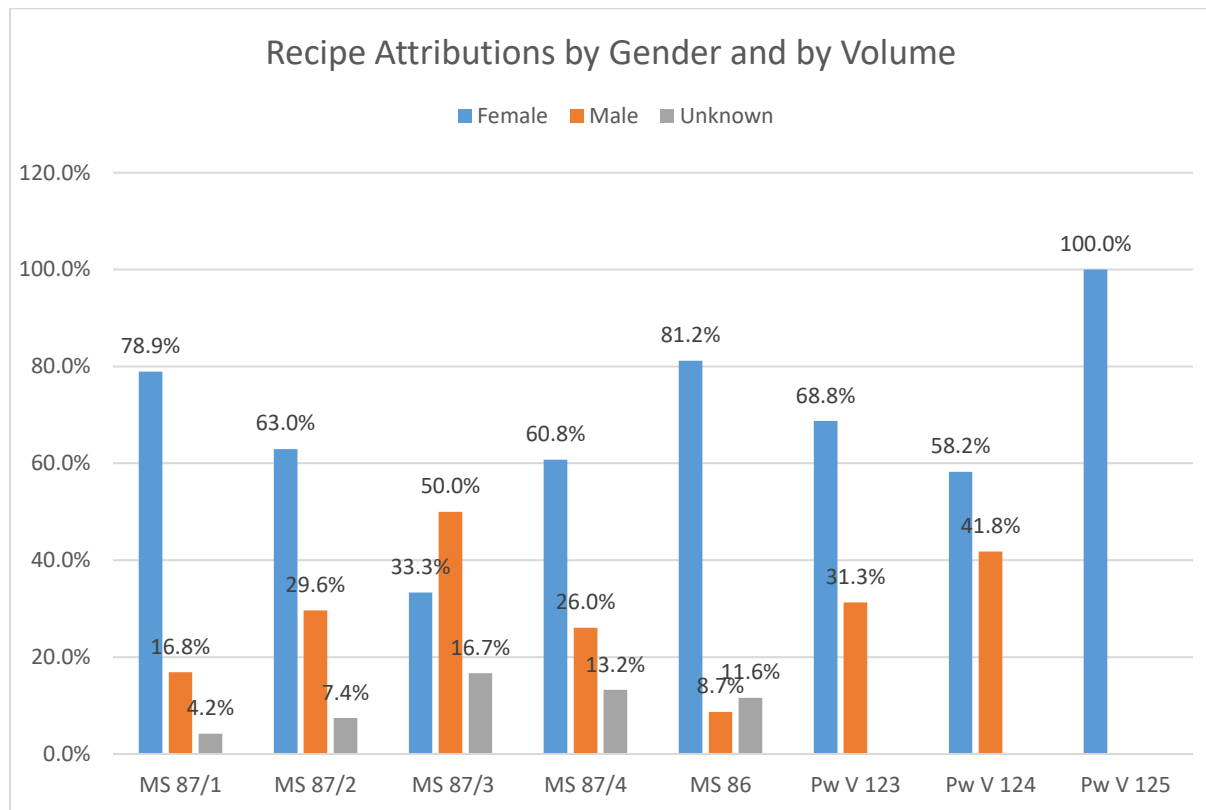
<sup>3</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/3, 'Elder wine, by L.A.B', p.62; MS 87/4, 'Rhumatick powder, by F. Cartwrite', p.179; MS 87/1, 'Linnement for a bruise or straing, by Swimmer', back, p.8; MS 87/4, 'To do pigs feet and ears Pontax Way', p.272. N.B. 'Pontax' could be a reference to Pontack's, a City of London French eating house/all-male club.

**Fig. 36 Pie Chart: Overall recipe attribution by gender from the recipe collections of the Willoughby, Mundy and Harley households, c. 1728-1790.**



With at least 26% of attributed recipes explicitly linked to male sources overall, we are able to gain a picture over 160 unique individual males identified, through a combined contribution of around 180 recipes across the local source base. As discussed in the introduction to the previous section of this thesis, the degree to which attributions were adopted into recipe book sources varied by collection and by volume, with the rate of attributions in the Mundy volume being 17.3% and ranging in the Willoughby volumes from 7.7% to 44.6%, and in the Harley volumes from 15.9 to as much as 68.1%. Similarly, examining a more detailed breakdown of male participation by recipe attributions (Fig. 37, below) reveals a degree of variation in the prevalence of male attributions between individual volumes.

**Fig. 37 Graph: Recipe attributions by gender, by volume from the recipe collections of the Willoughby, Mundy and Harley households, c. 1728-1790.**



At least half (50%) of the attributed contributions in Willoughby MS 87/3 are from men (and only 1/3 or 33% are attributed to women), and Harley’s medical volume, Pw V 124, shows a close to even contribution with a 42%/58% representation of men and women respectively. The latter is particularly significant as a volume specialising in medicinal recipes compiled by an aristocratic woman, which shows little or no preference for male or female-sourced knowledge in the realm of domestic medicine.<sup>4</sup> Across the four volumes and 1290 recipes of the Willoughby collections, men contribute on average between around 25-30% of the 486 total attributed recipes. This ranges from at least 17-20% in one example (MS 87/1), to up to as much as 50-67% in another (MS 87/3), and male contributors are found to be attributed

<sup>4</sup> For more on male participation in early modern domestic medicine, see Smith, ‘The Relative Duties of Man’, pp.237–256.

to both culinary and medical recipes in each of the four examples, as are female contributors, indicating that men and women both participated in culinary and medicinal receipt sharing culture. Similarly, across the total of 118 attributed Harley receipts, 43 (36.4%) of the total are attributed to males, where in this instance there are no attributions where the gender remains ambiguous, supporting the estimation of approx. 1/3 overall, despite variations across the sizeable volumes. In Henrietta's medicinal volume, males are cited for the contribution of 33 of 79 attributed receipts (42%), and in her volume of culinary recipes, males make up nearly a third (31%) of attributions. This includes, the opening recipe of the collection, a culinary contribution advising how 'To Make a Soop', by Mr. Jepson:

Take Six Pounds of the best end of a Brisket Beef, & Six Mutton Chops of the Loyn, put 'em into a Soop Pot at nine o'clock with two Onions cut in half, a small Bunch of Parsly & time ty'd together, & a handful of salt, & Six Quarts of Water, as soon as it Boyls take care to Skim in Clean, & take of all the fat, let it Boyl till one o'clock upon a very slow fire, then take Six Turnips, three large Carrots, cut 'em in dice & half a Cabbidge put them into the Pot & let 'em Boyl till half an hour after two, then put in the Crust of a French Role, Let it Boyl till three when it will be Ready.

Be sure keep it skim'd very often & take all the fat of the Beef you serve to Table in your Soop, the Mutton you take out.<sup>5</sup>

Extending to another, 'To Make a of a Leg of Mutton', by her own husband, Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford:

Take 2 Ozs: of Salt Peter 12 Ozs: of Sugar Poinded Small, Rub it on the Ham, after four or five days, Salt it with Common Salt a Week, the put it on a Gentle Wood Smoke till dry, then use it when you will.<sup>6</sup>

Interestingly, though, there are no male attributions within her receipts for confectionary which might imply a more pronounced gender divide in this area.

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<sup>5</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make a Soop', p.1.

<sup>6</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make a of a Leg of Mutton', p.14.



In Elenor Mundy's receipts, however, there is a noticeable dominance of women, where amongst 69 attributed recipes, only six (8.7%) are attributed to men, all of which are medicinal and contributed by doctors, or are primarily concerned with the making of mead and liquor.<sup>7</sup> In the instance of a poppy brandy attributed to 'Doctor Gibbons', it might also be inferred from the attribution to a professional that it is being espoused for some medicinal purpose.<sup>8</sup> This link between male recipe donors and medical knowledge in the Mundy household, apparently evident also in the instance of a medicinal recipe 'Eye water, by Mr Munday' recorded in the second Willoughby volume, is the exception rather than the rule though.<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere in the sources, there is a close to even mix of medical recipes attributed to men and women in the Harley volumes, including male medical contributions that ranged from the realm of general treatments and ailments, such as one 'For a Glister for the Cholick By Dr. Woodward' which advises to take:

One handful of Marchmalloes, one of Cammamile Flowers, one of Brand, a Quarter of a Pound of Common Treakle, boyl all these in River Water, then add to it when Strain'd 2 Ozs: of Linseed oyl.<sup>10</sup>

Others though venture into the realm of 'female' health matters, associated with pregnancy and the prevention of miscarriage, for instance, in the case of a receipt by a 'Mr Cole' for 'How to Wear the Eagle's Stone to Prevent Miscarrying' which advises that 'it must be tack'd to the Shift every day the Stone must be next the Pit of the Stomach'.<sup>11</sup> An Eagle's Stone was a kind of stone or nut with a hard exterior that protected a smaller stone or fruit that

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<sup>7</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Small Mead, by Mr Buckley', p.10, 'For an intermitting Fever, by Dr Hulser and Old Lady Gray', p.11v, 'Cowslip mead, by Mr Jones of Derby', p.125v, 'For the Jaundice, by Dr Wells', p.129v, 'Poppy brandy, by Doctor Gibbons', p.136v, 'To Make Honey Watter, by Uncle Leche', p.139v.

<sup>8</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Poppy brandy, by Doctor Gibbons', p.136.

<sup>9</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Eye water, by Mr Munday', p.282.

<sup>10</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'For a Glister for the Cholick By Dr. Woodward', p.28.

<sup>11</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'How to Wear the Eagle's Stone to Prevent Miscarrying', p.74.

could be heard to rattle within it which was believed to be found in an Eagle's nest, and to be effective in preventing miscarriage and in bringing about an easy labour.<sup>12</sup>

There are only two occasions where recipes which might be considered culinary are attributed to doctors, one for 'Raspberry Vinegar, by Doctor Harrison', and another for 'Doctor China's bisketts', where although it may be inferred, there is no explicit mention to these being used for medicinal purposes within the receipts themselves, thus perhaps demonstrating the continued blurring of food and medicine in this period.<sup>13</sup> Non-medical men appear to have played a more active role in contributing food-related recipes though, and as such male family members and male cooks and servants have been identified as contributors (discussed in Chapter 2). Subsequently, cooks such as James Brown, from the household of Henrietta's mother, the Duke of Portland's cook, Mr Rogerson, and the Duke of Grafton's cook, have all been shown to have contributed culinary recipes for 'Pull'd Chickens', 'To Make a Ham Pye' and 'To Stew Peas'.<sup>14</sup> According to Gilly Lehmann, the employment of male cooks into elite households was uncommon in the period, but where they were employed, they were considered a sign of distinction; they were also frequently French, and therefore associated with a Whig political elite.<sup>15</sup> Despite Lehmann's assertion that 'an English cook simply would not do' for the Duke of Newcastle and his family in the 1750's, these recipe collections suggest otherwise with seemingly male English cooks employed as cooks within Harley family households providing recipes deemed as fit for the personal recipe collections. The implications of this are that the distinction of a male cook

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<sup>12</sup> Christopher J. Duffin, 'A Survey of Birds and Fabulous Stones', *Folklore*, Vol. 123, Iss. 2 (2012), pp.179-197, at pp.189-191.

<sup>13</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Raspberry Vinegar, by Doctor Harrison', p.51; MS 87/4, 'Doctor Chinas bisketts', p.126.

<sup>14</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'Pull'd Chickens By Ja[me]s Brown', p.21; Pw V 123, 'To Make a Ham Pye Duke of Portlands Cook Mr Rogerson', p.22; MS 87/1, 'To Stew Peas by Duke of Grafton's Cook', p.69.

<sup>15</sup> Gilly Lehmann, 'Politics in the Kitchen', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 23, Iss. 2 (1999), p 78.

was indeed valued, but that the perception of the nouvelle cuisine of French cooks as frivolous, complicated, and expensive, combined with the association of traditional English fare or 'good Tory food' of beef and puddings, with Protestantism and patriotism, in fact kept the male English cook in favour in the Harley households.<sup>16</sup> This would be consistent with the records of the Duke of Newcastle complaining that 'even country gentlemen had their French cooks' that his household did not always conform with, or place value upon, the trend of employing French cooks.<sup>17</sup> Male-attributed culinary recipes were not limited to men who were necessarily employed professionally as cooks either though, as demonstrated in examples for bread and soup recipes, such as 'Green Pease Soup, by Mr Stott', 'Turnep soup, by Mr Bessell', and 'Rolls, by Mr Willimot'.<sup>18</sup> Other culinary recipes for cheese, meats, and preserves manifest in receipts 'To make soft Chees' and 'To pickle Porke' both by one 'Mr Barber', in 'Admiral Harpur's Mango Pickle, by Brother Willoughby', as well as another 'To make Red Curran[t] Jelly'.<sup>19</sup> Alongside these, we also find recipes for accompaniments to fish dishes, with 'Fresh Herring sauce, by Mr Willoughby' and a general 'Fish Sauce, by Mr Fletcher'; and for desserts and wine in examples including one for 'English red port, by Mr Temple' and 'Olivers Biscuits, by Mr Holden'.<sup>20</sup> Five culinary recipes from one 'William Stephens, the man at Nottingham' in Mrs Willoughby's book are solely concerned with desserts and sweets, and include 'To Preserve Apricocks', 'To Make

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<sup>16</sup> Lehmann, 'Politics in the Kitchen', p.76, p.80.

<sup>17</sup> Lehmann, 'Politics in the Kitchen', p.78.

<sup>18</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, 'Green Pease Soup, by Mr Stott', p.50, 'Turnep Soup, by Mr Bessell', p.37; MS 87/2, 'Rolls, by Mr Willimot', p.25.

<sup>19</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To make soft Chees, by Mr Barber', p.260, 'To pickle Porke, by Mr Barber', p.260, 'Admiral Harpur's Mango Pickle, by Brother Willoughby', p.74, 'To make Currant Jam [by William Stephens, the man at Nottingham]', p.95.

<sup>20</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/2, 'Fresh Herring sauce, by Mr Willoughby', p.100; MS 87/4, 'Fish sauce, by Mr Fletcher', p.232; MS 87/3, 'English red port, by Mr Temple', p.108; MS 87/1, 'Olivers Biscuits, by Mr Holden', p.42.

Puff Paste [pastry]', and 'To make Cheseccakes'.<sup>21</sup> The precise identities of these men have proven difficult to ascertain, although archival evidence documents a William Stephens living in Nottingham in the early eighteenth century through a churchwarden presentment for the Nottingham (St Mary) deanery on 26<sup>th</sup> October 1725, where Martha Ashley was presented for 'having a bastard child, William Stephens the reputed father'. He also appeared in a case 'against William Stephens junior of the parish of St Mary, Nottingham, for fornication or adultery with Martha Ashley'.<sup>22</sup> His occupation is unclear but given the recipes he provides, it is possible that he is a local cook or confectioner, with the absence of the 'Mr' title given to the others indicating that he is likely to be a trader. It is also possible that the recipe for 'Rolls' by 'Mr Willimot' is related to the local Wilmot family of Osmaston Hall, and the reference to 'Admiral Harpur' is likely to relate to the Derbyshire Harpur family associated with Calke Abbey. Howard Colvin notes the ascent of the Harpur family from gentry to aristocratic status during this period, accumulating substantial wealth and 'an income bracket reserved for the four hundred wealthiest families in the county by the 1770s'.<sup>23</sup> Household accounts also indicate the wealth and lifestyle of the Wilmot family of Osmaston Hall during this period with a significant annual expenditure of £445 in 1753 recorded in household accounts, including the maintenance of '3 Maids wages', '3 Mens wages and liveries', plus 'Gardeners [2]' and the cost of educating '3 Boys at School £30

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<sup>21</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'To make a Puff Paste, by William Stephens, the man at Nottingham', p.93, 'To make Cheseccakes [by William Stephens, the man at Nottingham]', p.95, 'To preserve Apricocks [by William Stephens, the man at Nottingham]', p.95, 'To make Currant Jam [by William Stephens, the man at Nottingham]', p.95, 'To make Red Curran Jelly [by William Stephens, the man at Nottingham]', p.95.

<sup>22</sup> UNMASC, AN/LB/235/5/60, 'Copy articles in cause Bennett v. Stephens (fornication or adultery)'; n.d. [Oct. 1725-24. Mar 1725/6]; AN/PB 310/399, 'Churchwarden presentment, Nottingham (St Mary), Nottingham deanery'; 26 October 1725.

<sup>23</sup> Howard Colvin, *Calke Abbey, Derbyshire: A Hidden House Revealed* (George Philip and The National Trust: London, 1985), pp.21-47.

[each]'.<sup>24</sup> With this in mind, it seems unlikely that any member of such affluent families would have taken on work as a professional cook, and is therefore unlikely that all of the male donators of culinary receipts could have been involved with cooking in a professional capacity. Yet male involvement in donating and engaging with culinary recipe sharing remains clear and in these examples, such as with recipes for the Earl of Oxford's Leg of Mutton, Admiral Harpur's pickle, and even Mr. Willimot's receipt to make rolls, it is much more likely that male contributors from gentry and aristocratic households such as these were also concerned with recording and sharing favoured recipes between household books, asserting their favoured methods, techniques or ingredients for a particular recipe, in order to suit their own preferences, and contributed to the collections accordingly.

Thus, whilst the gender distribution of attributed receipts in these sources supports the notion that a network of female knowledge sharing around food and medicine did certainly exist in this period, evidence also strongly indicates that the practice of female-authored receipt compilations was far more complex than binary gender boundaries suggest. Instead, it confirms that men played an active role in the circulation of receipts, and that whilst men may have, at times, played a more significant role in the sharing of medicinal knowledge, there was also an interest in culinary recipes that spanned the 'separate spheres' of gender. Primary analysis of regional sources therefore challenges Amanda Herbert's suggestion that manuscript receipt books merely 'defended female knowledge', and instead suggests that domestic manuscripts were a medium, which validated the female pursuit of knowledge in collaboration, rather than in competition with, male contemporaries.<sup>25</sup> As we have seen,

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<sup>24</sup> Richard Ussher, 'Estimates of Diet and Household Expenses, at Osmaston Hall, Derbyshire, in 1753', *The Relinquiry: quarterly archaeological journal and review*, July 1863-Oct.1894 (1881), pp.181-182.

<sup>25</sup> Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p.103.

evidence from Nottinghamshire receipt books would support this view, with a significant male representation in recipe writing and sharing, as demonstrated by the numerous attributions within them. Not only is male participation evident through attributions, but statistics from the local examples that constitute this study suggest that a more mutually collaborative relationship between men and women existed than established secondary commentaries largely allude to, and that to consider receipt book compilations as a solely feminine pursuit is flawed. Instead, the abundance of evidence of male participation in recipe collecting and sharing culture serves to demonstrate that the early modern household offered both men and women a space for knowledge making. Therefore, in uncovering male ancestral influences as well as that of notable contemporary male figures demonstrates that compilers provided space for male contributors from previous generations of recipe collectors too, and that recipe texts as 'domestic spaces' were far more complex in gender terms than is often portrayed.

### **Beyond the Matrilineal**

Receipt book manuscripts have been considered a form of inherited knowledge disseminated through the matrilineal line, from mother to daughter, or at least, along female kin lines, with examples drawn upon to demonstrate the travelling of manuscript collections along female kin-lines, and of 'a particularly female construction, moreover, a highly-valued focus of inter-generational routes for female to female communication'.<sup>26</sup>

There is evidence to support this notion of matrilineal dissemination and sharing within local

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<sup>26</sup> Pennell, 'Perfecting Practice?', p.240. On evidence/discussion of the role of the manuscript receipt book in 'matrilineal literary tradition' or 'pass[ing]' down the distaff line', see also: Jayne Elisabeth Archer, "An offering to her memory': Healing, Motherhood, and Identity in the Manuscript Remains of Lady Ann Fanshawe' in Lorna Fitzimmons (ed.), *Identities in Early Modern English Writing: Religion, Gender, Nation* (Brepols Publishers: Turnhout, 2014), pp.117-143.

examples too, where we find, an 'Orange wine', dutifully recorded as 'my mother[']s rec[ei]pt', no less than six recipes attributed to Mrs. Willoughby's, 'Mother Bird', and Henrietta Harley's recipe from her mother, 'To Make her Grace the Duchess of Newcastle's Cordial Water':

#### **To Make her Grace the Duchess of Newcastle's Cordial Water**

Take Dragons [tarragon], Rosemerry, Wormwood, Scordium, Mugwort, Scabius, Balm, Sage, Cardus, Tormentall, Roots & leaves, Angelica Roots & Leaves, Marygold Flowers & Leaves, Centory tops Betony Flowers & leaves, Pimpernel Wood, Sorrell, Egreemony, Rue of Every one of these ½ a lb: of Liquorish 4 Ozs: Elicampane Roots 2 Ozs: Wash the Herbs & Shake them Dry in a Clean Sheet, Shred 'em & Slice the Roots, put them all into 3 Gallons of the best Whitewine & let 'em Stand 2 Nights close stop'd or Cover'd Stir em Morning & Evening, then take Some of the Herbs Quickly out of the Wine & fill up an Ordinary Still Betimes in the morning, Let 'em Distill 12 hours at the Least with a Reasonable quick fire, Distill the Herbs & the rest of the Wine in a Limbeck as you do the other Strong Waters, until all the Strength of the Herbs & Wine be gone, for when it begins to be Sow'r either in Still or Limbeck give over.<sup>27</sup>

Recipes are also sourced, however, from a much wider network of female relations, which spans multiple generations, and extends beyond the more simplistic matrilineal concept of domestic 'know-how' disseminating directly from mother to daughter. As touched upon previously in chapter 4, attributed recipe donors can also be shown to extend to sisters and sisters in law, such as 'For an Asmah By Mrs Abigaill Harley', the sister of Henrietta Harley's husband, and 'For a cough, by Sister Bird', most likely the sister of Mrs. Margaret Willoughby (née Bird), who had four sisters by her mother and father, Hester, and Francis Bird. However, additionally knowledge could also be shared from younger to older generations, as in the case of a receipt 'For Histericks, by Daughter Alexander', most likely Margaret (and Edward) Willoughby's youngest daughter, Mary, who married George

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<sup>27</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Orange wine, my mother[']s receipt', f.126v; MS 87/4, 'To salve for the coff, by my Mother Bird, p.55; MS 87/4, 'For the gravel and stone, by my Mother Bird', p.62, 'Soap salve, by my Mother Bird', p.63, 'For any swelling whatever, by my Mother Bird', p.64, 'The sope salve, by Mother Bird', p.89, 'To make Hydropick Wine to cure the dropsy, rheumatism, and cough of the lungs, by Mother Bird', p.141; Pw V 124, 'To Make her Grace the Dutchess of Newcastles Cordial Water', p.51.

Alexander in 1763.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the inclusion of four medical recipes from Henrietta Harley's late mother-in-law, Elizabeth Foley, the preceding Lady Oxford, who had died in November 1691, more than two decades before her son Edward's marriage to Henrietta in 1713. Nonetheless, Harley's collection of recipes explicitly cites the former Lady's Oxford's personal receipt book, indicating not only that Harley had access to the receipt book of her husband's mother, but that she referred to it as a trusted source of knowledge, even in examples such as 'An Extr[ordinary] Cure for Bleeding at the Nose from Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts', where:

The Person must bleed in their hand & when there is blood Enough in the Palm of his hand to Wet his Forehead, then he must rub it from the hair of His Head down to his Eyebrows, & when the Blood Dry's the Bleeding at the Nose will Stop.<sup>29</sup>

In another, the recipe for a 'Perfum'd Pomatum for the Hands face or Nose' is not linked explicitly in the title to Lady Oxford's book, but where the use of certain roots is described within the recipe itself, there is a footnote stating 'The names of the Roots are not mention'd in Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts' suggesting it was the original source.<sup>30</sup>

Overall, these references uncover a broader range of female familial recipe contributors, to demonstrate a far greater level of complexity in knowledge sharing networks than a merely matrilineal line of dissemination from mothers to daughters, and extends our understanding to include sisters and sisters-in-law,

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<sup>28</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'For an Asmah By Mrs Abigail Harley', p.26; MS 87/2, 'For a cough, by Sister Bird', p.74; MS 87/4, 'For Histericks, by Daughter Alexander', p.209.

<sup>29</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, To Make Palsey Water From Lady Oxford's Receipt By Mrs Millington [plus, 'The Virtues of the Palsy Water', p.11], p.8, 'An Extraordinary Cure for Bleeding at the Nose from Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts', p.33, 'Another from Ditto [for Bleeding at the Nose from Lady Oxfords Book of Receipts', p.34, 'Gascoines Powder By Mrs Gore From Lady Oxfords Book', p.43.

<sup>30</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'Perfum'd Pomatum for the Hands face or Nose By Mrs Putnam', p.38.



aunts, daughters, and daughters-in-law, amongst others. However, this still does not reflect the full extent of recipes and knowledge disseminated within familial and social circles. Instead, by shifting our focus to male attributions we are able to paint a more nuanced picture, which includes patrilineal recipe sharing from father to son as well as a wider pool of influence from fathers, grandfathers, uncles, and brothers.

### **Patrilineal and 'M-ancestral' Recipe Sharing**

Attributions show that males across family connections participated in the transfer of recipe knowledge as demonstrated by receipts 'For a consumption, by my Father Willoughby', and 'For Costiveness, by My Father F.W', for instance. In both cases, either these indicate a reference by Mrs. Willoughby to her father-in-law, Francis Willoughby of Aspley, or even that her husband, Edward also documented recipes, including those passed on from his own father, ultimately making their way into this volume.<sup>31</sup>

Other evidence of patrilineal recipe sharing includes the receipt originating from Nathaniel Wanley, father of Sir Humfrey Wanley (1672-1726), who was librarian to Edward Harley. We know that Wanley was a contributor to the Harley recipe collection through to his own receipt 'To Make Ink By Mr Humphr[e]y Wanley'.<sup>32</sup> However, it seems Wanley also played a role in passing on a recipe from his father, into the Harley household compendia, with Henrietta adding a recipe for 'Mr: Nathaniel Wanley's Medicine Against Worms in Children', which took the form a chemical prescription followed by:

The above Written Prescription I understand from what I have heard & Seen Practic'd inn this manner (Viz.t)

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<sup>31</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'For Costiveness, by My Father F.W.', p.318; MS 87/2, 'For a consumption, by my Father Willoughby', p.316.

<sup>32</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'To Make Ink By Mr Humphr[e]y Wanley', p.32.

Take a Quarter of a Pint of White wine of any sort that is not Sweet, Add to this half a Drachm of Salt of Wormwood, & 15 or 16 Large Drops of Spirit of Vitrol, Let the Patient take of this four Spoonfulls about four or five a Clock in the Morning, Watch the Hours of The Patient & when his Meat is well Digested, & an hour & a half before he Eats again give him more of it, this Medicine is so Innocent that it may (as it has often been) be Administr'd to a New born babe, but when the Patient is grown to some years he may take a Larger Quantity & Oftner.<sup>33</sup>

This trail of Wanley attributions demonstrates the transfer of recipe knowledge between father and son and expands our understanding of domestic knowledge transfer beyond the matrilineal line of descent. Wider evidence highlights recipes attributed to other male relatives too, such as in the Mundy manuscripts where we find receipts, 'To Make Honey Watter, by Uncle Leche', and in the Willoughby volume, to make 'Admiral Harpur's Mango Pickle, by Brother Willoughby'.<sup>34</sup> Ultimately, examples such as these serve to extend even further our understanding of the diversity of recipe sharing networks across gender boundaries amongst family members, and through examining the participation of male relations in recipe sharing a much broader picture of the family history and the role of the family in recipe sharing is uncovered; one where not all of them relate to female relations. Moving beyond attributions to delve further into archival material, there are multiple generations of male recipe collectors on both the maternal and paternal ancestral lines of Henrietta Harley. Her father, John Holles, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Newcastle and 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Clare (1662-1711), was a keen recipe collector, and produced in his lifetime a 186-folio, bound volume of recipes recognisable by a coat-of-arms bookplate indicating his ownership, with 'The Most Noble John Duke of Newcastle Marquis & Earl of Clare Baron Haughton of Haughton and Knight of ye Most Noble of the Garter' on the inside cover.<sup>35</sup>

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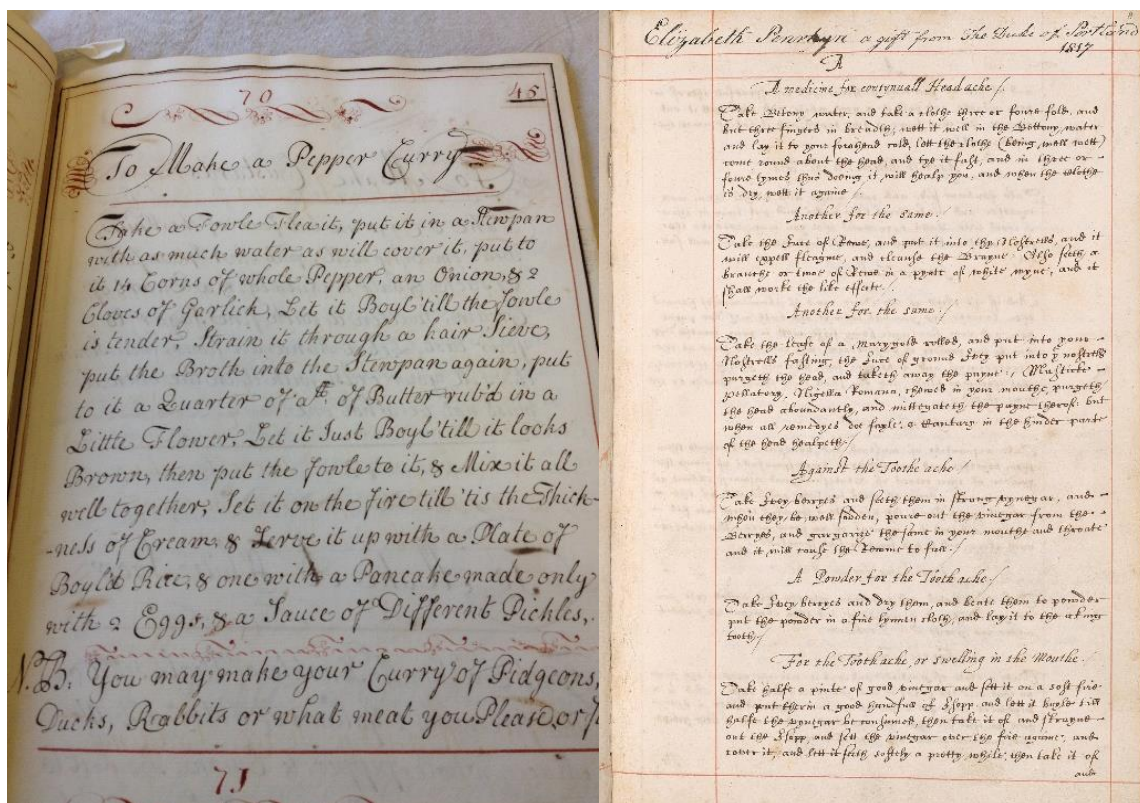
<sup>33</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'Mr Nathaniel Wanleys Medicine Against Worms in Children', p.23.

<sup>34</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'To Make Honey Watter, by Uncle Leche', p.139; UNMASC, MS 87/4, 'Admiral Harpur's Mango Pickle, by Brother Willoughby', p.74.

<sup>35</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 91, 'Bound volume of recipes, c.1630-1690'.

Multiple elements of Henrietta's volumes indicate that her father's recipe collection influenced the creation of her own. Firstly, the way in which it is organised into three sections, divided by blank folios, which we can see reflected in her division of recipes into three volumes. The distinction between section themes is far less definite in her father's collection though, as he intersperses medical, culinary, and household receipts, as well as recipes for human ailments amidst a small number for horses. Secondly, Harley models elements of the visual, decorative style and design of her father's receipt book, adopting similar red page margins and heading styles, while adding more of a decorative flourish (Fig. 38, below).

**Fig. 38 Recipe volume of Henrietta Harley, Duchess of Newcastle (left) alongside her father's 'Bound Volume of Recipes' by John Holles, Duke of Newcastle (right).<sup>36</sup>**



<sup>36</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make a Pepper Curry', p.45; Pw V 91, 'Bound Volume of Recipes', f.8r.

Notably, an inscription added to the upper margins preceding the main texts at a later date tell us that this volume came to be given to 'Elizabeth Penrhyn a gift from The Duke of Portland [in] 1817'.<sup>37</sup> At this time, the gift-bearer would have been William Henry Cavendish-Scott-Bentinck, 4th Duke of Portland (1768-1854), who succeeded to the title of Duke of Portland upon his father's death in 1809. He was Henrietta and Edward Harley's great-grandson, and therefore, her father John Holles' (3<sup>rd</sup> Duke) great-great-grandson. This shows that the ownership of recipe collections continued to disseminate to men in subsequent generations of the Harley family too.

Henrietta's maternal and paternal great-Grandfather's both collected recipes too. Her maternal great-Grandfather, William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Newcastle (of second creation; 1592-1676) was a well-known, wealthy, aristocrat known as a cavalier, playwright, patron of the arts, and perhaps most famously, a staunch royalist in the Civil War who, after suffering defeat at the Battle of Marston Moor, went into exile on the continent. Less well-known is that whilst in exile he collected and compiled a manuscript volume containing recipes described as 'A Booke, wherein is Contained Rare Minerall Receipts Collected at Paris from those who hath had a great Experience of them'. This volume is dated c.1643-65, and penned in a combination of Cavendish's own hand, and that of his steward, Thomas Farr.<sup>38</sup> His volume chiefly contains recipes for medicines and remedies, and covers a wide range of illnesses and afflictions, including those for animals, and notably horses, reflecting his equestrian expertise and interest.<sup>39</sup> The suggested ingredients are varied and interesting, but not all are derived from minerals as the title implies, many recipes appear as copies of

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<sup>37</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 91, 'Bound Volume of Recipes', f.8r.

<sup>38</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 90, 'MS Volume containing medicinal recipes; c.1643-1665'.

<sup>39</sup> Lucy Worsley, *Cavalier: A Tale of Chivalry, Passion and Great Houses* (Faber and Faber: London, 2007), p.3.

letters in which the senders offer remedies of their own, and there are a small number of recipes for culinary dishes interspersed between those of a medicinal nature, rather than presented in distinct sections. There are also recipes recorded for wider household management and concerns such as one advising 'Howe to fatt Chickens'.<sup>40</sup> An interest in wider domestic matters is also evident in the seventeenth-century bound volume, 'A Booke of Husbandrie and Housewifery', which can also be linked to Cavendish as a product of his time in exile by the estimated date, and is also in the handwriting of Thomas Farr, with the Arms of Amsterdam watermark on the folios.<sup>41</sup> Reflecting a broad range of interests within the content, namely in relation to the management of livestock, pasture, arable land, and meadow grounds, as well as orders and accounts, this manuscript embodies a combination of contemporary notions of both husbandry and housewifery within one album and significantly, within one shared space. Thus, the separation of the realms of men and women in early modern homes into gender-specific texts and manuscripts must be challenged, with volumes such as these combining the two in the seventeenth-century with recipes ranging from how to make arable lands most productive:

Let all the arrable Lands be plowed, and sowne in due Season. Let the richest be sowne, with Wheat & Barly the more barren with Rye, Oates, & Pease, Wheat and Rye is to be sowne about Michaelmas. Barly Oates and Pease towards our Lady day.<sup>42</sup>

To how to combat idleness amongst household staff and servants:

Not to let the Carters & Plowmen be idle when they have little or noe plowing, but cause them to thrash, for idlenes spoyles all Servants aswell as Masters.<sup>43</sup>

Further back amongst Henrietta's paternal line of ancestors, we find that recipe collecting dates back at least as far as the mid-sixteenth century, to her great-great-great-Grandfather

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<sup>40</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 90, 'Howe to fatt Chickens', f.196r.

<sup>41</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 103, 'Bound volume entitled 'A Booke of Husbandrie and Housewifery, 17<sup>th</sup> century'.

<sup>42</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 103, 'Bound volume entitled 'A Booke of Husbandrie and Housewifery, 17<sup>th</sup> century', pp.3-7.

<sup>43</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 103, 'Bound volume entitled 'A Booke of Husbandrie and Housewifery, 17<sup>th</sup> century', pp.3-7.

Denzil Holles, M.P. (c.1538-1590) who included a section of twelve entries dedicated to 'cosmetic and medicinal receipts' in his commonplace book.<sup>44</sup> Two generations later, his grandson (Henrietta's paternal great-grandfather), John Holles, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Clare (1595-1666) also includes domestic recipes in his bound miscellany.<sup>45</sup> The manuscript commonplace book of Denzil Holles' is a compendium of miscellaneous literary and general entries including entries relating to lists of armour, military terms, and equipment; astronomy; astrology; magical recipes and charms; household and medicinal recipes; travelling recommendations; a list of heraldic devices; and poems. An entry dated 1558 indicates that it was written when Denzil Holles was about 20 years of age, and perhaps most significantly, that receipt collection may therefore have formed some part of the educational activities of a young man in the sixteenth century.<sup>46</sup> The interests indicated are varied, but include a selection of 'medicinal recipes for the hardness of the splene', a recipe for a curative water, a description of the growth of a child in the womb, as well as another 'For a woman yt has no milke'.<sup>47</sup> These appear to reflect an interest largely in compiling medical receipts in the case of Denzil Holles, however, by the seventeenth century Henrietta's great-Grandfather, John Holles (1595-1666, 2nd Earl of Clare) can be seen, in a volume with a cover that reads 'E. Clare's private affairs', to have been collecting and recording recipes in his own hand, where in amongst a vast amount of information including payments and accounts, we find a collection of receipts for both medical and culinary purposes, compiled between c.1592-1662. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Clare's volume includes a collection of medical receipts including

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<sup>44</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 1, 'MS Commonplace book of Denzil Holles, c.1558'.

<sup>45</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 4, 'Bound autograph MS miscellany of John Holles, 2nd Earl of Clare, c.1592-1662'.

<sup>46</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 1, f.3v. N.B. For a detailed description and analysis of this book see: Elizabeth Porges Watson, *The Denzill Holles Commonplace Book: Memoranda of a Country Gentleman, c. 1558* (Nottingham University Lib. MS PV I).

<sup>47</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 1, 'MS Commonplace book of Denzil Holles, c.1558'.

‘Doctor Hattons receate for a fume for ye gout to draw it out 1660’, and ‘Sr Gervas Cliftons receat for a could & cough’.<sup>48</sup> Household and culinary receipts also appear when, in October 1662 he records a receipt concerned with household management in the form of ‘Mrs Halls receat to make fusty stone bottles sweet’:

Wash ye bottles very clean, rubbing them on ye inn side w[i]th [a] bru[s]h: then sett them adrayning: & when ye water is quite run from them, heate an oven as hot as for brown bread: & put ye bottles in empty, & let them stand 4. ho[u]rs in it ye oven being close stopt; if ye bottles have had oyle in them, it will do them no good.<sup>49</sup>

He then goes on to further diversify his recipe interests to the culinary with a ‘receat to keepe venison long sweet’:

Lett it be slashed w[i]th a knife: & season it w[i]th pepper & sault: & lay it in an earthen vessel, wrapped in a napkin: then pinn another cloth about ye vessel: & sett it in a coole sellar.<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps significantly though, the cataloguing of this volume sweepingly details this content as just ‘a few medicinal recipes appear[ing] toward the end of the volume’, again, representing a tendency to focus on the medicinal elements at the expense of the culinary and household management recipes which are also evident within.

Additionally, in the case of relations linked to the household recipe books through marriage, Roger Newdigate, husband of Hester Mundy (the younger), and whose ‘Cos. Newdigate’ contributed to the Mundy collection, also shared a legacy of male recipe sharing amongst the previous two generations, as his great-Uncle Tom shared a recipe ‘To Bake a Tongue’ with his father, Dick, in a letter dated 1694, later on in the same year of his marriage to his first wife Sarah (née Bishop).<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 4, ‘Doctor Hattons receate for a fume for ye gout to draw it out 1660’, f.245r; UNMASC, Pw V 4, and ‘Sr Gervas Cliftons receat for a could & cough’, f.263r.

<sup>49</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 4, Mrs Halls receat to make fusty stone bottles sweet’, f.282r.

<sup>50</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 4, f.212r.

<sup>51</sup> Gooder, *Squire of Arbury*, p.105.

Overall, we see that recipe collecting, sharing, and compiling, was able to prevail as a concern for male relations over several generations in the Cavendish, Holles' and Mundy/Newdigate families, and that surviving examples showcase that contrary to common perception, that it often did so across both paternal and maternal kin lines.



## Chapter Eight: Professional Status and Male Manuscript Recipe Culture

There are a number of contemporary male medical professionals that feature in local examples, giving us useful insight into the extended network of professional knowledge that our manuscript compilers were operating within, but there are a fairly low proportion of recipes overtly credited to a medical professional. Across a total of 1943 recipes, only 49 are attributed to a 'doctor', 'dr' or 'dr.', representing only 2.51%, and limiting this to medical recipes only, recipes attributed to a doctor or medical professional only represents 49 of 1139 total medical receipts (4.30%), thus highlighting the prevalence and importance of lay medical knowledge within local manuscript recipe culture. The manuscript collections themselves range from representing a network of 11 unique medical professionals, over a contribution of 16 different medical recipes in Harley's medicinal volume, to three individuals with three different receipts in the Mundy collection, suggesting that perhaps unsurprisingly, the compilation of the Harley household benefitted from the influence of a wider network of professionals than the starter collection of Elenor Mundy. In total though, there are 28 individual medical professionals seemingly identified in the Mundy/Harley/Willoughby network, with at least ten of those individual doctors featuring as the donors of multiple receipts, thus offering a useful picture of the prominent professional influences in the network of local knowledge sharing. Six of those individual doctors, despite contributing more than one recipe, are limited in their contributions to only a single volume (Dr. Thompson, Dr. Coatesworth, Dr. Wellwood, Dr. Horn, Dr. Woodward, and Dr. Savage), whilst four (Dr. Boerhaave, Dr. Lower, Dr. China, and Dr. Mead) all feature in multiple household collections. Dr. Sloane also appears more than once but is referred to

as 'Sir' rather than 'Dr.' in the first instance.<sup>1</sup> Those who span multiple collections represent some of the most prevalent and well-known contemporary professionals of the country and Europe at this time. Thus, their contributions to the collections of the Nottinghamshire region, and their evident links with local households, demonstrate that the recipe collecting culture of local households expanded significantly into the knowledge sharing 'network' of a wider world of established and prominent male medical figures. In some instances, recipes were cited as originating with important contemporaries linked to the region through recipes, but not known to reside locally, such as Dr. Hans Sloane (1660-1753), Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754), Dr. Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), and Sir Humfrey Wanley (as above). This has major implications for the reach of recipe knowledge sharing and dissemination across social strata, as well as for pertinent local connections, which has been discussed in more detail in Section 2's 'Recipe Networks'. In this chapter, we will look closely at the association and interaction of these individuals within contemporary recipe culture, where they do appear to have been referred to and/or consulted in relation to their medical knowledge and authority. In the instances of Mead, Sloane and Boerhaave, the receipts attributed to them, draw upon and relate specifically to their role as esteemed contemporary physicians and medics. Furthermore, we will consider the receipt book collection of Thomas Gell, a local surgeon and apothecary based in Wirksworth, Derbyshire just outside of Nottinghamshire, but as shall be demonstrated, whose connections extended

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<sup>1</sup> Pw V 124, 'A Copy of Sr Hans Sloans perscription for A Tetterish Humour', p.1, 'Ditto [For a Cold] by Dr Sloan', p.3, 'For a Violent Cough By Sr Hans Sloan', p.49. N.B. The difference in title between 'Dr' and 'Sir' likely related to the timing of the family's acquisition of the recipe compared with Sloane's knighthood in 1716.

into the Nottinghamshire network explored in detail so far, and whose recipe collection ultimately came to be housed in the Nottinghamshire Archives.

### **Professional Physicians**

Sir Hans Sloane was an Irish doctor, botanist and collector, famed for his roles as a founder of the British Museum, as Physician-Extraordinary to Queen Anne, and in the promotion of milk chocolate following a Jamaican voyage.<sup>2</sup> In his own right, Sloane was known as a prolific collector of recipes, and compiler of receipt book manuscripts as part of his Baconian efforts to 'get rid of the medieval tradition of 'books of secrets' and bring science and medicine into the realm of public knowledge'.<sup>3</sup> As a result of his personal interest in the collecting of recipes, the British Library, houses a very neat, late-seventeenth century compendium of Sloane's household receipts described by his librarian, Humfrey Wanley as 'A great Collection of Receipts in Cookery, Physick, and other matters Relating to Women', as well as another collection of various hands and more miscellaneous entries and loose receipts, listed by Sloane in his catalogues as 'Processes and receipts' collected by one of Sloane's correspondents 'Mr [Gideon] Bonivert'.<sup>4</sup>

Sloane was also known to be connected socially to the Harley family. Sir Humfrey Wanley had been Dr. Sloane's librarian, and later worked within the Harley household establishing the Harleian Library alongside Henrietta's husband, Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford. As a result of this connection, written correspondence survives which was received by Sloane, and written by Wanley, which thanked him on behalf of Lord Oxford for the kind dedication

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<sup>2</sup> Arthur MacGregor, 'Sloan, Sir Hans, baronet (1660-1753), physician and collector', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [Accessed: 16 February 2021].

<sup>3</sup> Arnold Hunt, 'First Monday Library Chat: British Library', *The Recipe Project* (6 January 2014), at <https://recipes.hypotheses.org/3049> [Accessed: 11 November 2015].

<sup>4</sup> British Library (BL), Sloane MS 703 and MS 1000 respectively. Also see: Hunt, 'First Monday Library Chat: British Library'.

of a selection of his manuscripts, presumably to the Harley collection.<sup>5</sup> Initially, these donated manuscripts appear to be a likely source of the three Sloane-attributed receipts which appear in Henrietta's medical volume, in particular, in the case of 'A Copy of S[i]r: Hans Sloans prescription for a Tetterish Humour', which as a copy supports the notion that it was may have been replicated from one of the donated manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> However, there are alternative explanations, which reflect the different opportunities that the Harley household had to exchange recipe knowledge with Sloane, including one 'For a Cold' which advises the reader to 'take half a Pint of Poppy Water, White Sugar Candy & Oyl of Sweet Almonds'.<sup>7</sup> Following two receipts in the opening pages of the volume for a cold, these are added to later with another 'For a Violent Cough By S[i]r Hans Sloan[e]':

Take Oyl of Almonds, Syrup of Balsam, of Each 2 Ozs: Parmacity of Whales Seed Being an Oily Substance drawn from the Brains of Larges Whales, & afterwards well Purify'd one Oz Sugar as much as Sufficient, of this Lintus let the Patient take one Spoonfull three times a day.<sup>8</sup>

Sloane had also been directly involved in the medical treatment of members of the extended Harley family, as evidenced by a bill from Sloane, charging of 30 guineas for the inoculations of 'the Marquess and [his younger brother] Lord George Bentinck' between c.1725-1730.<sup>9</sup> The Marquess referred to here was the then teenaged William Bentinck who would soon (if he had not already) succeed his father as the (2<sup>nd</sup>) Duke of Portland in 1726, and would later marry Lady Margaret Harley, the daughter of Henrietta and Edward Harley, in 1734.

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<sup>5</sup> BL, Sloane MS 4044 (June 23, 1716).

<sup>6</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'A Copy of Sr Hans Sloans perscription for A Tetterish Humour', p.1.

<sup>7</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'Ditto [For a Cold] by Dr Sloan', p.3.

<sup>8</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'For a Violent Cough By Sr Hans Sloan', p.49.

<sup>9</sup> UNMASC, PI F1/3/2/13, 'Vouchers to His Grace's Private Account to Lady Day 1730', (1725/6-1730).

This exchange of knowledge amongst the social connections of Sloane and the Harleys prevailed for some years. In 1741, a continued interest in the acquisition of Sloane's recipes and knowledge is reflected within the correspondence of Margaret (Henrietta's daughter) to John Achard, her husband's tutor, in which she discusses the health of her husband, and John Achard himself. Furthermore, Margaret sends regards to Shaw despite being 'not in perfect charity with him for the trick he played em at S[i]r Hans Sloane's' going on to hope that Achard had been successful in rummag[ing] Sloane's collection, so that her own 'will be much the better for it'.<sup>10</sup> With this barely predating the instigation of the manuscripts of her mother, Henrietta, who begins to compile her volumes in 1743, it is possible that it was this attempt to rifle Sloane's collections which became the source of these valuable recipes, two of which feature in the opening three folios of her medical volume.

It is also perhaps relevant that the bill for medical treatment by Sloane upon the young Duke of Portland and his brother is related to an inoculation, as this is also key to other leading medical professionals featured within local manuscripts of receipts. Cited as the contributor of three recipes, across three volumes, including two Willoughby volumes as well as the Harley medical manuscript, Dr. Richard Mead was a leading expert in contagious disease and an early adopter of trials into small-pox inoculation.<sup>11</sup> Mead was a widely respected and well-regarded physician of the time with his recipes appearing in local manuscript collections, as well as in print, including collections such as Hannah Glasse's very popular title, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy* which featured within it more than 150 'new and useful receipts, and a copious index', including, Mead's recipe for 'A Certain

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<sup>10</sup> UNMASC, Pw C 47, 'Letter from Margaret Cavendish Bentinck to John Achard', 8 Aug. 1741.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Mead, *A short discourse concerning pestilential contagion, and the methods to be used to prevent it* (Sam Buckley and Ralph Smith: London, 1720).

Cure for the Bite of a Mad Dog'.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the source of Mead's recipes could well have been a transfer from print rather than direct correspondence or prescription. However, Mead is the cited source of at least three medical recipes in the Willoughby and Harley collections, where he is attributed to a 'A Receipt of Dr. Meads to ease pain in the face and an excellent remedy in an intermitting fever', another for 'Gout or Rhumatism in the Stomach by Dr. Mead', as well as 'Dr Mead's Diet Drink for sweet[e]ning the Blood, Particularly St Anthony's fire [a disease caused by fungus in rye, characterised by hallucinations, seizures and gangrene of the limbs]':

Take of Sassaparella Root & China Root of Each 1 Oz Slic'd Small, Candy'd Eringo Root ½ an Oz, Boyl them on a Gentle fire in a Vessel Close Stopt In 3 Pints of Spring Water till it comes to a Quart, then Strain it of & Drink half a Pint warm Morning & Evening in bed.<sup>13</sup>

Like Sloane, Mead can be connected to Edward and Henrietta Harley's daughter, Margaret Harley-Bentinck, and her husband William, through a shared interest of the Foundling Hospital children's home established in 1739 by Thomas Coram. Later known as 'The Generous Georgian', as well as being a leading physician, it was Mead's philanthropic endeavours in establishing the Foundling Hospital 'for abandoned children' that further connect him to local households.<sup>14</sup> In May 1735, Margaret, Duchess of Portland, became the twenty-first aristocratic woman to sign the 'Ladies' Petition' as one of the 'founding mothers' of the hospital when approached by Coram, and her husband, William Bentinck later became one of the original governors when the institution for the health and

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<sup>12</sup> Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*, 20<sup>th</sup> Edition (Edinburgh: James Donaldson, 1791), p.378.

<sup>13</sup> UNMASC, MS 87/1, "A Receipt of Dr. Meads to ease pain in the face and an excellent remedy in an intermitting fever", p.37v; MS 87/4, 'Gout or Rhumatism in the Stomach by Dr. Mead', p.317; Pw V 124, 'Dr Mead's Diet Drink for sweet[e]ning the Blood, Particularly St Anthony's fire', p.56.

<sup>14</sup> Anita Guerrini, 'Mead, Richard (1673-1754), physician and collector of books and art', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) [Accessed: 16 February 2021]; Anonymous, 'Remembering a philanthropist', *Country Life*, (Bath, 2014), p.39.

education of abandoned children opened, in 1739.<sup>15</sup> Whilst Mead was a widely published physician in his own right, as well as within printed recipe compilations, making it entirely feasible that his recipes and prescriptions could have been copied from print to manuscript, in the case of the Harley collection, his recipes are almost certainly underpinned by a genuine social connection.<sup>16</sup> The initial overlap in the Mead and the Harley social and familial circles may have been a result of the philanthropic connection of supporting the Foundling Hospital, but we also know from letters that Mead was directly involved in the successful treatment of a case of gout in the right elbow in William Bentinck's (Henrietta's son-in-law and Margaret's husband) in which 'Doctor Mead says my Lords fit of the gout is over... [and that] he looks quite clear', going on to add that Mead has also been attending to an acquaintance, and that 'Dr Mead has been again with him & said that last Sunday his head was swelled as big as two his nose mouth and cheeks even & one eye intirely gone so that I think no one can wish his life.'<sup>17</sup> Thus, references to Mead's recipes, prescriptions, and treatment were likely the result of this legitimate social connection to a prominent household of the region, despite also being widely published in print.

There is a connection between Mead and Boerhaave too, as Richard Mead also studied at Leiden.<sup>18</sup> William Bentinck, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Portland, spent time in Leiden prior to his marriage, as evidenced by the 'travel expenses for journey to and sojourn in Leiden' in the Portland documents, alongside correspondence between his mother, Elizabeth Bentinck, to his tutor

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<sup>15</sup> Susanna Avery-Quash and Christine Riding, 'Two hundred years of women benefactors at the national gallery: An exercise in mapping uncharted territory', *Journal of Art Historiography*, Vol. 23 (2020), p.8; 'The London Foundling Hospital and Thomas Coram, 1737-1937', *Social Service Review*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1937), pp.714–717.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, 'Dr Mead's Receipt for the Bite of a mad Dog' published in both Smith, *The Compleat Housewife*, p.344 and Glasse, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*, p..378.

<sup>17</sup> UNMASC, Pw C 47, 'Letter from Margaret Cavendish Bentinck to John Achard', 8 Aug. 1741.

<sup>18</sup> K.F. Russell, 'The Anatomical Library of Dr. Richard Mead (1673-1754)', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1947), pp.97–109.

John Achard, in which she expressed her hopes in January 1727, that her son will not be leaving Leiden yet, and then again shares her thoughts that her son should still spend another year at 'Leyden', in February 1729.<sup>19</sup> It is likely that this time spent by William Bentinck at Leiden accounts for the presence of a 124 folio manuscript copy of Boerhaave's lectures in Latin given between 1722-1733, and written entirely in one hand, which now resides in local archives.<sup>20</sup>

Dr. Herman Boerhaave was a well-known Dutch physician and Professor of medicine, chemistry and botany who spent his entire professional life at the University of Leiden. He was an acclaimed medical scientist of his period and was also associated with a belief in medicine based in the first-hand observation such as public dissection, which he observed and greatly admired in the work of the Leiden-based anatomist Anton Nuck.<sup>21</sup> Yet local recipe collections include two receipts attributed to him, being referred to as 'Dr Boorheave' in Henrietta's hand and 'Dr Borehoave' in one Willoughby volume.<sup>22</sup> We can see that his methods and techniques were consulted by both the Harley and Willoughby compilers in order to obtain a Boerhaave 'receipt for rheumatic pains', as well as his 'Receipt for a Nervous Head Ake':

Take of Distil'd Waters, of Lavender, & Marjorem, of Each 2 Ozs; Spirits of featherfew half an Ounce, Tincture of Amber 2 Drams, Mix'em, & take half an Ounce Every 3 hours 'till the pain abates.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> UNMASC, PI F1/3/2/107-109, 'Vouchers to His Grace's Private Account to Lady Day 1730', (1725/6-1730);, Pw C 28, 'Letter from Elizabeth Bentick, London, to John Achard (10 Jan 1727); Pw C 23, 'Letter from Elizabeth Bentick, London, to John Achard (18 Feb 1729).

<sup>20</sup> UNMASC, MS 671, 'Manuscript volume containing lectures given by Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), Chemist and Physician', 1722-1733.

<sup>21</sup> R.A. Kyle (M.D) and D.P. Steensma (M.D.) 'Herman Boerhaave - Master Clinician and Humanist', *Mayo Clinic Proceedings*, Vol. 98, Issue 11 (Rochester, 2018), pp.119-120.

<sup>22</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'Dr Boorheaves Receipt for a Nerveous Head Ake', p.75; MS 87/2, 'Dr Borehoave's receipt for rheumatic pains, by my mother Alexander', p.248.

<sup>23</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 124, 'Dr Boorheaves Receipt for a Nerveous Head Ake', p.75.



This alongside further archival evidence, indicates that members of the Harley extended family displayed considerable interest in the work of Herman Boerhaave, as Dr William Burton of Yarmouth mentions in a letter to John Achard in January 1747 that he had recently sent 'a Copy of the second edition of Boerhaave's Life' to the [2nd] Duke of Portland; and in 1730, Elizabeth Bentinck complains of ill health due to gout in her knee in correspondence with John Achard, and encloses a newspaper cutting of Boerhaave's remedy for gout, which also offered a postscript in French detailing Boerhaave's milk remedy.<sup>24</sup>

Between these references to Sloane, Mead and Boerhaave, local receipt collections demonstrate an interest amongst regional recipe collectors in the knowledge and teachings of individuals who are best known for their advocacy of progressive medicine, moving towards a culture of public knowledge-sharing and scientific observation of ill-health.

### **Thomas Gell (1679-1755): A Local Receipt Collecting Physician**

The examples above of notable figures such as Hans Sloane, Richard Mead and Herman Boerhaave are undoubtedly useful in enhancing our understanding of how local domestic knowledge interacted with a much wider network of nationally renowned male medical professionals, and how such professional knowledge permeated prominent regional households through manuscript recipe practice and learning. However, a recipe collection of three volumes by a local male medical professional, an apothecary and surgeon, Thomas Gell (1679-1755) of Wirksworth, Derbyshire is significant in the implications for a male surgeon engaging in recipe collection of the culinary as well as domestic medicine. It is

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<sup>24</sup> UNMASC, PI C 37/21, 'Letter from Dr William Burton, Yarmouth, to John Achard', 5 Jan. 1747; Pw C 26, 'Letter from Elizabeth Bentinck to John Achard', 30 Mar. 1730; Pw C 27, 'Cutting containing 'Professors Boerhaave and Osterdyke's regimen prescrib'd for the Gout'', undated [c.1730].

particularly pertinent to this study in its listing in the Nottinghamshire Archives as ‘The receipt book of Grandmother Gell’, despite Thomas’ apparent involvement through an inscription in the second volume, with his role therefore appearing to be minimised in the cataloguing of the source.<sup>25</sup> Carol Barstow has carried out a significant exploratory study of this three-part collection of recipes through her lens as a local food historian, and so through interrogating the Gell recipes in relation to our knowledge of other, local recipe collectors, this case study shall build upon her work, weaving this knowledge of the Gell manuscripts into the wider local recipe context.<sup>26</sup> Developing this understanding further is particularly pertinent to the gender themes established within this chapter by demonstrating an example of a contemporary male physician operating, and actively participating in, the regional recipe-sharing network. By exploring this in more detail, we will demonstrate further how separate sphere notions of gender threaten to oversimplify what is a far more complex picture of early modern gender roles, as well as between the arenas of domestic and professional knowledge.

The Gell collection consists of three volumes. The first is a home-made book of 97 recipes containing what appears to be three distinct hands, with one contribution dating that particular volume at 1750 via a recipe for raisin wine:

April ye 13, 1750 we put together a hundred of [?] Raisins, & Sixteen Gallons, & a halfowater, Alemeasure, unboil’d, it stood in the Tub 3 weeks & was stirr’d every Day, then the raisins were squeez’d out by handful, & the liquor was put into a Barrel, the Barrell was almost full. [I]t stood in the Barrell about two months & was then rack’d off and put into the Barrell again, with an ounce of seeinglass[?] dissolved in some of it. [T]he Barrell was not wash’d but rub’d with a cloth, it stood till twas quite clear and then we Bottl’d it on St James’s Day, 25 of July.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> NA, DD/E/59/57.

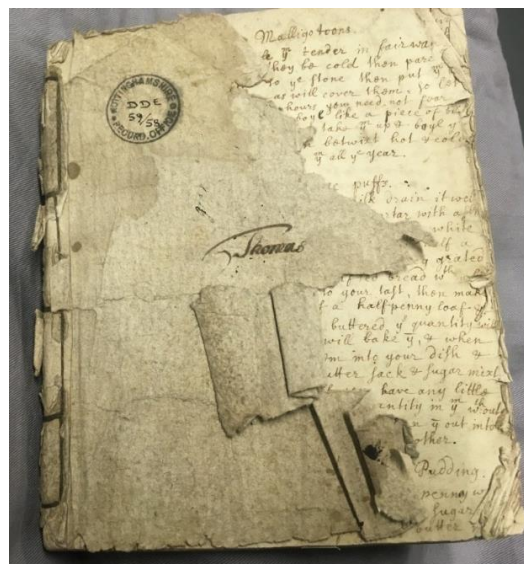
<sup>26</sup> Carol Barstow, *In Grandmother Gell’s Kitchen: A selection of recipes used in the Eighteenth Century* (Nottinghamshire County Council, 2009).

<sup>27</sup> NA, DD/E/59/56, ‘Untitled Recipe for a raisin wine’ dated April ye 13 1750’, 25v.

The second collection is one of loose account book pages, containing 263 recipes, one of which is dated 'May ye 2nd 1750', thus dating the collection as contemporary to the bound, unattributed volume above, as well as to the production period of those of the Harley, Willoughby and Mundy households.<sup>28</sup> Finally, the third is a bound volume containing 239 handwritten receipt copies, with an inscription on the cover with the name 'Thomas', a selection of receipts sourced from three different books and marked in Latin where each book ends, collated by the eighteenth century, local, male surgeon, Thomas Gell.

In this third volume (Fig. 39, below), the sections within the manuscript are indicated with notes in Latin to indicate where the copy of each books ends, as in the inscription, 'Finis Secundi Libri [The end of the second book] p[er] me Thomas Gell' (Fig. 40, below). These additional, complete, references to Thomas Gell within the main body of the manuscripts helps to confirm his identity where damage to the cover, resulting in the loss of 'Gell' in its inscription over time (Fig. 39, above), might otherwise have left unclear.

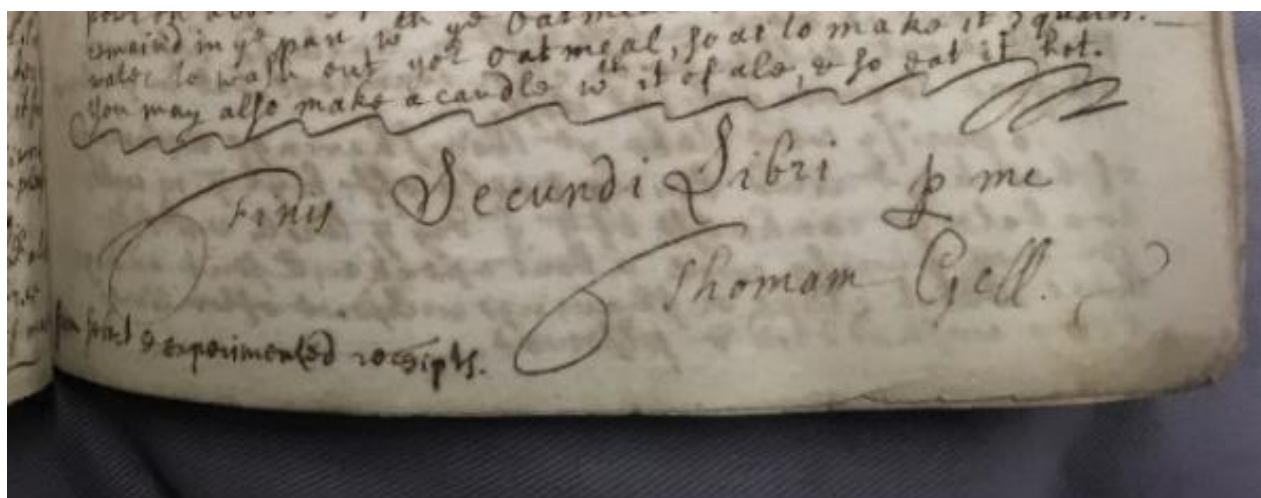
**Fig. 39 Cover of the receipt book volume of Thomas Gell, c.1750.**<sup>29</sup>



<sup>28</sup> NA, DD/E/59/57.

<sup>29</sup> NA, DD/E/59/58, "The Receipt Book Volume of Thomas Gell, c.1750'.

Fig. 40 Close up name ascription of Thomas Gell.<sup>30</sup>



According to the memorial of Thomas Gell (1679-1755), he lived at The Gatehouse in Wirksworth, and was a member of the extended Gell family, a prominent Derbyshire family who had originated from Hopton.<sup>31</sup> In 1706, he married Cassandra Lowe Gell (1689-1770), and they had at least nine children together between approximately 1711 and 1730, including Dorothy Gell Wright (1711-1734), Philip (1714-1776), Robert (1716-1744), Mary Gell Hurt (1720-1801), Anne (1722-1738), Thomas (1723-1767), Temperance (1725-1795), Edward and Cassandra.<sup>32</sup> Carol Barstow points out that the inscribed Thomas Gell was likely to have been third cousin once removed to Sir Philip Gell, who had inherited Hopton Hall in 1730 from his uncle. Additionally, the will of Sir Phillip suggests a social as well as familial connection and friendship between himself and Thomas, with a request that Thomas take up a role as Trustee for the almshouses he was building in the town.<sup>33</sup> Barstow noted that if

<sup>30</sup> NA, DD/E/59/58, 'The Receipt Book Volume of Thomas Gell, c.1750', p.33.

<sup>31</sup> 'Memorial Page for Thomas Gell, Sr (1679-1755)', *Find A Grave*, at <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/88289072/thomas-gell> [Accessed: 21 October 2019]; John Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England* (Scott, Webster and Geary: London, 1841), pp.216-217.

<sup>32</sup> Llewellynn Frederick William Jewitt, 'Family of Lowe' *The Relinquiry: quarterly archaeological journal and review*, July 1863-Oct.1894, Vol. 11 (April 1871), pp.254-256; 'Memorial Page for Thomas Gell, Sr (1679-1755)', *Find A Grave*, at <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/88289072/thomas-gell> [Accessed: 21 October 2019].

<sup>33</sup> Barstow, *In Grandmother Gell's Kitchen*, p.2.

it was Thomas who copied out the recipes, and that if they were his grandmother's, then they would have belonged to Cicily, who married Anthony Gell in 1648.<sup>34</sup> This is problematic, though, as despite a catalogue description in the archives as 'The receipt book of Grandmother Gell', there appears to be no explicit reference or link to place these sources as Barstow does, to being 'In Grandmother Gell's Kitchen'. Instead, as we have already seen, there are multiple references to Thomas himself, as well as other donors and attributions in the preceding sections of Gell's volume, such as at the preface to the copy of a second book where a 'Mrs Billing & Gallimore' are noted, most likely as sources, in the top left corner.<sup>35</sup> Significantly, though, archival material does not definitively ascribe any of the content to Thomas' Grandmother. The cataloguing of the collection in this way therefore either indicates anecdotal knowledge by the Edge Family of Strelley Hall who came to deposit the collection with the Nottinghamshire Archives, that the origin was with Cicily Gell, and merely minimises the role of Thomas in developing it at a later stage. Alternately, this approach to cataloguing reflects a modern predisposition for us to associate recipe collections to women over men, and therefore the prominence of Thomas Gell has been ignored to suit existing categorisations and understandings of domestic manuscripts in this period. Either way, this thesis posits the link between Thomas and his grandmother via this recipe volume serves to flip matrilineal assumptions on their head to demonstrate an eighteenth-century male surgeon engaging with the receipt book culture of his female ancestor. Therefore, despite it being clear that Thomas Gell actively compiled his own manuscript volume of medical and culinary recipes, that a presumptive approach to

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<sup>34</sup> Barstow, *In Grandmother Gell's Kitchen*, p.2.

<sup>35</sup> NA, DD/E/59/58, p.33.

cataloguing has risked effectively eliminating Thomas' role from the history of the collection.

Derbyshire records show that Thomas operated locally as a medical professional, taking on an apprentice apothecary and surgeon from the surrounding towns and villages of Derbyshire, including Seale (now known as Overseal and Netherseal) and Chapel-en-le-Frith. In 1727, an indenture apprenticing 'John Gresley, the son of Thomas Gresley of Seale, Esq., to Thomas Gell of Wirksworth, apothecary, for a term of 7 years' was agreed, and in October 1733, Gell apprenticed Richard Barker, son of the widow Mary Barker of Chapel-en-le-Frith 'in the art of surgeon and apothecary'.<sup>36</sup> We can also deduce that Gell was still practicing into the 1740s via a receipt for money received by him from one William Kirk of Brassington for medical treatment received by Anne Briddon and Mrs Richard Kirby, dated 1741.<sup>37</sup> His volume and the wider Gell collection appears to reflect that the recipes contained within are the product of a practicing compiler. Firstly, via references to the recipes contained within being 'from select & experimented receipts' and secondly with the amendments and editing of contents in the Willoughby examples, Gell appears to delete recipes which he deems to be of no use or little value.<sup>38</sup> For example, in the case of his crossed out recipe 'To Stew a Carp', which then appears to have been swiftly replaced with a more detailed and complex recipe of the same title to follow (Fig. 41, below).

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<sup>36</sup> Derbyshire Record Office (DRO), D77/4/8/11, 'Apprenticeship indenture with counterpart of John Gresley, son of Thomas Gresley of Seale, Esq., to Thomas Gell of Wirksworth, apothecary, for a term of 7 years', 1727; D504/103/1, 'Apprenticeship indenture of Richard Barker, son of Mary Barker of Chapel-en-le-Frith, widow, to Thomas Gell of Wirksworth in the art of a surgeon and apothecary, with receipt of consideration money', 24 Oct 1733.

<sup>37</sup> NA, D5759/4/8, 'Receipt for money received by Thomas Gell from William Kirk of Brassington, for medical treatment received by Anne Briddon and Mrs. Richard Kirby', 1741.

<sup>38</sup> NA, DD/E/59/58, p.33.

Fig. 41 'To stew a carp', a recipe by Thomas Gell.<sup>39</sup>



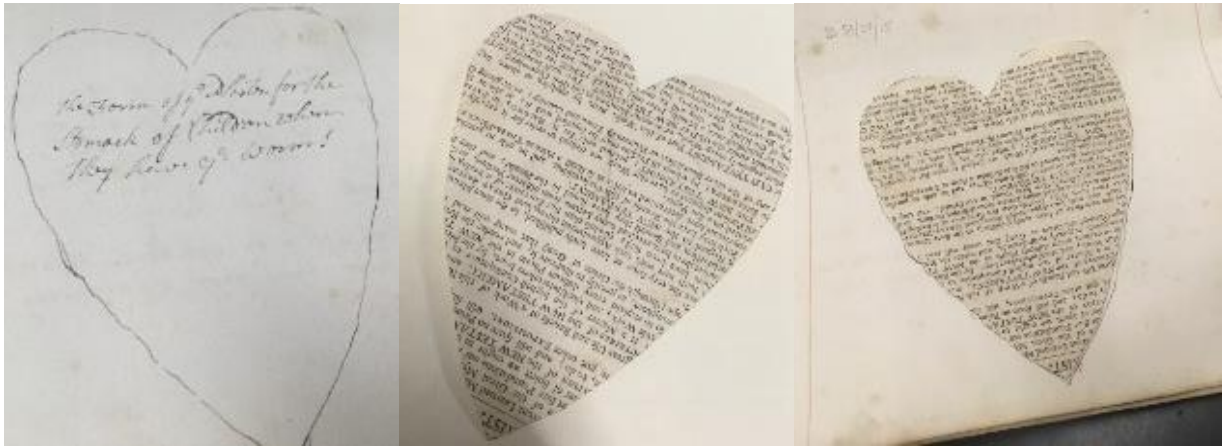
Finally, there is a link between the collected recipes contained within the collection and a receipt illustrating 'The Form of ye Plaster for the Stomack of Children when they have ye worms', which reinforces that they were used in practice.<sup>40</sup> Accompanying the heart shaped outline which is sketched onto the disused pages of an account book, there is a matching heart shaped template within the selection of loose receipts that has been cut out from a printed text and either taken from, or copied into, the account book pages, to result in a perfect fit (see Fig. 42, below).<sup>41</sup> This cut out indicates an active use of the receipt in practice through the physical production of the plaster template as it is prescribed to have been used.

<sup>39</sup> NA, DD/E/59/58, p.21.

<sup>40</sup> NA, DD/59/57/15.

<sup>41</sup> NA, DD 59/57/34.

**Fig. 42 ‘The form of ye plaster for the stomach of children when ye have ye worms’ depicted as a cut-out (left), template (centre) and together (right).<sup>42</sup>**



### **The Gell Collection and the Local Nottinghamshire Network**

Thomas' connection to the wider local network of receipt book compilers is evident through attributions and social connections. In the collection of Mrs Mundy, for example, we find reference to a receipt 'To Make Martlemass Beef, by Lady Gell'..<sup>43</sup> A connection to the Gells is not surprising given the breadth of the recipe networks demonstrated in Chapter 5, 'Local Recipe Networks', and given the Gell's relation to the Willoughbys dating back to the seventeenth-century through the marriage of Sir John Gell (1593-1671) the eldest son of Thomas, who had built the late sixteenth century Hopton Hall in Wirksworth, Derbyshire, and married at the age of 15, Elizabeth Willoughby, the daughter of Sir Percival Willoughby of Wollaton Hall, Nottingham, in January 1609/10.<sup>44</sup> However, what is striking is the similarity also in style and format between the structuring devices of the anonymous Gell volume in comparison to the Mundy manuscript (Fig. 43, below).

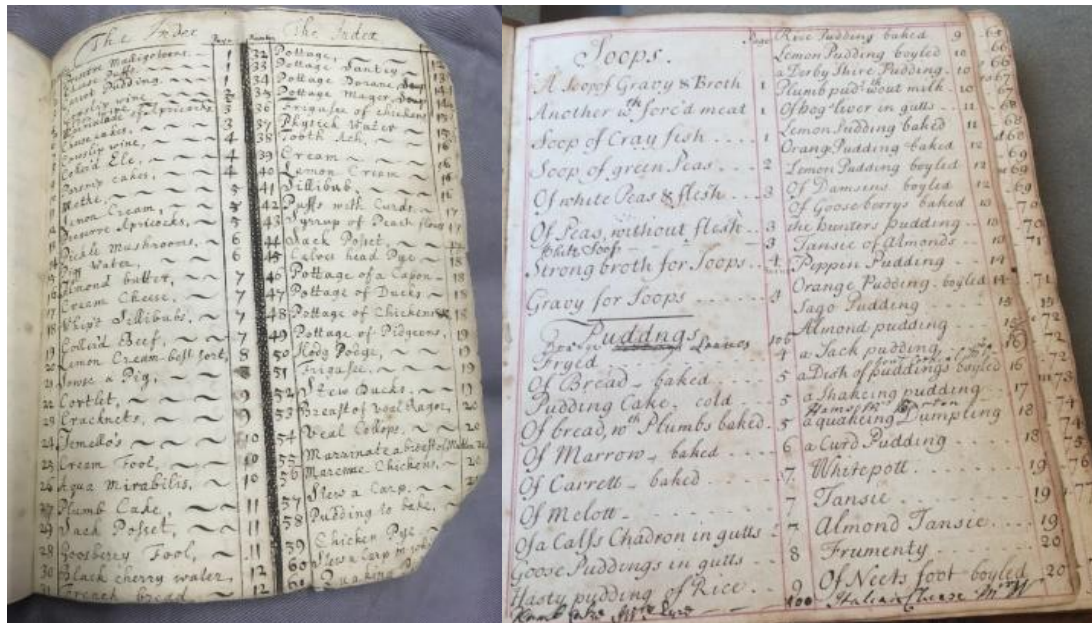
<sup>42</sup> NA, DD 59/57/34.

<sup>43</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'To Make Martlemass Beef, by Lady Gell', p.24.

<sup>44</sup> See: Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England*, p.217; W.P.W Phillimore and T.M. Blagg (eds.), *Nottinghamshire Parish Registers: Marriages Vol. VIII (1905)*, p.59.



Fig. 43 Comparison of structuring devices by Gell (left) and Mundy (right) highlighting a similar structure and layout between the two households.<sup>45</sup>



Local family connections to the Gell extended network via attributions uncovers further links with the Gell family, on the side of both Thomas, and his wife Cassandra. Not only do the Mundy attributions reference ‘Mrs Gell’ herself as above, but there are also wider references to Cassandra’s paternal line of relations, the Lowe family. References to Mrs. Lowe appear twice in the first Willoughby volume, one culinary in the form of a receipt for ‘Beef tea’, and another for a ‘Surfeit Water’ both by ‘Mrs J. Lowe’.<sup>46</sup> Given what we know of the Lowe family, namely that Cassandra’s father was Edward, and her mother, Dorothy, the most direct and likely relation of a ‘Mrs J. Lowe’ is Cassandra’s aunt, through marriage to her uncle, John Lowe.<sup>47</sup> A total of nine recipes from a ‘Miss Lowe’ feature in the Mundy volume also, with this distinction made of a ‘Miss’ Lowe potentially representing an

<sup>45</sup> NA, DD/E/59/58, ‘The Index’, p.111; UNMASC, MS 86, ‘Index’, f.2r.

<sup>46</sup> UNMASC, 87/1, ‘Beef Tea, by Mrs J. Lowe’, p.41, ‘Surfeit Water, by Mrs J. Lowe’, back p.29.

<sup>47</sup> Wirksworth Heritage Centre, ‘Manuscript family tree of the Gell family, c.1858’; N.B. John Lowe (b.1651) married Ann (née Bridge) and had three children; Thomas, John, and Phillip.

unmarried sister or other paternal relation of Cassandra's. Miss Lowe is attributed to a combination of four receipts for food and drink for 'Cucumber Soop', 'Gravy Soop', 'White Hoggs Pudding', and a 'Thick cream cheese', plus five which are medicinal in nature including, 'To make Worm ointment', 'An excelle[nt] Sear Cloath for a Sprain or Br[ui]se or a Sore Legg', a 'Bruise Ointment', a 'Receipt to Make Red Powder' or 'The Milk for a Consumption'.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, Mrs Eyre, who is referred to in a total of twelve recipes across the rest of the collection, including 7 in the Mundy volume, 4 in the Harley culinary volume, and another, 'To Make Comfit Cream [by] Mrs Eyre' in her confectionary volume, is also linked to the Gell household.<sup>49</sup> Mrs Eyre is likely to have been Thomas' aunt Catherine (née Gell) who married William Eyre, and was the sister of Thomas' aforementioned uncle, Sir Phillip, of Hopton Hall. It was her son, John, who went on to inherit Hopton Hall from his uncle, and to assume at that point the name of Gell himself.<sup>50</sup> There is a shared interest reflected in the receipt 'To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting Day', donated by Thomas' aunt, Mrs Eyre, and recorded in Henrietta Harley's collection:

### **8/ To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting Day – Mrs Eyre**

Put a Quart of Good Breaking Peas to Six Quarts of Water, & Boyl 'em till they are tender, then take out Some of the Clear Liquor, & Strain the Peas as Clean as you can from the Husks: take come Butter & Boyl it & it Breaks in the Middle, put to it an Onion, some mint cut very Small, Spinage & Sorrell & a Little Cetty Cut large, Stir it often & let it Boyl about a Quarter of an hour, then Shake in Some flower with one

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<sup>48</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'Cucumber Soop, by Miss Lowe', p.2v, 'Gravy Soop, by Miss Lowe', p.3v, 'White Hoggs Pudding, by Miss Lowe', p.6v, 'Thick cream cheese, by Miss Lowe', p.13, 'To Make Worm ointment, by Miss Lowe', p.130v, 'An Excellement Sear Cloath for a Sprain or Brase or a Sore Legg, by Miss Lowe', p.131v, 'Braise Ointment, by Miss Lowe', p.131v, 'Receipt to Make Red powder', by Miss Lowe', p.133v, 'The Milk for a Consumption, by Miss M. Lowe', p.139.

<sup>49</sup> UNMASC, MS 86, 'With Soop, by Mrs. Eyre', p.2v, 'To make a Slipcote Cheese, by Mrs. Eyre', p.96v, 'Lady Manchester's cakes, by Mrs. Eyre', p.97v, 'A Plumb Cake, Mrs. Eyre's', p.99v, 'Desert Wafers by Mrs Eyre', p.101v, 'To Candy Orang[e] Pills, by Mrs Eyre', p.105v, 'Syrup of Lemons, by Mrs Eyre', p.106v; Pw V 123, 'To Make Dutch Beef Mrs Eyre', p.1, 'To Make an Apple Pudding Mrs Eyre', p.2, 'To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting Day Mrs Eyre', p.5, 'A White Soop Mrs Eyre', p.58; Pw V 125, 'To Make Comfit Cream [by] Mrs Eyre', p.22.

<sup>50</sup> Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England*, p.217; John Sleigh, 'Gell of Hopton', *The Relinquary: quarterly archaeological journal and review, July 1863-Oct.1894*, Vol. 11 (April 1871), p.226.

hand & Some of the thin liquor with the other, the put in the thick Straind Liquor, some Pepper, mace & Salt, & Boyl it an hour longer, then put into as Much as will make a Large Dish one Pint of Sweet Cream, put in a French Role Crisp'd and Dip'd in the Middle of the Dish.<sup>51</sup>

As well as in the Gell collections via Thomas' recipes, 'To make a Lenton Gelly' and 'To make a Lenton Custard':

**69/To make a Lenton Gelly.**

Take ye skin of a well grown tench w[he]n it is boyled take ye fish and scales as clear from it as you can yn take a pint of white wine half a pint of fair water boyl yt together to yr half pint put in half a pound of sugar one q[uar]ter of an ounce of cinnamon a Rase of Ginger sliced a q[au]rter of a pint of of water let it boyl on a soft fire altogether but not too long lest it go red

**70/To make a Lenton Custard**

Take ye spawn of a Tench & wash it in many waters & lay it all night in some quantity of rosewater yn take one pound of almonds, & coat ym a little before you put spawn to it & yn grind it very fine yn take a pint & a half of fair water w[i]th some whole mace boyl ym in it & so strain ym. For yo[u]r colouring take a little saffron soafen them[?] with rosewater & sugar as yo[u]rself pleaseth. It may be baked in an Oven or on a pot of water whether you will.<sup>52</sup>

In these recipes we can see that the dishes make use of fish instead of meat as a gelatine-substitute for a setting agent in the Lenten jelly and custard, thus rendering them suitable for Lent or a fasting day. Lenten and fasting day recipes are commonplace in recipe collection in both print and manuscript, with Hannah Glasse also dedicating by far her largest chapter to nearly 300 recipes 'for a fast dinner... which you may make use of for a table at any other time'.<sup>53</sup> That Thomas' aunt's recipe was featured in the wider collection of local sources via the Harley manuscript may well indicate that the Gell family were considered a purveyor of Lenten or Fasting Day recipes, or might even imply that they were known locally as particularly devout in their observation of the Christian calendar, and

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<sup>51</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 123, 'To Make Peas Soop for Lent or any fasting Day Mrs Eyre', p.5.

<sup>52</sup> NA, DD/E/59/58, p.25.

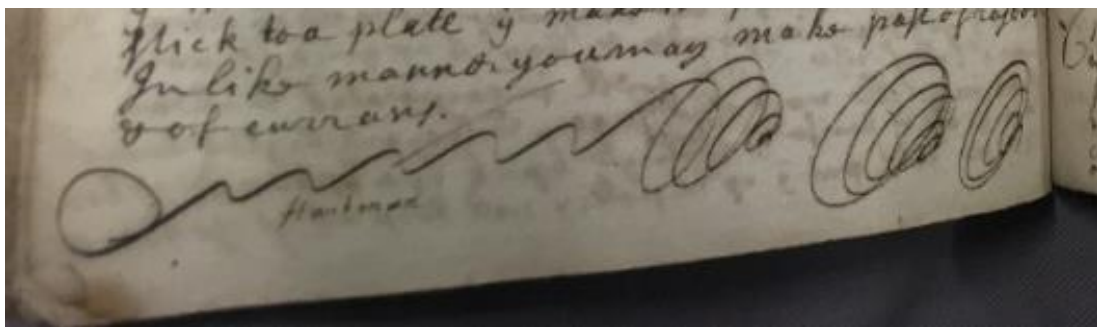
<sup>53</sup> Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery made Plain and Easy*, pp.108-265

therefore a respected source of suitable recipes.<sup>54</sup> These kinds of fasting recipes, as well as those associated with Christian festivals, such as the pancake recipes shared amongst the Willoughby manuscripts demonstrated the persistence of fasting day and Lenten recipes well into the eighteenth century, not only as a form of printed didactic guidance, but also as captured in the everyday practice of manuscript recipe collecting in regional households. The regionality of these particular Lenten recipes is also reflected in the use of tench, a freshwater fish, to produce the isinglass needed to make these Lenten jelly and custard recipes; very likely as a result of the households producing them being situated in the midlands and away from the coast.

#### References to Printed Texts by Thomas Gell

Gell makes multiple references to George Hartman's printed publication, 'The Family Physitian', which was first published in 1696. He cites Hartman firstly, by simply noting 'Hartman' in the lower margins of a page beneath a recipe (Fig. 44, below).

**Fig. 44 'Hartman' attribution, by Thomas Gell.**<sup>55</sup>



Then again, in the upper margin just above a recipe, 'To make wine of English Grapes to be as strong, wholesome, & pleasing as French Wine' where he specifically notes 'Hartmans

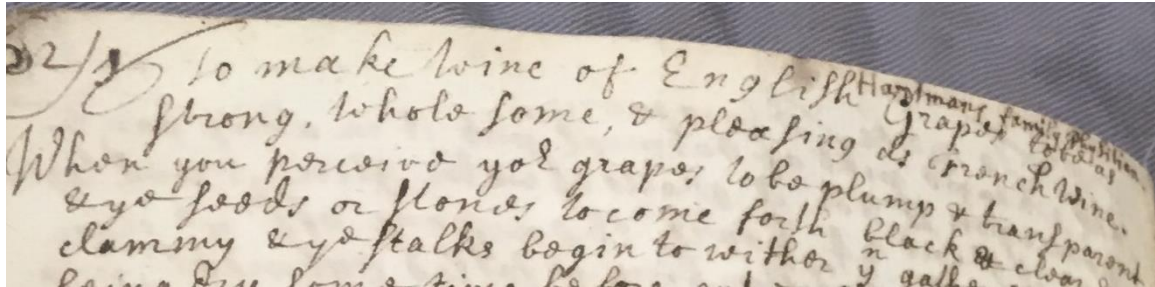
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<sup>54</sup> For more on fasting day recipes in the eighteenth century, see also: Lauren F. Winner, 'The Foote sisters' Compleat Housewife: cookery texts as a source in lived religion' in DiMeo and Pennell (eds.), *Reading and Writing Recipe Books*, pp.135-155, esp. pp.141-144.

<sup>55</sup> NA, DD/E/59/58, p.74.

family physician' as the source (Fig. 45, below), the specific recipe of which, can indeed be found in the printed Hartman text.<sup>56</sup>

**Fig. 45 George Hartman's 'Family Physician' attribution example, by Thomas Gell.**<sup>57</sup>



The Hartman printed text and Gell's reference to it also exposes a glimmer of a wider tradition of professional knowledge sharing network that spanned the boundaries of print, manuscript and verbal knowledge sharing in this period, as well as traditional gendered arenas. Not only does Hartman acknowledge Lord William Paston, 2nd Earl of Yarmouth as the male patron of this, his fourth published volume, but also indicates that Lord Paston had 'signified to [him] that there were many good and considerable Receipts in the said Book which pleas'd your Honour' and that when '[Hartman] acquainted your Lordship that [he] was about to put this Book to print, you[r] Honour was pleas'd to promise [him] some Manuscripts and Secrets of your Illustrious Father, which his Lordship had of the learned Sir Theodore Mayern', thus demonstrating another multigenerational and patrilineal tradition of participation in recipe sharing.<sup>58</sup> Hartman's introduction to the reader and Gell's subsequent reference to it as a useful text indicates an understanding shared by Gell and his contemporaries that receipt knowledge was ultimately understood to be of value to both

<sup>56</sup> George Hartman, *The Family Physitian, or A Collection of Choice, Approv'd and Experienc'd Remedies* (H. Hills: London, 1696), p.471.

<sup>57</sup> NA, DD/E/59/58, p.62.

<sup>58</sup> Hartman, *The Family Physitian*, f.2r-v.

men and women. He outlines his intended audience of the text to consist of both genders, highlighting that the recipes contained within:

[A]re Experienc'd and Approv'd of, and they have all been perus'd and approv'd of by an able Physitian and Chyrurgion... though they are not for any Man exactly to follow; but to be as a Light and Guide to him in the way of his Practise.<sup>59</sup>

Whilst also being simultaneously of relevance to 'worthy Ladies and Gentlewomen' as:

They may also be of good use to other Persons affected with the Noble Arts of Physick and Chyrurgery, to wit [as follows], well dispos'd worthy Ladies and Gentlewomen, that take delight in the Charitable Contributing to the Health as well as Sustenance of their Poor Neighbours and Domestical Servants, and in the Country may be and are often times serviceable to their Poor Neighbours, who without their help would many time otherwise inevitably perish, living in places where Physitians and Chyrurgions are scarce, if at all to be had.<sup>60</sup>

Overall, an exploration of the receipt book of Thomas Gell and his connections has further demonstrated the degree of male participation in recipe collecting, to the extent of providing an example of a contemporary and comparable volume compiled entirely by a singular male, as well as the intersection between the content of his repertoire, with the wider local body of domestic knowledge texts. It also points towards the cross-over between manuscript culture and print in recipe knowledge collecting and sharing practices, a theme that extends beyond the remit of this study. Gell's role as a medical professional might make this intersection with print more prominent, but as evidence demonstrates, that role does not seem to have precluded him in any way from participation in recipe sharing which extended beyond the scope of purely medical or printed knowledge, but rather that he avidly collected receipts into manuscript that were culinary in their nature too.

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<sup>59</sup> Hartman, *The Family Physitian*, f.3r.

<sup>60</sup> Hartman, *The Family Physitian*, f.3r-v.

## Conclusion

This thesis has examined the value of eighteenth-century recipe sources to their compilers: in respect of their sense of 'self' and individual identity, to the wider community, and to historians in unravelling the complexities of social and gender dynamics in early modern households. It aimed to consider these questions through the lens of a source base of manuscript recipe books with origins in households local to the Nottinghamshire region.

In regards to the 'self', 'Form & Function: The Value of 'Self in Domestic Recipe Texts' examined the form and structure of recipe book compilations and considered their utility as platforms for articulating authority and agency, for preserving and acquiring domestic skill and education, and for engaging with wider scientific developments of the age in the form of observational practice and trial-and-error experimentation.

When examining 'Authority & Agency', the features of the receipt book genre were shown to exhibit fluidity across the source base that made them conducive to individual adaptation and utility. In the use of title pages, female compilers were shown to have used these in varying degrees; from not at all, in three of the Willoughby volumes, to highly-considered and intricate individual declarations of ownership of, or at least authority over, the knowledge contained within the Harley and Mundy texts. With the information recorded on source title pages alone, the ability to glean a significant amount of biographical and contextual knowledge was demonstrated, with this approach proving the validity of the viewpoint that these offered a fingerprint of individuality in all of these collections, in their association to households and/or individuals from the locality. In the case of Mrs Willoughby's volume, the impression of 'Miss Anne Barber' as a subsequent individual peruser of the volume even allowed us to demonstrate the use of the book into a later time

period than archival records had estimated as 1790, into the very early 1800s instead. The ability for individuals to identify themselves by name on title pages, combined with the interactivity of manuscript culture in combining recipe entries with language to endorse and verify their effectiveness, as well as the ability to comment upon and amend the text, facilitated a huge amount of authority and agency over the compendia, mirroring a high level of domestic experience and expertise possessed by the compiler.

In terms of 'Epistemic Value', the importance of receipt books as an educational tool to both compilers and readers was considered in relation to the development of the 'self'. The sources were shown to demonstrate their utility by their compilers as an *aide-memoire*, recording and preserving traditional knowledge from previous generations into a personal or family collection, as well as devising organisational tools such as section headings and comprehensive indexes to aid in the retrieval of information. Crucially, this research contributes to the wider picture of the landscape of opportunities for women writers to develop and enhance their literacy with a 'functional' purpose. It demonstrated that women had a legacy of local female writers to build upon, and that in the practical application of recipe knowledge into manuscript collections, recipe compilers were able to seek improvements to their written vocabulary to distinguish between 'mews for hawks' and 'muse to meditate', for example. Recipe texts were shown to have been used to correct and improve upon spelling, form of lettering, and practise the use of common symbols which denote measurements. Essentially, local recipe manuscripts were demonstrated to have played a valuable role to compilers as functional educational tools for advancing skills and knowledge, based upon the convenient and practical platform of advancing domestic skills and know-how.



A survey of the 'Landscape of Medicine' considered the development of a standardised format of medical receipts and hypothesised that this was reflective of a growing culture of trial-and-error experimentation in which the separation of ingredients and quantities from methods and techniques would be beneficial to the advancement of knowledge through easily adjusting elements of a medical receipt based on observation and experience of its ingredients, quantity, and technique based on use in practice. In the case study of a receipt for a plague water copied over multiple examples, we witness degrees of adjustment over various iterations leading a prose like receipt to appear in a more modern, recipe-like formula, strongly indicating development as a result of trial-and-error.

The first section of this thesis therefore demonstrated the value of the receipt book, with its fluidity as a genre in both form and function, to embody the individual interests, experiences, and pursuits of the compiler and subsequent users. It has done so through evidencing the voice of the individual in title page examples, their utility as an educational tool, and as a platform for furthering the educational aspect into the realms of wider cultural and scientific developments of the era. Perhaps most evident from this research is the inseparable nature of the individual and the wider community within recipe manuscript examples. Title pages frequently saw the individual feature prominently, whilst also alongside, and even actively making way for, subsequent readers and contributors, for example by denoting their intention of the text as a gift, with verso pages left blank and the adoption of beehive symbolism employed to reflect a more collaborative experience of early modern domesticity. The epistemic functions, whilst no doubt valuable to the individual in gaining practical literacy skills and culinary and medicinal know-how throughout, can also be perceived as a way of commemorating the knowledge and experience of generations of the past, not only for themselves, but to share with others through effective recording and

organisation. Finally, whilst engagement with medical knowledge and development in itself may well have been of educational and cultural value to women of the social status compiling these texts, participatory activity in the development of medical knowledge and experience in its very nature is entwined in altruistic intentions and motivations. It is on this basis that their value as collaborative documents based on a wider network of contributors and readers must also be considered, marking the significance of this thesis in moving away from the binary debate outlined around individual and collective authority in this period. Instead, we see that even in this specific region and time period, ideas and actions relating to authority and agency could be predominantly collective, or individual, with varying degrees between.<sup>1</sup>

When looking at the 'Value of Community in Domestic Recipe Texts', the thesis questioned how far local recipe networks extended based on evidence of attributions, of shared recipes between the local collections, and of references to foreign influences and ingredients. It demonstrated the usefulness of receipt book manuscripts in identifying local social networks, in considering connections within and between extended families and households, as well as across wider geographical boundaries. It achieved this through highlighting recipe knowledge-sharing circles at the level of household and family, between local households, and even the degree to which foreign commercial and cultural influences can be seen to have permeated local recipe sharing culture.

Assessing 'Household and Family Networks' demonstrated that the Mundy and Willoughby household connection extended beyond a mere distant marital relation, to the kind of social

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<sup>1</sup> For more on the interrelation between the individual and community and the argument that this has become an 'overdrawn dichotomy', see Parker, 'Introduction: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World', pp.1-9.

and cultural interconnection that recipes shared between the two household reflect. The regional and prosopographical approach adopted allowed for a detailed analysis of connections to take place based on recipe attributions. It also demonstrated the prevalence of 'cousins' in recipe attributions, and fundamentally that in local examples at least, that cousinly terms were more significant as an indication of a genuine familial relation than Charles T. Lipp asserted in his view of the use of the term as 'unsatisfactory proof of kinship'.<sup>2</sup> Instead, the link between cousinly terms and known family names that can be traced back to the compiler, demonstrates a use of the term which in fact largely reflects genuine familial connections. Thus, whilst the specific use of it may well have extended beyond the limited meaning of the child of an aunt or uncle, recipe attributions have shown that rich networks of recipe sharing existed amongst the household and extended family members of compilers, and that recipe knowledge shared by those genuinely known to the compiler was valued highly enough for familial attributions to feature widely and frequently across all local recipe volumes. The significance of this resides in indicating the importance of authenticity of the networks uncovered and, in the value, placed upon recipe knowledge sourced from peers and relations, rather than as a form of any kind of social or political posturing. Chapter four also demonstrated that the source of knowledge compiled into receipt book manuscripts was not limited to social peers only but rather that it transcended social boundaries to include and value servants as donors too, directly alongside those of the compilers' gentry and aristocratic familial peers. Thus, we find receipts ascribed to cooks and maids, from the compilers' households, and of their extended families, presented and attributed with no distinction in the value and significance to those of any other recipe

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<sup>2</sup> Lipp, *Noble Strategies in an Early Modern Small State*, p.192.

contributors. This suggests that recipe knowledge and expertise was sought after and prized in individuals from across the spectrum of social standing.

By studying 'Local Recipe Networks', we also see the significance of examining recipe sources at a regional level in order to highlight the network of recipe exchange that operated across local households. This was achieved by showcasing recipes that were duplicated and shared between the households with surviving recipe compilations that are the primary subject of this research, as well the wider local network of individuals who can be shown to have played a role locally in hosting dinners and sharing recipes. Crucially, whilst it can be difficult to evidence the absence of a connection in terms of religious communities in the period, particularly in texts which are secular in nature, exploration of networks has shown that recipe connections crossed the boundaries of Catholic and Protestant households and supports the assertion of status being more of a defining factor in shared food culture than religion.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of key local recipe contributors was also demonstrated in the examination of recipes associated with a wider geographical reach. It establishes recipe influences originating from the continent and colonial trade expansion, largely through a core group of contributors, with seeming access to and knowledge of culinary methods from overseas, or links to others who do, as in the case of the recipe attributed to Brother Willoughby, as a conduit from an 'Admiral Harpur'. Therefore, despite any motivations of emulation, and of showcasing the cultural breadth and networks of knowledge of the compiler, once again, the sources of such receipts are frequently local people, who are either proactive in sharing them, or are sought out for their knowledge, resulting in recipes done 'as abroad' across all

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<sup>3</sup> Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, p.17.

of the volumes. Ultimately, research indicated the influence of growing commercial and cultural exchange with the continent and colonies in permeating the culinary culture of provincial recipe manuscripts, with recipes cited as being of French, Dutch, Italian, German, Spanish, Portuguese, and Indian influence. Recipes showed that foreign techniques and 'ways' were adopted, as well as where available, the non-native ingredients. Crucially perhaps, in the use of substitutes for exotic ingredients like apples in place of mangoes, recipe texts highlight a cultural adoption of culinary tastes that replicate those of other nations even where the authentic commodities themselves were unavailable.

This thesis demonstrates then the scale of interaction within, and between, local families and households, interactions with a recipe network which included other unrelated local individuals, as well as a wider geographical network of influences. Overall, whilst limitations on tracing the precise origins of a receipt still remain within even a local network, the recipe networks that can be drawn out from attributions establish a range of shared contacts between families, households, local communities, as well as across the world. Thus, this section of chapters has demonstrated the value and significance of examining recipe manuscript attributions at a regional scale.

By examining theory of 'Separate Spheres' and of gender in domestic recipe texts, this research considered the value of recipe collections in terms of our historical understanding of gender dynamics within the landscape of eighteenth-century domesticity. It made male participation in recipe collecting within the immediate familial and social circles of our manuscript authors and compilers explicit, outlining its prevalence at three key levels. Firstly, through attributions to men as recipe contributors and in instances where information has transferred not only across matrilineal, female kin networks, but also

patrilineal, and male to female dissemination spanning generations. Secondly, male participation presents itself in local examples in the form of notable male figures associated with the very highest habitués of intellectual society in the period, and their featuring in manuscript compilations, either through direct or extended social connection, or from printed sources.

Analysis of 'Gendered Attributions', shows that the tracing of individuals cited across recipe sources highlights significant participation by male recipe donors overall. This not only extended the notion of the matrilineal line of knowledge dissemination into wider circles of female recipe sharing across multiple generations and familial connections, but also into the patrilineal and male familial networks of the compilers. Similarly, emphasised in the legacy of male recipe collecting culture in previous generations in the case of Henrietta Harley, supplementary archival evidence was interrogated and subsequently indicated a stronger legacy of patriarchal recipe collecting than matriarchal, in surviving examples, at least.

Finally, by exploring 'Professional Men and Recipe Culture' this thesis extends the understanding of the participation of male professionals beyond that demonstrated in servant representation, to consider the role of the male medical professional in manuscript recipe culture. It highlights the exchange of professional knowledge into everyday recipe collections in the form of recipes attributed to well-known contemporary male physicians. In some cases, these were individual physicians who were known to be socially linked to the household, as with Hans Sloane and Richard Mead, or in the case of Herman Boerhaave, can only be linked indirectly, but in several cases were shown to be cited in volumes across multiple households. This provides valuable insight into the transmission of professional knowledge across the local households, but what remains unclear, is how significant a role

printed recipe books might have played in making the receipts of some of these figures more commonplace, and therefore easier to replicate across manuscript collections. This exchange between print and manuscript culture was particularly showcased in the case study of the receipt book of local physician, Thomas Gell. Here, it was proven that even known male medical professionals participated in both the culinary and medical aspects of receipt-collecting culture, but significantly for enhancing our perception of the potential relationship between print and manuscript locally, he also overtly cites the transcription from printed texts such as George Hartman's *The Family Physitian*.

Overall, this section challenged a historiographical tendency to characterise recipe knowledge in gendered arenas, where men tend to be associated with medicinal knowledge, and women with culinary. However, through shifting the focus of regional analysis to exploring male participation in so-called 'female' domestic manuscript culture specifically, the thesis shows that male representation within receipt books, both in terms of recipe attributions and as recipe authors and compilers themselves, is significant enough to begin challenging the prevailing view of domestic recipe texts as distinctly 'female spaces', and to question our own assumptions in consideration of gender roles within the eighteenth century household. It is clear that the culture of recipe-sharing and receipt book compiling extended beyond gender boundaries, and that there was huge variation depending on individual interest, specialism, and circumstances. What we do know is that men compiled and contributed to domestic manuscript knowledge and culture, and that they were known to influence manuscript recipes via domestic knowledge available in print too. The reasons for undervaluing the role of men in the analysis of domestic manuscripts is understandable, there being some hesitancy particularly in the spirit of feminist history that lies in undermining these texts and the domestic role as the platforms for female expression and

authority which historians like Amanda Vickery and Kathryn Shevelow have been said to equate them to.<sup>4</sup> However, evidence suggests that it would be limited to determine that recipe compilation practices were unique to women writers or that either the inheritance or study of receipts was restricted only to the matrilineal line. Rather, this thesis contends that recipe manuscripts rarely reflect an entirely female-centric attitude to domestic knowledge sharing, and therefore, that to view domestic texts merely as gender-specific sources in this period would be overly simplistic; there being value in reconsidering the role of men in our understanding of the domestic matters. It demonstrates that by excluding men from the early modern domestic sphere we run the risk of limiting our understanding of both men and women in this period, and that through underestimating the more collaborative nature of the management of the home, we risk a fundamental failure to acknowledge the complexities of both gender and domesticity in the Georgian era.

Overall, in its adoption of a regional approach this thesis has contributed to and built upon existing understanding of early modern selfhood, collaborative coterie of recipe manuscript writers and collectors, as well as the gender dynamics of early modern society. Through focussing on manuscript rather than commercial print culture, it has been able to highlight a unique relationship between female authorship and individual identity or 'selfhood', explore the importance of 'coterie' within receipt book volumes, and demonstrate that this form of collaborative writing extended to include both men and women as active contributors to the region's recipe sharing practices and culture in the period. Through concentrating on the wider networks of recipe sharing revealed in domestic manuscript volumes rather than commercial print it has extended our understanding of the receipt book genre beyond that

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<sup>4</sup> Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic*, p.9.



of simply another form of women's life-writing, and instead highlighted that domestic recipe manuscripts offer us insight into the social and domestic experiences of men and women alike.

Ultimately, this thesis offers a unique contribution in three key ways. Firstly, its temporal focus upon the long eighteenth century fills a gap between the more frequently discussed literary activities of women during the social and political upheaval of the seventeenth century, and the commercial and competitive literary landscape of the nineteenth century. Secondly, the geographical focus of the sources upon Nottinghamshire families and the associated households of bordering counties offers a unique approach. Not only does it offer the opportunity to consider more closely the connectivity between households, and the reality of recipe-sharing culture across a smaller geographical area, but it adds to the picture of the everyday social and domestic activity of eighteenth-century Nottinghamshire. Finally, and perhaps most crucially, this thesis has brought to light a selection of sources that have not previously been considered as part of the wider developments of digitised female-authored manuscripts that have been made more easily accessible. Therefore, the sources that this research is focussed upon have remained previously unmined for their potential insight into provincial domestic life, and their interrelation with examples from broader studies.

From the outset this research has been a source-led endeavour, responding to the sources uncovered in a single, local archive in an exploration of household documents relating to female medical and culinary activity. The quest for reasonable comparison between these sources set the parameters of the primary source base, and the initial research questions centred on bound volumes of receipt book texts which could be attributed to identifiable

female authors, and which originated from the eighteenth century. By excluding other miscellaneous, anonymous, or otherwise ambiguously authored texts, as well those outside of the eighteenth century, this thesis identified a useful core source base which could be digitised effectively into a consistent database. It is precisely this method and process which has facilitated the search and filter tools that underpin this research in its tracking of local networks across and within sources. However, the consistency achieved in forming this database of sources, and in their subsequent digitised images or full transcriptions excluded the supplementary sources that came to be drawn upon elsewhere to support arguments, from being processed and handled to the same level of detail. Instead the miscellaneous formats and differing nature of documents such as the seventeenth century volumes of William Cavendish's medicinal recipes, and 'Book of Husbandrie and Housewifery', as well as the bound miscellany of Henrietta's father John Holles and the commonplace book of Denzil Holles, rendered them unsuitable for the same process.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the pictorial and multi-purpose nature of Dorothy Gore's menu of dinners, and the format of much of the Gell collections as a combination of loose receipts and bound volumes, also made it impossible to handle in the same way as the core sources. As a result, their comparison has been in the form and in the production, rather than the detail of their content. The initial research questions and the source led nature of the project has therefore resulted in a focus largely upon a group of sources housed in one local archive, supported only by others where relevant to the research question being discussed. This offers the opportunity to broaden the remit and potential of this research by simply adopting a similar approach to source

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<sup>5</sup> UNMASC, Pw V 90, 'MS Volume containing medicinal recipes; c.1643-1665'; Pw V 91, 'Bound volume of recipes, c.1630-1690'; Pw V 103, 'Bound volume entitled 'A Booke of Husbandrie and Housewifery, 17<sup>th</sup> century'; Pw V 4, 'Bound autograph MS miscellany of John Holles, 2nd Earl of Clare, c.1592-1662'; Pw V 1, 'MS Commonplace book of Denzil Holles, c.1558'.

collections in other public archives, as well as the possibility of further exploring the process between collecting loose receipts and their eventual compilation into bound volumes through loose collections such as the Gell household, or the untapped collection of loose receipts by Henrietta Harley housed in private collections at Welbeck Abbey.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, as well as the potential to enhance this research through developing a clearer understanding of the relationship between loose and bound receipts, the closing chapters of this thesis raised questions around the relationship between manuscript and print which could not be realistically and comprehensively addressed within the confines of this thesis. This leaves a field of enquiry ripe for investigation at a local level, particularly in understanding whether this process of recipes transferring from print to manuscript was unique to highly literate and educated professionals like the Wirksworth surgeon, Thomas Gell, or whether this was a practice adopted more widely across those of literate social standing.

Finally, in the very immediate sense of further research potential, this thesis has sought to demonstrate the particular value of receipt book examples housed in local archives, and the potential they hold for enriching the wider picture of existing research in this field. As such, it advocates the public digitisation of the Harley, Willoughby and Mundy sources as digital images or full transcription so they might also be considered in the wider field of historiographical debate and serves as a framework for future studies to take similar approaches to undigitised local and regional collections as part of the ongoing efforts to uncover their meaning for greater historical understanding.

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<sup>6</sup> Philippa Glanville, *The Welbeck Kitchen*.

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